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The Works Of Horatio Walpole, Earl Of Orford

In Five Volumes

Walpole, Horace

London, 1798

Letters from the Hon. Horace Walpole to the Hon. Henry Seymour Conway,
from the Year 1740 to the Year 1795

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L E T T E R S

FROM

THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

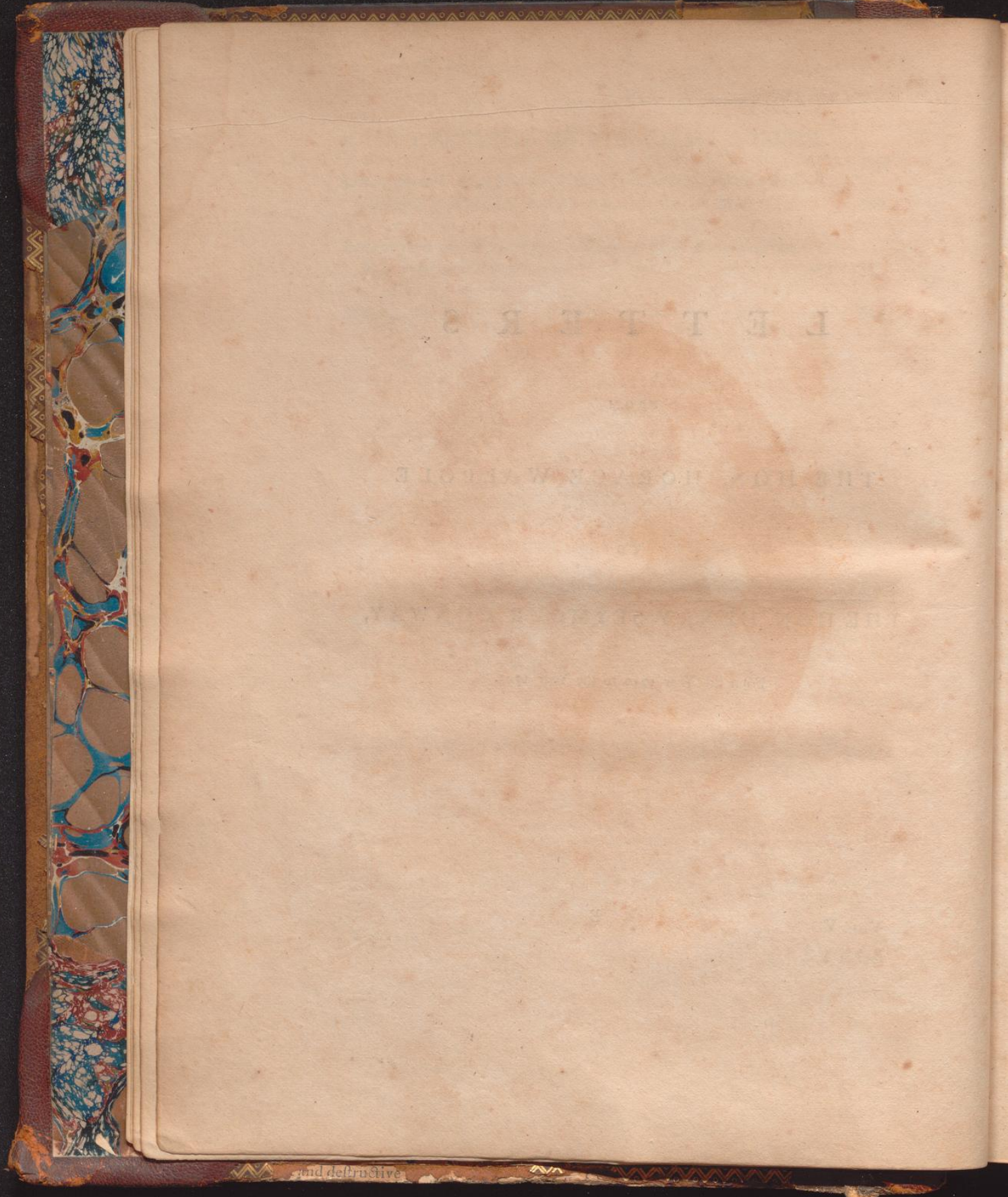
TO

THE HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY,

From the Year 1740 to the Year 1795.

Vol. V.

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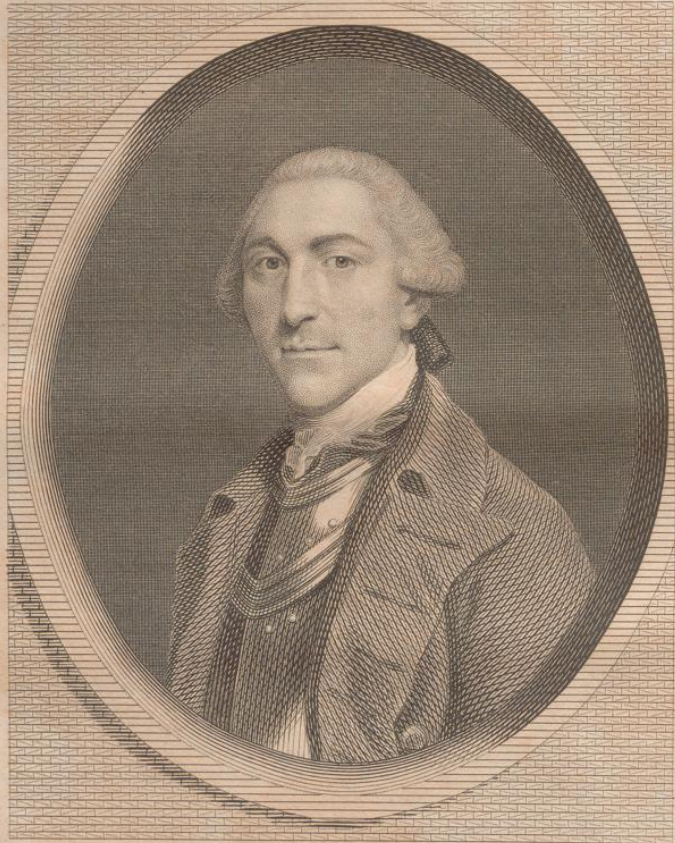


L E T T E R S

THE HISTORY OF THE

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and destructive



Wash. Sculp.

Field-Marshal Conway.

Published as the Act directs May 1st 1798, by G. G. & J. Robinson, Paucersister Row London.

and destructive

L E T T E R S

Lieut James Ouseley FROM *Bengal Cavalry 1711*
THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

TO

THE HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY,

From the Year 1740 to the Year 1795.

LETTER I.

TO THE HON. HENRY SEYMOUR CONWAY:

Florence, March 6, 1740 N. S.

HARRY, my dear, one would tell you what a monster you are, if one were not sure your conscience tells you so every time you think of me. At Genoa, in the year of our Lord one thousand seven hundred and thirty-nine, I received the last letter from you; by your not writing to me since, I imagine you propose to make this leap year. I should have sent many a scold after you in this long interval, had I known where to have scolded; but you told me you should leave Geneva immediately. I have dispatched sundry enquiries into England after you, all fruitless. At last drops in a chance letter to lady Sophy Farmor from a girl at Paris, that

Second son of Francis, first lord Conway, in 1770; commander in chief in 1782; and a field-marshal in 1793.
by Charlotte Shorter his third wife.

He was afterwards secretary in Ireland during the viceroyalty of William fourth duke of Devonshire; groom of the bed-chamber to George II. and to George III.; secretary of state in the year 1765; lieutenant general of the ordnance

This correspondence commences when Mr. Walpole was 23 years old, and Mr. Conway two years younger. They had gone abroad together with Mr. Gray in the year 1739, had spent three months together at Rheims, and afterwards separated at Geneva.

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6 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

The conclave is far from enlivening us; its secrets don't transpire. I could give you names of this cardinal and that, that are talked of, but each is contradicted the next hour. I was there t'other day to visit one of them, and one of the most agreeable, Alexander Albani. I had the opportunity of two cardinals making their entry: upon that occasion the gate is unlocked, and their eminencies come to talk to their acquaintance over the threshold. I have received great civilities from him I named to you, and I wish he were out, that I might receive greater: a friend of his does the honours of Rome for him; but you know that it is unpleasant to visit by proxy. Card. Delci, the object of the Corfini faction, is dying; the hot weather will probably dispatch half a dozen more. Not that it is hot yet; I am now writing to you by my fire-side.

Harry, you saw lord Desford at Geneva; don't you like him? He is a mighty sensible man. There are few young people have so good understandings. He is mighty grave, and so are you; but you can both be pleasant when you have a mind. Indeed one can make you pleasant, but his solemn *Scotchery* is a little formidable: before you I can play the fool from morning to night, courageously. Good night. I have other letters to write, and must finish this.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE

LETTER III.

DEAR HAL,

Florence, March 25, 1741 N.S.

YOU must judge by what you feel yourself of what I feel for Selwyn's recovery, with the addition of what I have suffered from post to post. But as I find the whole town have had the same sentiments about him, (though I am sure few so strong as myself) I will not repeat what you have heard so much. I shall write to him to-night, though he knows without my telling him how very much I love him. To you, my dear Harry, I am infinitely obliged for the three successive letters you wrote me about him, which gave me double pleasure, as they shewed your attention for me at a time that you knew I must be so unhappy; and your friendship for him.

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Your

Your account of fir Robert's victory¹ was so extremely well told, that I made Gray translate it into French, and have showed it to all that could taste it, or were inquisitive on the occasion. I have received a print by this post that diverts me extremely; *the Motion*. Tell me, dear now, who made the design, and who took the likenesses; they are admirable: the lines are as good as one sees on such occasions. I wrote last post to fir Robert, to wish him joy; I hope he received my letter.

I was to have set out last Tuesday, but on Sunday came the news of the queen of Hungary being brought to bed of a son; on which occasion here will be great triumphs, operas and masquerades, which detain me for a short time.

I won't make you any excuse for sending you the following lines; you have prejudice enough for me to read with patience any of my idleneffes².

My dear Harry, you enrage me with talking of another journey to Ireland; it will shock me if I don't find you at my return: pray take care and be in England.

I wait with some patience to see Dr. Middleton's Tully, as I read the greatest part of it in manuscript; though indeed that is rather a reason for my being impatient to read the rest. If Tully can receive any additional honour, Dr. Middleton is most capable of conferring it.

I receive with great pleasure any remembrances of my lord and your sisters; I long to see all of you. Patapan³ is so handsome that he has been named the silver fleece; and there is a new order of knighthood to be erected to his honour, in opposition to the golden. Precedents are searching, and plans drawing up for that purpose. I hear that the natives pretend to be companions, upon the authority of their dog-skin waistcoats; but a council that has been held on purpose has declared their pretensions impertinent. Patapan has lately taken wife unto him, as ugly as he is genteel, but of a very great family, being the direct heirs of Canis Scaliger, lord of

¹ On the event of Mr. Sandys's motion in the house of commons to remove fir Robert Walpole from the king's presence and councils for ever.

lected column in the place of St. Mark, at Florence, afterwards printed in the Fugitive Pieces.

² Here follows the inscription for the neg-

³ A dog of Mr. Walpole's.

Verona:

8 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

Verona: which principality we design to seize à la Prussienne; that is, as soon as ever we shall have persuaded the republic of Venice, that we are the best friends they have in the world. Adieu, dear child!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I left my subscriptions for Middleton's Tully with Mr. Selwyn; I won't trouble him, but I wish you would take care and get the books, if Mr. S. has kept the list.

LETTER IV.

Re di Cofano, vulg. Radicofani, July 5, 1740 N. S.

YOU will wonder, my dear Hal, to find me on the road from Rome: why, intend I did to stay for a new popedom, but the old eminences are cross and obstinate, and will not choose one, the holy ghost does not know when. There is a horrid thing called the mal' aria, that comes to Rome every summer and kills one, and I did not care for being killed so far from christian burial. We have been jolted to death; my servants let us come without springs to the chaise, and we are wore threadbare: to add to our disasters, I have sprained my ankle, and have brought it along, laid upon a little box of bawbles that I have bought for presents in England. Perhaps I may pick you out some little trifle there, but don't depend upon it; you are a disagreeable creature, and may be I shall not care for you. Though I am so tired in this devil of a place, yet I have taken it into my head, that it is like Hamilton's Bawn, and I must write to you. 'Tis the top of a black barren mountain, a vile little town at the foot of an old citadel: yet this, know you, was the residence of one of the three kings that went to Christ's birth-day; his name was Alabafter, Abarasser, or some such thing; the other two were kings, one of the East, the other of Cologn. 'Tis this of Cofano, who was represented in an ancient painting, found in the Palatine Mount, now in the possession of Dr. Mead; he was crowned by Augustus. Well, but about writing—what do you think I write with?

Nay,

Nay, with a pen; there was never a one to be found in the whole circumference *but one*, and that was in the possession of the governor, and had been used time out of mind to write the parole with: I was forced to send to borrow it. It was sent me under the conduct of a serjeant and two Swiss, with desire to return it when I should have done with it. 'Tis a curiosity, and worthy to be laid up with the relics which we have just been seeing in a small hovel of Capucins on the side of the hill, and which were all brought by his majesty from Jerusalem. Among other things of great sanctity there is a set of gnashing of teeth, the grinders very entire; a bit of the worm that never dies, preserved in spirits; a crow of St. Peter's cock, very useful against Easter; the crisping and curling, frizzling and frowning of Mary Magdalen, which she cut off on growing devout. The good man that showed us all these commodities was got into such a train of calling them the blessed this, and the blessed that, that at last he showed us a bit of the blessed fig-tree that Christ cursed.

Florence, July 9.

MY DEAR HARRY,

WE are come hither, and I have received another letter from you with Hofier's Ghost. Your last put me in pain for you, when you talked of going to Ireland; but now I find your brother and sister go with you, I am not much concerned. Should I be? You have but to say, for my feelings are extremely at your service to dispose as you please. Let us see: you are to come back to stand for some place; that will be about April. 'Tis a sort of thing I should do too; and then we should see one another, and that would be charming: but it is a sort of thing I have no mind to do; and then we shall not see one another, unless you would come hither—but that you cannot do: nay, I would not have you, for then I shall be gone.—So! there are many *ifs* that just signify nothing at all. Return I must sooner than I shall like. I am happy here to a degree. I'll tell you my situation. I am lodged with Mr. Mann*, the best of creatures. I have a terreno all to myself, with an open gallery on the Arno, where I am now writing to you. Over against me is the famous Gallery; and, on either hand, two fair bridges. Is not this charming and cool? The air is so serene, and so secure, that one sleeps with all the windows and doors thrown open

* Afterwards Sir Horace Mann. He was at this time resident at Florence from George II.

to the river, and only covered with a flight gauze to keep away the gnats. Lady Pomfret¹ has a charming conversation once a week. She has taken a vast palace and a vast garden, which is vastly commode, especially to the cicisbeo-part of mankind, who have free indulgence to wander in pairs about the arbours. You know her daughters: lady Sophia² is still, nay she must be, the beauty she was: lady Charlotte³ is much improved, and is the clearest girl in the world; speaks the purest Tuscan like any Florentine. The prince's Craon⁴ has a constant pharaoh and supper every night, where one is quite at one's ease. I am going into the country with her and the prince for a little while, to a villa of the great duke's. The people are good-humoured here and easy; and what makes me pleased with them, they are pleased with me. One loves to find people care for one, when they can have no view in it.

You see how glad I am to have reasons for not returning; I wish I had no better.

As to Hofier's Ghost, I think it very easy, and consequently pretty; but, from the ease, should never have guessed it Glover's. I delight in your, *the patriots cry it up, and the courtiers cry it down, and the hawkers cry it up and down*, and your laconic history of the K. and fir R. on going to Hanover, and turning out the D. of A. The epigram too you sent me on the same occasion is charming.

Unless I sent you back news that you and others send me, I can send you none. I have left the conclave, which is the only stirring thing in this part of the world, except the child that the queen of Naples is to be delivered of in August. There is no likelihood the conclave will end, unless the messages take effect which 'tis said the Imperial and French ministers have sent to their respective courts for leave to quit the Corfini for the Albani faction; otherwise there will never be a pope. Corfini has lost the only one he could

¹ Henrietta Louisa, wife of Thomas earl of Pomfret.

² Afterwards married to John lord Carteret, who became earl of Granville on the death of his mother in the year 1744.

³ Afterwards married to William Finch, brother to ——— earl of Winchelsea.

⁴ The prince's Craon was the favourite mistress of Leopold the last duke of Lorraine, who married her to monsieur de Beauveau, and prevailed on the emperor to make him a prince of the empire. They at this time resided at Florence, where prince Craon was at the head of the council of regency.

have

have ventured to make pope, and him he designed; 'twas Cenci, a relation of the Corfini's mistress. The last morning Corfini made him rise, stuffed a dish of chocolate down his throat, and would carry him to the scrutiny. The poor old creature went, came back, and died. I am sorry to have lost the sight of the pope's coronation, but I might have staid for seeing it till I had been old enough to be pope myself.

Harry, what luck the chancellor has! first, indeed, to be in himself so great a man; but then in accidents: he is made chief justice and peer, when Talbot is made chancellor and peer: Talbot dies in a twelvemonth, and leaves him the seals at an age when others are scarce made solicitors:— then marries his son into one of the first families of Britain, obtains a patent for a marquisate and eight thousand pounds a year after the duke of Kent's death: the duke dies in a fortnight, and leaves them all! People talk of fortune's wheel that is always rolling: troth, my lord Hardwicke has overtaken her wheel, and rolled along with it.

I perceive miss Jenny¹ would not venture to Ireland, nor stray so far from London; I am glad I shall always know where to find her within three-score miles. I must say a word to my lord², which, Harry, be sure you don't read. ["My dear lord, I don't love troubling you with letters, because I know you don't love the trouble of answering them; not that I should insist on that ceremony, but I hate to burthen any one's conscience. Your brother tells me he is to stand member of parliament: without telling me so, I am sure he owes it to you. I am sure you will not repent setting him up; nor will he be ungrateful to a brother who deserves so much, and whose least merit is not the knowing how to employ so great a fortune."]

There, Harry, I have done. Don't suspect me: I have said no ill of you behind your back. Make my best compliments to miss Conway³.

I thought I had done, and lo, I had forgot to tell you, that who d'ye think

¹ Miss Jane Conway, half sister to Henry marquis of Hertford, elder brother to H. Seymour Conway. She died unmarried in 1749.

² Afterwards married to John Harris, esq. of Hayne in Devonshire.

³ Francis lord Conway, afterwards earl and

12 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

is here?—Even Mr. More! our Rheims Mr. More!² the fortification, hornwork, ravelin, bastion Mr. More! *which is very pleasant sure.* At the end of the eighth fide, I think I need make no excuse for leaving off; but I am going to write to Selwyn, and to the lady of the mountain; from whom I have had a very kind letter. She has at last received the Chantilly brafs. Good night: write to me from one end of the world to t'other.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER V.

Florence, September 25, 1740 N.S.

MY DEAR HAL,

I BEGIN to answer your letter the moment I have read it, because you bid me; but I grow so unfit for a correspondence with any body in England, that I have almost left it off. 'Tis so long since I was there, and I am so utterly a stranger to every thing that passes there, that I must talk vastly in the dark to those I write; and having in a manner settled myself here, where there can be no news, I am void of all matter for filling up a letter. As, by the absence of the great duke, Florence is become in a manner a country town, you may imagine that we are not without demêlés; but for a country town I believe there never were a fet of people so peaceable, and such strangers to scandal. 'Tis the family of love, where every body is paired, and go as constantly together as perroquets. Here nobody hangs or drowns themselves; they are not ready to cut one another's throats about elections or parties; don't think that wit consists in saying bold truths, or humour in getting drunk. But I shall give you no more of their characters, because I am so unfortunate as to think that their encomium consists in being the reverse of the English, who in general are either mad, or enough to make other people so. After telling you so fairly my sentiments, you may believe, my dear Harry, that I had much rather see you here than in England. 'Tis an evil wish for you, who

² See a letter to Mr. West, dated Rheims, 20th July, 1739.

should

should not be lost in so obscure a place as this. I will not make you compliments, or else here is a charming opportunity for saying what I think of you. As I am convinced you love me, and as I am conscious you have one strong reason for it, I will own to you, that for my own peace you should wish me to remain here. I am so well within and without, that you would scarce know me: I am younger than ever, think of nothing but diverting myself, and live in a round of pleasures. We have operas, concerts, and balls, mornings and evenings. I dare not tell you all one's idleness; you would look so grave and senatorial, at hearing that one rises at eleven in the morning, goes to the opera at nine at night, to supper at one, and to bed at three! But literally here the evenings and nights are so charming and so warm, one can't avoid 'em.

Did I tell you lady ——— is here? She laughs at my lady W——, scolds my lady Pomfret, and is laughed at by the whole town. Her dress, her avarice, and her impudence must amaze any one that never heard her name. She wears a foul mob, that does not cover her greasy black locks, that hang loose, never combed or curled; an old mazarine blue wrapper, that gapes open and discovers a canvas petticoat. Her face swelled violently on one side with the remains of a ———, partly covered with a plaister, and partly with white paint, which for cheapness she has bought so coarse, that you would not use it to wash a chimney.—In three words I will give you her picture as we drew it in the *Sortes Virgilianæ*—

Infanam vatem aspicias.

I give you my honour, we did not choose it; but Gray, Mr. Cooke, sir Fr. Dashwood and I, and several others, drew it fairly amongst a thousand for different people, most of which did not hit as you may imagine: those that did I will tell you.

For our most religious and gracious ———

— *Dii, talem terris avertite pestem.*

For one that would be our most religious and gracious ———

*Purpureus veluti cum flos succisus aratro
Languescit moriens, lassove papavera collo
Demisere caput, pluvia cum fortè gravantur.*

For

For his son.

Regis Romani; primus qui legibus urbem
Fundabit, Curibus parvis et paupere terrâ
Missus in imperium magnum.

For sir Robert.

Res dura et regni novitas me talia cogunt
Moliri, et late fines custode tueri.

I will shew you the rest when I see you.

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER VI.

London, 1741.

MY DEAREST HARRY,

BEFORE I thank you for myself, I must thank you for that excessive good nature you showed in writing to poor G——. I am less impatient to see you, as I find you are not the least altered, but have the same tender friendly temper you always had. I wanted much to see if you were still the same—but you are.

Don't think of coming before your brother; he is too good to be left for any one living: besides, if it is possible, I will see you in the country. Don't reproach me, and think nothing could draw me into the country: impatience to see a few friends has drawn me out of Italy; and Italy, Harry, is pleasanter than London. As I do not love living en famille so much as you (but then indeed my family is not like yours), I am hurried about getting myself a house; for I have so long lived single, that I do not much take to being confined with * * * * *

You won't find me much altered, I believe; at least, outwardly. I am not grown a bit shorter, or a bit fatter, but am just the same long lean creature

ture as usual. Then I talk no French, but to my footman; nor Italian, but to myself. What inward alterations may have happened to me, you will discover best; for you know 'tis said, one never knows that one's self. I will answer, that that part of it that belongs to you, has not suffered the least change—I took care of that.

For virtù, I have a little to entertain you: it is my sole pleasure.—I am neither young enough nor old enough to be in love.

My dear Harry, will you take care and make my compliments to that charming lady Conway¹, who I hear is so charming, and to miss Jenny, who I know is so? As for miss Anne², and her love *as far as it is decent*; tell her, decency is out of the question between us, that I love her without any restriction. I settled it yesterday with miss Conway, that you three are brothers and sister to me, and that if you had been so, I could not love you better. I have so many cousins, and uncles and aunts, and bloods that grow in Norfolk, that if I had portioned out my affections to them, as they say I should, what a modicum would have fallen to each!—So, to avoid factions, I love my family in you three, their representatives³.

Adieu, my dear Harry! Direct to me at Downing-street. Good bye!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R VII.

Arlington-street, July 20, 1744.

MY DEAREST HARRY,

I FEEL that I have so much to say to you, that I foresee there will be but little method in my letter; but if upon the whole you see my meaning, and the depth of my friendship for you, I am content.

¹ Isabella Fitzroy, daughter of Charles duke of Grafton.

² Miss Anne Conway, youngest sister of Henry Seymour Conway.

³ They were first cousins by the mother's side; Francis the first lord Conway having married Charlotte, eldest daughter of John Shorter of Bybrook in Kent, sister to Catherine Shorter lady Walpole.

It

It was most agreeable to me to receive a letter of confidence from you, at the time I expected a very different one from you; though, by the date of your last, I perceive you had not then received some letters, which though I did not see I must call simple, as they could only tend to make you uneasy for some months. I should not have thought of communicating a quarrel to you at this distance; and I don't conceive the sort of friendship of those that thought it necessary. When I heard it had been wrote to you, I thought it right to myself to give you my account of it—but, by your brother's desire, suppressed my letter, and left it to be explained by him, who wrote to you so sensibly on it, that I shall say no more; but that I think myself so ill used, that it will prevent my giving you thoroughly the advice you ask of me; for how can I be sure that my resentment might not make me see in a stronger light the reasons for your breaking off an affair¹, which you know before I never approved?

You know my temper is so open to any body I love, that I must be happy at seeing you lay aside a reserve with me, which is the only point that ever made me dissatisfied with you. That silence of yours has, perhaps, been one of the chief reasons that has always prevented my saying much to you on a topic which I saw was so near your heart. Indeed, its being so near was another reason; for how could I expect you would take my advice, even if you bore it? But, my dearest Harry, how can I advise you now? Is it not gone too far for me to expect you should keep any resolution about it; especially in absence, which must be destroyed the moment you meet again? And if you ever should marry and be happy, won't you reproach me with having tried to hinder it?—I think you as just, and honest, as I think any man living. But any man living in that circumstance would think I had been prompted by private reasons. I see as strongly as you can, all the arguments for your breaking off; but indeed the alteration of your fortune adds very little strength to what they had before. You never had fortune enough to make such a step at all prudent: she loved you enough to be content with that; I can't believe this change will alter her sentiments, for I must do her the justice to say, that 'tis plain she preferred you with nothing to all the world. I could talk on upon this head; but I will only leave you to consider, with-

¹ This was an early attachment of Mr. Conway's. By his having complied with the wishes and advice of his friend on this subject, and got the better of his passion, he probably felt that he,

in some measure, owed to Mr. Walpole the subsequent happiness of his life in his marriage with another person. E.

out advising you on either side, these two things: whether you think it honest to break off with her after such engagements as yours (how strong I don't know), after her refusing very good matches for you, and show her that she must think of making her fortune; or whether you will wait with her till some amendment in your fortune can put it in your power to marry her.

My dearest Harry, you must see why I don't care to say more on this head. My wishing it could be right for you to break off with her (for, without it is right, I would not have you on any account take such a step) makes it impossible for me to advise it; and therefore I am sure you will forgive my declining an act of friendship, which your having put in my power gives me the greatest satisfaction. But it does put something else in my power, which I am sure nothing can make me decline, and for which I have long wanted an opportunity. Nothing could prevent my being unhappy at the smallness of your fortune, but its throwing it into my way to offer you to share mine. As mine is so precarious, by depending on so bad a constitution, I can only offer you the immediate use of it. I do that most sincerely. My places still (though my lord W. has cut off three hundred pounds a year to save himself the trouble of signing his name ten times for once) bring me in near two thousand pounds a year. I have no debts, no connections; indeed no way to dispose of it particularly. By living with my father, I have little real use for a quarter of it. I have always flung it away all in the most idle manner. But, my dear Harry, idle as I am, and thoughtless, I have sense enough to have real pleasure in denying myself bawbles, and in saving a very good income to make a man happy for whom I have a just esteem and most sincere friendship. I know the difficulties any gentleman and man of spirit must struggle with, even in having such an offer made him, much more in accepting it. I hope you will allow there are some in making it. But hear me: if there is any such thing as friendship in the world, these are the opportunities of exerting it, and it can't be exerted without 'tis accepted. I must talk of myself to prove to you that it will be right for you to accept it. I am sensible of having more follies and weaknesses and fewer real good qualities than most men. I sometimes reflect on this, though I own too seldom. I always want to begin acting like a man and a sensible one, which I think I might be if I would. Can I begin better, than by taking care of my fortune for one I love? You have seen (I have seen you have) that I am fickle, and foolishly fond of twenty new people: but I don't really love

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them:

them: I have always loved you constantly: I am willing to convince you and the world, what I have always told you, that I loved you better than any body. If I ever felt much for any thing, which I know may be questioned, it was certainly for my mother. I look on you as my nearest relation by her, and think I can never do enough to show my gratitude and affection to her. For these reasons, don't deny me what I have set my heart on—the making your fortune easy to you. * * * * *

[The rest of this letter is wanting.]

LETTER VIII.

Houghton, Oct. 6, 1744.

MY DEAREST HARRY,

MY lord¹ bids me tell you how much he is obliged to you for your letter, and hopes you will accept my answer for his. I'll tell you what, we shall both be obliged to you if you will inclose a magnifying glass in your next letters; for your two last were in so diminutive a character, that we were forced to employ all Mrs. Leneve's spectacles, besides an ancient family reading-glass with which my grandfather used to begin the psalm, to discover what you said to us. Besides this, I have a piece of news for you: Sir Robert Walpole, when he was made earl of Orford, left the ministry, and with it the palace in Downing-street; as numbers of people found out three years ago, who not having your integrity were quick in perceiving the change of his situation. Your letter was full as honest as you; for, though directed to Downing-street, it would not, as other letters would have done, address itself to the present possessor. Do but think if it had! The smallness of the hand would have immediately struck my lord Sandys² with the idea of a plot; for what he could not read at first sight, he would certainly have concluded must be cypher.

I march next week towards London, and have already begun to send my heavy artillery before me, consisting of half a dozen books and part of my

¹ Sir Robert Walpole, first earl of Orford.

chequer on the resignation of Sir Robert Walpole in February 1741, and afterwards created

² Samuel Sandys, made chancellor of the ex-

lord Sandys.

linen;

men; my light horse commanded by Patapan follows this day se'nnight. A detachment of hussars surpris'd an old bitch fox yesterday morning, who had lost a leg in a former engagement; and then having received advice of another litter being advanced as far as Dasingham, lord Walpole commanded captain Riley's horse with a strong party of fox-hounds to overtake them: but on the approach of our troops the enemy stole off, and are now encamped at Sechford common, whither we every hour expect orders to pursue them.

My dear Harry, this is all I have to tell you, and to my great joy, which you must forgive me, is full as memorable as any part of the Flanders campaign¹. I do not desire to have you engaged in the least more glory than you have been. I should not love the remainder of you the least better for your having lost an arm or a leg; and have as full persuasion of your courage as if you had contributed to the slicing off twenty pair from French officers. Thank God, you have sense enough to content yourself without being a hero; though I don't quite forget your expedition a hussar-hunting the beginning of this campaign.—Pray, no more of those jaunts! I don't know any body you would oblige with a present of such game: for my part, a fragment of the oldest hussar on earth should never have a place in my museum; they are not antique enough: and for a live one, I must tell you I like my racoon infinitely better.

Adieu, my dear Harry! I long to see you.—You will easily believe, the thought I have of being particularly well with you is a vast addition to my impatience; though you know it is nothing new to me to be overjoyed at your return.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R IX.

Arlington-street, May 27, 1745.

MY DEAR HARRY,

AS gloriously as you have set out, yet I despair of seeing you a perfect hero! You have none of the charming violences that are so essential to that

¹ Mr. Conway was now with the allied army in Flanders.

character. You write as coolly after behaving well in a battle, as you fought in it. Can your friends flatter themselves with seeing you one day or other be the death of thousands, when you wish for peace in three weeks after your first engagement¹, and laugh at the ambition of those men who have given you this opportunity of distinguishing yourself? With the person of an Orondates, and the courage, you have all the compassion, the reason, and the reflection, of one that never read a romance. Can one ever hope you will make a figure, when you only fight because it was right you should, and not because you hated the French, or loved destroying mankind? This is so un-English, or so un-heroic, that I despair of you!

Thank Heaven, you have one spice of madness! Your admiration of your master² leaves me a glimmering of hope that you will not be always so unreasonably reasonable. Do you remember the humorous lieutenant, in one of Beaumont and Fletcher's plays, that is in love with the king? Indeed your master is not behind hand with you; you seem to have agreed to puff one another.

If you are all acting up to the strictest rules of war and chivalry in Flanders, we are not less scrupulous on this side the water in fulfilling all the duties of the same order. The day the young volunteer departed for the army (unluckily indeed it was after the battle), his tender mother Sifygambis, and the beautiful Statira, a lady formerly known in your history by the name of Artemisia, from her cutting off her hair on your absence, were so afflicted and so inseparable, that they made a party together to Mr. *Graham's*³ (you may read *Iapis* if you please) to be blooded. It was settled that this was a more precious way of expressing concern than shaving the head, which has been known to be attended with false locks the next day.

For the other princefs you wot of, who is not entirely so tall as the former, nor so evidently descended from a line of monarchs—I don't hear her talk of retiring. At present she is employed in buying up all the nose-gays in Covent Garden, and laurel-leaves at the pastry-cooks', to weave

¹ The battle of Fontenoy, where Mr. Conway greatly distinguished himself.

² William duke of Cumberland, to whom Mr. Conway was aide-du-camp.

³ A celebrated apothecary in Pall-mall.

chaplets for the return of her hero. Who that is, I don't pretend to know or guess. All I know is, that in this age retirement is not one of the fashionable expressions of passion.

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER X.

Arlington-street, July 1, 1745.

MY DEAR HARRY,

IF it were not for that one slight inconvenience, that I should probably be dead now, I should have liked much better to have lived in the last war than in this; I mean as to the pleasantness of writing letters. Two or three battles won, two or three towns taken, in a summer, were pretty objects to keep up the liveliness of a correspondence. But now it hurts one's dignity to be talking of English and French armies, at the first period of our history in which the tables are turned. After having learnt to spell out of the reigns of Edward the third and Harry the fifth, and begun lisping with Agincourt and Cressy, one uses one's self but awkwardly to the sounds of Tournay and Fontenoy. I don't like foreseeing the time so near, when all the young orators in parliament will be haranguing out of Demosthenes upon the imminent danger we are in from the overgrown power of king Philip. As becoming as all that public spirit will be, which to be sure will now come forth, I can't but think we were at least as happy and as great when all the young Pitts and Lytteltons were pelting oratory at my father for rolling out a twenty years peace, and not envying the trophies which he passed by every day in Westminster-hall. But one must not repine; rather reflect on the glories which they have drove the nation headlong into. One must think all our distresses and dangers well laid out, when they have purchased us Glover's¹ Oration for the merchants, the admiralty for the duke of Bedford, and the reversion of secretary at war for Pitt, which he will certainly have, unless the French king should happen to have the nomination; and then I fear, as much obliged as that court is to my lord Cobham and his nephews, they would be so partial as to prefer some

¹ The author of Leonidas.

illiterate

22 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

illiterate nephew of cardinal Tencin's, who never heard of Leonidas or the Hanover troops.

With all these reflections, as I love to make myself easy, especially politically, I comfort myself with what St. Evremond (a favourite philosopher of mine, for he thought what he liked, not liked what he thought) said in defence of cardinal Mazarin, when he was reproached with neglecting the good of the kingdom that he might engross the riches of it: "Well, let him get all the riches, and then he will think of the good of the kingdom, for it will all be his own." Let the French but have England, and they won't want to conquer it. We may possibly contract the French spirit of being supremely content with the glory of our monarch, and then—why then it will be the first time we ever were contented yet.

We hear of nothing but your retiring¹, and of Dutch treachery: in short, 'tis an ugly scene!

I know of no home news but the commencement of the gaming act, for which they are to put up a scutcheon at White's for the death of play; and the death of Winnington's wife, which may be an unlucky event for my lady ——. As he has no children, he will certainly marry again; and who will give him their daughter, unless he breaks off that affair, which I believe he will now very willingly make a marriage article? We want him to take lady Charlotte Fermor. She was always his beauty, and has so many charming qualities, that she would make any body happy. He will make a good husband; for he is excessively good-natured, and was much better to that strange wife than he cared to own.

You wondered at my journey to Houghton; now wonder more, for I am going to Mount Edgumbe. Now my summers are in my own hands, and I am not obliged to pass great part of them in Norfolk, I find it is not so very terrible to dispose of them up and down. In about three weeks I shall set out, and see Wilton and Doddington's in my way. Dear Harry, do but get a victory, and I will let off every cannon at Plymouth; reserving two, till I hear particularly that you have killed two more Frenchmen with

¹ Mr. Conway was still with the army in Flanders.

your

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and destructive

your own hand¹. Lady Mary² sends you her compliments; she is going to pass a week with miss Townshend³ at Muffits; I don't think you will be forgot. Your sister Anne has got a new distemper, which she says feels like something *jumping* in her. You know my style on such an occasion, and may be sure I have not spared this distemper. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XI.

Windfor Hill⁴, Oct. 3, 1746.

MY DEAR HARRY,

YOU ask me if I am really grown a philosopher. Really I believe not; for I shall refer you to my practice rather than to my doctrine, and have really acquired what they only pretended to seek, content. So far indeed I was a philosopher even when I lived in town, for then I was content too; and all the difference I can conceive between those two opposite doctors was, that Aristippus loved London, and Diogenes Windfor: and if your master the duke, whom I sincerely prefer to Alexander, and who certainly can intercept more sunshine, would but stand out of my way, which he is extremely in, while he lives in the park here, I should love my little tub of forty pounds a year, more than my palace dans la rue des ministres, with all my pictures and bronzes, which you ridiculously imagine I have encumbered myself with in my solitude. Solitude it is, as to the tub itself, for no soul lives in it with me; though I could easily give you room at the butt end of it, and with vast pleasure; but George Montagu, who perhaps is a philosopher too, though I am sure not of Pythagoras's silent sect, lives but two barrels off; and Ashton, a christian philosopher of our acquaint-

¹ Alluding to Mr. Conway's having been engaged with two French grenadiers at once in the battle of Fontenoy.

² Lady Mary Walpole, youngest daughter of sir R. Walpole, afterwards married to Charles Churchill, esq.

³ Daughter of Charles viscount Townshend, afterwards married to Edward Cornwallis brother to earl Cornwallis, and groom of the bed-chamber to the king.

⁴ In the summer of the year 1746 Mr. Walpole had hired a small house at Windfor.

ance,

ance, lives at the foot of that hill which you mention with a melancholy satisfaction that always attends the reflection. Apropos, here is an ode on the very subject, which I desire you will please to like exceedingly¹:

* * * * *

You will immediately conclude, out of good breeding, that it is mine, and that it is charming. I shall be much obliged to you for the first thought, but desire you will retain only the second, for it is Mr. Gray's, and not

Your humble servant's,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XII.

Windsor, October 24, 1746.

WELL, Harry, Scotland is the last place on earth I should have thought of for turning any body poet: but I begin to forgive it half its treasons in favour of your verses, for I suppose you don't think I am the dupe of the highland story that you tell me: the only use I shall make of it is to commend the lines to you, as if they really were a Scotsman's. There is a melancholy harmony in them that is charming, and a delicacy in the thoughts that no Scotchman is capable of, though a *Scotchwoman* might inspire it. I beg both for Cynthia's sake and my own that you would continue your *de Tristibus*, till I have an opportunity of seeing your muse, and she of rewarding her: *Reprens ta musette, berger amoureux!* If Cynthia has ever travelled ten miles in fairy land, she must be wondrous content with the person and qualifications of her knight, who in future story will be read of thus: Elmedorus was tall and perfectly well made, his face oval, and features regularly handsome, but not effeminate; his complexion sentimentally brown, with not much colour; his teeth fine, and forehead agreeably low, round which his black hair curled naturally and beautifully. His eyes were black too, but had nothing of fierce or insolent; on the contrary, a certain melancholy swimmingness that described hopeless

¹ Here follows Mr. Gray's Ode on the distant prospect of Eton college.

love,

love, rather than a natural amorous languish. His exploits in war, where he always fought by the side of the renowned Palatine William of England, have endeared his memory to all admirers of true chivalry, as the mournful elegies which he poured out among the desert rocks of Caledonia¹ in honour of the peerless lady and his heart's idol, the incomparable Cynthia, will for ever preserve his name in the flowery annals of poetry.

What a pity it is I was not born in the golden age of Louis the fourteenth, when it was not only the fashion to write folios, but to read them too! Or rather, it is a pity the same fashion don't subsist now, when one need not be at the trouble of invention, nor of turning the whole Roman history into romance, for want of proper heroes. Your campaign in Scotland rolled out and well be-epitheted would make a pompous work, and make one's fortune; at six-pence a number, one should have all the damsels within the liberties for subscribers: whereas now, if one has a mind to be read, one must write metaphysical poems in blank verse, which though I own to be still easier have not half the imagination of romances, and are dull without any agreeable absurdity. Only think of the gravity of this wise age, that have exploded *Cleopatra and Pharamond*, and approve *The Pleasures of the Imagination*, *The Art of preserving Health*, and *Leonidas*!—I beg the age's pardon: it has done approving these poems, and has forgot them.

Adieu, dear Harry! Thank you seriously for the poem. I am going to town for the birth-day, and shall return hither till the parliament meets; I suppose there is no doubt of our meeting then.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. Now you are at Stirling, if you should meet with Drummond's History of the five king Jameses, pray look it over. I have lately read it, and like it much. It is wrote in imitation of Livy, the style masculine, and the whole very sensible—only he ascribes the misfortunes of one reign to the then king's loving architecture, and

“In trim gardens taking pleasure.”

¹ Mr. Conway was now in Scotland with the duke of Cumberland, to whom he had been appointed aide-du-camp in the year 1743.

LETTER XIII.

Arlington-street, April 16, 1747.

DEAR HARRY,

WE are all skyrockets and bonfires to-night for your last year's victory¹; but if you have a mind to perpetuate yourselves in the calendar, you must take care to refresh your conquests. I was yesterday out of town, and the very signs as I passed through the villages made me make very quaint reflections on the mortality of fame and popularity. I observed how the duke's head had succeeded almost universally to admiral Vernon's, as his had left but few traces of the duke of Ormond's. I pondered these things in my heart, and said unto myself, Surely all glory is but as a sign²!

You have heard that old Lovat's³ tragedy is over: it has been succeeded by a little farce, containing the humours of the duke of Newcastle and his man Stone. The first event was a squabble between his grace and the sheriff about holding up the head on the scaffold—a custom that has been disused, and which the sheriff would not comply with, as he received no order in writing. Since that the duke has burnt ten yards of breeches strings⁴ about the body, which was to be sent into Scotland; but it seems it is customary for vast numbers to rise to attend the most trivial burial. The duke, who is always at least as much frightened at doing right as at doing wrong, was three days before he got courage enough to order the burying in the Tower. I must tell you an excessive good story of George Selwyn: Some women were scolding him for going to see the execution, and asked him, how he could be such a barbarian to see the head cut off? "Nay," says he, "if that was such a crime, I am sure I have made amends, for I went to see it sewed on again." When he was at the undertaker's, as soon as they had stitched him together, and were going to put the body into the coffin, George, in my lord chancellor's voice, said, "My lord Lovat, your lordship may rise." My lady T—— has picked up a little stable-boy in the Tower,

¹ The battle of Culloden.³ Simon Frazer lord Lovat, beheaded on Tower-hill the 9th of April 1747.² Soon after Mr. Walpole published a paper in *The World* upon this subject.⁴ Alluding to a trick of the duke of Newcastle's.

I

which

which the warders have put upon her for a natural son of lord Kilmarnock's, and taken him into her own house. You need not tell Mr. T. this from me.

We have had a great and fine day in the house on the second reading the bill for taking away the heritable jurisdictions in Scotland. Lyttelton¹ made the finest oration imaginable; the solicitor general², the new advocate³, and Hume Campbell⁴, particularly the last, spoke excessively well for it, and Oswald⁵ against it. The majority was 233 against 102. Pitt⁶ was not there; the dukes of Queensberry had ordered him to have the gout.

I will give you a commission once more to tell lord Bury⁷ that he has quite dropped me: if I thought he would take me up again, I would write to him; a message would encourage me. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLÉ.

LETTER XIV.

Twickenham, June 8, 1747.

YOU perceive by my date that I am got into a new camp, and have left my tub at Windsor. It is a little play-thing-house that I got out of Mrs. Chenevix's⁸ shop, and is the prettiest bawble you ever saw. It is set in enamelled meadows, with philigree hedges:

A small Euphrates through the piece is roll'd,
And little finches wave their wings in gold.

Two delightful roads, that you would call dusty, supply me continually with coaches and chaises: barges as solemn as barons of the exchequer move under

¹ Sir George, afterwards created lord Lyttelton.

² William Murray, afterwards earl of Mansfield.

³ William Grant, lord advocate of Scotland.

⁴ Only brother to the earl of Marchmont.

⁵ James Oswald, afterwards a lord of trade, and vice-treasurer of Ireland.

⁶ William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham.

⁷ George Keppel, eldest son of William earl of Albemarle, whom he succeeded in the title in 1755. He was now, together with Mr. Conway, aide-du-camp to the duke of Cumberland.

⁸ A famous toy-shop.

my window; Richmond-hill and Ham-walks bound my prospect; but, thank God! the Thames is between me and the duchess of Queensberry. Dowagers as plenty as flounders inhabit all around, and Pope's ghost is just now skimming under my window by a most poetical moonlight. I have about land enough to keep such a farm as Noah's, when he set up in the ark with a pair of each kind; but my cottage is rather cleaner than I believe his was after they had been cooped up together forty days. The Chenevixes had tricked it out for themselves: up two pair of stairs is what they call Mr. Chenevix's library, furnished with three maps, one shelf, a bust of sir Isaac Newton, and a lame telescope without any glasses. Lord John Sackville *predeceased* me here, and instituted certain games called *cricketalia*, which have been celebrated this very evening in honour of him in a neighbouring meadow.

You will think I have removed my philosophy from Windsor with my tea-things hither; for I am writing to you in all this tranquillity while a parliament is bursting about my ears. You know it is going to be dissolved: I am told, you are taken care of, though I don't know where, nor whether any body that chooses you will quarrel with me because he does choose you, as that little bug ——— did; one of the calamities of my life which I have bore as abominably well as I do most about which I don't care. They say the prince has taken up two hundred thousand pounds, to carry elections which he won't carry:—he had much better have saved it to buy the parliament after it is chosen. A new set of peers are in embryo, to add more dignity to the silence of the house of lords.

I make no remarks on your campaign¹, because, as you say, you do nothing at all; which, though very proper nutriment for a thinking head, does not do quite so well to write upon. If any one of you can but contrive to be shot upon your post, it is all we desire, shall look upon it as a great curiosity, and will take care to set up a monument to the person so slain, as we are doing by vote to captain ———, who was killed at the beginning of the action in the Mediterranean four years ago. In the present dearth of glory, he is canonized, though, poor man! he had been tried twice the year before for cowardice.

I could tell you much election-news, none else; though not being tho-

¹Mr. Conway was in Flanders with William duke of Cumberland.

roughly attentive to so important a subject, as to be sure one ought to be, I might now and then mistake, and give you a candidate for Durham in place of one for Southampton, or name the returning-officer instead of the candidate. In general, I believe, it is much as usual—those sold in detail that afterwards will be sold in the representation—the ministers bribing jacobites to choose friends of their own—the name of well-wishers to the present establishment, and patriots, outbidding ministers that they may make the better market of their own patriotism:—in short, all England, under some name or other, is just now to be bought and sold; though, whenever we become posterity and forefathers, we shall be in high repute for wisdom and virtue. My great great grand-children will figure me with a white beard down to my girdle; and Mr. Pitt's will believe him unspotted enough to have walked over nine hundred hot ploughshares, without hurting the sole of his foot. How merry my ghost will be, and shake its ears to hear itself quoted as a person of consummate prudence!—Adieu, dear Harry!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XV.

Strawberry-hill, August 29, 1748.

DEAR HARRY,

WHATEVER you may think, a campaign at Twickenham furnishes as little matter for a letter as an abortive one in Flanders. I can't say indeed that my generals wear black wigs, but they have long full-bottomed hoods which cover as little entertainment to the full.

There's general my lady Castlecomer, and general my lady dowager Ferrers! Why do you think I can extract more out of them than you can out of Hawley or Honeywood? Your old women dress, go to the duke's levee, see that the soldiers cock their hats right, sleep after dinner, and foak with their led captains till bed-time, and tell a thousand lies of what they never did in their youth. Change hats for head-clothes, the rounds for

visits,

visits, and led captains for toad-eaters, and the life is the very fame. In short, these are the people I live in the midst of, though not with; and it is for want of more important histories that I have wrote to you so seldom; not, I give you my word, from the least negligence. My present and sole occupation is planting, in which I have made great progress, and talk very learnedly with the nurserymen, except that now and then a lettuce run to seed overturns all my botany, as I have more than once taken it for a curious West-Indian flowering shrub. Then the deliberation with which trees grow, is extremely inconvenient to my natural impatience. I lament living in so barbarous an age, when we are come to so little perfection in gardening. I am persuaded that a hundred and fifty years hence it will be as common to remove oaks a hundred and fifty years old, as it is now to transplant tulip-roots. I have even begun a treatise or panegyric on the great discoveries made by posterity in all arts and sciences; wherein I shall particularly descant on the great and cheap convenience of making trout-rivers—one of the improvements which Mrs. Kerwood wondered Mr. Hedges would not make at his country-house, but which was not then quite so common as it will be. I shall talk of a secret for roasting a wild boar and a whole pack of hounds alive, without hurting them, so that the whole chace may be brought up to table; and for this secret, the duke of Newcastle's grandson, if he can ever get a son, is to give a hundred thousand pounds. Then the delightfulness of having whole groves of humming-birds, tame tigers taught to fetch and carry, pocket spying-glasses to see all that is doing in China, with a thousand other toys, which we now look upon as impracticable, and which pert posterity would laugh in one's face for staring at, while they are offering rewards for perfecting discoveries, of the principles of which we have not the least conception! If ever this book should come forth, I must expect to have all the learned in arms against me, who measure all knowledge backward: some of them have discovered symptoms of all arts in Homer; and Pineda² had so much faith in the accomplishments of his ancestors, that he believed Adam understood all sciences but politics. But as these great champions for our forefathers are dead, and Boileau not alive to hitch me into a verse with Perrault, I am determined to admire the learning of posterity, especially being convinced that half our

² Pineda was a Spanish jesuit, and a professor of holy scriptures, besides an universal history of the church. He died 1637, after writing voluminous commentaries upon several books of the

present

present knowledge sprung from discovering the errors of what had formerly been called so, I don't think I shall ever make any great discoveries myself, and therefore shall be content to propose them to my descendants, like my lord Bacon, who, as doctor Shaw says very prettily in his preface to Boyle, *had the art of inventing arts*: or rather like a marquis of Worcester, of whom I have seen a little book which he calls *A century of inventions*, where he has set down a hundred machines to do impossibilities with, and not a single direction how to make the machines themselves.

If I happen to be less punctual in my correspondence than I intend to be, you must conclude I am writing my book, which being designed for a panegyric will cost me a great deal of trouble. The dedication, with your leave, shall be addressed to your son that is coming, or, with my lady A——'s leave, to your ninth son, who will be unborn nearer to the time I am writing of; always provided that she does not bring three at once, like my lady B——.

Well! I have here set you the example of writing nonsense when one has nothing to say, and shall take it ill if you don't keep up the correspondence on the same foot. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XVI.

Strawberry-hill, Oct. 6, 1748.

DEAR HARRY,

I AM sorry our wishes clash so much. Besides that I have no natural inclination for the parliament, it will particularly disturb me now in the middle of all my planting; for which reason I have never inquired when it will meet, and cannot help you to guess—but I should think not hastily—for I believe the peace, at least the evacuations are not in so prosperous a way.

as

as to be ready to make any figure in the king's speech. But I speak from a distance; it may all be very toward: our ministers enjoy the consciousness of their wisdom, as the good do of their virtue, and take no pains to make it shine before men. In the mean time we have several collateral emoluments from the pacification: all our milliners, tailors, tavern-keepers, and young gentlemen are tiding to France for our improvement and luxury; and as I foresee we shall be told on their return that we have lived in a total state of blindness for these six years, and gone absolutely retrograde to all true taste in every particular, I have already begun to practise walking on my head, and doing every thing the wrong way. Then Charles Frederick has turned all his virtù into fire-works, and, by his influence at the Ordnance, has prepared such a spectacle for the proclamation of the peace as is to surpass all its predecessors of bouncing memory. It is to open with a concert of fifteen hundred hands, and conclude with so many hundred thousand crackers all set to music, that all the men killed in the war are to be wakened with the crash, as if it was the day of judgment, and fall a dancing, like the troops in the Rehearsal. I wish you could see him making squibs of his papillotes, and bronzed over with a patina of gunpowder, and talking himself still hoarser on the superiority that his firework will have over the Roman naumachia.

I am going to dinner with lady Sophia Thomas at Hampton-court, where I was to meet the Cardigans; but I this minute receive a message that the duchess of Montagu¹ is extremely ill, which I am much concerned for on lady Cardigan's² account, whom I grow every day more in love with; you may imagine, not her person, which is far from improved lately: but since I have been here, I have lived much with them; and, as George Montagu³ says, *in all my practice* I never met a better understanding, nor more really estimable qualities; such a dignity in her way of thinking, so little idea of any thing mean or ridiculous, and such proper contempt for both!

¹ She was mother to lady Cardigan, and daughter to the great duke of Marlborough. Brudenell earl of Cardigan, afterwards created duke of Montagu.

² Lady Mary Montagu, third daughter of John duke of Montagu and wife of George ³ Nephew to the earl of Halifax, and elder brother of colonel, afterwards sir Charles Montagu. K. B.

Adieu!

Adieu! I must go dress for dinner, and you perceive that I wish I had, but have nothing to tell you.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XVII.

Strawberry-hill, May 5, 1753.

THOUGH my letter bears a country date, I am only a passenger here, just come to overlook my workmen, and repose myself upon some shavings, after the fatigues of the season. You know balls and masquerades always abound as the weather begins to be too hot for them, and this has been quite a spring-tide of diversion. Not that I am so abandoned as to have partaken of all; I neither made the Newmarket campaign under the duke^a, nor danced at any ball, nor *looked well* at any masquerade: I begin to submit to my years, and amuse myself—only just as much as I like. Indeed, when parties and politics are at an end, an Englishman may be allowed not to be always grave and out of humour. His royal highness has won as many hearts at Newmarket as he lost in Scotland; he played deep, and handsomely; received every body at his table with the greatest good humour, and permitted the familiarities of the place with ease and sense.

There have been balls at the duchess of Norfolk's, at Holland-house, and lord Granville's, and a subscription masquerade: the dresses were not very fine, not much invention, nor any very absurd. I find I am telling you extreme trifles; but you desired me to write, and there literally happens nothing of greater moment. If I can fill out a sheet even in this way, I will; for at Sligo^b perhaps I may appear a journalift of consequence.

There is a madame de Mezieres arrived from Paris, who has said a

^a William duke of Cumberland.

^b Mr. Conway was then with his regiment quartered at Sligo in Ireland.

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thousand impertinent things to my lady Albemarle, on my lord's not letting her come to Paris¹. I should not repeat this to you, only to introduce George Selwyn's account of this woman, who, he says, is mother to the princess of Montauban, grandmother to madame de Brionne, sister to general Oglethorpe, and was laundress to the duchess of Portsmouth.

Sir Charles Williams, never very happy at panegyric, has made a distich on the queen of Hungary, which I send you for the curiosity, not the merit of it:

O regina orbis prima & pulcherrima, ridens
Es Venus, incedens Juno, Minerva loquens.

It is infinitely admired at Vienna, but baron Munchausen has received a translation of it into German in six verses, which are still more applauded.

There is another volume published of lord Bolinbroke's; it contains his famous letter to sir William Windham, with an admirable description of the pretender and his court, and a very poor justification of his own treachery to that party; a flimsy unfinished state of the nation, written at the end of his life, and the common-place tautology of an old politician, who lives out of the world and writes from newspapers; and a superficial letter to Mr. Pope, as an introduction to his Essays, which are printed, but not yet published.

What shall I say to you more? You see how I am forced to tack paragraphs together, without any connection or consequence! Shall I tell you one more idle story, and will you just recollect that you once concerned yourself enough about the heroine of it, to excuse my repeating such a piece of tittle-tattle? This heroine is lady ——, the hero is—not entirely of royal blood; at least I have never heard that Lodomie the toothdrawer was in any manner descended from the house of Bourbon. Don't be alarmed: this plebeian operator is not in the catalogue of your successors. How the lady was the aggressor is not known; 'tis only conjectured that French politeness and French interestedness could never have gone such

¹ Lord Albemarle was then ambassador at Paris.

lengths

lengths without mighty provocation. The first instance of the tooth-drawer's ungentle behaviour was on hearing it said that lady — was to have her four girls drawn by Liotard; which was wondered at, as his price is so great—"Oh!" said Lodomie, "*chacune paie pour la sienne.*" Soon after this insult, there was some dispute about payments, and tooth-powder, and divers messages passed. At last the lady wrote a card, to say she did not understand such impertinent answers being given to her chairman by an *arracheur de dents*. The angry little gentleman, with as much intrepidity as if he had drawn out all her teeth, tore the card in five flits, and returned it with this astonishing sentence, "I return you your impertinent card, and desire you will pay me what you owe me." All I know more is, that the tooth-drawer still lives; and so do many lords and gentlemen, formerly thought the slaves of the offended fair one's will and passions, and among others, to his great shame,

Your sincere friend,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R XVIII.

Strawberry-hill, May 24, 1753.

IT is well you are married! How would my lady A— have liked to be asked in a parish-church for three Sundays running? I really believe she would have worn her weeds for ever, rather than have passed through so impudent a ceremony! What do *you* think?—But you will want to know the interpretation of this preamble. Why, there is a new bill, which, under the notion of preventing clandestine marriages, has made such a general rummage and reform in the office of matrimony, that every Strephon and Chloë, every dowager and her H—, will have as many impediments and formalities to undergo as a treaty of peace. Lord Bath invented this bill, but had drawn it so ill, that the chancellor¹ was forced to draw a new one—

¹ Philip Yorke earl of Hardwicke.

and then grew so fond of his own creature, that he has crammed it down the throats of both houses—though they gave many a gulp before they could swallow it. The duke of Bedford attacked it first with great spirit and mastery, but had little support, though the duke of Newcastle did not vote. The lawyers were all ordered to nurse it through our house; but, except the poor attorney general¹, who is nurse indeed to all intents and purpose, and did amply gossip over it, not one of them said a word. Nugent² shone extremely in opposition to the bill, and, though every now and then on the precipice of absurdity, kept clear of it, with great humour and wit and argument, and was unanswered—Yet we were beat. Last Monday it came into the committee: Charles Townshend acted a very good speech with great cleverness, and drew a picture of his own story and his father's tyranny, with at least as much parts as modesty. Mr. Fox³ mumbled the chancellor and his lawyers, and pinned the plan of the bill upon a pamphlet he had found of Dr. Gally's, where the doctor, recommending the French scheme of matrimony, says, *It was found that fathers were too apt to forgive.* The gospel, I thought, said Mr. Fox, enjoined forgiveness; but pious Dr. Gally thinks fathers are too apt to forgive. Mr. Pelham, extremely in his opinion against the bill, and in his inclination too, was forced to rivet it, and, without speaking one word for it, taught the house how to vote for it; and it was carried against the chairman's leaving the chair by 165 to 84.

This is all the news I know, or at least was all when I came out of town; for I left the tinkering of the bill, and came hither last Tuesday to my workmen. I flatter myself I shall get into tolerable order to receive my lady A—— and you at your return from Sligo, from whence I have received your letter, and where I hope you have had my first. I say nothing of the exile of the parliament of Paris, for I know no more than you will see in the public papers; only, as we are going to choose a new parliament, we could not do better than choose the exiles: we could scarce choose braver or honest men. I say as little of mademoiselle Murphy⁴, for I conclude you hear nothing but her health drank in whisky. Don't all the

¹ Sir Dudley Ryder.

² Robert Nugent, afterwards created lord Clare and earl Nugent.

³ Henry Fox, afterwards created lord Holland.

⁴ An Irish woman who was for a short time mistress to Louis XV.

naked Irish flatter themselves with preferment, and claim relation with her? Miss Chudleigh says there is some sense in belonging to a king who turns off an old mistress when he has got a new one.

Arlington-street, May 29.

I AM come to town for a day or two, and find that the marriage bill has not only lasted till now in the committee, but has produced, or at least disclosed, extreme heats. Mr. Fox and Mr. Pelham have had very high words on every clause, and the former has renewed his attacks on the chancellor under the name of Dr. Gally. Yesterday on the nullity clause they sat till half an hour after three in the morning, having just then had a division on adjournment, which was rejected by the ministry by above 80 to 70. The speaker¹, who had spoken well against the clause, was so misrepresented by the attorney general, that there was danger of a skirmishing between the great wig and the coil, the former having given a flat lye to the latter. Mr. Fox, I am told, outdid himself for spirit, and severity on the chancellor and the lawyers. I say I am told; for I was content with having been beat twice, and did not attend. The heats between the two ministers were far from cooling by the length of the debate. Adieu! You did little expect in these times, and at this season, to have heard such a parliamentary history! The bill is not near finished; Mr. Fox has declared he will dispute every inch of ground. I hope he won't be banished to Pontoise². I shall write to you no more, so pray return. I hear most favourable accounts of my lady A—.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Arthur Onslow.

² The parliament of Paris having espoused the cause of religious liberty, and apprehended several priests who by the authority of the arch-

bishop of Paris and other prelates had refused the sacraments to those who would not subscribe to the bull Unigenitus, were banished by the king, Louis XV. to Pontoise. E.

LETTER

LETTER XIX.

Strawberry-hill, Saturday July 6, 1754.

YOUR letter certainly stopped to drink fomewhere by the way, I suppose with the hearty hostess at the Windmill; for, though written on Wednesday, it arrived here but this morning: it could not have travelled more deliberately in the speaker's body-coach. I am concerned, because, your fishmonger not being arrived, I fear you have staid for my answer. The fish¹ are apprized that they are to *ride* over to Park-place, and are ready booted and spurred; and the moment their pad arrives, they shall set forth. I would accompany them on a pillion, if I were not waiting for lady Mary², who has desired to bring her poor little sick girl here for a few days to try the air. You know how courteous a knight I am to distressed virgins of five years old, and that my castle-gates are always open to them³. You will, I am sure, accept this excuse for some days; and as soon as ever my hospitality is completed, I will be ready to obey your summons, though you should send a water-pot for me. I am in no fear of not finding you in perfect verdure; for the fun, I believe, is gone a great way off to some races or other, where his horses are to run for a king's plate: we have not heard of him in this neighbourhood. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Gold fish.² Lady Mary Churchill.³ Mr. Conway's only daughter had been left

with Mr. Walpole at Strawberry-hill, when he and lady Ailesbury went to Ireland with his regiment.

LETTER

LETTER

LETTER XX.

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 23, 1755-

DEAR HARRY,

NEVER make me excuses for a letter that tells me so many agreeable things as your last; that you are got well to Dublin; that you are all well, and that you have accommodated all your politics to your satisfaction—and I may be allowed to say, greatly to your credit. What could you tell me that would please me so much?

When I have indulged a little my joy for your success and honour, it is natural to consider the circumstances you have told me; and you will easily excuse me if I am not quite as much satisfied with the conduct of your late antagonists, as I am with yours. You have tranquillized a nation, have repaired your master's honour, and secured the peace of your administration;—but what shall one say to the speaker, Mr. Malone and the others? Don't they confess that they have gone the greatest lengths, and risked the safety of their country on a mere personal pique? If they did not contend for profit, like our patriots (and you don't tell me that they have made any lucrative stipulations), yet it is plain that their ambition had been wounded, and that they repented their power being crossed. But I, who am whig to the backbone, indeed in the strictest sense of the word, feel hurt in a tenderer point, and which you, who are a minister, must not allow me: I am offended at their agreeing to an address that avows such deference for prerogative, and that is to protest so deeply against having intended to attack it. However rebel this may sound at your court, my Gothic spirit is hurt; I do not love such loyal expressions from a parliament. I do not so much consider myself writing to Dublin castle, as from Strawberry castle, where you know how I love to enjoy my liberty. I give myself the airs, in my nutshell, of an old baron, and am tempted almost to say with an old earl of Norfolk, who was a very free speaker at least, if he was not an excellent poet,

¹ Mr. Conway was now secretary of state to the marquis of Hartington, lord lieutenant of Ireland.

When.

When I am in my castle of Bungey,
Situat upon the river Waveney,
I ne care for the king of Cockney.

I have been roving about Hampshire, have been at Winchester and Southampton and twenty places, and have been but one day in London—consequently know as little news as if I had been shut up in Bungey castle. Rumours there are of great bickerings and uneasinesses; but I don't believe there will be any bloodshed of places, except Legge's¹, which nobody seems willing to take—I mean as a sinecure. His majesty of Cockney is returned exceedingly well, but grown a little out of humour at finding that we are not so much pleased with all the Russians and Hessians that he has hired to recover the Ohio. We are an ungrateful people!

Make a great many compliments for me to my lady A—. I own I am in pain about Missy². As my lady is a little coquette herself, and loves crowds and admiration and a court life, it will be very difficult for her to keep a strict eye upon Missy. The Irish are very forward and bold:—I say no more; but it would hurt you both extremely to have her marry herself idly; and I think my lord chancellor has not extended his matrimonial foresight to Ireland. However, I have much confidence in Mrs. Elizabeth Jones³: I am sure, when they were here, she would never let Missy whisper with a boy that was old enough to speak.

Adieu! As the winter advances, and plots thicken, I will write you letters that shall have a little more in them than this. In the mean time I am going to the Bath, not for my health, you know I never am ill, but for my amusement. I never was there, and at present there are several of my acquaintance. The French academy have chosen my lord Chesterfield, and he has written them a letter of thanks that is the finest composition in the world: indeed, I was told so by those who have not seen it; but they would have told me so if they had seen it, whether it was the finest or the worst; suffices it to be his!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Henry Bilson Legge, second son of William earl of Dartmouth; he was chancellor of the exchequer.

² Anne Seymour Conway, only child of Mr. Conway and lady Ailesbury, then an infant.

³ Miss Conway's nurse.

LETTER XXI.

Arlington-street, Nov. 15, 1755.

I PROMISED you histories, and there are many people that take care I should have it in my power to keep my word. To begin in order, I should tell you, that there were 289 members at the Cockpit meeting, the greatest number ever known there: but Mr. Pitt, who is too great a general to regard numbers, especially when there was a probability of no great harmony between the commanders, did not however postpone giving battle. The engagement was not more decisive than long: we sat till within a quarter of five in the morning; an uninterrupted serious debate from before two. Lord Hillsborough moved the address, and very injudiciously supposed an opposition. Martin, Legge's secretary, moved to omit in the address the indirect approbation of the treaties, and the direct assurances of protection to Hanover. These questions were at length divided; and against Pitt's inclination, the last, which was the least unpopular, was first decided by a majority of 311 against 105. Many then went away; and on the next division the numbers were 290 to 89. These are the general outlines. The detail of the speeches, which were very long, and some extremely fine, it would be impossible to give you in any compass. On the side of the opposition (which I must tell you by the way, though it set out decently, seems extremely resolved) the speakers (I name them in their order) were: the 3d Colebrook, Martin, Northey, sir Richard Lyttelton, Doddington, George Grenville, sir F. Dashwood, Beckford, sir G. Lee, Legge, Potter, Dr. Hay, Geo. Townshend, lord Egmont, Pitt, and admiral Vernon: on the other side were, lord Hillsborough, O'Brien, young Stanhope, Hamilton, Alstone, Ellis, lord Barrington, sir G. Lyttelton, Nugent, Murray, sir T. Robinson, my uncle, and Mr. Fox. As short as I can, I will give you an account of them. Sir Richard, Beckford, Potter, G. Townshend, the admiral of course, Martin, and Stanhope were very bad: Doddington was well, but very *acceding*: Dr. Hay by no means answers his reputation; it was easy, but not striking. Lord Egmont was doubling, absurd, and obscure. Sir G. Lee and lord Barrington were much disliked; I don't think, so deservedly. Poor A—— was mad, and spoke ten times to order. Sir George¹, our friend, was dull and timid. Legge was the latter. Nu-

¹ Sir George Lyttelton.

gent roared, and sir Thomas rumbled. Mr. Fox was extremely fatigued, and did little. Geo. Grenville's was very fine and much beyond himself, and very pathetic. The attorney general¹ in the same style, and very artful, was still finer. Then there was a young Mr. Hamilton² who spoke for the first time, and was at once perfection: his speech was set, and full of antithesis, but those antitheses were full of argument: indeed his speech was the most argumentative of the whole day; and he broke through the regularity of his own composition, answered other people, and fell into his own track again with the greatest ease. His figure is advantageous, his voice strong and clear, his manner spirited, and the whole with the ease of an established speaker. You will ask, what could be beyond this? Nothing, but what was beyond what ever was, and that was Pitt! He spoke at past one, for an hour and thirty-five minutes: there was more humour, wit, vivacity, finer language, more boldness, in short, more astonishing perfections than even you, who are used to him, can conceive. He was not abusive, yet very attacking on all sides: he ridiculed my lord Hillsborough, crushed poor sir George, terrified the attorney, lashed my lord Granville, painted my lord of Newcastle, attacked Mr. Fox, and even hinted up to the duke³. A few of the Scotch were in the minority, and most of the prince's people, not all: all the duke of Bedford's in the majority. He himself spoke in the other house for the address (though professing uncertainty about the treaties⁴ themselves), against my lord Temple and lord Halifax, without a division. My lord Talbot was neuter; he and I were of a party: my opinion was strongly with the opposition; I could not vote for the treaties; I would not vote against Mr. Fox. It is ridiculous perhaps, at the end of such a debate, to give an account of my own silence; and as it is of very little consequence what I did, so it is very unlike me to justify myself. You know how much I hate *professions* of integrity; and my pride is generally too great to care what the generality of people say of me: but your heart is good enough to make me wish you should think well of mine.

You will want to know what is to be the fate of the ministry in opposition: but that I can't tell you. I don't believe they have determined what

¹ William Murray, afterwards lord Mansfield.

³ The duke of Cumberland.

² William Gerard Hamilton. It was this speech which, not being followed, as was naturally expected, by repeated exhibitions of similar eloquence, acquired him the name of *single-speech* Hamilton. E.

⁴ Treaties of subsidy with the landgrave of Hesse and the empress of Russia for the defence of Hanover.

to

to do, more than oppose, nor that it is determined what to do with them. Though it is clear that it is very humiliating to leave them in place, you may conceive several reasons why it is not eligible to dismiss them. You know where you are, how easy it is to buy an opposition who have not places; but tell us what to do with an opposition that has places? If you say, Turn them out; I answer, That is not the way to quiet any opposition, or a ministry so constituted as ours at present. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXII.

Arlington-street, January 24, 1756.

OH! sir, I shall take care how I ever ask favours of you again! It was with great reluctance that I brought myself to ask this: you took no notice of my request; and I flattered myself that I was punished for having applied to you so much against my inclination. Just as I grew confirmed in the pride of being mortified, I hear that you have outgone my application, and in the kindest manner in the world have given the young man a pair of colours. It would have been unpleasant enough to be refused; but to obtain more than one asked is the most provoking thing in the world! I was prepared to be very grateful if you had done just what I desired; but I declare I have no thanks ready for a work of supererogation. If there ever was a saint that went to heaven for mere gratitude, which I am persuaded is a much more uncommon qualification than martyrdom, I must draw upon his hoard of merit to acquit myself. You will at least get thus much by this charming manner of obliging me: I look upon myself as doubly obliged: and when it cost me so much to ask one favour, and I find myself in debt for two, I shall scarce run in tick for a third.

What adds to my vexation is, that I wrote to you but the night before last. Unless I could return your kindness with equal grace, it would not be very decent to imitate you by beginning to take no notice of it; and therefore you must away with this letter upon the back of the former.

G 2

We

We had yesterday some history in the house: Beckford produced an accusation in form against admiral K—— on his way to an impeachment. Governor Verres was a puny culprit in comparison! Jamaica indeed has not quite so many costly temples and ivory statues, &c. as Sicily had: but what K—— could not or had not a propensity to commit in rapine and petty larceny, he has made up in tyranny. The papers are granted, and we are all going to turn jurymen. The rest of the day was spent in a kind of avoirdupoise war. Our friend sir George Lyttelton opened the budget; well enough in general, but was strangely bewildered in the figures; he stumbled over millions, and dwelt pompously upon farthings. Pitt attacked him pretty warmly on mortgaging the sinking fund: sir George kept up his spirit, and returned the attack on eloquence. It was entertaining enough, but ended in high compliments; and the division was 231 to 56.

Your friend lady —— ——, not to let the town quite lapse into politics, has entertained it with a new scene. She was t'other night at the play with her court; viz. miss ——, lord Barnard, monsieur St. Simon, and her favourite footman Richard, whom, under pretence of keeping places, she always keeps in her box the whole time to see the play at his ease. Mr. Stanley, colonel Vernon, and Mr. Vaughan arrived at the very end of the farce, and could find no room, but a row and half in lady ——'s box. Richard denied them entrance very impertinently. Mr. Stanley took him by the hair of his head, dragged him into the passage, and thrashed him. The heroine was outrageous—the heroes not at all so. She sent Richard to Fielding for a warrant—He would not grant it—and so it ended—And so must I, for here is company. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

My letter would have been *much cleverer*, but George Montague has been chattering by me the whole time, and insists on my making you his compliments.

LETTER

LETTER XXIII.

Arlington-street, Feb. 12, 1756.

I WILL not write to my lady A. to-night, nor pretend to answer the prettiest letter in the world, when I am out of spirits. I am very unhappy about poor Mr. Mann¹, who I fear is in a deep consumption: the doctors do not give him over, and the symptoms are certainly a little mended this week; but you know how fallacious that distemper is, and how unwise it would be to trust to it! As he is at Richmond, I pass a great deal of my time out of town to be near him, and so may have missed some news; but I will tell you all I know.

The house of commons is dwindled into a very dialogue between Pitt and Fox—one even begins to want admiral Vernon again for variety. Sometimes it is a little piquant; in which though Pitt has attacked, Fox has generally had the better. These three or four last days we have been solely upon the Pennsylvanian regiment, bickering, and but once dividing 165 to 57. We are got but past the first reading yet. We want the French to put a little vivacity into us. The duke of Newcastle has expected them every hour: he was terribly alarmed t'other night; on his table he found a mysterious card with only these words, *Charles is very well, and is expected in England every day*. It was plainly some secret friend that advertised him of the pretender's approaching arrival. He called up all the servants, ransacked the whole house to know who had been in his dressing-room:—at last it came out to be an answer from the duchess of Queensberry to the duchess of Newcastle about lord Charles Douglas. Don't it put you in mind of my lord treasurer Portland in Clarendon, *Remember Caesar!*

The French have promised letters of noblesse to whoever fits out even a little privateer. I could not help a melancholy smile when my lady A. talked of coming over soon. I fear major-general *you* will scarce be permitted to return to your plough at Park-place, when we grudge every man that is left at the plough. Between the French and the earthquakes², you

¹ Galfridus Mann, twin brother to sir Horace Mann, the envoy at Florence: he died the end of this year.

² The dreadful earthquake which had taken place at Lisbon towards the end of the preceding year.

have

have no notion how good we are grown; nobody makes a suit of clothes now but of sackcloth turned up with ashes. The fast was kept so devoutly, that Dick Edgcombe¹, finding a very lean hazard at White's, said with a sigh, "Lord, how the times are degenerated! Formerly a fast would have brought every body hither; now it keeps every body away!" A few nights before, two men walking up the Strand, one said to t'other, "Look how red the sky is! Well, thank God! there is to be no masquerade!"

My lord A. does not keep a fast; he is going to marry one of the plump C—s:—they call him the noble lord upon the woolfack.

The duchess of Norfolk has opened her new house: all the earth was there last Tuesday. You would have thought there had been a comet, every body was gaping in the air and treading on one another's toes. In short, you never saw such a scene of magnificence and taste. The tapestry, the embroidered bed, the illumination, the glasses, the lightness and novelty of the ornaments, and the ceilings, are delightful. She gives three Tuesdays, would you could be at one! Somebody asked my lord Rockingham afterwards at White's, what was there? He said, "Oh! there was all the company afraid of the duchess, and the duke afraid of all the company."—It was not a bad picture.

My lady A. flatters me extremely about my World, but it has brought me into a peck of troubles. In short, the good-natured town have been pleased to lend me a meaning, and call my lord Bute, *sir Eustace*². I need not say how ill the story tallies to what they apply it; but I do vow to you, that so far from once entering into my imagination, my only apprehension was, that I should be suspected of flattery for the compliment to the princess in the former part. It is the more cruel, because you know it is just the thing in the world on which one must not defend one's self. If I might, I can prove that the paper was writ last Easter, long before this history was ever mentioned, and flung by, because I did not like it: I mentioned it one night to my lady Hervey, which was the occasion of its being printed.

I beg you will tell my lady A. that I am sorry she could not discover any

¹ Richard Edgcombe second lord Edgcombe.

² Sir Eustace Drawbridgecourt. See World, N^o 160, 5th vol.

wit in Mrs. Hufsey's making a septleva. I know I never was so vain of any wit in my life as in winning a thousand leva and two five hundred levas.

You would laugh if you saw in the midst of what trumpery I am writing. Two porters have just brought home my purchases from Mrs. Kennon the midwife's sale. Brobdignag combs, old broken pots, pans, and pipkins, a lanthorn of scraped oyster-shells, scymitars, Turkish pipes, Chinese baskets, &c. &c. My servants think my head is turned; I hope not: it is all to be called the personal estate and moveables of my great great grandmother, and to be repositied at Strawberry. I believe you think my letter as strange a miscellany as my purchases.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I forgot, that I was outbid for Oliver Cromwell's nightcap.

L E T T E R XXIV.

Arlington-street, March 4, 1756.

DEAR HARRY,

I HAVE received so kind and so long a letter from you, and so kind too because so long, that I feel I shall remain much in your debt, at least for length. I won't allow that I am in your debt for warmth of friendship. I have nothing worth telling you: we are hitherto conquered only in threat: for my part, I have so little expectation of an invasion, that I have not buried a single enamel, nor bought a pane of painted glass the less: of the two panics in fashion, the French and the earthquake, I have not even made my option yet. The opposition get ground as little as either: Mr. Pitt talks by Shrewsbury clock, and is grown almost as little heard as that is at Westminster. We have had full eight days on the Pennsylvanian regiment. The young Hamilton has spoken and shone again; but nothing is luminous compared with Charles Townshend:—he drops down dead in a fit, has a resurrection, thunders in the capitol, confounds the treasury-bench, laughs at his

own party, is laid up the next day, and overwhelms the duchess and the good women that go to nurse him! His brother's militia-bill does not come on till next week: in the mean time he adorns the shutters, walls, and napkins of every tavern in Pall-mall with caricatures of the duke³ and sir George Lyttelton, the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox. Your friend Legge has distinguished himself exceedingly on the supplies and taxes, and retains all the dignity of chancellor of the exchequer. I think I never heard so complete a scene of ignorance as yesterday on the new duties! Except Legge, you would not have thought there was a man in the house had learned troy-weight: Murray quibbled—at Hume Campbell the house groaned! Pitt and Fox were lamentable; poor sir George never knew prices from duties, nor drawbacks from premiums! The three taxes proposed were on plate, on bricks and tiles, on cards and dice. The earthquake has made us so good, that the ministry might have burned the latter in Smithfield if they had pleased. The bricks they were forced to give up, and consented graciously to accept 70,000*l.* on ale-houses, instead of 30,000*l.* on bricks. They had nearly been forced to extend the duty on plate beyond 10*l.* carrying the restriction by a majority of only two.

An embargo is laid on the shipping, to get sailors. The young court lords were going to raise troops of light-horse, but my lord Gower (I suppose by direction of the duke) proposed to the king, that they should rather employ their personal interest to recruit the army; which scheme takes place, and, as — said in the house, they are all turning recruiting serjeants. But notwithstanding we so much expect a storm from France, I am told that in France they think much more of their own internal storms than of us. Madame Pompadour wears devotion, whether forced or artful is not certain: the disputes between the king and the parliament run very high, and the duke of Orleans and the prince of Conti have set themselves at the head of the latter. Old N. came fuddled to the opera last week, and jostled an ancient lord Irwin, and then called him fool for being in his way: they were going to fight; but my lord Talbot, professing that he did not care if they were both hanged, advised them to go back and not expose themselves. You will stare perhaps at my calling N. *old*: it is not merely to distinguish him from his son; but he is such a champion and such a lover, that it is impossible not to laugh at him as if he was a Methuselah! He is en affaire

³ The duke of Cumberland.

reglée with lady —: at a supper there a few nights ago of two-and-twenty people, they were talking of his going to ——— to direct some alterations: Mrs. N. in the softest infantine voice called out, “ My lady —, don’t let him do any thing out of doors ; but you will find him delightful within ! ”

I think I have nothing else to tell you but a bon-mot or two ; with that sort of news I think I take care to supply you duly. I send you constantly the best that London affords. Dick Edgcombe has said that his last child was born on *All-gamester’s-day* ; Twelfth-night.

This chapter shall conclude with an epigram ; the thought was George Selwyn’s, who you know serves all the epigram-makers in town with wit. It is on miss Chudleigh crying in the drawing-room on the death of her mother :

What filial piety ! what mournful grace,
For a lost parent, sits on Chudleigh’s face !
Fair virgin, weep no more, your anguish smother !
You in this town can never want a mother.

I have told poor Mr. Mann how kind you are to him : indeed I have been exceedingly frightened and troubled for him, and thought him in immediate danger. He is certainly much mended, though I still fear a consumption for him : he has not been able to move from Richmond this whole winter : I never fail to visit him twice or thrice a week. I heartily pity the fatigue and dulness of your life ; nor can I flatter you with pretending to believe it will end soon : I hope you will not be forced to gain as much reputation in the camp as you have in the cabinet !—You see I must finish.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXV.

Strawberry-hill, April 16, 1756.

YOU wrong me very much in thinking I omit writing because I don't hear from you as often as you have a mind I should: you are kinder to me in that respect than I have reason, considering your numerous occupations, to expect: the real and whole truth is, that I have had nothing to tell you; for I could not tire either you or myself with all the details relating to this foolish road-bill¹, which has engrossed the whole attention of every body lately. I have entered into it less than any body. What will you say when you are told that proxies have been sent for to Scotland? that my lord Harrington has been dragged into the house of lords from his coffin, and lord Arran carried thither to take the oaths, who I believe has not appeared there since the Revolution? In short, it has become quite a trial for power; and though the dukes of Grafton and Bedford have lent their names and their vehemence, you will guess what has been the engine behind the curtain.

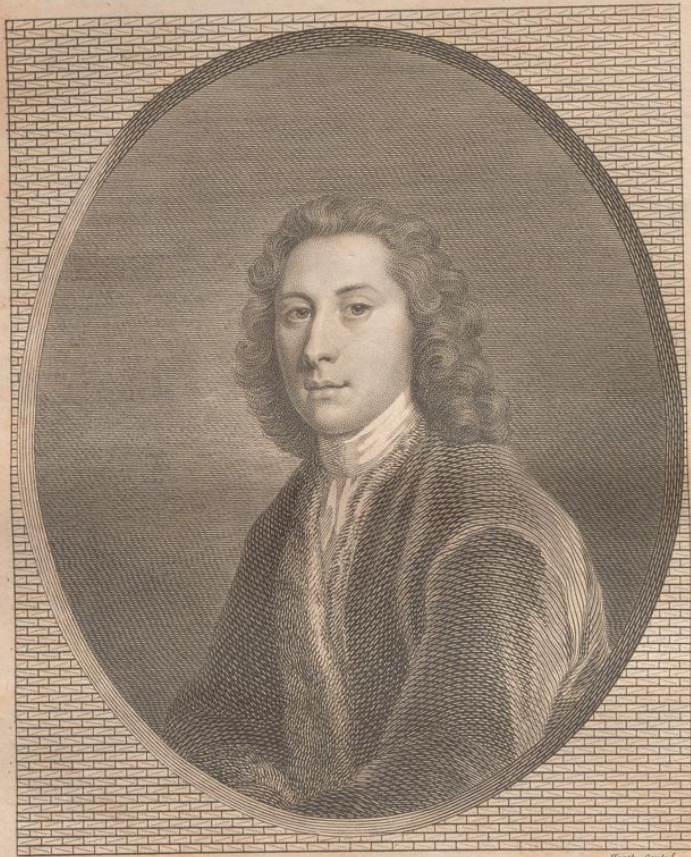
The French are so obliging as to wait till we have done with these important squabbles: the house of commons takes care too not to draw off the attention of the nation. The militia-bill has passed through that solitude, but I hear will be stopped in the house of lords. I have lived lately in a round of great disagreeable suppers, which you know are always called, for my lady Yarmouth, as if the poor woman loved nothing but cramming: I suppose it will so much become the etiquette, that in the next reign there will be nothing but suppers for my lord B——. I am now come hither to keep *my* Newmarket, but the weather is cold and damp: it is uncertain whether the duke makes that campaign, or against the French. As the road-bill extinguished the violence about the two operas of next year, and they made the invasion forgot, and the invasion the earthquake, I foresee—and I go almost upon as sure grounds as prophets that take care to let the event precede the prediction—I foresee that the Hanoverians will swallow

¹ The Paddington or New Road, which the duke of Bedford opposed as making a dust behind Bedford-house, and from some intended buildings being likely to interrupt his prospect. The duke of Grafton warmly espoused the other side of the question.



*The hon^{ble} Mary Bellenden,
afterwards
M^{rs} Campbell.*

Published as the Act directs May 1798, by G.G. & J. Robinson London.



North Sculp^t

Col. John Campbell afterwards Duke of Argyll.

Published as the Act directs May 27th 1798 by G.G. & J. Robinson Paternoster Row London.

up all: they have already a general named, who ranks before any one of ours; and there are to be two Hanoverian aide-de-camps!

You will hear by this post of the death of sir William Lowther, whose vast succession falls to sir James, and makes him Croesus: he may hire the dukes of Bedford and Marlborough for led captains. I am sorry for this young man, though I did not know him; but it is hard to be cut off so young and so rich: old rich men seldom deserve to live, but he did a thousand generous acts. You will be diverted with a speech of lord S. one of those second-rate fortunes, who have not above five-and-thirty thousand pounds a year. He says, every body may attain some one point if they give all their attention to it; for his part, he knows he has no great capacity, he could not make a figure by his parts; he shall content himself with being one of the richest men in England! I literally saw him t'other day buying pictures for two-and-twenty shillings, that I would not hang in my garret; while I, who certainly have not made riches my sole point of view, was throwing away guineas, and piquing myself for old tombstones against your father-in-law the general¹. I hope lady A. will forgive my zeal for Strawberry against Coombank! Are you ever to see your Strawberry-hill again? Lord Duncannon flatters us that we shall see you in May. If I did not hope it, I would send you the only two new fashionable pieces; a comic elegy by C. and a wonderful book by a more wonderful author, Greville². It is called Maxims and Characters: several of the former are pretty: all the latter so absurd, that one in particular, which at the beginning you take for the character of a man, turns out to be the character of a post-chaise.

You never tell me now any of Miffy's bons-mots. I hope she has not resided in Ireland till they are degenerated into bulls! Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ General John Campbell, who upon the death of Archibald duke of Argyll succeeded to that title.

² Fulke Greville, esq.

LETTER XXVI.

Strawberry-hill, August 14, 1757.

YOU are too kind to me, and, if it were possible, would make me feel still more for your approaching departure¹. I can only thank you ten thousand times; for I must not expatiate, both from the nature of the subject, and from the uncertainty of this letter reaching you. I was told yesterday, that you had hanged a French spy in the Isle of Wight; I don't mean you, but your government. Though I wish no life taken away, it was some satisfaction to think that the French were at this hour wanting information.

Mr. F. breakfasted here t'other day. He confirmed what you tell me of lord F—C—'s account: it is universally said that the duke² failed merely by inferiority, the French soldiers behaving in general most scandalously. They had fourscore pieces of cannon, but very ill served. Marshal D'Estrées was recalled before the battle, but did not know it. He is said to have made some great mistakes in the action. I cannot speak to the truth of it, but the French are reported to have demanded two millions sterling of Hanover.

My whole letter will consist of hearsays; for, even at so little distance from town, one gets no better news than hawkers and pedlars retail about the country. From such I hear that George Haldane is made governor of Jamaica, and that a Mr. Campbell, whose father lives in Sweden, is going thither to make an alliance with that country, and hire 12,000 men. If one of my acquaintance, as an antiquary, were alive, sir Anthony Shirley³, I sup-

¹ On the expedition to Rochfort.

² The duke of Cumberland, in the affair at Hastenbeck.

³ Sir Thomas, sir Anthony, and sir Robert Shirley were three brothers, all great travellers, and all distinguished by extraordinary adventures in the reigns of queen Elizabeth and James I.—Much confusion has ensued in their history from their adventures being confounded together. Lord Orford, it should seem, had intended to

clear up these mistakes, as among his papers are many notes on their subject, and references to all the books which mention any part of their history. Sir Anthony Shirley, after sixteen years travels, went into Persia, was in high favour with the Sophi, married a relation of his, and was sent by him ambassador to James I. in 1611. See Baker's History of James I. p. 132, who by mistake calls him sir Robert instead of sir Anthony.

pose

pose we should send him to Persia again for troops; I fear we shall get none nearer!

Adieu, my dearest Harry! Next to wishing your expedition still-born, my most constant thought is, how to be of any service to poor lady A——, whose reasonable concern makes even that of the strongest friendship seem trifling.

Yours most entirely,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXVII.

Strawberry-hill, October 13, 1757.

IF you have received mine of Tuesday, which I directed to Portsmouth, you will perceive how much I agree with you. I am charmed with your sensible modesty. When I talked to you of defence, it was from concluding that you had all agreed that the attempt¹ was impracticable, nay impossible; and from thence I judged that the ministry intended to cast the blame of a wild project upon the officers. That they may be a little willing to do that, I still think—but I have the joy to find that it cannot be thrown on you. As your friend, and fearing, if I talked for you first, it would look like doubt of your behaviour, at least that you had bid me defend you at the expence of your friends, I said not a word, trusting that your innocence would break out and make its way. I have the satisfaction to find it has already done so. It comes from all quarters but your own, which makes it more honourable. My lady Suffolk told me last night, that she heard all the *seamen* said they wished the general had been as ready as Mr. Conway. But this is not all: I left a positive commission in town to have the truth of the general report sent me without the least disguise; in consequence of which I am solemnly assured that your name is never mentioned but with honour;

¹ On Rochfort.

that

that all the violence, and that extreme, is against sir John Mordaunt and Mr. Cornwallis. I am particularly sorry for the latter, as I firmly believe him as brave as possible.

This situation of things makes me advise, what I know and find I need not advise, your saying as little as possible in your own defence, nay, as much as you can with any decency for the others. I am neither acquainted with, nor care a straw about, sir John Mordaunt; but as it is known that you differed with him, it will do you the greatest honour to vindicate him, instead of disculpating yourself. My most earnest desire always is, to have your character continue as amiable and respectable as possible. There is no doubt but the whole will come out, and therefore your justification not coming from yourself will set it in a ten times better light. I shall go to town to-day to meet your brother; and as I know his affection for you will make him warm in clearing you, I shall endeavour to restrain that ardour, of which you know I have enough on the least glimmering of a necessity: but I am sure you will agree with me, that, on the representation I have here made to you, it is not proper for your friends to appear solicitous about you.

The city talk very treason, and, connecting the suspension at Stade with this disappointment, cry out, that the general had positive orders to do nothing, in order to obtain gentler treatment of Hanover. They intend in a violent manner to demand redress, and are too enraged to let any part of this affair remain a mystery.

I think, by your directions, this will reach you before you leave Bevismount: I would gladly meet you at Park-place, if I was not sure of seeing you in town a day or two afterwards at farthest; which I will certainly do, if you let me know. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER

LETTER XXVIII.

Arlington-street, June 4, 1758.

THE habeas corpus is finished, but only for this year. Lord Temple threatened to renew it the next; on which lord Hardwicke took the party of proposing to order the judges to prepare a bill for extending the power of granting the writ in vacation to all the judges. This prevented a division; though lord Temple, who protested alone t'other day, had a flaming protest ready, which was to have been signed by near thirty. They sat last night till past nine. Lord Mansfield spoke admirably for two hours and twenty-five minutes. Except lord Ravensworth and the duke of Newcastle, whose meaning the first never knows himself, and the latter's nobody else, all who spoke, spoke well: they were lord Temple, lord Talbot, lord Bruce, and lord Stanhope, for; lord Morton, lord Hardwicke, and lord Mansfield, against the bill.

The duke of Grafton has resigned. Norborne Berkeley has converted a party of pleasure into a campaign, and is gone with the expedition¹, without a shirt but what he had on, and what is lent him. The night he sailed he had invited women to supper. Besides him, and those you know, is a Mr. Sylvester Smith. Every body was asking, "But who is Sylvester Smith?" Harry Townshend replied, "Why, he is the son of Delaval, who was the son of Lowther, who was the son of Armitage, who was the son of Downe²."

The fleet sailed on Thursday morning. I don't know why, but the persuasion is that they will land on this side Ushant, and that we shall hear some events by Tuesday or Wednesday. Some believe that lord Anson and Howe have different destinations. Rochfort, where there are 20,000 men, is said positively not to be the place. The king says there are 80,000 men and three marshals in Normandy and Bretagne. George Selwyn asked general Campbell, if the ministry had yet told the king the object?

Mademoiselle de l'Enclos³ is arrived, to my supreme felicity—I cannot

¹ Against St. Maloes.

² All these gentlemen had been volunteers on successive expeditions to the coast of France.

³ The portrait of Ninon de l'Enclos, now at

Strawberry-hill, given to Mr. Walpole by the old countess of Sandwich, daughter to the famous lord Rochester. She died at Paris in the year 1755.

fay

fay very handsome or agreeable; but I had been prepared on the article of her charms. I don't fay, like Harry VIII. of Anne of Cleves, that she is a Flanders mare, though to be sure she is rather large: on the contrary, I bear it as well as ever prince did who was married by proxy—and she does not find me *fricassé dans de la neige*¹. Adieu.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I forgot to tell you of another *galanterie* I have had, a portrait of queen Elizabeth left here while I was out of town. The servant said it was a present, but he had orders not to say from whom.

L E T T E R XXIX.

June 16, 1758, 2 o'clock noon.

WELL, my dear Harry! you are not the only man in England who have not conquered France²! Even dukes of Marlborough³ have been there without doing the business. I don't doubt but your good heart has even been hoping, in spite of your understanding, that our heroes have not only taken St. Maloes, but taken a trip cross the country to burn Rochfort, only to show how easy it was. We have waited with astonishment at not hearing that the French court was removed in a panic to Lyons, and that the mesdames had gone off in their shifts with only a provision of rouge for a week. Nay, for my part, I expected to be deafened with encomiums on my lord A——'s continence, who, after being allotted madame Pompadour as his share of the spoils, had again imitated Scipio, and, in spite of

¹ Madame de Sevigné, in her Letters to her daughter, reports that Ninon thus expressed herself relative to her son the marquis de Sevigné, who was one of her lovers.

² Alluding to the expedition against Roche-

fort, the year before, on which Mr. Conway was second in command.

³ The duke of Marlborough commanded the troops on this expedition against St. Maloes.

the

the violence of his *temperament*, had restored her unfullied to the king of France.—Alack! we have restored nothing but a quarter of a mile of coast to the right owners. A messenger arrived in the middle of the night with an account that we have burned two frigates and an hundred and twenty small fry; that it was found impossible to bring up the cannon against the town; and that, the French army approaching the coast, commodore H——, with the expedition of harlequin as well as the taciturnity, reembarked our whole force in seven hours, volunteers and all, with the loss only of one man, and they are all gone to seek their fortune somewhere else. Well! in half a dozen more wars we shall know something of the coast of France. Last war we discovered a fine bay near port l'Orient: we have now found out that we knew nothing of St. Maloes. As they are popular persons, I hope the city of London will send some more gold boxes to these discoverers. If they send a patch box to lord G—— S——, it will hold all his laurels. As our young nobility cannot at present travel through France, I suppose this is a method for finishing their studies. George Selwyn says he supposes the French ladies will have scaffolds erected on the shore to see the English go by.—But I won't detain the messenger any longer; I am impatient to make the duchess' happy, who I hope will soon see the duke returned from his coasting voyage.

The C——s will be with you next Wednesday, and I believe I too; but I can take my own word so little, that I will not give it you. I know I must be back at Strawberry on Friday night; for lady Hervey and lady Stafford are to be there with me for a few days from tomorrow se'nnight. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

*Lady Mary Bruce duchess of Richmond, her mother during the duke of Richmond's only child of the countess of Ailesbury by her absence, who was a volunteer upon this expedition. She was at Park-place with

LETTER XXX.

Strawberry-hill, July 21, 1758.

YOUR gazette, I know, has been a little idle; but we volunteer gazettes, like other volunteers, are not easily tied down to regularity and rules. We think we have so much merit, that we think we have a right to some demerit too; and those who depend upon us, I mean us gazettes, are often disappointed. A common foot newspaper may want our vivacity, but is ten times more useful. Besides, I am not in town, and ten miles out of it is an hundred miles out of it for all the purposes of news. You know of course that lord George Sackville refused to go *a-buccaneering* again, as he called it; that *my friend* lord A. who loves a dram of any thing, from glory to brandy, is *out of order*; that just as lord Panmure was going to take the command, he missed an eye; and that at last they have routed out an old general Blighe from the horse armoury in Ireland, who is to undertake the codicil to the expedition. Moreover, you know that prince Edward is bound 'prentice to Mr. Howe. All this you have heard; yet, like my cousin the Chronicle, I repeat what has been printed in every newspaper of the week, and then finish with one paragraph of *spick and span*. Alack! my postscript is not very fortunate: a convoy of 12,000 men, &c. was going to the king of Prussia, was attacked unexpectedly by 5000 Austrians, and cut entirely to pieces; provisions, ammunition, &c. all taken. The king instantly raised the siege, and retreated with so much precipitation, that he was forced to nail up 60 pieces of cannon. I conclude the next we hear of him will be a great victory: if he sets overnight in a defeat, he always rises next morning in a triumph—at least, we that have nothing to do but expect and admire, shall be extremely disappointed if he does not. Besides, he is three months debtor to fame.

The only private history of any freshness is, my lady D——'s christening; the child had *three* godfathers: and I will tell you why: they had thought of the duke of Newcastle, my lord and George ——; but of two ——'s and his grace, God could not take the word of any two of them, so all three were forced to be bound.

I draw this comfort from the king of Prussia's defeat, that it may prevent the folly of another expedition: I don't know how or why, but no reason is a very good one against a thing that has no reason in it. Eleven hundred men are ill from the last enterprise. Perhaps don William Quixote¹ and admiral Amadis² may determine to send them to the Danube; for, as no information ever precedes their resolutions, and no impossibilities ever deter them, I don't see why the only thing worthy their consideration should not be, how glorious and advantageous an exploit it would be, if it could be performed. Why did bishop Wilkins try to fly? Not that he thought it practicable, but because it would be very convenient. As he did not happen to be a particular favourite of the city of London, he was laughed at: they prepossessed in his favour, and he would have received twenty gold boxes, though twenty people had broken their necks off St. Paul's with trying the experiment.

I have heard a whisper, that you do not go into Yorkshire this summer. Is it true? It is fixed that I go to Ragley³ on the 13th of next month; I trust you do so too. Have you had such deluges for three weeks well counted, as we have? If I had not cut one of my perroquet's wings, and there were an olive tree in the country, I would send to know where there is a foot of dry land.

You have heard, I suppose, if not, be it known to you, that Mr. Keppel, the canon of Windfor, espouses my niece Laura; yes, Laura⁴. I rejoice much so I receive your compliments upon it, lest you should, as it sometimes happens, forget to make them. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ William Pitt, afterwards earl of Chatham, then secretary of state.

² Lord Anson, then first lord of the admiralty.

³ The seat of the earl of Herford.

⁴ Eldest daughter of sir Edward Walpole.

July 22.

FOR the pleasure of my conscience I had written all the above last night, expecting lord Lyttelton, the dean, and other company, to-day. This morning I receive yours; and having already told you all I know, I have only a few paragraphs to answer.

I am pleased that you are pleased about my book¹: *you* shall see it very soon; though there will scarce be a new page: nobody else shall see it till spring. In the first place, the prints will not be finished: in the next, I intend that two or three other things shall appear before it from my press, of other authors; for I will not surfeit people with my writings, nor have them think that I propose to find employment alone for a whole press—so far from it, I intend to employ it no more about myself.

I will certainly try to see you during your waiting². Adieu!

L E T T E R XXXI.

Strawberry-hill, September 2, 1758.

IT is well I have got something to pay you for the best letter that ever was! A vast victory, I own, does not entertain me so much as a good letter; but you are bound to like any thing military better than your own wit, and therefore I hope you will think a defeat of the Russians a better bon-mot than any you sent me. Should you think it clever if the king of Prussia has beaten them? How much cleverer, if he has taken three lieutenant generals and an hundred pieces of cannon? How much cleverer still, if he has left fifteen thousand Muscovites dead on the spot³? Does the loss of *only* three thousand of his own men, take off from or sharpen the sting of this joke? In short, all this is fact, as a courier arrived at Sion-hill

¹ The Anecdotes of Painting.

² As groom of the bed-chamber to the king.

³ The defeat of the Russians at Zornsdorff.

5

this

this morning affirms. The city, I suppose, expect that his majesty will now be at leisure to step to Ticonderoga, and repair our mishap¹. But I shall talk no more politics: if this finds you at Chatsworth, as I suppose it will, you will be better informed than from me.

Lady — — — arrived at Ragley between two and three in the morning—how unlucky that I was not there to offer her part of an aired bed! But how could you think of the proposal you have made me? Am not I already in love with *the youngest, handsomest and wittiest widow in England?* As *Herculean a labourer* as I am, as Tom Hervey says, I don't choose another. I am still in the height of my impatience for the chest of old papers from Ragley², which, either by the fault of their servants or of the waggoner, is not yet arrived. I shall go to London again on Monday in quest of it; and in truth think so much of it, that, when I first heard of the victory this morning, I rejoiced, as we were likely now to recover the *Palatinate*. Good night.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXXII.

Arlington-street, January 19, 1759.

I HOPE the treaty of Sluys advances rapidly³. Considering that your own court is as new to you as monsieur de Bareil and his, you cannot be very well entertained: the joys of a Dutch fishing town and the incidents of a cartel will not compose a very agreeable history. In the mean time you do not lose much: though the parliament is met, no politics are come to town: one may describe the house of commons like the price of stocks:

¹ The repulse of general Abercrombie at Ticonderoga.

² Mr. Conway was sent to Sluys to settle a cartel for prisoners with the French. Monsieur de Bareil was the person appointed by the

³ The Conway papers in the reign of James I. French court for the same business.

Debates

Debates, nothing done. Votes, under par. Patriots, no price. Oratory, books shut. Love and war are as much at a stand: neither the duchess of Hamilton¹ nor the expeditions are gone off yet. Prince Edward² has asked to go to Quebec, and has been refused. If I was sure they would refuse me, I would ask to go thither too. I should not dislike about as much laurel as I could stick in my window at Christmas.

We are next week to have a serenata at the Opera-house for the king of Prussia's birth-day: it is to begin, *Viva Giorgio, e Federigo viva!* It will, I own, divert me to see my lord Temple whispering for this alliance, on the same bench on which I have so often seen him whisper against all Germany. The new opera pleases universally, and I hope will yet hold up its head. Since Vanneschi³ is cunning enough to make us sing *the roast-beef of old Germany*, I am persuaded it will revive: politics are the only hot-bed for keeping such a tender plant as Italian music alive in England.

You are so thoughtless about your dress, that I cannot help giving you a little warning against your return. Remember, every body that comes from abroad is *construed* to come from France, and whatever they wear at their first re-appearance immediately grows the fashion. Now if, as is very likely, you should through inadvertence change hats with a master of a Dutch smack, O—— will be upon the watch, will conclude you took your pattern from monsieur de Bareil, and in a week's time we shall all be equipped like Dutch skippers. You see I speak very disinterestedly; for, as I never wear a hat myself, it is indifferent to me what sort of hat I don't wear. Adieu! I hope nothing in this letter, if it is opened, will affect *the conferences*, nor hasten our rupture with Holland. Left it should, I send it to lord Holderness's office; concluding, like lady B—— W——, that the government never suspect what they send under their own covers.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Elizabeth Gunning, duchess dowager of Hamilton.

² Abbate Vanneschi, an Italian, and director of the opera.

³ Afterwards created duke of York.

LETTER

LETTER XXXIII.

Arlington-street, January 28, 1759.

YOU and monsieur de Bareil may give yourselves what airs you please of settling cartels with expedition: you don't exchange prisoners with half so much alacrity as Jack Campbell^{*} and the duchess of Hamilton have exchanged hearts. I had so little observed the negotiation, or suspected any, that, when your brother told me of it yesterday morning, I would not believe a tittle—I beg Mr. Pitt's pardon, not an *iota*. It is the prettiest match in the world—since yours—and every body likes it but the duke of B—— and lord C——. What an extraordinary fate is attached to those two women! Who could have believed that a Gunning would unite the two great houses of Campbell and Hamilton? For my part, I expect to see my lady Coventry queen of Prussia. I would not venture to marry either of them these thirty years, for fear of being shuffled out of the world *prematurely* to make room for the rest of their adventures. The first time Jack carries the duchess into the Highlands, I am persuaded that some of his second-sighted subjects will see him in a winding-sheet, with a train of kings behind him as long as those in Macbeth.

We had a scrap of a debate on Friday on the Prussian and Hessian treaties. Old Vyner opposed the first, in pity to that *poor woman*, as he called her, the empress queen. Lord Strange objected to the gratuity of 60,000*l.* to the landgrave, unless words were inserted to express his receiving that sum in full of all demands. If Hume Campbell had cavilled at this favourite treaty, Mr. Pitt could scarce have treated him with more haughtiness; and, what is far more extraordinary, Hume Campbell could scarce have taken it more dutifully. This *long* day was over by half an hour after four.

As you and monsieur de Bareil are on such amicable terms, you will take care to soften to him a new conquest we have made. Keppel has taken the island of Goree. Your great ministers know enough of its importance;

* The present duke of Argyll.

I need

64 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

I need not detail it. Before your letters came we had heard of the death of the princess royal: you will find us black and all black. Lady Northumberland and the great ladies put off their assemblies: diversions begin again to-morrow with the mourning.

You perceive, London cannot furnish half so long a letter as the little town of Sluys; at least I have not the art of making one out. In truth, I believe I should not have writ this unless lady A—— had bid me; but she does not care how much trouble it gives me, provided it amuses you for a moment. Good night!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that the king has granted my lord Marischall's pardon, at the request of monsieur de Knyphausen. I believe the pretender himself could get his attainder reversed if he would apply to the king of Prussia.

LETTER XXXIV.

Strawberry-hill, Oct. 18, 1759.

I INTENDED my visit to Park-place to show my lady A—— that when I come thither it is not solely on your account, and yet I will not quarrel with my journey thither if I should find you there; but seriously I cannot help begging you to think whether you will go thither or not, just now. My first thought about you has ever been what was proper for you to do; and though you are the man in the world that think of that the most yourself, yet you know I have twenty scruples, which even you sometimes laugh at. I will tell them to you, and then you will judge, as you can best. Sir Edward Hawke and his fleet is dispersed, at least driven back to Plymouth: the French, if one may believe that they have broken a regiment for mutinying against embarking, were actually embarked at that instant. The most sensible people I know, always thought they would
postpone

postpone their invasion, if ever they intended it, till our great ships could not keep the sea, or were eaten up by the scurvy. Their ports are now free; their situation is desperate: the new account of our taking Quebec leaves them in the most deplorable condition; they will be less able than ever to raise money, we have got ours for next year; and this event would facilitate it, if we had not: they must try for a peace, they have nothing to go to market with but Minorca. In short, if they cannot strike some desperate blow in this island or Ireland, they are undone: the loss of 20,000 men to do us some mischief, would be cheap. I should even think madame Pompadour in danger of being torn to pieces, if they did not make some attempt. Madame Maintenon, not half so unpopular, mentions in one of her letters her unwillingness to trust her niece m^{lle} Aumale on the road, for fear of some such accident. You will smile perhaps at all this reasoning and pedantry; but it tends to this—If desperation should send the French somewhere, and the wind should force them to your coast, which I do not suppose their object, and you should be out of the way, you know what your enemies would say; and, strange as it is, even you have been proved to have enemies. My dear sir, think of this! Wolfe, as I am convinced, has fallen a sacrifice to his rash blame of you. If I understand any thing in the world, his letter that came on Sunday said this: "*Quebec is impregnable; it is flinging away the lives of brave men to attempt it. I am in the situation of Conway at Rochfort; but having blamed him, I must do what I now see he was in the right to see was wrong, and yet what he would have done; and as I am commander, which he was not, I have the melancholy power of doing what he was prevented doing.*" Poor man! his life has paid the price of his injustice; and as his death has purchased such benefit to his country, I lament him, as I am sure you, who have twenty times more courage and good nature than I have, do too. In short, I, who never did any thing right or prudent myself (not, I am afraid, for want of knowing what was so), am content with *your* being perfect, and with suggesting any thing to you that may tend to keeping you so:—and (what is not much to the present purpose) if such a pen as mine can effect it, the world hereafter shall know that you was so. In short, I have pulled down my lord Falkland, and I desire you will take care that I may speak truth when I erect you in his place; for remember, I love truth even better than I love you. I always confess my own faults, and I will not palliate yours.—But, laughing apart, if you think there is no weight in what I say, I shall gladly meet you at Park-place,

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whither

whither I shall go on Monday, and stay as long as I can, unless I hear from you to the contrary. If you should think I have hinted any thing to you of consequence, would not it be handsome, if, after receiving leave, you should write to my lord Ligonier, that though you had been at home but one week in the whole summer, yet as there might be occasion for your presence in the camp³, you should decline the permission he had given you?—See what it is to have a wise relation, who preaches a thousand fine things to you which he would be the last man in the world to practise himself. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R X X X V .

Strawberry-hill, June 28, 1760.

THE devil is in people for fidgeting about! They can neither be quiet in their own houses, nor let others be at peace in theirs! Have not they enough of one another in winter, but they must cuddle in summer too? For your part, you are a very priest: the moment one repents, you are for turning it to account. I wish you was in camp—never will I pity you again. How did you complain when you was in Scotland, Ireland, Flanders, and I don't know where, that you could never enjoy Park-place? Now you have a whole summer to yourself, and you are as *junkettaceous* as my lady Northumberland. Pray, what horse-race do you go to next? For my part, I can't afford to lead such a life: I have Conway-papers to sort; I have lives of the painters to write; I have my prints to paste, my house to build, and every thing in the world to tell posterity.—How am I to find time for all this? I am past forty, and may not have above as many more years to live; and here I am to go here and to go there—Well, I will meet you at Chaffont on Thursday; but I positively will stay but one night. I have settled with your brother that we will be at Oxford on the 13th of July, as lord Beauchamp is only loose from the 12th to the 20th. I will be at

³ Mr. Conway was encamped in Kent near Canterbury.

Park-place on the 12th, and we will go together the next day. If this is too early for you, we may put it off to the 15th: determine by Thursday, and one of us will write to lord Hertford.

Well! Quebec is come to life again. Last night I went to see the Holderneffes, who by the way are in raptures with Park—in Sion-lane: as Cibber says of the Revolution, I met the Raising of the Siege; that is, I met my lady in a triumphal car, drawn by a Manks horse thirteen little fingers high, with lady Emily,—

— et sibi Countess

Ne placeat, ma'amfelle curru portatur eodem—

Mr. M—— was walking in ovation by himself after the car; and they were going to see the bonfire at the alehouse at the corner. The whole procession returned with me; and from the countess's dressing-room we saw a battery fired before the house, the mob crying, "God blefs the good news!" —These are all the particulars I know of the siege: my lord would have shewed me the journal, but we amused ourselves much better in going to eat peaches from the new Dutch stoves.

The rain is come indeed, and my grass is as green as grass; but all my hay has been cut and soaking this week, and I am too much in the fashion not to have given up gardening for farming; as next I suppose we shall farming, and turn graziers and hogdrivers.

I never heard of such a female as my lady Stormont brought to bed in flames. I hope miss Bacchus Murray will not carry the resemblance through, and love drinking like a Pole. My lady Lyttelton is at Mr. Garrick's, and they were to have breakfasted here this morning; but somehow or other they have changed their mind. Good night!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXXVI.

Strawberry-hill, August 7, 1766.

I CAN give you but an unpleafant account of myfelf, I mean unpleafant for me; every body elfe I fuppoſe it will make laugh. Come, laugh at once! I am laid up with the gout, am an abſolute cripple, am carried up to bed by two men, and could walk to China as ſoon as crofs the room. In ſhort, here is my hiſtory: I have been out of order this fortnight, without knowing what was the matter with me; pains in my head, ſickneſſes at my ſtomach, diſpiritedneſs, and a return of the nightly fever I had in the winter. I concluded a northern journey would take all this off—but behold! on Monday morning I was ſeized as I thought with the cramp in my left foot; however, I walked about all day: towards evening it diſcovered itſelf by its true name, and that night I ſuffered a great deal. However, on Tueſday I was again able to go about the houſe; but ſince Tueſday I have not been able to ſtir, and am wrapped in flannels and ſwathed like fir Paul Pliant on his wedding-night. I expect to hear that there is a bet at Arthur's, which runs faſteſt, Jack Harris¹ or I. Nobody would believe me ſix years ago when I ſaid I had the gout. They would do leanneſs and temperance honours to which they have not the leaſt claim.

I don't yet give up my expedition; as my foot is much ſwelled, I truſt this alderman diſtemper is going: I ſhall ſet out the inſtant I am able; but I much queſtion whether it will be ſoon enough for me to get to Ragley by the time the clock ſtrikes Loo. I find I grow too old to make the circuit with the charming duchefs².

I did not tell you about German ſkirmiſhes, for I knew nothing of them: when two vaſt armies only ſcratch one another's faces, it gives me no attention. My gazette never contains above one or two casualties of foreign politics:—overlaid, one king; dead of convulſions, an electorate; burnt to death, Dresden.

¹ John Harris of Hayne in Devonſhire, married to Mr. Conway's eldeſt ſiſter.

² Anne Liddell duchefs of Grafton.

I wiſh

I wish you joy of all your purchafes ; why, you found as rich as if you had had the gout thefe ten years. I beg their pardon ; but juft at prefent, I am very glad not to be near the vivacity of either Miſſy or Peter¹. I agree with you much about the Minor : there are certainly parts and wit in it. Adieu !

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXXVII.

Strawberry-hill, September 19, 1760.

THANK you for your notice, though I ſhould certainly have contrived to fee you without it. Your brother promiſed he would come and dine here one day with you and lord Beauchamp. I go to Navestock on Monday, for two or three days ; but that will not exhaust your waiting². I ſhall be in town on Sunday ; but as that is a court-day, I will not, ſo don't propoſe it—dine with you at Kenſington ; but I will be with my lady Hertford about fix, where your brother and you will find me if you pleaſe. I cannot come to Kenſington in the evening, for I have but one pair of horſes in the world, and they will have to carry me to town in the morning.

I wonder the king expects a battle ; when prince Ferdinand can do as well without fighting, why ſhould he fight ? Can't he make the hereditary prince gallop into a mob of Frenchmen, and get a ſcratch on the noſe ; and Johnſon ſtraddle croſs a river and come back with fix heads of huſſars in his fob, and then can't he thank all the world, and aſſure them he ſhall never forget the victory they have not gained ? Theſe thanks are ſent over : the gazette ſwears that this no ſucceſs was chiefly owing to general Moſtyn ; and the chronicle proteſts, that it was achieved by my lord Granby's loſing his hat, which he never wears ; and then his lordſhip ſends over for three hundred thouſand pints of porter to drink his own health ; and

¹ A favourite greyhound.

² Mr. Conway was a groom of the bed-chamber to the king, and then in waiting at Kenſington.

LETTER

then.

then Mr. Pitt determines to carry on the war for another year; and then the duke of Newcastle hopes that we shall be beat, that he may lay the blame on Mr. Pitt, and that then he shall be minister for 30 years longer; and then we shall be the greatest nation in the universe. Amen!—My dear Harry, you see how easy it is to be a hero. If you had but taken Impudence and Oatlands in your way to Rochfort, it would not have signified whether you had taken Rochfort or not. Adieu! I don't know who lady A.'s Mr. Alexander is.—If the curls like a vine with any Mr. Alexander but you, I hope my lady Coventry will recover and be your Roxana.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XXXVIII.

YOU are good for nothing; you have no engagement, you have no principles; and all this I am not afraid to tell you, as you have left your sword behind you. If you take it ill, I have given my nephew, who brings your sword, a letter of attorney to fight you for me; I shall certainly not see you: my lady Waldegrave goes to town on Friday, but I remain here¹. You lose lady Anne Conolly² and her forty daughters, who all dine here to-day upon a few loaves and three small fishes. I should have been glad if you would have breakfasted here on Friday on your way; but as I lie in bed rather longer than the lark, I fear our hours would not suit one another. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ At Strawberry-hill.

² Sister of William earl of Strafford.

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LETTER XXXIX.

Monday, five o'clock, Feb. 1765.

I AM a little peevish with you—I told you on Thursday night that I had a mind to go to Strawberry on Friday without staying for the qualification-bill. You said it did not signify—No! What if *you* intended to speak on it? Am I indifferent to hearing you? More—Am I indifferent about acting with you? Would not I follow you in any thing in the world?—This is saying no profligate thing. Is there any thing I might not follow you in? You even did not tell me yesterday that you had spoken. Yet I will tell you all I have heard; though if there was a point in the world in which I could not wish you to succeed where you wish yourself, perhaps it would be in having you employed. I cannot be cool about your danger; yet I cannot know any thing that concerns you, and keep it from you. Charles Townshend called here just after I came to town to-day. Among other discourse he told me of your speaking on Friday, and that your speech was reckoned hostile to the duke of Newcastle. Then talking of regiments going abroad, he said, * * * *

With regard to your reserve to me, I can easily believe that your natural modesty made you unwilling to talk of yourself to me. I don't suspect you of any reserve to me: I only mention it now for an occasion of telling you that I don't like to have any body think that I would not do whatever you do. I am of no consequence: but at least it would give me some, to act invariably with you; and that I shall most certainly be ever ready to do. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

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LETTER XL.

Arlington-street, April 10, 1761.

IF Prince Ferdinand had studied how to please me, I don't know any method he could have lighted upon so likely to gain my heart, as being beaten out of the field before you joined him. I delight in a hero that is driven so far that nobody can follow him. He is as well at Paderborn, as where I have long wished the king of Prussia, the other world. You may frown if you please at my imprudence, you who are gone with all the disposition in the world to be well with your commander; the peace is in a manner made, and the anger of generals will not be worth sixpence these ten years. We peaceable folks are now to govern the world, and you warriors must in your turn tremble at our subjects the mob, as we have done before your hussars and court-martials.

I am glad you had so pleasant a passage*. My lord Lyttelton would say, that lady M— C—, like Venus, smiled over the waves, et mare præstabat eunti. In truth, when she could tame me, she must have had little trouble with the ocean. Tell me how many burgomasters she has subdued, or how many would have fallen in love with her if they had not fallen asleep? Come, has she saved two-pence by her charms? Have they abated a farthing of their impositions for her being handsomer than any thing in the seven provinces? Does she know how political her journey is thought? Nay, my lady A——, you are not out of the scrape; you are both reckoned des marechales de Guebriant², going to fetch, and consequently govern the young queen. There are more jealousies about your voyage, than the duke of Newcastle would feel if Dr. Shaw had prescribed a little ipecacuanha to my lord Bute.

I am sorry I must adjourn my mirth, to give lady A—— a pang; poor

* From Harwich to Helvoetsluys.

² The marechale de Guebriant was sent to the king of Poland with the character of em-

bassadrefs by Louis XIII. to accompany the princess Marie de Gonzague, who had been married by proxy to the king of Poland at Paris.

Mr Harry Ballenden¹ is dead; he made a great dinner at Almac's for the house of Drummond, drank very hard, caught a violent fever, and died in a very few days. Perhaps you will have heard this before; I shall wish so; I do not like, even innocently, to be the cause of sorrow.

I do not at all lament lord Granby's leaving the army, and your immediate succession. There are persons in the world who would gladly ease you of this burthen. As you are only to take the viceroyalty of a coop, and that for a few weeks, I shall but smile if you are terribly distressed. Don't let lady A— proceed to Brunswic: you might have had a wife who would not have thought it so terrible to fall into the hands [arms] of huffars; but as I don't take *that* to be your countess's turn, leave her with the Dutch, who are not so boisterous as coffacs or chancellors of the exchequer.

My love, my duty, my jealousy, to lady M—, if she is not failed before you receive this—if she is, I shall deliver them myself. Good night; I write immediately on the receipt of your letter, but you see I have nothing yet new to tell you.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XLI.

Arlington-street, July 14, 1761.

MY dearest Harry, how could you write me such a cold letter as I have just received from you, and beginning *Dear sir!* Can you be angry with me, for can I be in fault to you? Blameable in ten thousand other respects, may not I almost say I am perfect with regard to you? Since I was fifteen have not I loved you unalterably? Since I was capable of knowing your merit, has not my admiration been veneration? For what could so much affection and esteem change? Has not your honour, your interest, your safety been ever my first objects? Oh, Harry! if you knew what I have felt and am feeling about you, would you charge me with neglect? If I have

¹ Uncle to the countess of Ailesbury.

seen a person since you went, to whom my first question has not been, "What do you hear of the peace?" you would have reason to blame me. You say I write very seldom: I will tell you what, I should almost be sorry to have you see the anxiety I have expressed about you in letters to every body else. No; I must except lady A——, and there is not another on earth who loves you so well and is so attentive to whatever relates to you.

With regard to writing this is exactly the case: I had nothing to tell you; nothing has happened; and where you are, I was cautious of writing. Having neither hopes nor fears, I always write the thoughts of the moment, and even laugh to divert the person I am writing to, without any ill will on the subjects I mention. But in your situation that frankness might be prejudicial to you: and to write grave unmeaning letters, I trusted you was too secure of me either to like them or desire them. I knew no news, nor could I: I have lived quite alone at Strawberry; am connected with no court, ministers, or party; consequently heard nothing, and events there have been none. I have not even for this month heard my lady T——'s extempore gazette. All the morning I play with my workmen or animals, go regularly every evening to the meadows with Mrs. Clive, or sit with my lady Suffolk¹, and at night scribble my painters—What a journal to send you! I write more trifling letters than any man living; am ashamed of them, and yet they are expected of me. You, my lady A——, your brother, sir Horace Mann, George Montagu, lord Strafford—all expect I should write—Of what? I live less and less in the world, care for it less and less, and yet am thus obliged to inquire what it is doing. Do make these allowances for me, and remember half your letters go to my lady A——. I writ to her of the king's marriage, concluding she would send it to you: tiresome as it would be, I will copy my own letters, if you expect it; for I will do any thing rather than disoblige you. I will send you a diary of the duke of York's balls and Ranelaghs, inform you of how many children my lady B—— is with child, and how many races my nephew goes to. No; I will not, you do not want *such* proofs of my friendship.

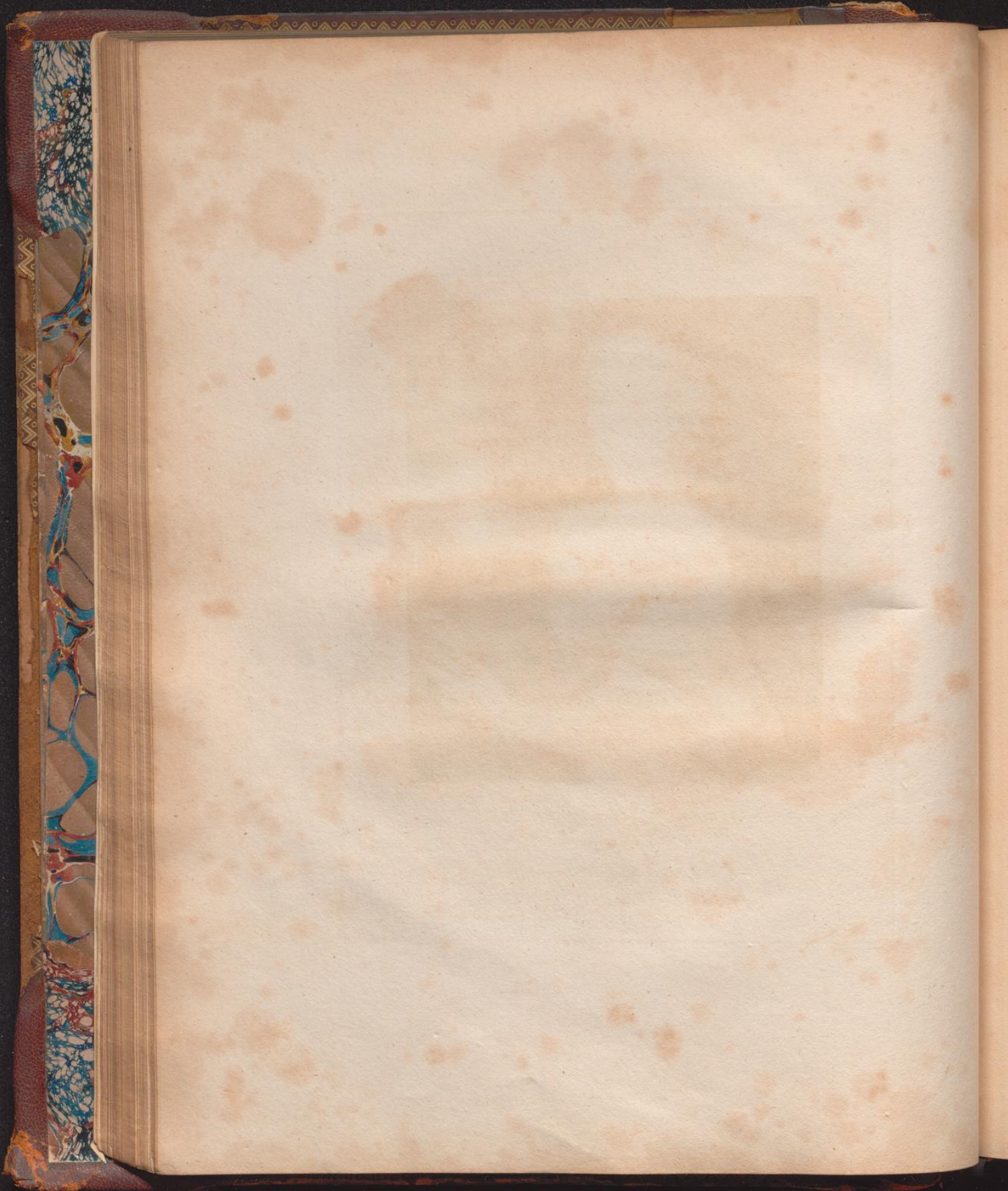
The papers tell us you are retiring, and I was glad. You seem to expect an action—Can this give me spirits? Can I write to you joyfully, and fear? Or is it fit prince Ferdinand should know you have a friend that is as great

¹ Henrietta Hobart, countess of Suffolk, then living at Marble-hill.



The hon^{ble} M^{rs} Howard,
afterwards
Countess of Suffolk

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a coward about you as your wife? The only reason for my silence, that can *not* be true, is, that I forget you. When I am prudent or cautious, it is no symptom of my being indifferent. Indifference does not happen in friendships, as it does in passions; and if I was young enough or feeble enough to cease to love you, I would not for my own sake let it be known. Your virtues are my greatest pride; I have done myself so much honour by them, that I will not let it be known you have been peevish with me unreasonably. Pray God we may have peace, that I may scold you for it!

The king's marriage was kept the profoundest secret till last Wednesday, when the privy council was extraordinarily summoned, and it was notified to them. Since that, the new queen's mother is dead, and will delay it a few days; but lord Harcourt is to sail on the 27th, and the coronation will certainly be on the 22d of September. All that I know fixed, is, lord Harcourt master of the horse, the duke of Manchester chamberlain, and Mr. Stone treasurer. Lists there are in abundance; I don't know the authentic: those most talked of, are, lady Bute groom of the stole, the duchesses of Hamilton and Ancafter, lady Northumberland, Bolinbroke, Weymouth, Scarborough, Abergavenny, Effingham, for ladies; you may choose any six of them you please; the four first are most probable. Misses, Henry Beauclerc, M. Howe, Meadows, Wrottesley, Bishop, &c. &c. &c. Choose your maids too. Bedchamber women, Mrs. Bloodworth, Robert Brudenel, Charlotte Dives, lady Erskine: in short, I repeat a mere newspaper.

We expect the final answer of France this week. Buffy^{*} was in great pain on the fireworks for Quebec, lest he should be obliged to illuminate his house: you see I ransack my memory for something to tell you.

Adieu! I have more reason to be angry than you had; but I am not so haughty: you are of a *violent, impetuous, jealous* temper—I, *cool, sedate, reasonable*. I believe I must subscribe my name, or you will not know me by this description.

Yours unalterably,

HOR. WALPOLE.

* The abbé de Buffy sent here with overtures of peace. Mr. Stanley was at the same time sent to Paris.

LETTER XLII.

Strawberry-hill, July 23, 1761.

WELL, *mon biau cousin*! you may be as cross as you please now: when you beat two marshals of France and cut their armies to pieces¹, I don't mind your pouting; but in good truth, it was a little vexatious to have you quarrelling with me, when I was in greater pain about you than I can express. I will say no more; make a peace, under the walls of Paris if you please, and I will forgive you all—but no more battles: consider, as Dr. Hay said, it is cowardly to beat the French now.

Don't look upon yourselves as the only conquerors in the world. Pondicherry is ours, as well as the field of Kirk Denckirk. The park guns never have time to cool; we ruin ourselves in gun-powder and sky-rockets. If you have a mind to do the gallantest thing in the world after the greatest, you must escort the princess of Mecklenburg² through France. You see what a bully I am; the moment the French run away, I am sending you on expeditions. I forgot to tell you that the king has got the isle of Dominique and the chicken-pox, two trifles that don't count in the midst of all these festivities. No more does your letter of the 8th, which I received yesterday: it is the one that is to come after the 16th, that I shall receive graciously.

Friday 24th.

NOT satisfied with the rays of glory that reached Twickenham, I came to town to bask in your success; but am most disagreeably disappointed to find you must beat the French once more, who seem to love to treat the English mob with subjects for bonfires. I had got over such an alarm, that I foolishly ran into the other extreme, and concluded there was not a French battalion left entire upon the face of Germany. Do write to me; don't be out of humour, but tell me every motion you make: I assure you I have deserved you should. Would you were out of the question, if it

¹ The victory obtained by prince Ferdinand of Brunwic over the marechal de Broglie and the prince de Soubize at Kirk Denckirk.

² Her present majesty.

were

were only that I might feel a little humanity! There is not a blacksmith or linkboy in London that exults more than I do, upon any good news, since you went abroad. What have I to do to hate people I never saw, and to rejoice in their calamities! Heaven fend us peace, and you home! Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XLIII.

Strawberry-hill.

THIS is the 5th of August, and I just receive your letter of the 17th of last month by Fitzroy*. I heard he had lost his pocket-book with all his dispatches, but had found it again. He was a long time finding the letter for me.

You do nothing but reproach me; I declare I will bear it no longer, though you should beat forty more marshals of France. I have already writ you two letters that would fully justify me if you receive them; if you do not, it is not I that am in fault for not writing, but the post-offices for reading my letters, content if they would forward them when they have done with them. They seem to think, like you, that I know more news than any body. What is to be known in the dead of summer, when all the world is dispersed? Would you know who won the sweep-stakes at Huntingdon? What parties are at Woburn? What officers upon guard in Betty's fruit-shop? Whether the peeresses are to wear long or short tresses at the coronation? How many jewels lady —— borrows of actresses? All this is your light summer wear for conversation; and if my memory were as much stuffed with it as my ears, I might have sent you volumes last week. My nieces, lady W——, and mrs. K——, were here five days, and discussed the claim or disappointment of every miss in the kingdom for maid of honour. Unfortunately this new generation is not at all my affair,

* George Fitzroy, afterwards created lord Southampton.

I cannot

I cannot attend to what concerns them—Not that their trifles are less important than those of one's own time, but my mould has taken all its impressions, and can receive no more. I must grow old upon the stock I have. I, that was so impatient at all their chat, the moment they were gone, flew to my lady Suffolk, and heard her talk with great satisfaction of the late queen's coronation-petticoat. The preceding age always appears respectable to us (I mean as one advances in years), one's own age interesting, the coming age neither one nor t'other.

You may judge by this account that I have writ *all* my letters, or ought to have written them; and yet, for occasion to blame me, you draw a very pretty picture of my situation: all which tends to prove that I ought to write to you every day, whether I have any thing to say or not. I am writing, I am building—both *works that will outlast the memory of battles and heroes!* Truly, I believe, the one will as much as t'other. My buildings are paper, like my writings, and both will be blown away in ten years after I am dead; if they had not the substantial use of amusing me while I live, they would be worth little indeed. I will give you one instance that will sum up the vanity of great men, learned men, and buildings altogether. I heard lately, that Dr. ———, a very learned personage, had consented to let the tomb of Aylmer de Valence, earl of Pembroke, a very great personage, be removed for Wolfe's monument; that at first he had objected, but was wrought upon by being told that *hight* Aylmer was a knight templar, a very wicked set of people as his lordship had heard, tho' he knew nothing of them, as they are not mentioned by Longinus. I own I thought this a made story, and wrote to his lordship, expressing my concern that one of the finest and most ancient monuments in the abbey should be removed, and begging, if it was removed, that he would bestow it on me, who would erect and preserve it here. After a fortnight's deliberation, the bishop sent me an answer, civil indeed, and commending my zeal for antiquity! but avowing the story under his own hand. He said, that at first they had taken Pembroke's tomb for a knight templar's. Observe, that not only the man who shows the tombs names it every day, but that there is a draught of it at large in Dart's Westminster; that upon discovering whose it was, he had been very unwilling to consent to the removal, and at last had obliged Wilton to engage to set it up within ten feet of where it stands at present. His lordship concluded with congratulating me on publishing learned authors at my press. I don't wonder that a man who thinks Lucan

a learned

a *learned* author, should mistake a tomb in his own cathedral. If I had a mind to be angry, I could complain with reason; as, having paid forty pounds for ground for my mother's tomb, that the chapter of Westminster fell their church over and over again; the ancient monuments tumble upon one's head thro' their neglect, as one of them did, and killed a man at lady Elizabeth Percy's funeral; and they erect new waxen dolls of queen of Elizabeth, &c. to draw visits and money from the mob. I hope all this history is applicable to some part or other of my letter; but letters you will have, and so I send you one, very like your own stories that you tell your daughter: There was a king, and he had three daughters, and they all went to see the tombs; and the youngest, who was in love with Aylmer de Valence, &c.

Thank you for your account of the battle[†]; thank prince Ferdinand for giving you a very honourable post, which, in spite of his teeth and yours, proved a very safe one; and above all, thank prince Soubize, whom I love better than all the German princes in the universe. Peace, I think, we must have at last, if you beat the French, or at least hinder them from beating you, and afterwards starve them. Buffy's last *last* courier is expected; but as he may have a last last *last* courier, I trust no more to this than to all the others. He was complaining t'other day to Mr. Pitt of our haughtiness, and said it would drive the French to some desperate effort; thirty thousand men, continued he, would embarrass you a little, I believe! Yes, truly, replied Pitt, for I am so embarrassed with those we have already, I don't know what to do with them.

Adieu! Don't fancy that the more you scold, the more I will write: It has answered three times, but the next cross word you give me shall put an end to our correspondence. Sir Horace Mann's father used to say, Talk, Horace, you have been abroad:—you cry, Write, Horace, you are at home. No, sir, you can beat an hundred and twenty thousand French, but you cannot get the better of me. I will not write such foolish letters as this every day, when I have nothing to say.

Yours as you behave,

HOR. WALPOLE.

[†] Of Kirk Denckirk.

LETTER

LETTER XLIV.

Arlington-street, Sept. 9, 1761.

THE date of my promise is now arrived, and I fulfil it—fulfil it with great satisfaction, for the queen is come; I have seen her, have been presented to her—and may go back to Strawberry. For this fortnight I have lived upon the road between Twickenham and London: I came, grew impatient, returned; came again, still to no purpose. The yachts made the coast of Suffolk last Saturday, on Sunday entered the road of Harwich, and on Monday morning the king's chief eunuch, as the Tripoline ambassador calls lord A. landed the princess. She lay that night at lord Abercorn's at Witham, the palace of silence; and yesterday at a quarter after three arrived at St. James's. In half an hour one heard of nothing but proclamations of her beauty: every body was content, every body pleased. At seven one went to court. The night was sultry. About ten the procession began to move towards the chapel, and at eleven they all came up into the drawing-room. She looks very sensible, chearful, and is remarkably genteel. Her tiara of diamonds was very pretty, her stomacher sumptuous; her violet-velvet mantle and ermine so heavy, that the spectators knew as much of her upper half as the king himself. You will have no doubts of her sense by what I shall tell you. On the road they wanted her to curl her toupet: she said she thought it looked as well as that of any of the ladies sent to fetch her; if the king bid her, she would wear a periwig, otherwise she would remain as she was. When she caught the first glimpse of the palace, she grew frightened and turned pale; the duchess of Hamilton smiled—the princess said, "My dear duchess, you may laugh, you have been married twice, but it is no joke to me." Her lips trembled as the coach stopped, but she jumped out with spirit, and has done nothing but with good humour and chearfulness. She talks a great deal—is easy, civil, and not disconcerted. At first, when the bride-maids and the court were introduced to her, she said, "Mon Dieu, il y en a tant, il y en a tant!" She was pleased when she was to kiss the peeresses; but lady Augusta was forced to take her hand and give it to those that were to kiss it, which was prettily humble and good-natured. While they waited for supper, she sat down, sung, and played. Her French is tolerable, she exchanged much both of that and German, with the king, the Duke, and the duke of York.

They

They did not get to bed till two. To-day was a drawing-room: every body was presented to her; but she spoke to nobody, as she could not know a soul. The crowd was much less than at a birth-day, the magnificence very little more. The king looked very handsome, and talked to her continually with great good-humour. It does not promise as if they two would be the two most unhappy persons in England, from this event. The bride-maids, especially lady Caroline Ruffel, lady Sarah Lenox, and lady Elizabeth Keppel, were beautiful figures. With neither features nor air, lady Sarah was by far the chief angel. The duchess of Hamilton was almost in possession of her former beauty to-day; and your other duchess¹, your daughter, was much better dressed than ever I saw her. Except a pretty lady Sutherland, and a most perfect beauty, an Irish miss Smith², I don't think the queen saw much else to discourage her: my niece³, lady Kildare, Mrs. Fitzroy, were none of them there. There is a ball to-night, and two more drawing-rooms; but I have done with them. The duchess of Queensberry and lady Westmorland were in the procession, and did credit to the ancient nobility.

You don't presume to suppose, I hope, that we are thinking of you, and wars, and misfortunes and distresses, in these festival times. Mr. Pitt himself would be mobbed if he talked of any thing but clothes, and diamonds, and bride maids. Oh! yes, we have wars, civil wars; there is a campaign opened in the bed-chamber. Every body is excluded but the ministers; even the lords of the bed-chamber, cabinet-counsellors, and foreign ministers: but it has given such offence that I don't know whether lord Huntingdon must not be the scape-goat. Adieu! I am going to transcribe most of this letter to your countess.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ The duchess of Richmond.

² Afterwards married to Mr. Matthew, now lord Landaff.

³ The countess of Waldegrave.

LETTER XLV.

Arlington-street, Sept. 25, 1761.

THIS is the most unhappy day I have known of years: Buffy goes away! Mankind is again given up to the sword! Peace and you are far from England!

Strawberry-hill.

I was interrupted this morning, just as I had begun my letter, by lord Waldegrave; and then the duke of Devonshire sent for me to Burlington-house to meet the duchess of Bedford, and see the old pictures from Hardwicke. If my letter reaches you three days later, at least you are saved from a lamentation. Buffy has put off his journey to Monday (to be sure, you know this is Friday): he says this is a strange country, he can get no waggoner to carry his goods on a Sunday. I am glad a Spanish war waits for a conveyance, and that a waggoner's *veto* is as good as a tribune's of Rome, and can stop Mr. Pitt on his career to Mexico. He was going post to conquer it—and Beckford, I suppose, would have had a contract for remitting all the gold, of which Mr. Pitt never thinks, unless to serve a city-friend. It is serious that we have discussions with Spain, who says France is humbled enough, but must not be ruined. Spanish gold is actually coining in frontier towns of France; and the privilege which Biscay and two other provinces have of fishing on the coast of Newfoundland, has been demanded for all Spain. It was refused peremptorily; and Mr. secretary Cortez¹ insisted yesterday se'nnight on recalling lord Bristol². The rest of the council, who are content with the world they have to govern, without conquering others, prevailed to defer this impetuosity. However, if France or Spain are the least untractable, a war is inevitable: nay, if they don't submit by the first day of the session, I have no doubt but Mr. Pitt will declare it himself on the address. I have no opinion of Spain intending it: they give France money to protract a war, from which they reap such advantages in their peaceful capacity; and I should think would not give their money if they were on the point of having occasion for it themselves. In spite of you, and all the old barons our ancestors, I pray that we may

¹ Mr. Pitt, then secretary of state.² The English ambassador at the court of Madrid.

have

have done with glory, and would willingly burn every Roman and Greek historian who have done nothing but transmit precedents for cutting throats.

The coronation is over: 'tis even a more gorgeous sight than I imagined. I saw the procession and the hall; but the return was in the dark. In the morning they had forgot the sword of state, the chairs for king and queen, and their canopies. They used the lord mayor's for the first, and made the last in the hall: so they did not set forth till noon; and then, by a childish compliment to the king, reserved the illumination of the hall till his entry, by which means they arrived like a funeral, nothing being discernible but the plumes of the knights of the bath, which seemed the herse. Lady Kildare, the duchess of Richmond, and lady Pembroke, were the capital beauties. Lady Harrington, the finest figure at a distance; old Westmorland, the most majestic. Lady Hertford could not walk, and indeed I think is in a way to give us great anxiety. She is going to Ragley to ride. Lord Beauchamp was one of the king's train-bearers. Of all the incidents of the day, the most diverting was, what happened to the queen. She had a retiring-chamber, with *all* conveniencies, prepared behind the altar. She went thither—in the *most convenient*, what found she but—the duke of Newcastle! Lady Hardwicke died three days before the ceremony, which kept away the whole house of Yorke. Some of the peeresses were dressed over night, slept in arm-chairs, and were waked if they tumbled their heads. Your sister Harris's maid, lady Peterborough, was a comely figure. My lady Cowper refused, but was forced to walk with lady M——. Lady Falmouth was not there; on which George Selwyn said, that those peeresses who were most used to *walk*, did not. I carried my lady Townshend, lady Hertford, lady Anne Conolly, my lady Hervey, and Mrs. Clive, to my deputy's house at the gate of Westminster-hall. My lady Townshend said she should be very glad to see a coronation, as she never had seen one. "Why," said I, "madam, you walked at the last?" "Yes, child," said she, "but I saw nothing of it: I only looked to see who looked at me." The duchess of Queensberry walked: her affectation that day was to do nothing preposterous. The queen has been at the opera, and says she will go once a week. This is a fresh disaster to our box, where we have lived so harmoniously for three years. We can get no alternative but that over miss Chudleigh's; and lord Strafford and lady M—— C—— will not subscribe, unless we can. The duke of Devonshire and I are negotiating with all our art to keep our

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party

party together. The crowds at the opera and play when the king and queen go, are a little greater than what I remember. The late royalties went to the Haymarket, when it was the fashion to frequent the other opera in Lincoln's-inn-fields. Lord Chesterfield one night came into the latter, and was asked, If he had been at the other house? "Yes," said he, "but there was nobody but the king and queen; and as I thought they might be talking business, I came away."

Thank you for your journals: the best route you can send me would be of your journey homewards. Adieu!

Yours most sincerely,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. If you ever hear from, or write to, such a person as lady A——, pray tell her she is worse to me in point of correspondence than ever you said I was to you, and that she sends me every thing but letters.

L E T T E R XLVI.

Arlington-street, October 12, 1767.

IT is very lucky that you did not succeed in the expedition to Rochfort. Perhaps you might have been made a peer; and as *Chatham* is a naval title, it might have fallen to your share. But it was reserved to crown greater glory: and lest it should not be substantial pay enough, three thousand pounds a year for three lives go along with it. Not to Mr. Pitt—you can't suppose it. Why truly, not the title, but the annuity does, and lady Hesther is the baroness; that, if he should please, he may earn an earldom himself. Don't believe me, if you have not a mind. I know I did not believe those who told it me. But ask the gazette that swears it—ask the king, who has kissed lady Hesther—ask the city of London, who are ready to tear Mr. Pitt to pieces—ask forty people I can name who are overjoyed at it—and then ask me again, who am mortified, and who have been the dupe of his disinterestedness. Oh, my dear Harry! I beg you on my knees, keep your virtue: do let me think there is still one man upon earth who despises money.

I wrote

I wrote you an account last week of his resignation. Could you have believed that in four days he would have tumbled from the conquest of Spain to receiving a quarter's pension from Mr. West? To-day he has advertised his seven coach-horses to be sold—Three thousand a year for three lives, and fifty thousand pounds of his own, will not keep a coach and six. I protest I believe he is mad, and lord Temple thinks so too; for he resigned the same morning that Pitt accepted the pension. George Grenville is minister in the house of commons. I don't know who will be speaker. They talk of Prowse, Hussy, Bacon, and even of old sir John Rushout. Delaval has said an admirable thing: he blames Pitt—not as you and I do; but calls him fool; and says, if he had gone into the city, told them he had a poor wife and children unprovided for, and had opened a subscription, he would have got five hundred thousand pounds, instead of three thousand pounds a year. In the mean time the good man has saddled us with a war which we can neither carry on nor carry off. 'Tis pitiful! 'tis wondrous pitiful! Is the communication stopped, that we never hear from you? I own 'tis an Irish question. I am out of humour: my visions are dispelled, and you are still abroad. As I cannot put Mr. Pitt to death, at least I have buried him: here is his epitaph:

Admire his eloquence—It mounted higher
Than Attic purity, or Roman fire:
Adore his services—our Lions view
Ranging, where Roman eagles never flew:
Copy his soul supreme o'er Lucre's sphere;
—But oh! beware three thousand pounds a year!

October 13:

Jemmy Grenville resigned yesterday. Lord Temple is all hostility; and goes to the drawing-room to tell every body how angry he is with the court—but what is sir Joseph Wittol, when Nol Bluff is pacific? They talk of erecting a tavern in the city, called The Salutation: the sign to represent Lord Bath and Mr. Pitt embracing. These are shameful times. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Secretary to the treasury.

LETTER XLVII.

Strawberry-hill, October 26, 1761.

HOW strange it seems! You are talking to me of the king's wedding, while we are thinking of a civil war. Why, the king's wedding was a century ago, almost two months; even the coronation that happened half an age ago, is quite forgot. The post to Germany cannot keep pace with our revolutions. Who knows but you may still be thinking that Mr. Pitt is the most disinterested man in the world? Truly, as far as the votes of a common-council can make him so, he is. Like Cromwell, he has always promoted the self-denying ordinance, and has contrived to be excused from it himself. The city could no longer choose who should be their man of virtue; there was not one left: by all rules they ought next to have pitched upon one who was the oldest offender: instead of that, they have re-elected the most recent; and, as if virtue was a borough, Mr. Pitt is re-chosen for it, on vacating his seat. Well, but all this is very serious: I shall offer you a prophetic picture, and shall be very glad if I am not a true soothsayer. The city have voted an address of thanks to Mr. Pitt, and given instructions to their members; the chief articles of which are, to promote an inquiry into the disposal of the money that has been granted, and to consent to no peace, unless we are to retain all, or very near all, our conquests. Thus the city of London usurp the right of making peace and war. But is the government to be dictated to by one town? By no means. But suppose they are not—what is the consequence? How will the money be raised? If it cannot be raised without them, Mr. Pitt must again be minister: that you think would easily be accommodated. Stay, stay; he and lord Temple have declared against the whole cabinet council. Why, that they have done before now, and yet have acted with them again. It is very true; but a little word has escaped Mr. Pitt, which never entered into his former declarations; nay, nor into Cromwell's, nor Hugh Capet's, nor Julius Cæsar's, nor any reformer's of ancient time. He has happened to say, he will *guide*. Now, though the cabinet council are mighty willing to be guided, when they cannot help it, yet they wish to have appearances saved: they cannot be fond of being told they are to be guided; still less, that other people should be told so. Here, then, is Mr. Pitt and the common-council on one hand, the great lords on the other. I protest, I do not

fee but it will come to this. Will it allay the confusion, if Mr. Fox is retained on the side of the court? Here are no whigs and tories, harmless people, that are content with worrying one another for 150 years together. The new parties are, *I will*, and *You shall not*; and their principles do not admit delay. However, this age is of suppler mould than some of its predecessors; and this may come round again, by a coup de baguette, when one least expects it. If it should not, the honestest part one can take is to look on, and try if one can do any good if matters go too far.

I am charmed with the Castle of Hercules¹; it is the boldest pile I have seen since I travelled in Fairyland. You ought to have delivered a prince's imprisoned by enchanters in his club: she, in gratitude, should have fallen in love with you: your constancy should have been immaculate. The devil knows how it would have ended—I don't—And so I break off my romance.

You need not beat the French any more this year: it cannot be ascribed to Mr. Pitt; and the mob won't thank you. If we are to have a warm campaign in parliament, I hope you will be sent for. Adieu! We take the field to-morrow se'nnight.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. You will be sorry to hear that Worktop is burned. My lady Waldegrave has got a daughter, and your brother an ague.

L E T T E R XLVIII.

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 9, 1762.

Nondum laurus erat, longoque decentia crine
Tempora cingebat de qualibet arbore Phœbus.

THIS is a hint to you, that as Phœbus, who was certainly your superior, could take up with a chestnut garland, or any crown he found, you must

¹ Alluding to a description of a building in Hesse Cassel, given by Mr. Conway in one of his letters.

have

have the humility to be content without laurels, when none are to be had: you have hunted far and near for them, and taken true pains to the last in that old nursery-garden Germany, and by the way have made me shudder with your last journal: but you must be easy with qualibet other arbore; you must come home to your own plantations. The duke of Bedford is gone in a fury to make peace, for he cannot be even pacific with temper; and by this time I suppose the duke de Nivernois is unpacking his portion of olive *dans la rue de Suffolk-street*. I say, I suppose—for I do not, like my friends at Arthur's, whip into my post-chaise to see every novelty. My two sovereigns, the duchess of G— and lady M— C—, are arrived, and yet I have seen neither Polly nor Lucy. The former, I hear, is entirely French; the latter as absolutely English.

Well! but if you insist on not doffing your cuirass, you may find an opportunity of wearing it. The storm thickens. The city of London are ready to hoist their standard; treason is the bon ton at that end of the town; seditious papers pasted up at every corner: nay, my neighbourhood is not unfashionable; we have had them at Brentford and Kingston. The Peace is the cry; but to make weight; they throw in all the abusive ingredients they can collect. They talk of your friend the duke of Devonshire's resigning; and, for the duke of Newcastle, it puts him so much in mind of the end of queen Anne's time, that I believe he hopes to be minister again for another forty years.

In the mean time there are but dark news from the Havannah; the Gazette, who would not fib for the world, says, we have lost but four officers: the World, who is not quite so scrupulous, says, our loss is heavy.—But what shocking notice to those who have *Harry Conways* there! The Gazette breaks off with saying, that they were to storm the next day! Upon the whole, it is regarded as a preparative to worse news.

Our next monarch was christened last night, George Augustus Frederic; the princess, the duke of Cumberland, and duke of Mecklenburgh, sponsors; the ceremony performed by the bishop of London. The queen's bed, magnificent, and they say in taste, was placed in the great drawing-room: though she is not to see company in form, yet it looks as if they had intended people should have been there, as all who presented themselves were admitted,

mitted, which were very few, for it had not been notified; I suppose to prevent too great a crowd—All I have heard named, besides those in waiting, were the duchess of Queensberry, lady Dalkeith, Mrs. Grenville, and about four more ladies.

My lady A—— is abominable: she settled a party to come hither, and put it off for a month; and now she has been here and seen my cabinet, she ought to tell you what good reason I had not to stir. If she has not told you that it is the finest, the prettiest, the newest and the oldest thing in the world, I will not go to Park-place on the 20th, as I have promised. Oh! but tremble you may for me, though you will not for yourself—all my glories were on the point of vanishing last night in a flame! The chimney of the new gallery, which chimney is full of deal-boards, and which gallery is full of shavings, was on fire at eight o'clock. Harry had quarrelled with the other servants, and would not sit in the kitchen; and to keep up his anger had lighted a vast fire in the servants' hall, which is under the gallery. The chimney took fire; and if Margaret had not smelt it with the first nose that ever a servant had, a quarter of an hour had set us in a blaze. I hope you are frightened out of your senses for me: if you are not, I will never live in a panic for three or four years for you again.

I have had lord March and the Rena¹ here for one night, which does not raise my reputation in the neighbourhood, and may usher me again for a Scotchman into The North Briton². I have had too a letter from a Ger-

¹ A fashionable courtesan.

² The favourable opinion given by Mr. Walpole of the abilities of the Scotch in The royal and noble authors, first drew upon him the notice of The North Briton. The passage alluded to is the following in the second number of that paper: "Mr. Horace Walpole, in that deep book called The royal and noble authors, says, We are the most accomplished nation in Europe; the nation to which, if any one country is endowed with a superior partition of sense, [and he ought to have added, of humour and taste, in both which we excel.] I should be inclined to give the preference in that particular. How faithful is this masterly pen of Mr. Walpole! How unlike the odious

sharp and strong incision pen of Swift! He has called us only a poor FIERCE northern people; and has asserted, that the pensions and employments possessed by the natives of Scotland in England, amounted to more than the whole body of their nobility ever spent at home; and that all the money they raised upon the public was hardly sufficient to defray their civil and military lists. This was at the latter end of queen Anne's reign. How very different is the case now! I beg to recommend Mr. Walpole, too, for so very particular a compliment (which I hope flowed from his heart still more than from his head), and I entreat his lordship to put him on the list immediately after my countrymen and the Cocoa."

man that I never saw, who tells me, that, hearing by chance how well I am with my lord Bute, he desires me to get him a place. The North Briton first recommended me for an employment, and has now given me interest at the backstairs. It is a notion, that whatever is said of one, has generally some kind of foundation: surely I am a contradiction to this maxim! yet, was I of consequence enough to be remembered, perhaps posterity would believe that I was a flatterer! Good-night!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XLIX.

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 28, 1762.

TO my sorrow and your wicked joy, it is a doubt whether monsieur de Nivernois will shut the temple of Janus. We do not believe him quite so much in earnest, as the dove¹ we have sent, who has summoned his turtle to Paris. She sets out the day after to-morrow, escorted, to add gravity to the embassy, by George Selwyn. The stocks don't mind this journey of a rush, but draw in their horns every day. We can learn nothing of the Havannah, though the axis on which the whole treaty turns. We believe, for we have never seen them, that the last letters thence brought accounts of great loss, especially by the sickness. Colonel Burgoyne² has given a little fillip to the Spaniards, and shown them, that though they can take Portugal from the Portuguese, it will not be entirely so easy to wrest it from the English. Lord Pulteney³, and my nephew⁴, lady Waldegrave's brother, distinguished themselves. I hope your hereditary prince is recovering of the wounds in his loins; for they say he is to marry princess Augusta.

Lady A— has told you, to be sure, that I have been at Park-place.

¹ The duke of Bedford, then ambassador at Paris.

³ Only son of William Pulteney, earl of Bath. He died before his father.

² Colonel, afterwards general Burgoyne, with the comte de Lippe, commanded the British troops sent to the relief of Portugal.

⁴ Edward, only son of sir Edward Walpole. He died in 1771.

Every

Every thing there is in beauty ; and, I should think, pleasanter than a campaign in Germany. Your countess is handsomer than fame ; your daughter improving every day ; your plantations more thriving than the poor woods about Marburg and Cassel. Chinese pheasants swarm there.—For lady C——, I assure you, she sits close upon her egg, and it will not be her fault if she does not hatch a hero. We missed all the glories of the installation¹, and all the false, and all the frowning faces there. Not a knight was absent, but the lame and the deaf.

Your brother, lady Hertford, and lord Beauchamp, are gone from Windsor into Suffolk. Henry², who has the genuine indifference of a *Harry Conway*, would not stir from Oxford for those pageants. Lord Beauchamp showed me a couple of his letters, which have more natural humour and cleverness than is conceivable. They have the ease and drollery of a man of parts who has lived long in the world—and he is scarce seventeen !

I am going to Lord Waldegrave's³ for a few days, and, when your countess returns from Goodwood, am to meet her at C——'s. Lord Strafford⁴, who has been terribly alarmed about my lady, mentions, with great pleasure, the letters he receives from you. His neighbour and cousin, lord Rockingham, I hear, is one of the warmest declaimers at Arthur's against the present system. Abuse continues in much plenty, but I have seen none that I thought had wit enough to bear the sea. Good-night. There are satiric prints enough to tapestry Westminster-hall.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Stay a moment : I recollect telling you a lie in my last, which, though of no consequence, I must correct. The right reverend midwife, Thomas Secker, archbishop, did christen the babe, and not the bishop of London, as I had been told by matron authority. A-propos to babes : Have you read

¹ An installation of knights of the garter. of the garter, had married Maria, second daughter of sir Edward Walpole.
² Henry Seymour Conway, second son of Francis, earl and afterward marquis of Hertford. * William Wentworth, earl of Strafford, married lady Anne Campbell, third daughter of John duke of Argyll.

³ James, second earl of Waldegrave, knight

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Rousscau

Rouffeau on education? I almost got through a volume at Park-place, though impatiently; it has more tautology than any of his works, and less eloquence. Sure he has writ more sense and more nonsense than ever any man did of both! All I have yet learned from this work is, that one should have a tutor for one's son to teach him to have no ideas, in order that he may begin to learn his alphabet as he loses his maidenhead.

Thursday noon, 30th.

To Havannah! To Albemarle! I had sealed my letter, and given it to Harry for the post; when my lady Suffolk sent me a short note from Charles Townshend, to say the Havannah surrendered on the 12th of August, and that we have taken twelve ships of the line in the harbour. The news came late last night. I do not know a particular more. God grant no more blood be shed! I have hopes again of the peace. My dearest Harry, now we have preserved you to the last moment, do take care of yourself. When one has a whole war to wade through, it is not worth while to be careful in any one battle; but it is silly to fling one's self away in the last. Your character is established; prince Ferdinand's letters are full of encomiums on you; but what will weigh more with you, save yourself for another war, which I doubt you will live to see, and in which you may be superior commander, and have space to display your talents. A second in service is never remembered, whether the honour of the victory be owing to him, or he killed. Turenne would have a very short paragraph, if the prince of Condé had been general, when he fell. Adieu.

LETTER L.

Arlington-street, October 4, 1762.

I AM concerned to hear you have been so much out of order, but should rejoice your sole command¹ disappointed you, if this late cannonading business² did not destroy all my little prospects. Can one believe the French negotiators are sincere, when their marshals are so false? What vexes me

¹ During lord Granby's absence from the army in Flanders the command in chief had devolved on Mr. Conway.

² The affair of Bucker-Muhl. See Annual Register for the year 1762, page 49.

more is to hear you seriously tell your brother that you are always unlucky, and lose all opportunities of fighting. How can you be such a child? You cannot, like a German, love fighting for its own sake. No: you think of the mob of London, who, if you had taken Peru, would forget you the first Lord-Mayor's-Day, or for the first hyæna that comes to town. How can one build on virtue and on fame too? When do they ever go together? In my passion, I could almost wish you were as worthless and as great as the king of Prussia! If conscience is a punishment, is not it a reward too? Go to that silent tribunal, and be satisfied with its sentence.

I have nothing new to tell you. The Havannah is more likely to break off the peace than to advance it. We are not in a humour to give up the world; *anzi*, are much more disposed to conquer the rest of it. We shall have some cannonading here, I believe, if we sign the peace. Mr. Pitt, from the bosom of his retreat, has made Beckford mayor. The duke of Newcastle, if not taken in again, will probably end his life as he began it—at the head of a mob. Personalities and abuse, public and private, increase to the most outrageous degree, and yet the town is at the emptiest. You may guess what will be the case in a month. I do not see at all into the storm: I do not mean that there will not be a great majority to vote any thing; but there are times when even majorities cannot do all they are ready to do. Lord Bute has certainly great luck, which is something in politics, whatever it is in logic: but whether peace or war, I would not give him much for the place he will have this day twelve-month. Adieu! The watchman goes past one in the morning; and as I have nothing better than reflections and conjectures to send you, I may as well go to bed.

LETTER LI.

Strawberry-hill, Oct. 29, 1762.

YOU take my philosophy very kindly, as it was meant; but I suppose you smile a little in your sleeve to hear me turn moralist. Yet why should not I? Must every absurd young man prove a foolish old one? Not that I intend, when the latter term is quite arrived, to profess preaching; nor should, I believe, have talked so gravely to you, if your situation had

had not made me grave. Till the campaign is ended, I shall be in no humour to smile. For the war, when it will be over, I have no idea. The peace is a jack-o'-lanthorn that dances before one's eyes, is never approached, and at best seems ready to lead some folks into a woeful quagmire.

As your brother was in town, and I had my intelligence from him, I concluded you would have the same, and therefore did not tell you of this last revolution, which has brought Mr. Fox again upon the scene. I have been in town but once since; yet learned enough to confirm the opinion I had conceived, that the building totters, and that this last buttress will but push on its fall. Besides the clamorous opposition already encamped, The World talks of another, composed of names not so often found in a mutiny. What think you of the great duke¹, and the little duke², and the old duke³, and the Derbyshire duke⁴, banded together against the favourite⁵? If so, it proves the court, as the late lord G—— wrote to the mayor of Litchfield, will have a majority in every thing but numbers. However, my letter is a week old before I write it: things may have changed since last Tuesday. Then the prospect was *des plus* gloomy. Portugal at the eve of being conquered—Spain preferring a diadem to the mural crown of the Havannah—a squadron taking horse for Naples, to see whether king Carlos has any more private bowels than public, whether he is a better father than brother. If what I heard yesterday be true, that the parliament is to be put off till the 24th, it does not look as if they were ready in the green-room, and despised catcalls.

You bid me send you the flower of brimstone, the best things published in this season of outrage. I should not have waited for orders, if I had met with the least tolerable morsel. But this opposition ran stark mad at once, cursed, swore, called names, and has not been one minute cool enough to have a grain of wit. Their prints are gross, their papers scurrilous; indeed the authors abuse one another more than any body else. I have not seen a single ballad or epigram. They are as seriously dull as if the controversy was religious. I do not take in a paper of either side, and being very indif-

¹ Of Cumberland.

² Of Bedford.

³ Of Newcastle.

⁴ Of Devonshire.

⁵ John Stuart earl of Bute.

ferent, the only way of being impartial, they shall not make me pay till they make me laugh. I am here quite alone, and shall stay a fortnight longer, unless the parliament prorogued lengthens my holidays. I do not pretend to be so indifferent, to have so little curiosity, as not to go and see the duke of Newcastle frightened *for* his country—the only thing that never yet gave him a panic. Then I am still such a schoolboy, that though I could guess half their orations, and know *all* their meaning, I must go and hear Cæsar and Pompey scold in the Temple of Concord. As this age is to make such a figure hereafter, how the Gronoviuses and Warburtons would despise a senator that deserted the forum when the masters of the world harangued! For, as this age is to be historic, so of course it will be a standard of virtue too; and we, like our wicked predecessors the Romans, shall be quoted, till our very ghosts blush, as models of patriotism and magnanimity. What lectures will be read to poor children on this æra! Europe taught to tremble, the great king humbled, the treasures of Peru diverted into the Thames, Asia subdued by the gigantic Clive! for in that age men were near seven feet high; France suing for peace at the gates of Buckingham-house, the steady wisdom of the duke of Bedford drawing a circle round the Gallic monarch, and forbidding him to pass it till he had signed the cession of America; Pitt more eloquent than Demosthenes, and trampling on proffered pensions like—I don't know who; lord Temple sacrificing a brother to the love of his country; Wilkes as spotless as Sallust, and the Flamen Churchill* knocking down the foes of Britain with statues of the gods!—Oh! I am out of breath with eloquence and prophecy, and truth and lies: my narrow chest was not formed to hold inspiration; I must return to piddling with my painters: those lofty subjects are too much for me. Good night!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I forgot to tell you that Gideon, who is dead worth more than the whole land of Canaan, has left the reversion of all his milk and honey, after his son and daughter and their children, to the duke of Devonshire, without insisting on his taking the name, or even being circumcised.

* Charles Churchill the poet.

Lord

Lord Albemarle is expected home in December. My nephew Keppel¹ is bishop of Exeter, not of the Havannah, as you may imagine, for his mitre was promised the day before the news came.

L E T T E R L I I .

Strawberry-hill, February 28, 1763.

YOUR letter of the 19th seems to postpone your arrival rather than advance it; yet lady A. tells me that to her you talk of being here in ten days. I wish devoutly to see you, though I am not departing myself; but I am impatient to have your disagreeable function² at an end, and to know that you enjoy yourself after such fatigues, dangers, and ill-requited services. For any public satisfaction you will receive in being at home, you must not expect much. Your mind was not formed to float on the surface of a mercenary world. My prayer (and my belief) is, that you may always prefer what you always have preferred, your integrity to success. You will then laugh, as I do, at the attacks and malice of faction or ministers. I taste of both; but, as my health is recovered, and my mind does not reproach me, they will perhaps only give me an opportunity, which I should never have sought, of proving that I have some virtue—and it will not be proved in the way they probably expect. I have better evidence than by hanging out the tattered ensigns of patriotism. But this and a thousand other things I shall reserve for our meeting. Your brother has pressed me much to go with him, if he goes, to Paris³. I take it very kindly, but have excused myself, though I have promised either to accompany him for a short time at first, or to go to him if he should have any particular occasion for me: but my resolution against ever appearing in any public light is unalterable. When I wish to live less and less in the world here, I cannot think of mounting a new stage at Paris. At this moment I am alone here, while every body is balloting in the house of commons. Sir John Philips proposed a commission of accounts, which has been converted into a select committee of 21, eligible by ballot. As the ministry is not predominant in the

¹ Frederick Keppel, youngest brother of George earl of Albemarle, who commanded at taking the Havannah, had married Laura, eldest daughter of sir Edward Walpole.

² The re-embarkation of the British troops from Flanders after the peace.

³ As ambassador.

affections

affections of mankind, some of them may find a jury elected that will not be quite so complaisant as the house is in general when their votes are given *openly*. As many may be glad of this opportunity, I shun it; for I should scorn to do any thing in secret, though I have some enemies that are not quite so generous.

You say you have seen the North Briton in which I make a capital figure. Wilkes, the author, I hear, says, that if he had thought I should have taken it so well, he would have been damned before he would have written it—but I am not fore where I am not fore.

The theatre at Covent-garden has suffered more by riots than even Drury-lane. A footman of lord Dacre has been hanged for murdering the butler. George Selwyn had great hand in bringing him to confess it. That Selwyn should be a capital performer in a scene of that kind is not extraordinary: I tell it you for the strange coolness which the young fellow, who was but nineteen, expressed: as he was writing his confession, "I murd—" he stopped, and asked, "How do you spell *murdered*?"

Mr. Fox is much better than at the beginning of the winter; and both his health and power seem to promise a longer duration than people expected. Indeed I think the latter is so established, that lord B—— would find it more difficult to remove him, than he did his predecessors, and may even feel the effects of the weight he has made over to him; for it is already obvious that lord B——'s levée is not the present path to fortune. Permanence is not the complexion of these times—a distressful circumstance to the votaries of a court, but amusing to us spectators. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LIII.

Strawberry-hill, May 1, 1763.

I FEEL happy at hearing your happiness; but, my dear Harry, your vision is much indebted to your long absence, which

Makes bleak rocks and barren mountains smile.

VOL. V.

O

I mean

I mean no offence to Park-place, but the bitterness of the weather makes me wonder how you can find the country tolerable now. This is a May-day for the latitude of Siberia! The milk-maids should be wrapped *in the motherly comforts of a swan-skin petticoat*. In short, such hard words have passed between me and the north wind to day, that, according to the language of the times, I was very near abusing it for coming from Scotland, and to imputing it to lord B——. I don't know whether I should not have written a North Briton against it, if the printers were not all sent to Newgate, and Mr. Wilkes to the Tower—ay, to the Tower, tout de bon. The new ministry are trying to make up for their ridiculous insignificance by a coup d'eclat. As I came hither yesterday, I do not know whether the particulars I have heard are genuine—but in the Tower he certainly is, taken up by lord Halifax's warrant for treason; vide the North Briton of Saturday was se'nnight. It is said he refused to obey the warrant, of which he asked and got a copy from the two messengers, telling them he did not mean to make his escape, but sending to demand his habeas corpus, which was refused. He then went to lord Halifax, and thence to the Tower; declaring they should get nothing out of him but what they knew. All his papers have been seized. Lord chief justice Pratt, I am told, finds great fault with the wording of the warrant.

I don't know how to execute your commission for books of architecture, nor care to put you to expence, which I know will not answer. I have been consulting my neighbour young Mr. Thomas Pitt¹, my present architect: we have all books of that sort here, but cannot think of one which will help you to a cottage or a green-house. For the former you should send me your idea, your dimensions; for the latter, don't you rebuild your old one, though in another place? A pretty green-house I never saw; nor without immoderate expence can it well be an agreeable object. Mr. Pitt thinks a mere portico without a pediment, and windows removeable in summer, would be the best plan you could have. If so, don't you remember something of that kind, which you liked, at sir Charles Cotterel's at Rousham? But a fine green-house must be on a more exalted plan. In short, you must be more particular, before I can be at all so.

I called at Hammer-smith yesterday about lady A——'s tubs; one of

¹ Afterwards created lord Camelford.

them is nearly finished, but they will not both be completed these ten days. Shall they be sent to you by water? Good-night to her ladyship and you, and the Infanta¹, whose progress in waxen statuary I hope advances so fast, that by next winter she may rival Rackstrow's old man. Do you know that, though apprised of what I was going to see, it deceived me, and made such impression on my mind, that, thinking on it as I came home in my chariot, and seeing a woman steadfastly at work in a window in Pall-mall, it made me start to see her move. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Arlington-street, Monday night.

THE mighty commitment set out with a blunder; the warrant directed the printer, and all concerned (unnamed) to be taken up. Consequently Wilkes had his habeas corpus of course, and was committed again; moved for another in the common-pleas, and is to appear there to-morrow morning. Lord Temple being, by another strain of power, refused admittance to him, said, "I thought this was the Tower, but find it is the Bastille." They found among Wilkes's papers an unpublished North Briton, designed for last Saturday. It contained advice to the king not to go to St. Paul's on the thanksgiving, but to have a snug one in his own chapel; and to let lord G—S— carry the sword. There was a dialogue in it too between Fox and Calcraft: the former says to the latter, "I did not think you would have served me so, Jemmy Twitcher."

LETTER LIV.

Arlington-street, May 6, very late, 1763.

THE complexion of the times is a little altered since the beginning of this last winter. Prerogative, that gave itself such airs in November, and would speak to nothing but a Tory, has had a rap this morning that will do

¹ Anne Seymour Conway, whose genius for sculpture has since distinguished itself in more durable materials. E.

it some good, unless it is weak enough to do itself more harm. The judges of the common-pleas have unanimously dismissed Wilkes from his imprisonment, as a breach of privilege; his offence not being a breach of the peace, only tending to it. The people are in transports; and it will require all the vanity and confidence of those able ministers lord S. and Mr. C. to keep up the spirits of the court.

I must change this tone, to tell you of the most dismal calamity that ever happened. Lady Moleworth's house, in Upper Brook-street, was burned to the ground between four and five this morning. She herself, two of her daughters, her brother, and six servants, perished. Two other of the young ladies jumped out of the two pair of stairs and garret windows: one broke her thigh, the other (the eldest of all) broke her's too, and has had it cut off. The fifth daughter is much burnt. The French governess leaped from the garret, and was dashed to pieces. Dr. Moleworth and his wife, who were there on a visit, escaped; the wife by jumping from the two pair of stairs, and saving herself by a rail; he by hanging by his hands, till a second ladder was brought, after a first had proved too short. Nobody knows how or where the fire began; the catastrophe is shocking beyond what one ever heard; and poor lady Moleworth, whose character and conduct were the most amiable in the world, is universally lamented. Your good hearts will feel this in the most lively manner.

I go early to Strawberry to-morrow, giving up the new opera, madame de Boufflers, and Mr. Wilkes, and all the present topics. Wilkes, whose case has taken its place by the side of the seven bishops, calls himself the eighth—not quite improperly, when one remembers that sir Jonathan Trelawney, who swore like a trooper, was one of those confessors.

There is a good letter in the Gazetteer on the other side, pretending to be written by lord Temple, and advising Wilkes to cut his throat, like lord E. as it would be of infinite service to their cause. There are published, too, three volumes of lady Mary Wortley's letters, which I believe are genuine, and are not unentertaining—But have you read Tom Hervey's letter to the late king? That beats every thing for madness, horrid indecency, and folly, and yet has some charming and striking passages.

I have advised Mrs. H. to inform against Jack, as writing in the North Briton; he will then be shut up in the Tower, and may be shown for old Nero'. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LV.

Arlington-street, May 21, 1763.

YOU have now seen the celebrated madame de Boufflers^a. I dare say you could in that short time perceive that she is agreeable, but I dare say too that you will agree with me that vivacity is by no means the partage of the French—bating the étourderie of the mousquetaires and of a high-dried petit-maître or two, they appear to me more lifeless than Germans. I cannot comprehend how they came by the character of a lively people. Charles Townshend has more *sal volatile* in him than the whole nation. Their king is taciturnity itself; Mirepoix was a walking mummy; Nivernois has about as much life as a sick favourite child; and monsieur Duffon is a good-humoured country gentleman, who has been drunk the day before, and is upon his good behaviour. If I have the gout next year and am thoroughly humbled by it again, I will go to Paris, that I may be upon a level with them: at present, I am *trop fou* to keep them company. Mind, I do not insift that, to have spirits, a nation should be as frantic as poor —, as absurd as the duchess of Queensberry, or as dashing as the Virgin Chudleigh. Oh, that you had been at her ball t'other night! History could never describe it and keep its countenance. The queen's real birth-day, you know, is not kept: this maid of honour kept it—nay, while the court is in mourning, expected people to be out of mourning; the queen's family really was so, lady Northumberland having desired leave for them. A scaffold was erected in Hyde-park for fireworks. To show the illuminations without to more advantage, the company were received in an apartment

^a An old lion there, so called.

^b The comtesse de Boufflers, who, since the revolution in France of the year 1789, resided in England for two or three years with her daughter-in-law the comtesse Emilie de Boufflers.

totally

totally dark, where they remained for two hours—If they gave rise to any more birth-days, who could help it? The fireworks were fine, and succeeded well. On each side of the court were two large scaffolds for the Virgin's tradespeople. When the fireworks ceased, a large scene was lighted in the court, representing their majesties; on each side of which were six obelisks, painted with emblems, and illuminated; mottos beneath in Latin and English: 1. For the prince of Wales, a ship, *Multorum spes*. 2. For the princess dowager, a bird of Paradise, and *two* little ones, *Meos ad sidera tollo*. People smiled. 3. Duke of York, a temple, *Virtuti & honori*. 4. Princess Augusta, a bird of Paradise, *Non habet parem*—unluckily this was translated, *I have no peer*. People laughed out, considering where this was exhibited. 5. The three younger princes, an orange-tree, *Promittit & dat*. 6. The two younger princesses, the flower crown-imperial. I forget the Latin: the translation was silly enough, *Bashful in youth, graceful in age*. The lady of the house made many apologies for the poorness of the performance, which she said was only oil-paper, painted by one of her servants; but it really was fine and pretty. The duke of Kingston was in a frock, *comme chez lui*. Behind the house was a cenotaph for the princess Elizabeth, a kind of illuminated cradle; the motto, *All the honours the dead can receive*. This burying-ground was a strange codicil to a festival; and, what was more strange, about one in the morning, this sarcophagus burst out into crackers and guns. The margrave of Anspach began the ball with the Virgin. The supper was most sumptuous.

You ask, when I propose to be at Park-place. I ask, Shall not you come to the duke of Richmond's masquerade, which is the 2d of June? I cannot well be with you till towards the end of that month.

The inclosed is a letter which I wish you to read attentively, to give me your opinion upon it, and return it. It is from a sensible friend of mine in Scotland, who has lately corresponded with me on the inclosed subjects, which I little understand; but I promised to communicate his ideas to George Grenville, if he would state them—Are they practicable? I wish much that something could be done for those brave soldiers and sailors, who will all come to the gallows, unless some timely provision can be made for them.—The former part of his letter relates to a grievance he complains of,
that

that men who have *not* served, are admitted into garrisons, and then into our hospitals, which were designed for meritorious sufferers'. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LVI.

Arlington-street, Saturday evening.

NO, indeed I cannot consent to your being a dirty Philander². Pink and white, white and pink! and both as greasy as if you had gnawed a leg of a fowl on the stairs of the Hay-market with a bunter from the Cardigan's Head! For heaven's sake don't produce a tight rose-coloured thigh, unless you intend to prevent my lord ——'s return from Harrowgate. Write, the moment you receive this, to your taylor to get you a sober purple domino as I have done, and it will make you a couple of summer waistcoats.

In the next place, have your ideas a little more correct about us of times past. We did not furnish our cottages with chairs of ten guineas a piece. Ebony for a farm-house³! So, two hundred years hence some man of taste will build a hamlet in the style of George the third, and beg his cousin Tom Hearne to get him some chairs for it of mahogany gilt, and covered with blue damask. Adieu! I have not a minute's time more.

Yours, &c.

HOR. WALPOLE.

² As this letter is not to be found, no farther light can be thrown on its contents.

³ At the masquerade given by the duke of Richmond on the 6th of June, 1763, at his house in Privy-garden.

⁴ Mr. Conway was at this time sitting up the

little building beautifully situated on the brow of the hill at Park-place, and called the Cottage, though indeed containing a very good room towards the prospect in the Gothic style, for which he had consulted Mr. Walpole on the propriety of ebony chairs. E.

LETTER

LETTER LVII.

Strawberry-hill, August 9, 1763.

MY gallery claims your promise; the painters and gilders finish tomorrow, and next day it washes its hands. You talked of the 15th; shall I expect you then, and the countess¹, and the contessina², and the baroness³?

Lord Digby is to be married immediately to the pretty miss Fielding; and Mr. Boothby, they say, to lady Mary Douglas. What more news I know I cannot send you; for I have had it from lady Denbigh and lady Blandford⁴, who have so confounded names, genders, and circumstances, that I am not sure whether prince Ferdinand is not going to be married to the Hereditary Prince. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. If you want to know more of me, you may read a whole column of abuse upon me in the Public Ledger of Thursday last; where they inform me that the Scotch cannot be so sensible as the English, because they have not such good writers. Alack! I am afraid *the most sensible* men in any country do *not* write.

I had writ this last night. This morning I receive your paper of evasions, perfide que vous êtes! You may let it alone, you will never see any thing like my gallery—And then to ask me to leave it the instant it is finished! I never heard such a request in my days!—Why, all the earth is begging to come to see it: as Edging says, I have had offers enough from blue and green ribbands to make me a falbala-apron. Then I have just refused to let Mrs. K—— and her bishop be in the house with me, because I expected all you—It is mighty well, mighty fine!—No, sir, no, I shall not

¹ Of Ailesbury.

Lyttelton.

² Miss Anne Seymour Conway.⁴ They were both Dutch women, and spoke very bad English.³ Elizabeth Rich, second wife of George lord

come;

come; nor am I in a humour to do any thing else you desire: indeed, without your provoking me, I should not have come into the proposal of paying Giardini. We have been duped and cheated every winter for these twenty years by the undertakers of operas, and I never will pay a farthing more till the last moment, nor can be terrified at their puffs; I am astonished you are. So far from frightening me, the kindest thing they could do, would be not to let one have a box to hear their old thread-bare voices and frippery thefts; and as for Giardini himself, I would not go cross the room to hear him play to eternity. I should think he could frighten nobody but lady Bingley by a refusal.

LETTER LVIII.

Arlington-street, April 19, 1764.

I AM just come from the duchess of Argyll's¹, where I dined. General Warburton was there, and said it was the report at the house of lords, that you are turned out—He imagined, of your regiment—but that I suppose is a mistake for the bedchamber². I shall hear more to-night, and lady Strafford, who brings you this, will tell you; though to be sure you will know earlier by the post to-morrow. My only reason for writing is, to repeat to you, that whatever you do I shall act with you³. I resent any thing done to you as to myself. My fortunes shall never be separated from yours—except that some time or other I hope yours will be great, and I am content with mine.

The Manns go on with the business⁴—The letter you received was from Mr. Edward Mann, not from Gal's widow. Adieu! I was going to say, my *disgraced* friend—How delightful to have a character so unspotted, that the word *disgrace* recoils on those who displace you!

Yours unalterably,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ Widow of John Campbell, duke of Argyll. She was sister to general Warburton, and had been maid of honour to queen Anne.

² Mr. Conway was dismissed from all his employments, civil and military, for having opposed the ministry in the house of commons, on

the question of the legality of general warrants, at the time of the prosecution of Mr. Wilkes for the publication of *The North Briton*. E.

³ Mr. Walpole was then in the house of commons, member for King's Lynn in Norfolk.

⁴ Of army-clothiers.

LETTER LIX.

Strawberry-hill, Saturday night, eight o'clock, April 21, 1764.

I WRITE to you with a very bad head-ach; I have pass'd a night, for which — and the duke of — shall pass many an uneasy one! Notwithstanding I heard from every body I met, that your regiment, as well as bedchamber, were taken away, I would not believe it, till last night the duchess of G— told me, that the night before the duchess of — said to her, "Are not you very sorry for poor Mr. Conway? He has lost every thing." When the witch of Endor pities, one knows she has rais'd the devil.

I am come hither alone to put my thoughts into some order, and to avoid showing the first fallies of my repentment, which I know you would disapprove; nor does it become your friend to rail. My anger shall be a little more manly, and the plan of my revenge a little deeper laid than in peevish bons-mots. You shall judge of my indignation by its duration.

In the mean time, let me beg you, in the most earnest and most sincere of all professions, to suffer me to make your loss as light as it is in my power to make it: I have six thousand pounds in the funds; accept all, or what part you want. Do not imagine I will be put off with a refusal. The retrenchment of my expences, which I shall from this hour commence, will convince you that I mean to re-place your fortune as far as I can. When I thought you did not want it, I had made another disposition. You have ever been the dearest person to me in the world. You have shown that you deserve to be so.—You suffer for your spotless integrity.—Can I hesitate a moment to show that there is at least one man who knows how to value you? The new will, which I am going to make, will be a testimonial of my own sense of virtue.

One circumstance has heightened my repentment. If it was *not* an accident, it deserves to heighten it. The very day on which your dismissal was notified, I received an order from the treasury for the payment of what money was due to me there. Is it possible that they could mean to make any distinction between us? Have I separated myself from you?

Is there that spot on earth where I can be suspected of having paid court? Have I even left my name at a minister's door, since you took your part? If they have dared to hint this, the pen that is now writing to you will bitterly undeceive them.

I am impatient to see the letters you have received, and the answers you have sent. Do you come to town? If you do not, I will come to you to-morrow se'nnight, that is, the 29th. I give no advice on any thing, because you are cooler than I am—not so cool, I hope, as to be insensible to this outrage, this villainy, this injustice! You owe it to your country to labour the extermination of such ministers!

I am so bad a hypocrite, that I am afraid of showing how deeply I feel this. Yet last night I received the account from the duchess of G—with more temper than you believe me capable of: but the agitation of the night disordered me so much, that lord John Cavendish, who was with me two hours this morning, does not, I believe, take me for a hero. As there are some who I know would enjoy my mortification, and who probably designed I should feel my share of it, I wish to command myself—but that struggle shall be added to their bill. I saw nobody else before I came away but Legge, who sent for me and wrote the inclosed for you. He would have said more both to you and lady A—, but I would not let him, as he is so ill: however, he thinks himself that he shall live. I hope he will! I would not lose a shadow that can haunt these ministers.

I feel for lady A—, because I know she feels just as I do—and it is not a pleasant sensation. I will say no more, though I could write volumes. Adieu!

Yours, as I ever have been and ever will be,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LX.

Arlington-street, April 24, 1764.

I REJOICE that you feel your loss¹ so little: that you act with dignity and propriety does not surprisè me. To have you behave in character and with character, is my first of all wishes; for then it will not be in the power of man to make you unhappy. Ask yourself—Is there a man in England with whom you would change character?—Is there a man in England who would not change with you? Then think how little they have taken away!

For me, I shall certainly conduct myself as you prescribe. Your friend shall say and do nothing unworthy of your friend. You govern me in every thing but one: I mean the disposition I have told you I shall make². Nothing can alter that, but a great change in your fortune. In another point you partly misunderstand me. That I shall explain hereafter.

I shall certainly meet you here on Sunday, and very cheerfully. We may laugh at a world in which nothing of us will remain long but our characters. Adieu! the dear family!

Yours eternally,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXI.

Arlington-street, June 5, 1764.

YOU will wonder that I have been so long without giving you any signs of life; yet, though not writing to you, I have been employed about you, as I have ever since the 21st of April; a day your enemies shall have some cause to remember. I had writ nine or ten sheets of an answer to the *Address to the Public*, when I received the inclosed *mandate*³. You will see

¹ Of his employments.² Of leaving a considerable part of his fortune to Mr. Conway.³ The paper here alluded to does not appear.

my masters order me, as a subaltern of the exchequer, to drop you and defend them—but you will see too, that, instead of obeying, *I have given warning*. I would not communicate any part of this transaction to you, till it was out of my hands, because I knew your affection for me would not approve my going so far—But it was necessary. My honour required that I should declare my adherence to you in the most authentic manner. I found that some persons had dared to doubt whether I would risk every thing for you. You see by these letters that Mr. Grenville himself had presumed so. Even a change in the administration, however unlikely, might happen before I had any opportunity of declaring myself; and then those who should choose to put the worst construction, either on my actions or my silence, might say what they pleased. I was waiting for some opportunity: they have put it into my hands, and I took care not to let it slip. Indeed they have put more into my hands, which I have not let slip neither. Could I expect they would give me so absurd an account of Mr. Grenville's conduct, and give it me in writing? They can only add to this obligation that of provocation to print my letter, which, however strong in facts, I have taken care to make very decent in terms, because it imports us to have the candid (that is, I fear, the mercenary) on our side.—No, that we must not expect, but at least disarmed.

Lord Tavistock has flung his handkerchief to lady Elizabeth Keppel. They all go to Woburn on Thursday, and the ceremony is to be performed as soon as her brother, the bishop, can arrive from Exeter. I am heartily glad the duchess of Bedford does not set her heart on marrying me to any body; I am sure she would bring it about. She has some small intention of coupling my niece and ———, but I have forbidden the bans.

The birth-day, I hear, was lamentably empty. We had a funereal look last night in the great chamber at lady Bel Finch's: the Duke, princess Emily, and the duchess of Bedford were there. The princess entertained her grace with the joy the duke of Bedford will have in being a grandfather; in which reflection, I believe, the grandmotherhood was not forgotten. Adieu!

LETTER

LETTER LXII.

September 1, 1764.

I SEND you the reply to The counter-address¹; it is the lowest of all Grub-street, and I hear is treated so. They have nothing better to say, than that I am in love with you, have been so these twenty years, and am no giant. I am a very constant old swain: they might have made the years above thirty; it is so long I have had the same unalterable friendship for you, independent of being near relations and bred up together. For arguments, so far from any new ones, the man gives up or denies most of the former. I own I am rejoiced not only to see how little they can defend themselves, but to know the extent of their malice and revenge! They must be sorely hurt, when reduced to such scurrility. Yet there is one paragraph, however, which I think is of ————'s own inditing. It says, *I flattered, solicited, and then basely deserted him.* I no more expected to hear myself accused of flattery, than of being in love with you; but I shall not laugh at the former as I do at the latter. Nothing but his own consummate vanity could suppose I had ever stooped to flatter *him!* or that any man was connected with him, but who was low enough to be paid for it. Where has he one such attachment?

You have your share too—The miscarriage at Rochfort now directly laid at your door: repeated insinuations against your courage:—but I trust you will mind them no more than I do, excepting the *flattery*, which I shall not forget, I promise them.

I came to town yesterday on some business, and found a case.—When I opened it, what was there but my lady A———'s most beautiful of all pictures²! Don't imagine I can think it intended for me, or that, if it could be so, I would hear of such a thing. It is far above what can be parted with, or accepted. I am serious—there is no letting such a picture, when one has accomplished it, go from where one can see it every day.

¹ A pamphlet wrote by Mr. Walpole, in volume of this edition. E. answer to another, called "An address to the

public on the late dismissal of a general officer." The counter address is published in the second volume. ² A landscape executed in water by lady Ailesbury. It is now at Strawberry-hill.

I should take the thought equally kind and friendly, but she must let me bring it back, if I am not to do any thing else with it, and it came by mistake. I am not so selfish to deprive her of what she must have such pleasure in seeing. I shall have more satisfaction in seeing it at Park-place; where, in spite of the worst kind of malice, I shall persist in saying my heart is fixed. They may ruin me, but no calumny shall make me desert you. Indeed your case would be completely cruel, if it was more honourable for your relations and friends to abandon you than to stick to you. My option is made, and I scorn their abuse as much as I despise their power.

I think of coming to you on Thursday next for a day or two, unless your house is full, or you hear from me to the contrary. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXIII.

Strawberry-hill, October 5, 1764.

IT is over with us!—If I did not know your firmness, I would have prepared you by degrees; but you are a man, and can hear the worst at once. The duke of Cumberland² is dead. I have heard it but this instant. The duke of Newcastle was come to breakfast with me, and had pulled out a letter from lord Frederick, with a hopeless account of the poor duke of Devonshire. Ere I could read it, colonel Schutz called at the door and told my servant this fatal news! I know no more—it must be at Newmarket, and very sudden; for the duke of Newcastle had a letter from Hodgson, dated on Monday, which said the duke was perfectly well, and his gout gone:—yes, to be sure, into his head. Princess Amelia had endeavoured to prevent his going to Newmarket, having perceived great alteration in his speech, as the duke of Newcastle had.—Well! it will not be.—Every thing fights against this country! Mr. Pitt must save it himself—or, what I do

² William duke of Cumberland, son of George the second.

not

not know whether he will not like as well, share in overturning its liberty— if they will admit him; which I question now if they will be fools enough to do.

You see I write in despair. I am for the whole, but perfectly tranquil. We have acted with honour, and have nothing to reproach ourselves with. We cannot combat fate. We shall be left almost alone; but I think you will no more go with the torrent than I will. Could I have foreseen this tide of ill fortune, I would have done just as I have done; and my conduct shall show I am satisfied I have done right. For the rest, come what come may, I am perfectly prepared! and while there is a free spot of earth upon the globe, that shall be my country. I am sorry it will not be this, but tomorrow I shall be able to laugh as usual. What signifies what happens when one is seven-and-forty, as I am to-day?

“They tell me 'tis my birth-day”—but I will not go on with Antony, and say

————— “and I'll keep it
With double pomp of sadness.”—

No; when they can smile, who ruin a great country, sure those who would have saved it may indulge themselves in that cheerfulness which conscious integrity bestows. I think I shall come to you next week; and since we have no longer any plan of operations to settle, we will look over the map of Europe, and fix upon a pleasant corner for our exile—for take notice, I do not design to fall upon my dagger, in hopes that some Mr. Addison a thousand years hence may write a dull tragedy about me. I will write my own story a little more cheerfully than he would; but I fear now I must not print it at my own press. Adieu! You was a philosopher before you had any occasion to be so: pray continue so; you have ample occasion!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER

LETTER LXIV.

Strawberry-hill, October 13, 1764.

LORD John Cavendish has been so kind as to send me word of the duke of Devonshire's¹ legacy to you. You cannot doubt of the great joy this gives me; and yet it serves to aggravate the loss of so worthy a man! And when I feel it thus, I am sensible how much more it will add to your concern, instead of diminishing it. Yet do not wholly reflect on your misfortune. You might despise the acquisition of five thousand pounds simply; but when that sum is a public testimonial to your virtue, and bequeathed by a man so virtuous, it is a million! Measure it with the riches of those who have basely injured you, and it is still more! Why, it is glory, it is conscious innocence, it is satisfaction—it is affluence without guilt.—Oh! the comfortable sound! It is a good name in the history of these corrupt days. There it will exist, when the wealth of your and their country's enemies will be wasted, or will be an indelible blemish on their descendants.

My heart is full, and yet I will say no more. My best loves to all your opulent family. Who says virtue is not rewarded in this world? It is rewarded by virtue, and it is persecuted by the bad: Can greater honour be paid to it?

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXV.

Strawberry-hill, October 29, 1764.

I AM glad you mentioned it: I would not have had you appear without your close mourning for the duke of Devonshire upon any account. I was once going to tell you of it, knowing your inaccuracy in such matters; but thought it still impossible you should be ignorant how necessary it is. Lord

¹ William, fourth duke of Devonshire. During his administration in Ireland Mr. Conway had been secretary of state there.

Strafford, who has a legacy of only 200*l.* wrote to consult lady Suffolk. She told him, for such a sum, which only implies a ring, it was sometimes not done; but yet advised him to mourn. In your case it is indispensable; nor can you see any of his family without it. Besides, it is much better on such an occasion to over, than under do. I answer this paragraph first, because I am so earnest not to have you blamed.

Besides wishing to see you all, I have wanted exceedingly to come to you, having much to say to you; but I am confined here, that is, Mr. Chute^r is: he was seized with the gout last Wednesday se'nnight, the day he came hither to meet George Montagu, and this is the first day he has been out of his bed-chamber. I must therefore put off our meeting till Saturday, when you shall certainly find me in town.

We have a report here, but the authority bitter bad, that lord March is going to be married to ——. I don't believe it the less for our knowing nothing of it; for unless their daughter were breeding, and it were to save her character, neither — nor — would disclose a tittle about it. Yet in charity they should advertise it, that parents and relations, if it is so, may lock up all knives, ropes, laudanum, and rivers, lest it should occasion a violent mortality among his fair admirers.

I am charmed with an answer I have just read in the papers of a poor man in Bedlam, who was ill used by an apprentice because he would not tell him why he was confined there. The unhappy creature said at last, "Because God has deprived me of a blessing which you never enjoyed." There never was any thing finer or more moving! Your sensibility will not be quite so much affected by a story I heard t'other day of sir Fletcher Norton. He has a mother—yes, a mother: perhaps you thought, that, like that tender urchin Love,

— duris in cotibus *illum*

Ismarus, aut Rhodope, aut extremi Garamantes,

Nec nostri generis puerum nec sanguinis edunt.

Well, Mrs. Rhodope lives in a mighty shabby hovel at Preston, which the dutiful and affectionate sir Fletcher began to think not suitable to the dig-

^r John Chute, esq. of the Vine in Hampshire.

nity of one who has the honour of being his parent. He cheapened a better, in which were two pictures which the proprietor valued at three score pounds. The attorney insisted on having them for nothing, as fixtures—the landlord refused, the bargain was broken off, and the dowager madam Norton remains in her original hut. I could tell you another story which you would not dislike; but as it might hurt the person concerned, if it was known, I shall not send it by the post; but will tell it you when I see you. Adieu!

Yours most cordially,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXVI.

Wednesday noon, July 3, 1765.

THE footing part of my dance with my shocking partner the gout is almost over. I had little pain there this last night, and got, at twice, about three hours sleep; but whenever I waked found my head very bad, which Mr. Graham thinks gouty too. The fever is still very high: but the same sage is of opinion, with my lady Londonderry, that if it was a fever from death, I should die; but as it is only a fever from the gout, I shall live. I think so too, and hope that, like the duke and duchess of Marlborough, they are so inseparable, that when one goes, t'other will.

Tell lady A——, I fear it will be long before I shall be able to compass all your terraces again.

The weather is very hot, and I have the comfort of a window open all day. I have got a bushel of roses too, and a new scarlet nightingale, which does *not* sing Nancy Dawson from morning to night. Perhaps you think all these poor pleasures; but you are ignorant what a provocative the gout is, and what charms it can bestow on a moment's amusement! Oh! it beats all the refinements of a Roman sensualist. It has made even my watch a darling plaything; I strike it as often as a child does. Then the disorder of my sleep diverts me when I am awake. I dreamt that I went to see
Q²
madame

madame de Bentheim at Paris, and that she had the prettiest palace in the world, built like a pavilion, of yellow laced with blue; that I made love to her daughter, whom I called mademoiselle bleüe et jaune, and thought it very clever.

My next reverie was very serious, and lasted half an hour after I was awake; which you will perhaps think a little light-headed, and so do I. I thought Mr. Pitt had had a conference with madame de Bentheim, and granted all her demands. I rung for Louis at six in the morning, and wanted to get up and inform myself of what had been kept so secret from me. You must know, that all these visions of madame de Bentheim flowed from George Selwyn telling me last night, that she had carried most of her points, and was returning. What stuff I tell you!—But, alas! I have nothing better to do, sitting on my bed, and wishing to forget how brightly the sun shines, when I cannot be at Strawberry.

L E T T E R L X V I I .

Amiens², Wednesday, Sept. 11, 1765.

BIAU COUSIN,

I HAVE had a very prosperous journey till just at entering this city. I escaped a prince of Nassau at Dover, and sickness at sea, though the voyage lasted seven hours and a half. I have recovered my strength surprisngly in the time; though almost famished for want of clean victuals, and comfortable tea and bread and butter. Half a mile from hence I met a coach and four with an equipage of French, and a lady in pea-green and silver, a smart hat and feather, and two suivantes. My reason told me it was the archbishop's concubine; but luckily my heart whispered that it was lady ——. I jumped out of my chaise—yes, jumped, as Mrs. Nugent said of herself, fell on my knees, and said my first ave-maria, gratiâ plena! We just shot a few politics flying—heard that madame de Mirepoix had toasted me t'other day in tea—shook hands, forgot to weep, and parted; she to

² Mr. Walpole having had a long and dangerous fit of gout in the antecedent summer, was advised to try change of air for the re-

establishment of his health, and left London on his way to Paris, September the 9th, 1765. E.

the

the hereditary princefs, I to this inn, where is actually refident the duchefs of Douglas. We are not likely to have any intercourfe, or I would declare myfelf a Hamilton¹.

I find this country wonderfully enriched fince I faw it four-and-twenty years ago. Boulogne is grown quite a plump fmug town, with a number of new houfes. The worft villages are tight, and wooden fhoes have difappeared. Mr. Pitt and the city of London may fancy what they will, but France will not come a-begging to the Manfion-houfe this year or two. In truth, I impute this air of opulence a little to ourfelves. The crumbs that fall from the chaifes of the fwarms of Englifh that vifit Paris, muft have contributed to fatten this province. It is plain I muft have little to do when I turn my hand to calculating: but here is my obfervation. From Boulogne to Paris it will coft me near ten guineas; but then confider, I travel alone, and carry Louis moft part of the way in the chaife with me. Nos autres milords Anglois are not often fo frugal. Your brother², laft year, had ninety-nine Englifh to dinner on the king's birth-day. How many of them do you think dropped fo little as ten guineas on this road? In fhort, there are the feeds of a calculation for you; and if you will water them with a torrent of words, they will produce fuch a difertation, that you will be able to vie with George Grenville next feffion in plans of national œconomy—only be fure not to tax travelling till I come back, loaded with purchafes; nor, till then, propagate my ideas. It will be time enough for me to be thrifty of the nation's money, when I have fpent all my own.

Clermont, 12th.

WHILE they are getting my dinner, I continue my journal. The duchefs of Douglas (for Englifh are generally the moft extraordinary perfons that we meet with even out of England) left Amiens before me, on her way home. You will not guefs what fhe carries with her—Oh! nothing that will hurt our manufactures; nor what George Grenville himfelf would feize. One of her fervants died at Paris; fhe had him embafmed, and the body is tied before her chaife:—a droll way of being chief mourner!

¹ The memorable caufe between the houfes of Douglas and Hamilton was then pending.

² Francis earl of Hertford, then embaffador at Paris.

For.

118 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

For a French absurdity, I have observed that along the great roads they plant walnut-trees, but strip them up for firing. It is like the owl that bit off the feet of mice, that they might lie still and fatten.

At the foot of this hill is an old-fashioned chateau belonging to the duke of Fitz-James, with a *parc en quincunx* and clipped hedges. We saw him walking in his waistcoat and ribband, very well powdered; a figure like Guerchy. I cannot say his feat rivals Goodwood or Euston¹. I shall lie at Chantilly to-night, for I did not set out till ten this morning—not because I could not, as you will suspect, get up sooner—but because all the horses in the country have attended the queen to Nancy². Besides, I have a little underplot of seeing Chantilly and St. Denis in my way; which you know one could not do in the dark to-night, nor in winter, if I return then.

Hotel de feu madame l'Ambassadrice d'Angleterre³, Sept. 13, 7 o'clock.

I AM just arrived. My lady Hertford is not at home, and lady Anne⁴ will not come out of her burrow: so I have just time to finish this before madame returns; and Brian sets out to-night and will carry it. I find I shall have a great deal to say: formerly I observed nothing, and now remark every thing minutely. I have already fallen in love with twenty things, and in hate with forty. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ The duc de Fitz-James's father, marechal Berwick, was a natural son of James II. Mr. Walpole therefore compares his country seat with those of the dukes of Richmond and Grafton, similar descendants from his brother Charles II. E.

² Stanislaus king of Poland, father to the queen of Louis XV. lived at Nancy.

³ Lord Hertford was at this time recalled, and the duke of Richmond appointed to succeed him in the embassy at Paris.

⁴ Lady Anne Seymour Conway, afterwards married to the earl of Drogheda.

LETTER

LETTER LXVIII.

Paris, October 6, 1765.

I AM glad to find you grow just, and that you do conceive at last, that I could do better than stay in England for politics. Tenez, mon enfant, as the duchesse de la Ferté said to madame Staal¹; comme il n'y a que moi au monde qui aie toujours raison, I will be very reasonable; and as you have made this concession to me, who knew I was in the right, I will not expect you to answer all my *reasonable* letters. If you send a bullying letter to the king of Spain², or to *chose*, my neighbour here³, I will consider them as written to myself, and subtract so much from your bill—Nay, I will accept a line from lady A—— now and then in part of payment. I shall continue to write as the wind sets in my pen; and do own my babble does not demand much reply.

For so reasonable a person as I am, I have changed my mind very often about this country. The first five days I was in violent spirits—then came a dismal cloud of whisky and literature, and I could not bear it. At present I begin, very *Englishly* indeed, to establish a right to my own way. I laugh, and talk nonsense, and make them hear me. There are two or three houses where I go quite at my ease, am never asked to touch a card, nor hold dissertations. Nay, I don't pay homage to their authors. Every woman has one or two planted in her house, and God knows how they water them. The old president Henault is the pagod at madame du Deffand's, an old blind debauchée of wit, where I fupped last night. The president is very near deaf, and much nearer superannuated. He sits by the table: the mistress of the house, who formerly was his, inquires after every dish on the table, is told who has eaten of which, and then bawls the bill of fare of every individual into the president's ears. In short, every mouthful is proclaimed, and so is every blunder I make against grammar. Some that I make on purpose, succeed; and one of them is to be reported to the queen to-day by Henault, who is her great favourite. I had been at Versailles; and having been much taken notice of by her majesty, I said, alluding to madame de

¹ See Memoires de madame de Staal (the first authorefs of that name), published with the rest of her works in three small volumes. E.

² Mr. Conway was now secretary of state for the foreign department.

³ The king of France, Louis XV.

Seigné,

Seigné, *La reine est le plus grand roi du monde*. You may judge if I am in possession by a scene that passed after supper. Sir James Macdonald¹ had been mimicking Hume: I told the women, who, besides the mistress, were the duchesse de la Valiere, madame de Forcalquier, and a demoiselle, that to be sure they would be glad to have a specimen of Mr. Pitt's manner of speaking; and that nobody mimicked him so well as Elliot². They firmly believed it, teased him for an hour, and at last said he was the rudest man in the world not to oblige them. It appeared the more strange, because here every body sings, reads their own works in public, or attempts any one thing without hesitation or capacity. Elliot speaks miserable French; which added to the diversion.

I had had my share of distress in the morning, by going through the operation of being presented to the whole royal family, down to the little Madame's pap-dinner, and had behaved as sillily as you will easily believe; hiding myself behind every mortal. The queen called me up to her dressing-table, and seemed mightily disposed to gossip with me; but instead of enjoying my glory like madame de Seigné, I slunk back into the crowd after a few questions. She told monsieur de Guerchy of it afterwards, and that I had run away from her, but said she would have her revenge at Fontainebleau—So I must go thither, which I did not intend. The king, dauphin, dauphiness, mesdames, and the wild beast, did not say a word to me. Yes, the wild beast, he of the Gevaudan. He is killed, and actually in the queen's anti-chambre, where he was exhibited to us with as much parade as if it was Mr. Pitt. It is an exceedingly large wolf, and, the connoisseurs say, has twelve teeth more than any wolf ever had since the days of Romulus's wet-nurse. The critics deny it to be the true beast; and I find most people think the beast's name is *legion*, for there are many. He was covered with a sheet, which two chasseurs lifted up for the foreign ministers and strangers. I dined at the duke of Praslin's with five-and-twenty tomes of the corps diplomatique; and after dinner was presented, by monsieur de Guerchy, to the duc de Choiseul. The duc de Praslin is as like his own letters in D'Eon's book as he can stare; that is, I believe, a very silly fellow. His wisdom is of the grave kind. His cousin, the first

¹ An elder brother of sir A. Macdonald, the present lord chief baron of the exchequer. He died at Rome the year following, leaving behind him a distinguished character for every mental accomplishment.

² Sir Gilbert Elliot of Minto.

minister, is a little volatile being, whose countenance and manner had nothing to frighten me for my country. I saw him but for three seconds, which is as much as he allows to any one body or thing. Monsieur de Guerehy', whose goodness to me is inexpressible, took the trouble of walking every where with me, and carried me particularly to see the new office for state papers—I wish I could send it you. It is a large building, disposed like an hospital, with the most admirable order and method. Lodgings for every officer; his name and business written over his door. In the body is a perspective of seven or eight large chambers: each is painted with emblems, and wainscoted with presses with wired doors and crimson curtains. Over each press, in golden letters, the country to which the pieces relate, as Angleterre, Allemagne, &c. Each room has a large funnel of bronze with or moulu, like a column, to air the papers and preserve them. In short, it is as magnificent as useful.

From thence I went to see the reservoir of pictures at monsieur de Marigny's. They are what are not disposed of in the palaces, though sometimes changed with others. This *refuse*, which fills many rooms from top to bottom, is composed of the most glorious works of Raphael, L. da Vinci, Giorgione, Titian, Guido, Correggio, &c. Many pictures, which I knew by their prints, without an idea where they existed, I found there.

The duc de Nivernois is extremely obliging to me. I have supped at madame de Bentheim's, who has a very fine house, and a woful husband. She is much livelier than any Frenchwoman. The liveliest man I have seen is the duc de Duras: he is shorter and plumper than lord Halifax, but very like him in the face. I am to sup with the Duffons on Sunday. In short, all that have been in England are exceedingly disposed to repay any civilities they received there. Monsieur de Caraman wrote from the country to excuse his not coming to see me, as his wife is on the point of being brought-to-bed, but begged I would come to them—So I would, if I was a man-midwife: but though they are easy on such heads, I am not used to it, and cannot make a party of pleasure of a labour.

Wilkes arrived here two days ago, and announced that he was going

¹ He had been ambassador in England.

minister to Constantinople. To-day I hear he has lowered his credentials, and talks of going to England, if he can make his peace¹. I thought, by the manner in which this was mentioned to me, that the person meant to found me: but I made no answer; for, having given up politics in England, I certainly did not come to transact them here. He has not been to make me the first visit, which, as the last arrived, depends on him: so, never having spoken to him in my life, I have no call to seek him. I avoid all politics so much, that I had not heard one word here about Spain. I suppose my silence passes for very artful mystery, and puzzles the ministers, who keep spies on the most insignificant foreigner. It would have been lucky if I had been as watchful. At Chantilli I lost my portmanteau with half my linen; and the night before last I was robbed of a new frock, waistcoat and breeches, laced with gold, a white and silver waistcoat, black velvet breeches, a knife and a book. These are expences I did not expect, and by no means entering into my system of extravagance.

I am very sorry for the death of lord Ophaly, and for his family. I knew the poor young man himself but little, but he seemed extremely good-natured. What the duke of Richmond will do for a hotel, I cannot conceive. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R L X I X .

Paris, October 28, 1765.

MR. Hume² sends me word from Fontainebleau, that your brother, some time in the spring of 1764, transmitted to the English ministry *a pretty exact and very authentic account of the French finances*; these are his words: *and that it will be easily found among his lordship's dispatches of that period.* To the other question I have received no answer; I suppose he has not yet been able to inform himself.

¹ After his outlawry.

² The celebrated David Hume was secretary

of embassy to the earl of Hertford during his residence at Paris.

This

This goes by an English coachman of count Lauragais, sent over to buy more horses: therefore I shall write a little ministerially, and, perhaps, surprize you, if you are not already apprised of things in the light I see them.

The dauphin will probably hold out very few days. His death, that is, the near prospect of it, fills *the philosophers* with the greatest joy, as it was feared he would endeavour the restoration of the jesuits. You will think the sentiments of *the philosophers* very odd *state-news*—but do you know who *the philosophers* are, or what the term means here? In the first place, it comprehends almost every body; and in the next, means men, who avowing war against popery, aim, many of them, at a subversion of all religion, and still many more, at the destruction of regal power¹. How do you know this? you will say; you, who have been but six weeks in France, three of which you have been confined to your chamber. True: but in the first period I went every where, and heard nothing else; in the latter, I have been extremely visited, and have had long and explicit conversations with many, who think as I tell you, and with a few of the other side, who are no less persuaded that there are such intentions. In particular, I had two officers here t'other night, neither of them young, whom I had difficulty to keep from a serious quarrel, and who, in the heat of the dispute, informed me of much more than I could have learnt with great pains.

As a proof that my ideas are not quite visions, I send you a most curious paper²; such as I believe no *magistrate* would have pronounced in the time of Charles I. I should not like to have it known to come from me, nor any part of the intelligence I send you; with regard to which, if you think it necessary to communicate it to particular persons, I desire my name may be suppressed. I tell it you for *your* satisfaction and information, but would not have any body else think that I do any thing here but amuse myself: my amusements indeed are triste enough, and consist wholly in trying to get well; but my recovery moves very slowly. I have not yet had any thing but cloth shoes on, live sometimes a whole day on warm water, and am never tolerably well till twelve or one o'clock.

¹ The reader, in the year 1798, will be struck with this succinct account of *les philosophes Français*, their doctrines and their intentions, given in the year 1765, which their subsequent conduct has proved so accurately true. E.

² This paper does not appear.

R 2

I have

I have had another letter from fir Horace Mann, who has much at heart his ribband and increase of character. Consequently you know, as I love him so much, I must have them at heart too. Count Lorenzi is recalled, because here they think it necessary to send a Frenchman of higher rank to the new Grand Ducal court. I wish fir Horace could be raised on this occasion. For his ribband, his promise is so old and so positive, that it is quite a hardship.

Pray put the colonies in good humour; I see they are violently disposed to the new administration.

I have not time to say more, nor more to say if I had time; so good night. Let me know if you receive this, and how soon: it goes the day after to-morrow. Various reports say, the duke of Richmond comes this week. I sent you a letter by monsieur de Guerchy.

Duffon, I hear, goes ambassador to Poland. Tell lady A—— that I have five or six little parcels, though not above one for her, of laces and ribbands, which lady C—— left with me; but how to convey them the lord knows.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXX.

Paris, November 29, 1765.

AS I answered your short letter with a very long one, I shall be shorter in answer to your long, which I received late last night from Fontainebleau: it is not very necessary; but as lord William Gordon sets out for England on Monday, I take that opportunity.

The duke of R—— tells me that Choiseul has promised every thing. I wish it may be performed, and *speedily*, as it will give you an opportunity of opening the parliament with great eclat. My opinion you know is, that this is the moment for pushing them and obtaining:

Thank you for all you say about my gout. We have had a week of very hard frost, that has done me great good, and rebraced me. The swelling of my legs is quite gone. What has done me more good, is having entirely left off tea, to which I believe the weakness of my stomach was owing, having had no sickness since. In short, I think I am cured of every thing but my fears. You talk coolly of going as far as Naples, and propose my going with you. I would not go so far, if Naples was the direct road to the new Jerusalem. I have no thought or wish, but to get home, and be quiet for the rest of my days, which I shall most certainly do the first moment the season will let me; and if I once get to London again, shall be scarce tempted ever to lie in an inn more. I have refused to go to Aubigné, though I should lie but one night on the road. You may guess what I have suffered, when I am grown so timorous about my health.—However, I am again reverted to my system of water, and trying to recover my hardness—but nothing has at all softened me towards physicians.

You see I have given you a serious answer, though I am rather disposed to smile at your proposal. Go to Italy! for what?—Oh! to quit—do you know, I think that as idle a thought as the other. Pray stay where you are, and do some good to your country, or retire when you cannot—but don't put your finger in your eye and cry after the holidays and sugar-plums of Park-place. You have engaged and must go through, or be hindered. Could you tell the world the reason? Would not all men say you had found yourself incapable of what you had undertaken? I have no patience with your thinking so idly. It would be a reflection on your understanding and character, and a want of resolution unworthy of you.

My advice is, to ask for the first great government that falls, if you will not take your regiment again; to continue acting vigorously and honestly where you are. Things are never stable enough in our country to give you a prospect of a long slavery. Your defect is irresolution. When you have taken your post, act up to it; and if you are driven from it, your retirement will then be as honourable (and more satisfactory) than your administration. I speak frankly, as my friendship for you directs. My way of acting (though a private instance) is agreeable to my doctrine. I determined, whenever our opposition should be over, to have done with politics; and you see I have adhered to my resolution by coming hither; and

and therefore you may be convinced that I speak my thoughts. I don't ask your pardon, because I should be forced to ask my own if I did not tell you what I think the best for you. You have life and Park-place enough to come, and *you* have not had five months of gout. Make yourself independent honourably, which you may do by a government; but if you will take my advice, don't accept a ministerial place when you cease to be a minister. The former is a reward due to your profession and services, the latter is a degradation. You know the haughtiness of my spirit; I give you no advice but what I would follow.

I sent lady A——— *the Orpheline leguée*; a poor performance; but the subject made me think she would like to see it. I am over head and ears at count Caylus's auction, and have bought half of it for a song—but I am still in greater felicity and luck, having discovered, by mere accident, a portrait of count Grammont, after having been in search of one these fifteen years, and assured there was no such thing. A-propos, I promised you my own: but besides that there is nobody here that excels in painting skeletons; seriously, their painters are bitter bad, and as much inferior to Reynolds and Ramsay, as Hudson to Vandyck. I had rather stay till my return. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXI.

Paris, December 5, 1765.

I HAVE not above a note's worth to say; but as lord Ossory sets out tomorrow, I just send you a line.

The dauphin, if he is still alive, which some folks doubt, is kept so only by cordials; though the bishop of Glandeve has assured the queen that he had God's own word for his recovery, which she still believes, whether her son is dead or not.

¶

The

The remonstrance of the parliament of Paris, on the dissolution of that of Bretagne, is very decent; they are to have an audience next week. They do not touch on Chalotais, because the accusation against him is for treason. What do you think that treason is? A correspondence with Mr. Pitt, to whom he is made to say, *that Rennes is nearer to London than Paris*. It is now believed that the anonymous letters, supposed to be written by Chalotais, were forged by a jesuit—those to Mr. Pitt could not have even so good an author.

The duke of Richmond is still at Aubigné; I wonder he stays, for it is the hardest frost alive. Mr. Hume does not go to Ireland, where your brother finds he would by no means be welcome.—I have a notion he will stay here till your brother's return.

The duc de Praslin, it is said, will retire at Christmas. As La Borde, the great banker of the court, is trying to retire too, my cousin, who is much connected with La Borde, suspects that Choiseul is not very firm himself.

I have supped with monsieur de Maurepas, and another night with marshal Richelieu: the first is extremely agreeable and *sensible*; and, I am glad, not *Minister*. The other is an old piece of tawdry, worn out, but endeavouring to brush itself up; and put me in mind of lord Chesterfield, for they laugh before they know what he has said—and are in the right, for I think they would not laugh afterwards.

I send lady A—the words and music of the prettiest opera comique in the world—I wish I could send her the actors too. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

December 9th.

Lord Ossory put off his journey; which stopped this letter, and it will now go by Mr. Andr. Stuart,

The

The face of things is changed here, which I am impatient to tell you, that you may see it is truth, not system, which I pique myself on sending you. The vigour of the court has frightened the parliaments. That of Pau has submitted. The procureurs, &c. of Rennes, who, it was said, would not plead before the new commission, were told, that if they did not plead the next day they should be hanged without a trial—No bribe ever operated faster!

I heard t'other day, that some Spanish minister, I forget his name, being dead, Squillace would take his department, and Grimaldi have that of the West Indies.—He is the worst that could have it, as we have no greater enemy.

The dauphin is certainly alive, but in the most shocking way possible; his bones worn through his skin, a great swelling behind, and so relaxed, that his intestines appear from that part; and yesterday the mortification was suspected.

I have received a long letter from lady A——, for which I give her a thousand thanks; and would answer it directly, if I had not told you every earthly thing I know.

The duke and duchess' are, I hear, at Fontainebleau: the moment they return, I will give the duchess lady A——'s commission.

L E T T E R LXXII.

Paris, January 12, 1766.

I HAVE received your letter by general Vernon, and another, to which I have writ an answer, but was disappointed of a conveyance I expected. You shall have it with additions, by the first messenger that goes; but I cannot send it by the post, as I have spoken very freely of some persons you

* Of Richmond.

name,

name, in which we agree thoroughly. These few lines are only to tell you I am not idle in writing to you.

I almost repent having come hither; for I like the way of life and many of the people so well, that I doubt I shall feel more regret at leaving Paris than I expected. It would sound vain to tell you the honours and distinctions I receive, and how much I am in fashion; yet when they come from the handsomest women in France, and the most respectable in point of character, can one help being a little proud? If I was twenty years younger, I should wish they were not quite so respectable. Madame de Brionne, whom I have never seen, and who was to have met me at supper last night at the charming madame d'Egmont's, sent me an invitation by the latter for Wednesday next. I was engaged, and hesitated. I was told, "Comment! sçavez-vous que c'est qu'elle ne feroit pas pour toute la France?" However, lest you should dread my returning a perfect old swain, I study my wrinkles, compare myself and my limbs to every plate of larks I see, and treat my understanding with at least as little mercy. Yet, do you know, my present fame is owing to a very trifling composition, but which has made incredible noise. I was one evening at madame Geoffrin's joking on Rousseau's affectations and contradictions, and said some things that diverted them. When I came home I put them into a letter, and showed it next day to Helvetius and the duc de Nivernois; who were so pleased with it, that, after telling me some faults in the language, which you may be sure there were, they encouraged me to let it be seen. As you know I willingly laugh at mountebanks *political* or literary, let their talents be ever so great, I was not averse. The copies have spread like wild-fire; et me voici à la mode! I expect the end of my reign at the end of the week with great composure. Here is the letter:

Le Roi de PRUSSE à Monsieur ROUSSEAU.

Mon cher Jean Jacques,

Vous avez renoncé à Geneve votre patrie; vous vous êtes fait chasser de la Suisse, pays tant vanté dans vos écrits; la France vous a decreté. Venez donc chez moi: j'admire vos talents; je m'amuse de vos reveries, qui (soit dit en passant) vous occupent trop, et trop long tems. Il faut à la fin être sage et heureux. Vous avez fait assez parler de vous par

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des singularités peu convenables à un véritable grand homme. Demontrez à vos ennemis, que vous pouvez avoir quelquefois le sens commun : cela les fâchera, sans vous faire tort. Mes états vous offrent une retraite paisible; je vous veux du bien, et je vous en ferai, si vous le trouvez bon. Mais si vous vous obstinez à rejeter mon secours, attendez-vous que je ne le dirai à personne. Si vous persistez à vous creuser l'esprit pour trouver de nouveaux malheurs, choisissez les tels que vous voudrez. Je suis roi, je puis vous en procurer au gré de vos souhaits : et ce qui sûrement ne vous arrivera pas vis à vis de vos ennemis, je cesserai de vous persécuter quand vous cesserez de mettre votre gloire à l'être.

Votre bon ami,

FREDERIC.

The princess de Ligne, whose mother was an Englishwoman, made a good observation to me last night. She said, *Je suis roi, je puis vous procurer de malheurs*, was plainly the stroke of an English pen. I said, then I had certainly not well imitated the character in which I wrote. You will say, I am a bold man to attack both Voltaire and Rousseau. It is true; but I shoot at their heel, at their vulnerable part.

I beg your pardon for taking up your time with these trifles. The day after to-morrow we go in cavalcade with the duchess¹ to her audience²; I have got my cravat and shammy shoes. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXIII.

Paris, April 6, 1766.

IN a certain city of Europe³ it is the custom to wear flouched hats, long cloaks and high capes. Scandal and the government called this dress, *going*

¹ Of Richmond.

² At Versailles as ambassadress.

³ This account alludes to the insurrection at

Madrid, on the attempt of the court in the last reign to introduce the French dress in Spain. E.

in mask, and pretended that it contributed to assassination. An ordonnance was published, commanding free-born hats to be cocked, cloaks to be shortened, and capes laid aside. All the world obeyed for the first day; but the next, every thing returned into its old channel. In the evening a tumult arose, and cries of God bless the king! God bless the kingdom! but confusion to the prime minister'.—The word was no sooner given, but his house was beset, the windows broken, and the gates attempted. The guards came and fired on the *weavers*² of cloaks. The weavers returned the fire, and many fell on each side. As the hour of supper approached and the mob grew hungry, they recollected a tax upon bread, and demanded the *repeal*. The king yielded to both requests, and hats and loaves were set at liberty. The people were not contented, and still insisted on the permission of murdering the first minister; though his majesty assured his faithful commons that the minister was never consulted on acts of government, and was only his private friend, who sometimes called upon him in an evening to drink a glass of wine and talk botany. The people were incredulous, and continued in mutiny when the last letters came away.

If you should happen to suppose, as I did, that this *history* arrived in London, do not be alarmed; for it was at Madrid; and a nation who has borne the inquisition cannot support a cocked hat!—So necessary it is for governors to know when lead or a feather will turn the balance of human understandings, or will not.

I should not have entrenched on lord George's³ province of sending you news of revolutions, but he is at Aubigné⁴; and I thought it right to advertise you in time, in case you should have a mind to send a bale of flouched hats to the support of the mutineers. As I have worn a flapped hat all my life, when I have worn any at all, I think myself qualified, and would offer my service to command them; but being persuaded that you are a faithful observer of treaties, though a friend to repeals, I shall come and receive your commands in person. In the mean time I cannot help figuring what a pompous protest my lord Lyttelton might draw up in the character of an old grandee against the revocation of the act for cocked hats.

¹ Squillace, an Italian, whom the king was obliged to banish.

² Alluding to the mobs of silk-weavers which had taken place this year in London.

³ Lord George Lenox, only brother to the duke of Richmond.

⁴ The duke of Richmond's country seat in France.

132 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

Lady A— forgot to fend me word of your recovery, as she promised; but I was so lucky as to hear it from other hands. Pray take care of yourself, and do not imagine that you are as weak as I am, and can escape the scythe, as I do by being low: your life is of more consequence. If you don't believe me, step into the street and ask the first man you meet.

This is Sunday, and Thursday is fixed for my departure; unless the Clairon should return to the stage on Tuesday se'nnight, as is said; and I do not know whether I should not be tempted to borrow two or three days more, having never seen her: yet my lilacs pull hard, and I have not a farthing left in the world. Be sure you do not leave a cranny open for George Grenville to wriggle in, till I have got all my things out of the custom-house. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

 L E T T E R LXXIV.

Paris, April 8, 1766.

I SENT you a few lines by the post yesterday, with the first accounts of the insurrection at Madrid. I have since seen Stahremberg, the Imperial minister, who has had a courier from thence; and if lord Rochford has not sent one, you will not be sorry to know more particulars. The mob disarmed the invalids; stopped all coaches, to prevent Squillace's flight; and meeting the duke de Medina Celi, forced him and the duke d'Arcos to carry their demands to the king. His most frightened majesty granted them directly; on which his highness the people dispatched a monk with their demands in writing, couched in four articles: the diminution of the gabel on bread and oil; the revocation of the ordonnance on hats and cloaks; the banishment of Squillace; and the abolition of some other tax, I don't know what. The king signed all; yet was still forced to appear in a balcony, and promise to observe what he had granted. Squillace was sent with an escort to Carthagena, to embark for Naples, and the first commis of the treasury appointed to succeed him; which does not look much like observation of the conditions. Some say Ensenada is recalled, and that Grimaldi is in no good

odour with the people. If the latter and Squillace are dismissed, we get rid of two enemies.

The tumult ceased on the grant of the demands; but the king retiring that night to Aranjuez, the insurrection was renewed the next morning, on pretence that this flight was a breach of the capitulation. The people seized the gates of the capital, and permitted nobody to go out. In this state were things when the courier came away. The ordonnance against going in disguise looks as if some suspicions had been conceived; and yet their confidence was so great as not to have 2000 guards in the town. The pitiful behaviour of the court makes one think that the Italians were frightened, and that the Spanish part of the ministry were not sorry it took that turn. As I suppose there is no great city in Spain which has not at least a bigger bundle of grievances than the capital, one shall not wonder if the pusillanimous behaviour of the king encourages them to redress themselves too.

There is what is called a change of the ministry here; but it is only a crossing over and figuring in. The duc de Praslin has wished to retire for some time; and for this last fortnight there has been much talk of his being replaced by the duc d'Aiguillon, the duc de Nivernois, &c.; but it is plain, though not believed till *now*, that the duc de Choiseul is all-powerful. To purchase the stay of his cousin Praslin, on whom he can depend, and to leave no cranny open, he has ceded the marine and colonies to the duc de Praslin, and taken the foreign and military department himself. His cousin is besides named chef du conseil des finances; a very honourable, very dignified and very idle place, and never filled since the duc de Bethune had it. Praslin's hopeful cub the viscount, whom you saw in England last year, goes to Naples, and the marquis de Durfort to Vienna—a cold, dry, proud man, with the figure and manner of lord Cornbury.

Great matters are expected to-day from the parliament, which re-assembles. A mousquetaire, his piece loaded with a lettre de cachet, went about a fortnight ago to the notary who keeps the parliamentary registers, and demanded them. They were refused—but given up, on the lettre de cachet being produced. The parliament intends to try the notary for breach of trust, which I suppose will make his fortune; though he has not the merit of perjury like ———.

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134 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

There have been infurrections at Bourdeaux and Touloufe, on the militia, and 27 perfons were killed at the latter: but both are appeafed. Thefe things are fo much in vogue, that I wonder the French do not drefs *à la revolte*.

The queen is in a very dangerous way.

This will be my laft letter; but I am not fure I fhall fet out before the middle of next week.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXV.

Bath, October 2, 1766.

I ARRIVED yesterday at noon, and bore my journey perfectly well, except that I had the head-ach all yefterday; but it is gone to-day, or at leaft made way for a little giddinefs which the water gave me this morning at firft. If it does not do me good very foon, I fhall leave it; for I diflike the place exceedingly, and am difappointed in it. Their new buildings that are fo admired, look like a collektion of little hofpitals; the reft is deteftable; and all crammed together, and furrounded with perpendicular hills that have no beauty. The river is paltry enough to be the Seine or Tyber. Oh! how unlike my lovely Thames!

I met my lord Chatham's coach yefterday full of fuch Grenville-looking children, that I fhall not go to fee him this day or two¹; and to-day I fpoke to lady Rockingham in the ftreet. My lords chancellor and prefident are here, and lord and lady Powis. Lady Malpas arrived yefterday. I fhall vifit mifs Rich to-morrow. In the next apartment to mine lodges ———. I have not feen him fome years; and he is grown either mad or

¹ Mr. Walpole in general difliked being in company with children, to whom he was little accuftomed. E.

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superannuated, and talks without cessation or coherence: you would think all the articles of a dictionary were prating together at once. The Bedfords are expected this week. There are forty thousand others that I neither know nor intend to know. In short, it is living in a fair, and I am heartily sick of it already. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXVI.

Bath, October 18, 1766.

YOU have made me laugh, and somebody else makes me stare. How can one wonder at any thing he does, when he knows so little of the world? I suppose the next step will be to propose me for groom of the bed-chamber to the new duke of Cumberland. But why me? Here is that hopeful young fellow sir John Rushout, the oldest member of the house, and, as extremes meet, very proper to begin again; why overlook him? However, as the secret is kept from me myself, I am perfectly easy about it. I shall call to-day or to-morrow to ask his commands, but certainly shall not obey those you mention.

The waters certainly are not so beneficial to me as at first: I have almost every morning my pain in my stomach. I do not pretend this to be the cause of my leaving Bath. The truth is, I cannot bear it any longer. You laugh at my regularity; but the contrary habit is so strong in me, that I cannot continue such sobriety. The public rooms, and the Loo, where we play in a circle, like the hazard on twelfth-night, are insupportable. This coming into the world again, when I am so weary of it, is as bad and ridiculous as moving an address would be. I have no affectation, for affectation is a monster at nine-and-forty; but if I cannot live quietly, privately, and comfortably, I am perfectly indifferent about living at all. I would not kill myself, for that is a philosopher's affectation, and I will come hither again, if I must; but I shall always drive very near, before I submit to

do

do any thing I do not like. In short, I must be as foolish as I please, as long as I can keep without the limits of absurdity. What has an old man to do but to preserve himself from parade on one hand, and ridicule on the other? Charming youth may indulge itself in either, may be censured, will be envied, and has time to correct. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Monday evening.

You are a delightful manager of the house of commons, to reckon 540, instead of 565! Sandwich was more accurate in lists, and would not have miscounted 25, which are something in a division.

L E T T E R LXXVII.

Strawberry-hill, August 9, 1768.

YOU are very kind, or else you saw into my mind, and knew that I have been thinking of writing to you, but had not a pen full of matter. True, I have been in town, but I am more likely to learn news here; where at least we have it like fish, that could not find vent in London. I saw nothing there but the ruins of Loo, lady Hertford's cribbage, and lord B——, like patience on a monument, smiling in grief. He is totally ruined, and quite charmed. Yet I heartily pity him. To Virginia he cannot be indifferent: he must turn their heads some how or other. If his graces do not captivate them, he will enrage them to fury; for I take all his *douceur* to be enamelled on iron.

My life is most uniform and void of events, and has nothing worth repeating. I have not had a soul with me, but accidental company now and then at dinner. Lady Holderness, lady Ancram, lady Mary Coke, Mrs. Anne Pitt, and Mr. Hume, dined here the day before yesterday. They were but just gone, when George Selwyn, lord Bolinbroke, and sir William Mufgrave, who had been at Hampton-court, came in, at nine at night, to
drink

drink tea. They told me, what I was very glad to hear, and what I could not doubt, as they had it from the duke of Grafton himself, that bishop Cornwallis goes to Canterbury. I feared it would be ——; but it seems he had secured all the back-stairs, and not the great stairs. As the last head of the church¹ had been on the midwife line, I suppose goody —— had hopes; and as he had been president of an atheistical club, to be sure Warburton did not despair. I was thinking it would make a good article in the papers, that three bishops had supped with Nancy Parsons at Vauxhall, in their way to Lambeth. I am sure —— would have been of the number; and ——, who told the duke of Newcastle, that if his grace had commanded the Blues at Minden they would have behaved better, would make no scruple to cry up her chastity.

The king of Denmark comes on Thursday; and I go to-morrow to see him. It has cost three thousand pounds to new-furnish an apartment for him at St. James's; and now he will not go thither, supposing it would be a confinement. He is to lodge at his own minister Dieden's.

Augustus Hervey, thinking it the bel air, is going to sue for a divorce from the Chudleigh. He asked lord B—— t'other day, who was his proctor, as he would have asked for his taylor. The nymph has sent him word, that if he proves her his wife he must pay her debts; and she owes sixteen thousand pounds. This obstacle thrown in the way, looks as if she was not sure of being duchess of Kingston. The lawyers say, it will be no valid plea; it not appearing that she was Hervey's wife, and therefore the tradesmen could not reckon on his paying them.

Yes, it is my Gray, Gray the poet, who is made professor of modern history; and I believe it is worth 500*l.* a year. I knew nothing of it till I saw it in the papers; but believe it was Stonehewer that obtained it for him.

Yes again; I use a bit of alum half as big as my nail, once or twice a week, and let it dissolve in my mouth. I should not think that using it oftener could be prejudicial. You should inquire; but as you are in more

¹ Thomas Secker, archbishop of Canterbury.

hurry than I am, you should certainly use it oftener than I do. I wish I could cure my lady A—— too. Ice-water has astonishing effect on my stomach, and removes all pain like a charm. Pray, though the one's teeth may not be so white as formerly, nor t'other look in perfect health, let the Danish king see such good specimens of the last age—though, by what I hear, he likes nothing but the very present age.—However, sure you will both come and look at him: not that I believe he is a jot better than the apprentices that flirt to Epsom in a Tim-whisky; but I want to meet you in town.

I don't very well know what I write, for I hear a caravan on my stairs, that are come to see the house: Margaret is chattering, and the dogs barking; and this I call retirement! and yet I think it preferable to your visit at Becket. Adieu! Let me know something more of your motions, before you go to Ireland, which I think a strange journey, and better compounded for: and when I see you in town I will settle with you another visit to Park-place.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXXVIII.

Strawberry-hill, Friday, July 7, 1769.

YOU desired me to write, if I knew any thing particular. How particular will content you? Don't imagine I would send you such hash as the livery's petition¹. Come; would the apparition of my lord Chatham satisfy you? Don't be frightened: it was not his ghost. He, he himself in propria personâ, and not in a strait waistcoat, walked into the king's levee this morning, and was in the closet twenty minutes after the levee; and was to go out of town to-night again. The deuce is in it if this is not news. Whether he is to be king, minister, lord mayor, or alderman, I do not know; nor a word more than I have told you.

¹ The petition of the livery of London, complaining of the unconstitutional conduct of the king's ministers, and the undue return of Mr. Luttrell when he opposed Mr. Wilkes at the election for Middlesex. E.

Whether he was sent for to guard St. James's gate, or whether he came alone, like Almanzor, to storm it, I cannot tell: by Beckford's violence I should think the latter. I am so indifferent what he came for, that I shall wait till Sunday to learn; when I lie in town on my way to Ely. You will probably hear more from your brother before I can write again. I send this by my friend Mr. Granger¹, who will leave it at your park-gate as he goes through Henley home. Good-night: it is past twelve, and I am going to bed.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXIX.

Strawberry-hill, Tuesday Nov. 14, 1769.

I AM here quite alone, and did not think of going to town till Friday for the opera, which I have not yet seen. In compliment to you and your countess I will make an effort, and be there on Thursday; and will either dine with you at your own house, or at your brother's; which you choose. This is a great favour, and beyond my lord Temple's journey to dine with my lord mayor². I am so sick of the follies of all sides, that I am happy to be at quiet here, and to know no more of them than what I am forced to see in the newspapers; and those I skip over as fast as I can.

The account you give me of lady — was just the same as I received from Paris. I will show you a very particular letter I received by a private hand from thence; which convinces me that I guessed right, contrary to all the wife, that the journey to Fontainebleau would overset monsieur de Choiseul. I think he holds but by a thread, which will snap soon. I am labouring hard with the dukes³ to procure the duke of Richmond satisfaction in the favour he has asked about his duchy⁴; but he shall not know

¹ Author of the Biographical History of England.

² In the second mayoralty of William Beckford.

³ The dukes of Choiseul.

⁴ Of Aubigné.

it till it is completed, if I can be so lucky as to succeed. I think I shall, if they do not fall immediately.

You perceive how barren I am, and why I have not written to you. I pass my time in clipping and pasting prints; and do not think I have read forty pages since I came to England. I bought a poem called Trincolo's Trip to the Jubilee; having been struck with two lines in an extract in the papers,

And the ear-piercing fife,
And the ear-piercing wife—

Alas! all the rest, and it is very long, is a heap of unintelligible nonsense, about Shakespeare, politics, and the lord knows what. I am grieved that, with our admiration of Shakespeare, we can do nothing but write worse than ever he did. One would think the age studied nothing but his *Love's labour lost*, and *Titus Andronicus*. Politics and abuse have totally corrupted our taste. Nobody thinks of writing a line that is to last beyond the next fortnight. We might as well be given up to controversial divinity. The times put me in mind of the Constantinopolitan empire; where, in an age of learning, the subtlest wits of Greece contrived to leave nothing behind them, but the memory of their follies and acrimony. Milton did not write his *Paradise Lost* till he had outlived his politics. With all his parts, and noble sentiments of liberty, who would remember him for his barbarous prose? Nothing is more true than that extremes meet. The licentiousness of the press makes us as savage as our Saxon ancestors, who could only set their marks; and an outrageous pursuit of individual independence, grounded on selfish views, extinguishes genius as much as despotism does. The public good of our country is never thought of by men that hate half their country. Heroes confine their ambition to be leaders of the mob. Orators seek applause from their faction, not from posterity; and ministers forget foreign enemies, to defend themselves against a majority in parliament. When any Cæsar has conquered Gaul, I will excuse him for aiming at the perpetual dictatorship. If he has only jockeyed somebody out of the borough of Veii or Falernum, it is too impudent to call himself a patriot or a statesman. Adieu!

LETTER

LETTER LXXX.

Arlington-street, July 12, 1770.

REPOSING under my laurels! No, no, I am reposing in a much better tent, under the tetter of my own bed. I am not obliged to rise by break of day and be dressed for the drawing-room; I may saunter in my slippers till dinner-time, and not make bows till my back is as much out of joint as my lord Temple's. In short, I should die of the gout or fatigue, if I was to be Polonius to a princess for another week*. Twice a-day we made a pilgrimage to almost every heathen temple in that province that they call a garden; and there is no falling out of the house without descending a flight of steps as high as St. Paul's. My lord Besborough would have dragged me up to the top of the column, to see all the kingdoms of the earth; but I would not, if he could have given them to me. To crown all, because we live under the line, and that we were all of us giddy young creatures, of near threescore, we supped in a grotto in the Elysian fields, and were refreshed with rivers of dew and gentle showers that dripped from all the trees; and put us in mind of the heroic ages, when kings and queens were shepherds and shepherdesses, and lived in caves, and were wet to the skin two or three times a-day. Well! thank heaven, I am emerged from that Elysium, and once more in a christian country!—Not but, to say the truth, our pagan landlord and landlady were very obliging, and the party went off much better than I expected. We had no very recent politics, though volumes about the Spanish war; and as I took care to give every thing a ludicrous turn as much as I could, the princess was diverted, the six days rolled away, and the seventh is my sabbath; and I promise you I will do no manner of work, I, nor my cat, nor my dog, nor any thing that is mine. For this reason, I entreat that the journey to Goodwood may not take place before the 12th of August, when I will attend you. But this expedition to Stowe has quite blown up my intended one to Wentworth-castle: I have not resolution enough left for such a journey. Will you and lady A—— come to Strawberry before or after Goodwood? I know you like being dragged from home as little as I do; therefore you shall place that visit just when it is most convenient to you.

* Mr. Walpole had been for a week at Stowe, the seat of earl Temple, with a party invited to meet her royal highness the late princess Amelia.

I came

142 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

I came to town the night before last, and am just returning. There are not twenty people in all London. Are not you in despair about the summer? It is horrid to be ruined in coals in June and July. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER LXXXI

Arlington-street, Christmas day.

IF poplar-pines ever grow¹, it must be in such a soaking season as this. I wish you would send half-a-dozen by some Henley barge to meet me next Saturday at Strawberry-hill, that they may be as tall as the monument by next summer. My cascades give themselves the airs of cataracts, and Mrs. Clive looks like the sun rising out of the ocean. Poor Mr. Raftor² is tired to death of their solitude; and as his passion is walking, he talks with rapture of the brave rows of lamps all along the streets, just as I used formerly to think no trees beautiful without lamps to them, like those at Vauxhall.

As I came to town but to dinner, and have not seen a soul, I do not know whether there is any news. I am just going to the princefs³, where I shall hear all there is. I went to king Arthur on Saturday, and was tired to death, both of the nonsense of the piece and the execrable performance, the singers being still worse than the actors. The scenes are little better (though Garrick boasts of rivalling the French opera), except a pretty bridge, and a gothic church with windows of painted glass. This scene, which should be a barbarous temple of Woden, is a perfect cathedral, and the devil officiates at a kind of high mass! I never saw greater absurdities.

Adieu!

¹ The first poplar-pine (or, as they have since been called, Lombardy poplar) planted in England is that at Park-place, on the bank of the river near the great arch. It was a cutting brought from Turin by the late lord Rochford in his carriage, and planted by general Conway's own hand. E.

² Brother to Mrs. Clive. He had been an actor himself, and, when his sister retired from the stage, lived with her in the house Mr. Walpole had given her at Twickenham. E.

³ The late princefs Amelia.

LETTER

LETTER LXXXII.

Arlington-street, Dec. 29, 1775.

THE trees¹ came safe: I thank you for them: they are gone to Strawberry, and I am going to plant them. This paragraph would not call for a letter, but I have news for you of importance enough to dignify a dispatch. The duc de Choiseul is fallen! The exprefs from lord Harcourt² arrived yesterday morning; the event happened last Monday night, and the courier set out so immediately, that not many particulars are yet known. The duke was allowed but three hours to prepare himself, and ordered to retire to his seat at Chanteloup: but some letters say, Il ira plus loin. The duc de Praslin is banished too, and Chatelet is forbidden to visit Choiseul. Chatelet was to have had the marine; and I am sure is no loss to us. The chevalier de Muy is made secretary of state pour la guerre; and it is concluded that the duc d'Aiguillon is prime-minister, but was not named so in the first hurry. There! there is a revolution! there is a new scene opened! Will it advance the war? Will it make peace? These are the questions all mankind is asking. This whale has swallowed up all gudgeon-questions. Lord Harcourt writes, that the d'Aiguillonists had officiously taken opportunities of assuring him, that if they prevailed it would be peace; but in this country we know that opponents turned ministers *can* change their language. It is added, that the morning of Choiseul's banishment, the king said to him, Monsieur, je vous ai dit que je ne voulois pas la guerre. Yet how does this agree with Francès's³ eager protestations that Choiseul's fate depended on preserving the peace? How does it agree with the comptroller-general's offer of finding funds for the war, and of Choiseul's proving he could not?—But how reconcile half the politics one hears? De Guisnes and Francès sent their excuses to the dukes of Argyll last night; and I suppose the Spaniards too, for none of them were there.—Well! I shall let all this baffle cool for two days; for what Englishman does not sacrifice any thing to go his Saturday out of town?—And yet I am very much interested in this event; I feel much for madame de Choiseul, though nothing

¹ The Lombardy poplars.² Then ambassador at Paris.³ Then the chargé des affaires from the French court in London.

for

for her *Corfican* husband; but I am in the utmost anxiety for my dear old friend, who passed every evening with the duchess, and was thence in great credit; and what is worse, though nobody I think can be savage enough to take away her pension, she may find great difficulty to get it paid—and then her poor heart is so good and warm, that this blow on her friends, at her great age, may kill her. I have had no letter, nor had last post—whether it was stopped, or whether she apprehended the event, as I imagine—for every body observed, on Tuesday night, at your brother's, that Francès could not open his mouth. In short, I am most seriously alarmed about her.

You have seen in the papers the designed arrangements in the law. They now say there is some hitch; but I suppose it turns on some demands, and so will be got over by their being granted.

Mr. Mason, the bard, gave me yesterday the inclosed memorial, and begged I would recommend it to you. It is in favour of a very ingenious painter. Adieu! the sun shines brightly; but it is one o'clock, and it will be set before I get to Twickenham.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXXXIII.

Paris, July 30, 1771.

I DO not know where you are, nor where this will find you, nor when it will set out to seek you, as I am not certain by whom I shall send it. It is of little consequence, as I have nothing material to tell you, but what you probably may have heard.

The distress here is incredible, especially at court. The king's tradesmen are ruined, his servants starving, and even angels and archangels

Madame la marquise du Desfand.

cannot

cannot get their pensions and salaries, but sing Woe! woe! woe! instead of Hosannahs. Compiègne is abandoned; Villiers-coterets and Chantilly¹ crowded, and Chanteloup² still more in fashion, whither every body goes that pleases; though, when they ask leave, the answer is, *Je ne le défends ni le permets*. This is the first time that ever the will of a king of France was interpreted against his inclination. Yet, after annihilating his parliament, and ruining public credit, he tamely submits to be affronted by his own servants. Mad. de Beauveau and two or three high-spirited dames defy this czar of Gaul. Yet they and their cabal are as inconsistent on the other hand. They make epigrams, sing vaudevilles against the mistresses, hand about libels against the chancellor, and have no more effect than a sky-rocket; but in three months will die to go to court, and to be invited to sup with madame du Barry. The only real struggle is between the chancellor³ and the duc d'Aiguillon. The first is false, bold, determined, and not subject to little qualms. The other is less known, communicates himself to nobody, is suspected of deep policy and deep designs, but seems to intend to set out under a mask of very smooth varnish; for he has just obtained the payment of all his bitter enemy la Châlotaie's pensions and arrears. He has the advantage too of being but moderately detested in comparison of his rival, and, what he values more, the interest of the mistresses⁴. The comptroller-general⁵ serves both, by acting mischief more sensibly felt; for he ruins every body but those who purchase a respite from his mistresses. He dispenses bankruptcy by retail, and will fall, because he cannot even by these means be useful enough. They are striking off nine millions from la caisse militaire, five from the marine, and one from the affaires étrangères: yet all this will not extricate them. You never saw a great nation in so disgraceful a position. Their next prospect is not better: it rests on an Imbecille, both in mind and body.

July 31.

Mr. Churchill and my sister set out to-night after supper, and I shall send this letter by them. There are no new books, no new plays, no new novels;

¹ The country palaces of the duke of Orleans and the prince of Condé, who were in disgrace at court for having espoused the cause of the parliament of Paris banished by the chancellor Maupou. which, on his ceasing to be first minister, he was banished by the king.

² Maupou.

³ Madame du Barry.

⁴ The abbé Terrai.

⁵ The country seat of the duc de Choiseul, to

may, no new fashions. They have dragged old m^{lle} le Maure out of a retreat of thirty years, to sing at the Colifée, which is a most gaudy Ranelagh, gilt, painted, and be-cupided like an opera, but not calculated to last as long as Mother Coliseum, being composed of chalk and pasteboard. Round it are courts of treillage, that serve for nothing, and behind it a canal, very like a horse-pond, on which there are fireworks and juffs. All together it is very pretty; but as there are few nabobs and nabobesses in this country, and as the middling and common people are not much richer than Job when he had lost every thing but his patience, the proprietors are on the point of being ruined, unless the project takes place that is talked of. It is, to oblige Corneille, Racine, and Moliere to hold their tongues twice a-week, that their audiences may go to the Colifée. This is like our parliament's adjourning when senators want to go to Newmarket. There is a monsieur Guillard writing a history of the rivalité de la France et de l'Angleterre.—I hope he will not omit this parallel.

The instance of their poverty that strikes *me* most, who make political observations by the thermometer of baubles, is, that there is nothing new in their shops. I know the faces of every snuff-box and every tea-cup as well as those of madame du Lac and monsieur Poirier. I have chosen some cups and saucers for my lady A——, as she ordered me, but I cannot say they are at all extraordinary. I have bespoken two cabriolets for her, instead of six, because I think them very dear, and that she may have four more if she likes them. I shall bring too a sample of a baguette that suits them. For myself, between œconomy and the want of novelty, I have not laid out five guineas—a very memorable anecdote in the history of my life. Indeed, the czarina and I have a little dispute: she has offered to purchase the whole Crozat collection of pictures, at which I had intended to ruin myself. The Turks take her for it!—A-propos, they are sending from hence fourscore officers to Poland, each of whom I suppose, like Almanzor, can stamp with his foot and raise an army.

As my sister travels like a Tartar princess with her whole horde, she will arrive too late almost for me to hear from you in return to this letter, which in truth requires no answer, vû que I shall set out myself on the 26th of August. You will not imagine that I am glad to save myself the pleasure of hearing from you, but I would not give you the trouble of writing

writing unnecessarily. If you are at home, and not in Scotland, you will judge by these dates where to find me. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. Instead of restoring the Jesuits, they are proceeding to annihilate the Celestine, Augustines, and some other orders.

L E T T E R LXXXIV.

Paris, Aug. 11, 1771.

YOU will have seen, I hope, before now, that I have not neglected writing to you. I sent you a letter by my sister, but doubt she has been a great while upon the road, as they travel with a large family. I was not sure where you was, and would not write at random by the post.

I was just going out when I received yours and the newspapers. I was struck in a most sensible manner, when, after reading your letter, I saw in the newspapers that Gray^{*} is dead! So very ancient an intimacy, and, I suppose, the natural reflection to self on losing a person but a year older, made me absolutely start in my chair. It seemed more a corporal than a mental blow; and yet I am exceedingly concerned for him, and every body must be so for the loss of such a genius. He called on me but two or three days before I came hither; he complained of being ill, and talked of the gout in his stomach—but I expected his death no more than my own—and yet the same death will probably be mine.—I am full of all these reflections—but shall not attrist you with them:—only do not wonder that my letter will be short, when my mind is full of what I do not give vent to. It was but last night that I was thinking how few persons last, if one lives to be old, to whom one can talk without reserve. It is impossible to be intimate with the young, because they and the old cannot converse on the same common topics; and of the old that survive, there are few one can commence a friendship with, because one has probably all one's life despised their

* Thomas Gray, the poet.

hearts or their understandings. These are the steps through which one passes to the unenviable lees of life!

I am very sorry for the state of poor lady B——. It presages ill. She had a prospect of long happiness. Opium is a very false friend.

I will get you Bougainville's book.—I think it is on the Falkland Isles, for it cannot be on those just discovered; but as I set out to-morrow fortnight, and probably may have no opportunity sooner of sending it, I will bring it myself. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXXXV.

Arlington-street, September 7, 1772.

I ARRIVED yesterday within an hour or two after you was gone, which mortified me exceedingly; lord knows when I shall see you. You are so active and so busy, and cast bullets¹ and build bridges, are pontifex maximus, and, like sir John Thorold or Cimon,

—— triumph over land and wave,

that one can never get a word with you. Yet I am very well worth a general's or a politician's ear. I have been deep in all the secrets of France, and confidant of some of the principals of both parties. I know what is, and is to be, though I am neither priest nor conjurer—and have heard a vast deal about breaking carabiniers and grenadiers; though, as

¹ Mr. Conway was now at the head of the ordnance, but with the title and appointments of lieutenant-general only. The particular circumstances attending this, are thus recorded in a letter of Mr. Walpole's to another correspondent at the time, and deserve to be known. E.

ordnance, on lord Granby's resignation, to Mr. Conway, who is only lieutenant-general of it. He said he had lived in friendship with lord Granby, and would not profit by his spoils: but as he thought he could do some essential service in the office, where there are many abuses; if his majesty would be pleased to let him continue as he is, he would do the business of the office without accepting the salary."

" January, 1770.

" The king offered the mastership of the

usual,

usual, I dare to say I shall give a woful account of both. The worst part is, that by the most horrid oppression and injustice their finances will very soon be in good order—unless some bankrupt turns Ravaillac, which will not surprize me. The horror the nation has conceived of the king and chancellor, makes it probable that the latter, at least, will be sacrificed. He seems not to be without apprehension, and has removed from the king's library a MS. trial of a chancellor who was condemned to be hanged under Charles VII.—For the king, qui a fait ses épreuves, and not to his honour, you will not wonder that he lives in terrors.

I have executed all lady A——'s commissions; but mind, I do not commission you to tell her, for you would certainly forget it.

As you will no doubt come to town to report who burnt Portsmouth, I will meet you here, if I am apprised of the day. Your niece's marriage² pleases me extremely. Though I never saw him till last night, I know a great deal of her futur, and like his character. His person is much better than I expected, and far preferable to many of the fine young moderns. He is better than fir ——, at least as well as the duke of ——, and Adonis compared to the charming Mr. ——. Adieu!

L E T T E R LXXXVI.

Late Strawberry-hill, January 7, 1772.

YOU have read of my calamity without knowing it, and will pity me when you do. I have been blown up; my castle is blown up; Guy Fawkes has been about my house; and the fifth of November has fallen on the 6th of January! In short, nine thousand powder-mills broke loose yesterday morning on Hounslow-heath; a whole squadron of them came hither, and have broken eight of my painted-glass windows: and the north side of the castle looks as if it had stood a siege. The two faints in the hall have suffered martyrdom! they have had their bodies cut off, and nothing remains but their heads. The two next great sufferers are indeed two of

²The marriage of lady Gertrude Seymour Conway to lord Villiers, since earl of Grandison.
the

the least valuable, being the passage windows to the library and great parlour—a fine pane is demolished in the round room; and the window by the gallery is damaged. Those in the cabinet and Holbein-room, and gallery, and blue-room, and green-closet, &c. have escaped. As the storm came from the north-west, the china-closet was not touched, nor a cup fell down. The bow-window of brave old coloured glass, at Mr. Hindley's, is massacred; and all the north sides of Twickenham and Brentford are shattered. At London it was proclaimed an earthquake, and half the inhabitants ran into the street.

As lieutenant-general of the ordnance, I must beseech you to give strict orders that no more powder-mills may blow up. My aunt, Mrs. Kerwood, reading one day in the papers that a distiller's had been burnt by the head of the still flying off, said, she wondered they did not make an act of parliament against the heads of stills flying off. Now, I hold it much easier for you to do a body this service; and would recommend to your consideration, whether it would not be prudent to have all magazines of powder kept under water till they are wanted for service. In the mean time, I expect a pension to make me amends for what I have suffered under the government. Adieu!

Yours, all that remains of me,

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R LXXXVII.

Strawberry-hill, Monday June 22, 1772.

IT is lucky that I have had no dealings with Mr. F—; for, if he had ruined me, as he has half the world, I could not have *run* away. I tired myself with walking on Friday; the gout came on Saturday in my foot; yesterday I kept my bed till four o'clock, and my room all day—but, with wrapping myself all over with bootikins, I have scarce had any pain—my foot swelled immediately, and to-day I am descended into the blueth and greenth[†]; and though you expect to find that I am paving the way to an

[†] Cant words of Mr. Walpole's for blue and green. He means, that he came out of his room to the blue sky and green fields. E.

excuse, I think I shall be able to be with you on Saturday. All I intend to excuse myself from, is walking. I should certainly never have the gout, if I had lost the use of my feet. Cherubims that have no legs, and do nothing but stick their chins in a cloud and sing, are never out of order. Exercise is the worst thing in the world, and as bad an invention as gunpowder.

A-propos to Mr. F——, here is a passage ridiculously applicable to him, that I met with yesterday in the letters of Guy Patin: “Il n’y a pas long tems qu’un auditeur des comptes nommé monf. Nivelle fit banqueroute; et tout fraichement, c’est-à-dire depuis trois jours, un tresorier des parties casuelles, nommé Sanfon, en a fait autant; et pour vous montrer, qu’il est vrai que *res humanæ faciunt circum*, comme il a été autrefois dit par Plato et par Aristote, celui-là s’en retourne d’où il vient. Il est fils d’un païfan; il a été laquais de son premier metier, et aujourd’hui il n’est plus rien, si non qu’il lui reste une assez belle femme.”—I do not think I can find in Patin or Plato, nay, nor in Aristote, though he wrote about every thing, a parallel case to ——’s: there are advertised to be sold more annuities of his and his society, to the amount of five hundred thousand pounds a year! I wonder what he will do next, when he has sold the estates of all his friends!

I have been reading the most delightful book in the world, the lives of Leland, Tom Hearne, and Antony Wood. The last’s diary makes a thick volume in octavo. One entry is, “This day Old Joan began to make my bed.” In the story of Leland is an examination of a free mason, written by the hand of king Henry VI. with notes by Mr. Locke. Free-masonry, Henry VI. and Locke, make a strange heterogeneous olio; but that is not all. The respondent, who defends the mystery of masonry, says it was brought into Europe by the Venetians—he means the Phenicians—And who do you think propagated it? Why, one Peter Gore—And who do you think that was?—One Pythagoras, Pythagore.—I do not know whether it is not still more extraordinary, that this and the rest of the nonsense in that account made Mr. Locke determine to be a free-mason: so would I too, if I could expect to hear of more *Peter Gores*.

Pray tell lady Lyttelton that I say she will certainly kill herself if she
lets

lets lady A—— drag her twice a day to feed the pheasants; and you make her climb cliffs and clamber over mountains. She has a tractability that alarms me for her; and if she does not pluck up a spirit and determine never to be put out of her own way, I do not know what may be the consequence. I will come and fet her an example of immoveability. Take notice, I do not say one civil syllable to lady A——. She has not passed a whole day here these two years. She is always very gracious, says she will come when *you* will fix a time, as if *you* governed, and then puts it off whenever it is proposed, nor will spare one single day from Park-place—as if other people were not as partial to their own Park-places! Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Tuesday noon.

I WROTE my letter last night; this morning I received yours, and shall wait till Sunday, as you bid me, which will be more convenient for my gout, though not for other engagements; but I shall obey the superior, as *nullum tempus occurrit regi et podagræ*.

L E T T E R LXXXVIII.

Arlington-street, August 30, 1773.

I RETURNED last night from Houghton^{*}, where multiplicity of business detained me four days longer than I intended, and where I found a scene infinitely more mortifying than I expected; though I certainly did not go with a prospect of finding a land flowing with milk and honey. Except the pictures, which are in the finest preservation, and the woods, which are become forests, all the rest is ruin, desolation, confusion, disorder, debts, mortgages, sales, pillage, villainy, waste, folly, and madness. I do not believe that five thousand pounds would put the house and buildings into good repair. The nettles and brambles in the park are up to your shoulders; horses have been turned into the garden, and banditti lodged in every cot-

^{*} Where he had gone during the infancy of his nephew George earl of Orford, to endeavour to settle and arrange his affairs.

tage. The perpetuity of livings that come up to the park-pales have been sold—and every farm let for half its value. In short, you know how much family-pride I have—and consequently may judge how much I have been mortified!—Nor do I tell you half, or *near* the worst circumstances. I have just stopped the torrent—and that is all. I am very uncertain whether I must not sling up the trust; and some of the difficulties in my way seem unfurmoutable, and too dangerous not to alarm even my zeal; since I must not ruin myself, and hurt those for whom I must feel too, only to restore a family that will end with myself, and to retrieve an estate, from which I am not likely ever to receive the least advantage.

If you will settle with the C——s your journey to Chalfont, and will let me know the day, I will endeavour to meet you there; I hope it will not be till next week. I am overwhelmed with business—but indeed I know not when I shall be otherwise! I wish you joy of this endless summer.

LETTER LXXXIX.

Strawberry-hill, June 23, 1774.

I HAVE nothing to say—which is the best reason in the world for writing; for one must have a great regard for any body one writes to, when one begins a letter neither on ceremony nor business. You are seeing armies¹, who are always in fine order and great spirits when they are in cold blood: I am sorry you thought it worth while to realife what I should have thought you could have seen in your mind's eye. However, I hope you will be amused and pleased with viewing heroes, both in their autumn and their bud. Vienna will be a new sight; so will the Austrian eagle and its two heads. I should like *seeing* too, if any fairy would present me with a chest that would fly up into the air by touching a peg, and transport me whither I pleased in an instant: but roads, and inns, and dirt are terrible drawbacks on my curiosity. I grow so old, or so indolent, that I scarce stir from hence; and the dread of the gout makes me almost as much a prisoner, as a

¹ Mr. Conway was now on a tour of military curiosity through Flanders, Germany, Prussia, and part of Hungary.

fit of it. News I know none, if there is any. The papers tell me the city was to present a petition to the king against the Quebec-bill yesterday; and I suppose they will tell me to-morrow whether it was presented. The king's speech tells me, there has nothing happened between the Russians and the Turks. Lady Barrymore told me t'other day, that nothing was to happen between her and lord E——. I am as well satisfied with these negatives, as I should have been with the contrary. I am much more interested about the rain, for it destroys all my roses and orange-flowers, of which I have exuberance; and my hay is cut, and cannot be made. However, it is delightful to have no other distresses. When I compare my present tranquillity and indifference with all I suffered last year², I am thankful for my happiness, and enjoy it—unless the bell rings at the gate early in the morning—and then I tremble, and think it an express from Norfolk.

It is unfortunate, that when one has nothing to talk of but one's self, one should have nothing to say of one's self. It is shameful too to send such a scrap by the post. I think I shall reserve it till Tuesday. If I have then nothing to add, as is probable, you must content yourself with my good intentions, as I hope you will with this speculative campaign. Pray, for the future remain at home and build bridges: I wish you were here to expedite ours to Richmond, which they tell me will not be passable these two years. I have done looking so forward. Adieu!

LETTER XC.

Strawberry-hill, August 18, 1774.

IT is very hard, that because you do not get my letters, you will not let me receive yours, who do receive them. I have not had a line from you these five weeks. Of your honours and glories Fame has told me³; and for aught I know, you may be a *veldt-marshal* by this time, and despise such a poor cottager as me. Take notice, I shall disclaim you in my turn, if you

² During the illness of his nephew lord Orford.

³ Alluding to the distinguished notice taken of general Conway by the king of Prussia.



M.^{rs} Selwyn.

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J. Smith Sculp.

are sent on a command against Dantzick, or to usurp a new district in Poland.

I have seen no armies, kings or empresses, and cannot send you such august gazettes; nor are they what I want to hear of. I like to hear you are well and diverted; nay, have pined towards the latter, by desiring lady Ailesbury to send you monsieur de Guisnes's invitation to a military fête at Metz¹. For my part, I wish you was returned to your plough. Your Sabine farm² is in high beauty. I have lain there twice within this week, going to and from a visit to George Selwyn near Gloucester: a tour as much to my taste as yours to you. For fortified towns I have seen ruined castles. Unluckily, in that of Berkeley I found a whole regiment of militia in garrison, and as many young officers as if ————— was in possession, and ready to surrender at indiscretion. I endeavoured to comfort myself by figuring that they were guarding Edward II. I have seen many other ancient fights without asking leave of the king of Prussia: it would not please me so much to write *to* him, as it once did to write *for* him³.

They have found at least seventy thousand pounds of lord Thomond's⁴. George Howard has decked himself with a red ribband, money and honours! —Charming things! and yet one may be very happy without them.

The young — — is returned from his travels in love with the pretender's queen, who has permitted him to have her picture. What can I tell you more? Nothing. Indeed, if I only write to postmasters, my letter is long enough. Every body's head but mine is full of elections. I had the satisfaction at Gloucester, where G. Selwyn is canvassing, of reflecting on my own wisdom: *Suave mari magno turbantibus æquora ventis, &c.* I am certainly the greatest philosopher in the world, without ever having thought of being so: always employed, and never busy; eager about trifles, and indifferent to every thing serious. Well, if it is not philosophy, at least it is content. I

¹ To see the review of the French regiment of carabineers, then commanded by monsieur de Guisnes.

² Park-place.

³ Alluding to the letter to Rouffcau in the name of the king of Prussia.

⁴ Percy Wyndham O'Brien. He was the second son of sir Charles Wyndham, the chancellor of the exchequer to queen Anne, and took the name of O'Brien pursuant to the will of his uncle the earl of Thomond in Ireland.

am as pleased here with my own nutshell, as any monarch you have seen these two months astride his eagle—not but I was dissatisfied when I missed you at Park-place, and was peevish at your being in an Aulic chamber. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. They tell us from Vienna that the peace is made between Tisiphone and the Turk: Is it true?

LETTER XCI.

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 7, 1774.

I DID not think you had been so like the rest of the world, as, when you pretended to be visiting armies, to go in search of gold and silver mines! The favours of courts and the smiles of emperors and kings, I see, have corrupted even you, and perverted you to a nabob. Have you brought away an ingot in the calf of your leg? What abomination have you committed? All the gazettes in Europe have sent you on different negotiations: instead of returning with a treaty in your pocket, you will only come back with bills of exchange. I don't envy your subterraneous travels, nor the hospitality of the Hungarians. Where did you find a spoonful of Latin about you? I have not attempted to speak Latin these thirty years, without perceiving I was talking Italian thickened with terminations in *us* and *orum*. I should have as little expected to find an Ovid in those regions; but I suppose the gentry of Presbourg read him for a fashionable author, as our squires and their wives do the last collections of ballads that have been sung at Vauxhall and Marybone. I wish you may have brought away some sketches of duke Albert's architecture. You know I deal in the works of royal authors, though I have never admired any of their own buildings, not excepting king Solomon's temple. Stanley² and Edmondson in Hungary! What carried them thither? The chase of mines too? The first, perhaps,

¹ Mr. Conway had gone to see the gold and silver mines of Kremnitz in the neighbourhood of Grau in Hungary.

² Mr. Hans Stanley.

waddled

waddled thither obliquely, as a parrot would have done whose direction was to Naples.

Well, I am glad you have been entertained, and seen such a variety of fights. You don't mind fatigues and hardships, and hospitality, the two extremes that to me poison travelling. I shall never see any thing more, unless I meet with a ring that renders one invisible. It was but the other day, that, being with George Selwyn at Gloucester, I went to view Berkeley castle, knowing the earl was to dine with the mayor of Gloucester. Alas! when I arrived, he had put off the party to enjoy his militia a day longer, and the house was full of officers. They might be in the Hungarian dress, for aught I knew; for I was so dismayed, that I would fain have persuaded the housekeeper that she could not shew me the apartments; and when she opened the hall, and I saw it full of captains, I hid myself in a dark passage, and nothing could persuade me to enter, till they had the civility to quit the place. When I was forced at last to go over the castle, I ran through it without seeing any thing, as if I had been afraid of being detained prisoner.

I have no news to send you: if I had any, I would not conclude, as all correspondents do, that lady A. left nothing untold. Lady P. is gone to hold mobs at Ludlow, where there is actual war, and where a *knight*, I forget his name, one of their friends, has been *almost cut in two* with a scythe. When you have seen all the other armies in Europe, you will be just in time for many election-battles—perhaps for a war in America, whither more troops are going. Many of those already sent have deserted; and to be sure the prospect there is not smiling. A-propos, lord M. whom lord S. his father will not suffer to wear powder because wheat is so dear, was presented t'other day in coal black hair and a white feather: they said *he had been tarred and feathered*.

In France you will find a new scene*. The chancellor is sent, a little before his time, to the devil. The old parliament is expected back. I am sorry to say I shall not meet you there. It will be too late in the year for me to venture, especially as I now live in dread of my biennial gout, and should die of it in a hotel garni, and forced to receive all comers—I, who you know lock myself up when I am ill, as if I had the plague.

* Upon the death of Louis XV.

I wish I could fill my sheet, in return for your five pages. The only thing you will care for knowing is, that I never saw Mrs. D. better in her life, nor look so well. You may trust me, who am so apt to be frightened about her.

LETTER XCII.

Strawberry-hill, September 27, 1774.

I SHOULD be very ungrateful indeed if I thought of complaining of you, who are goodness itself to me: and when I did not receive letters from you, I concluded it happened from your eccentric positions. I am amazed, that, hurried as you have been, and your eyes and thoughts crowded with objects, you have been able to find time to write me so many and such long letters, over and above all those to lady A——, your daughter, brother, and other friends. Even lord Strafford brags of your frequent remembrance. That your superabundance of royal beams would dazzle you, I never suspected. Even I enjoy for you the distinctions you have received—though I should hate such things for myself, as they are particularly troublesome to me, and I am particularly awkward under them, and as I abhor the king of Prussia, and, if I passed through Berlin, should have no joy like avoiding him—like one of our countrymen, who changed horses at Paris, and asked what the name of that town was? All the other civilities you have received I am perfectly happy in. The Germans are certainly a civil well-meaning people, and I believe one of the least corrupted nations in Europe. I don't think them very agreeable; but who do I think are so? A great many French women, some English men, and a few English women—exceedingly few French men. Italian women are the grossest, vulgarest of the sex. If an Italian man has a grain of sense, he is a buffoon—So much for Europe.

I have already told you, and so must lady A——, that my courage fails me, and I dare not meet you at Paris. As the period is arrived when the gout used to come, it is never a moment out of my head. Such a suffering, such a helpless condition as I was in for five months and a half two years ago, makes me tremble from head to foot. I should die at once if seized in a French inn; or what, if possible, would be worse, at Paris, where I must admit every body.—I, who you know can hardly bear to see even you
when

when I am ill, and who shut myself up here, and would not let lord and lady Hertford come near me—I, who have my room washed though in bed, how could I bear French dirt? In short, I, who am so capricious, and whom you are pleased to call a philosopher, I suppose because I have given up every thing but my own will—how could I keep my temper, who have no way of keeping my temper but by keeping it out of every body's way! No; I must give up the satisfaction of being with you at Paris. I have just learnt to give up my pleasures, but I cannot give up my pains, which such selfish people as I, who have suffered much, grow to compose into a system, that they are partial to because it is their own. I must make myself amends when you return: you will be more stationary, I hope, for the future; and if I live I shall have intervals of health. In lieu of me you will have a charming succedaneum, lady — —. Her father, who is more a hero than I, is packing up his decrepit bones, and goes too. I wish she may not have him to nurse, instead of diverting herself.

The present state of your country is, that it is drowned and dead drunk; all water without and wine within. Opposition for the next elections every where, even in Scotland; not from party, but as laying out money to advantage. In the head quarters, indeed, party is not out of the question: the day after to-morrow will be a great bustle in the city for a lord mayor^a, and all the winter in Westminster, where lord Mahon and Humphrey Cotes oppose the court. Lady — — is saving her money at Ludlow and Powis castles by keeping open-house day and night against sir Watkin Williams, and fears she shall be kept there till the general election. It has rained this whole month, and we have got another inundation. The Thames is as broad as your Danube, and all my meadows are under water. Lady Browne and I, coming last Sunday night from lady Blandford's, were in a piteous plight. The ferry-boat was turned round by the current, and carried to Isleworth. Then we ran against the piers of our new bridge, and the horses were frightened. Luckily my cicisbea was a catholic, and screamed to so many saints, that some of them at the nearest alehouse came and saved us, or I should have had no more gout, or what I dreaded I should; for I concluded we should be carried ashore somewhere, and be forced to wade through the mud up to my middle. So you see one may wrap one's self

^a When Mr. Wilkes was elected.

up in flannel and be in danger, without visiting all the armies on the face of the globe, and putting the immortality of one's chaise to the proof.

I am ashamed of sending you but three fides of smaller paper in answer to seven large—but what can I do? I see nothing, know nothing, do nothing. My castle is finished, I have nothing new to read, I am tired of writing, I have no new or old bit for my printer. I have only black hoods around me; or, if I go to town, the family-party in Grosvenor-street. One trait will give you a sample of how I pass my time, and made me laugh, as it put me in mind of you, at least as it was a fit of absence, much more likely to have happened to you than to me. I was playing at eighteenpenny tredrille with the duchess of Newcastle and lady Browne, and certainly not much interested in the game. I cannot recollect nor conceive what I was thinking of, but I pushed the cards very gravely to the duchess, and said, *Doctor*, you are to deal. You may guess at their astonishment, and how much it made us all laugh. I wish it may make you smile a moment, or that I had any thing better to send you. Adieu, most affectionately.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER XCIII.

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 28, 1774.

LADY Ailesbury brings you this¹, which is not a letter, but a paper of directions, and the counterpart of what I have written to madame du Deffand. I beg of you seriously to take a great deal of notice of this dear old friend of mine. She will perhaps expect more attention from *you*, as my friend, and as it is her own nature a little, than will be quite convenient to you: but you have an infinite deal of patience and good nature, and will excuse it. I was afraid of her importuning lady A——, who has a vast deal to see and do, and therefore I have prepared mad. du D.

¹ Mr. Conway ended his military tour at Paris, whither lady Ailesbury and Mrs. Damer went to meet him, and where they spent the winter together.

and

and told her lady A. loves amusements, and that, having never been at Paris before, she must not confine her: so you must pay for both—and it will answer: and I do not, I own, ask this only for madame du Deffand's sake, but for my own, and a little for yours. Since the late king's death she has not dared to write to me freely, and I want to know the present state of France exactly, both to satisfy my own curiosity, and for her sake, as I wish to learn whether her pension, &c. is in any danger from the present ministry, some of whom are not her friends. She can tell you a great deal if she will—by that I don't mean that she is reserved, or partial to her own country against ours—quite the contrary; she loves me better than all France together—but she hates politics; and therefore, to make her talk on it, you must tell her it is to satisfy me, and that I want to know whether she is well at court, whether she has any fears from the government, particularly from Maurepas and Nivernois; and that I am eager to have monsieur de Choiseul and *ma grandmaman* the duchess restored to power. If you take it on this foot easily, she will talk to you with the utmost frankness and with amazing cleverness. I have told her you are strangely absent, and that, if she does not repeat it over and over, you will forget every syllable: so I have prepared her to joke and be quite familiar with you at once. She knows more of personal characters, and paints them better than any body: but let this be between yourselves, for I would not have a living soul suspect that I get any intelligence from her, which would hurt her; and therefore I beg you not to let any human being know of this letter, nor of your conversations with her, neither English nor French.

Mad. du Deffand hates les philosophes, so you must give them up to her. She and madame Geoffrin are no friends: so, if you go thither, don't tell her of it. Indeed you would be sick of that house, whither all the pretended beaux esprits and faux sçavants go, and where they are very impertinent and dogmatic.

Let me give you one other caution, which I shall give lady A—— too. Take care of your papers at Paris, and have a very strong lock to your porte-feuille. In the hotels garnis they have double keys to every lock, and examine every drawer and paper of the English that they can get at. They will pilfer too whatever they can.—I was robbed of half my clothes

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there the first time, and they wanted to hang poor Louis to save the people of the house who had stolen the things.

Here is another thing I must say. Mad. du Deffand has kept a great many of my letters, and, as she is very old, I am in pain about them. I have written to her to beg she will deliver them up to you to bring back to me, and I trust she will. If she does, be so good to take great care of them. If she does not mention them, tell her just before you come away, that I begged you to bring them; and if she hesitates, convince her how it would hurt me to have letters written in very bad French, and mentioning several people, both French and English, fall into bad hands, and, perhaps, be printed.

Let me desire you to read this letter more than once, that you may not forget my requests, which are very important to me; and I must give you one other caution, without which all would be useless. There is at Paris a m^{lle} de l'Espinaffe, a pretended bel esprit, who was formerly an humble companion of mad. du Deffand; and betrayed her and used her very ill. I beg of you not to let any body carry you thither. It would disoblige my friend of all things in the world, and she would never tell you a syllable; and I own it would hurt me, who have such infinite obligations to her, that I should be very unhappy if a particular friend of mine showed her this disregard. She has done every thing upon earth to please and serve me, and I owe it to her to be earnest about this attention. Pray do not mention it: it might look simple in me, and yet I owe it to her, as I know it would hurt her: and at her age, with her misfortunes, and with infinite obligations on my side, can I do too much to show my gratitude, or prevent her any new mortification? I dwell upon it, because she has some enemies so spiteful that they try to carry all English to mad. de l'Espinaffe.

I wish the duchess of Choiseul may come to Paris while you are there; but I fear she will not: you would like her of all things. She has more sense and more virtues than almost any human being. If you choose to see any of the sçavants, let me recommend monsieur Buffon. He has not only much more sense than any of them, but is an excellent old man, humane, gentle, well-bred, and with none of the arrogant pertness of all the rest. If he is at Paris, you will see a good deal of the comte de Broglie at mad. du Deffand's. He is not a genius of the first water, but lively and some-
times

times agreeable. The court, I fear, will be at Fontainebleau, which will prevent your seeing many, unless you go thither. Adieu! at Paris! I leave the rest of my paper for England, if I happen to have any thing particular to tell you.

L E T T E R X C I V .

Strawberry-hill, Sunday, October 16, 1774.

I RECEIVED this morning your letter of the 6th from Strasburg; and before you get this you will have had three from me by lady Ailesbury. One of them should have reached you much sooner; but lady A. kept it, not being sure where you was. It was in answer to one in which you told me an anecdote, which in this last you ask if I had received.

Your letters are always so welcome to me, that you certainly have no occasion for excusing what you say or do not say. Your details amuse me, and so would what you suppress; for, though I have no military genius or curiosity, whatever relates to yourself must interest me. The honours you have received, though I have so little taste for such things myself, gave me great satisfaction; and I do not know whether there is not more pleasure in *not* being a prophet in one's own country, when one is almost received like Mahomet in every other. To be an idol at home, is no assured touchstone of merit. Stocks and stones have been adored in fifty regions, but do not bear transplanting. The Apollo Belvedere and The Hercules Farnese may lose their temples, but never lose their estimation, by travelling.

Elections, you may be sure, are the only topic here at present—I mean in England—not on this quiet hill, where I think of them as little as of the spot where the battle of Blenheim was fought. They say there will not be much alteration, but the phoenix will rise from its ashes with most of its old plumes, or as bright. Wilkes at first seemed to carry all before him, besides having obtained the mayoralty of London at last. Lady H—— told me last Sunday, that he would carry twelve members. I have not been in town since, nor know any thing but what I collect from the papers; so, if my letter is opened, M. de Vergennes will not amass any very authentic intelligence from my *dispatches*.

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What I have taken notice of, is as follows: For the city Wilkes will have but three members: he will lose Crosby; and Townsend will carry Oliver. In Westminster, Wilkes will not have one; his Humphrey Cotes is by far the lowest on the poll; lord Percy and lord T. Clinton are triumphant there. Her grace of Northumberland sits at a window in Covent-garden, harangues the mob, and is "Hail, fellow, well met!" At Dover, Wilkes has carried one, and probably will come in for Middlesex himself with Glynn. There have been great endeavours to oppose him, but to no purpose.—Of this I am glad, for I do not love a mob so near as Brentford; especially as my road lies through it. Where he has any other interest I am too ignorant in these matters to tell you. Lord John Cavendish is opposed at York, and at the beginning of the poll had the fewest numbers. C—F—, like the ghost in Hamlet, has shifted to many quarters; but in most the cock crew, and he walked off. In Southwark, there has been outrageous rioting; but I neither know the candidates, their connections, nor success. This, perhaps, will appear a great deal of news at Paris: here, I dare to say, my butcher knows more.

I can tell you still less of America. There are two or three more ships with forces going thither, and Sir William Draper as second in command.

Of private news, except that Dyson has had a stroke of palsy, and will die, there is certainly none; for I saw that shrill Morning Post, lady G——, two hours ago, and she did not know a paragraph.

I forgot to mention to you M. de Maurepas. He was by far the ablest and most agreeable man I knew at Paris: and if you stay, I think I could take the liberty of giving you a letter to him; though, as he is now so great a man, and I remain so little an one, I don't know whether it would be quite so proper—though he was exceedingly good to me, and pressed me often to make him a visit in the country.—But lord Stormont can certainly carry you to him—a better passport.

There was one of my letters on which I wish to hear from you. There are always English coming from Paris, who would bring such a parcel; at least you might send me one volume at a time, and the rest afterwards: but I should not care to have them ventured by the common conveyance. Mad, du Deffand is negotiating for an enamel picture for me; but if she obtains

obtains it, I had rather wait for it till you come. The books I mean, are those I told you lady A. and Mrs. D. would give you a particular account of, for they know my mind exactly. Don't reproach me with not meeting you at Paris. Recollect what I suffered this time two years; and if you can have any notion of fear, imagine my dread of torture for five months and a half! When all the quiet of Strawberry did but just carry me through it, could I support it in the noise of a French hotel! and, what would be still worse, expos'd to receive all visits? for the French, you know, are never more in public than in the act of death. I am like animals, and love to hide myself *when I am dying*. Thank God, I am now two days beyond the crisis when I expected my dreadful periodic visitant, and begin to grow very sanguine about the virtue of the bootikins. I shall even have courage to go to-morrow to Chalfont for two days, as it is but a journey of two hours. I would not be a day's journey from hence for all lord Clive's diamonds. This will satisfy *you*. I doubt madame du Deffand is not so easily convinced: therefore pray do not drop a hint before her of blaming me for not meeting you; rather assure her you are persuad'd it would have been too great a risk for me at this season. I wish to have her quite clear of my attachment to her; but that I do not always find so easy. You, I am sure, will find her all zeal and *empressement* for you and yours. Adieu!

LETTER XCV.

Strawberry-hill, October 29, 1774.

I HAVE received your letter of the 23d, and it certainly overpays me, when you thank instead of scolding me, as I feared. A passionate man has very little merit in being in a passion, and is sure of saying many things he repents, as I do. I only hope you think that I could not be so much in the wrong for every body; nor should have been perhaps even for you, if I had not been certain I was the only person, at that moment, that could serve you essentially: and at such a crisis, I am sure I should take exactly the same part again, except in saying some things I did, of which I am ashamed!

* This relates to Mr. Walpole having resented of a seat in parliament at the general election, in a very warm manner, some neglect on the which took place in the year 1774. E. part of his friends which deprived Mr. Conway

I will

I will say no more now on that topic, nor on any thing relating to it, because I have written my mind very fully, and you will know it soon. I can only tell you now, that I approve extremely your way of thinking, and hope you will not change it before you hear from me, and know some material circumstances. You and lady A. and I agree exactly, and she and I certainly consider only *you*. I do not answer her last, because I could not help telling you how very kindly I take your letter. All I beg is, that you would have no delicacy about my serving you any way. You know it is a pleasure to me: any body else may have views that would embarrass you; and therefore, till you are on the spot, and can judge for yourself (which I always insist on, because you are cooler than I, and because, though I have no interests to serve, I have passions which equally mislead one), it will be wiser to decline all kind of proposals and offers. You will avoid the plague of contested elections and solicitations; and I see no reasons, at present, that can tempt you to be in a hurry.

You must not expect to be madame du Deffand's first favourite. Lady Ailesbury has made such a progress there, that you will not easily supplant her. I have received volumes in her praise. You have a better chance with madame de C——, who is very agreeable; and I hope you are not such an English husband as not to conform to the manners of Paris while you are there.

I forgot to mention one or two of my favourite objects to lady A. nay, I am not sure she will taste one of them, the church of the Celestines. It is crowded with beautiful old tombs: one of Francis II. whose beatitude is presumed from his being husband of the martyr Mary Stuart. Another is of the first wife of John duke of Bedford, the regent of France. I think you was once there with me formerly. The other is Richelieu's tomb, at the Sorbonne—but that every body is carried to see. The hotel de *Carnavalet**, near the Place royale, is worth looking at, even for the façade, as you drive by. But of all earthly things the most worth seeing is the house at Versailles, where the king's pictures, not hung up, are kept. There is a treasure past belief, though in sad order, and piled one against another. Monsieur de Guerchy once carried me thither; and you may

* Where madame de Sevigné resided.

certainly

certainly get leave. At the Luxembourg are some hung up, and one particularly is worth going to see alone: it is the Deluge by Nicolo Pouffin, as winter. The three other seasons are good for nothing—but the Deluge is the first picture in the world of its kind. You will be shocked to see the glorious pictures at the Palais royal transplanted to new canvasses, and new painted and varnished, as if they were to be scenes at the opera—at least, they had treated half a dozen of the best so, three years ago, and were going on. The prince of Monaco has a few fine, but still worse used; one of them shines more than a looking-glass. I fear the exposition of pictures is over for this year; it is generally very *diverting**. I, who went into every church of Paris, can assure you there are few worth it, but the Invalids—except the *scenery* at St. Roch, about one or two o'clock at noon, when the sun shines; the Carmelites, for the Guido and the portrait of madame de la Valiere as a Magdalen; the Val de Grace, for a moment; the *treasure* at Notre Dame; the Sainte Chapelle, where in the anti-chapel are two very large enamelled portraits; the tomb of Condé at the Great Jesuits in the rue St. Antoine, if not shut up; and the little church of St. Louis in the Louvre, where is a fine tomb of cardinal Fleury, but large enough to stand on Salisbury-plain. One thing some of you *must* remember, as you return; nay, it is better to go soon to St. Denis, and madame du Deffand must get you a particular order to be shown (which is never shewn without) the effigies of the kings. They are in presses over the treasure which is shown, and where is the glorious antique cameo-cup; but the countenance of Charles IX. is so horrid and remarkable, you would think he had died on the morrow of the St. Barthelemi, and waked full of the recollection. If you love enamels and exquisite medals, get to see the collection of a monsieur d'Henery, who lives in the corner of the street where sir John Lambert lives—I forget its name. There is an old man behind the rue de Colombier, who has a great but bad collection of old French portraits; I delighted in them, but perhaps you would not. I, you may be sure, hunted out every thing of that sort. The convent and collection of St. Germain, I mean that over against the hotel du Parc royal, is well worth seeing—but I forget names strangely.—Oh! delightful—lord Cholmondeley sends me word he goes to Paris on Monday: I shall send this and my other letter by him. It was him I meant; I knew he was going, and had prepared it.

* He means from their extreme bad-taste.

Pray

Pray take care to lock up your papers in a strong box that nobody can open. They imagine you are at Paris on some commission, and there is no trusting French hotels or servants. America is in a desperate situation. The accounts from the Congress are not expected before the 10th, and expected very warm. I have not time to tell you some manœuvres against them that will make your blood curdle. Write to me when you can by private hands, as I will to you. There are always English passing backwards and forwards.

L E T T E R X C V I.

Strawberry-hill, November 12, 1774.

I HAVE received a delightful letter from you of four sheets, and another since. I shall not reply to the campaigning part (though much obliged to you for it), because I have twenty other subjects more pressing to talk of. The first is to thank you for your excessive goodness to my dear old friend—she has some indiscretions, and *you must not have any to her*; but she has the best heart in the world, and I am happy, at her great age, that she has spirits enough not to be always upon her guard. A bad heart, especially after long experience, is but too apt to overflow *inwardly* with prudence. At least, as I am but too like her, and have corrected too few of my faults, I would fain persuade myself that some of them flow from a good principle—but I have not time to talk of myself, though you are much too partial to me, and give me an opportunity; yet I shall not take it.

Now for English news, and then your letter again.

There has been a great mortality here; though death has rather been *pré* than a volunteer. ———, as I told lady Ailesbury last post, shot himself. He is dead, totally undone. Whether that alone was the cause, or whether he had not done something worse, I doubt. I cannot conceive that, with his resources, he should have been hopeless—and to suspect him of delicacy, impossible!

A ship is arrived from America, and I doubt with very bad news, for none but trifling letters have yet been given out—but I am here, see nobody

that knows any thing, and only hear by accident from people that drop in. The floop that is to bring the result of the general assembly is not yet come. There are indeed rumours, that both the non-importation and even non-exportation have been decreed; and that the flame is universal. I hope this is exaggerated! yet I am told the stocks will fall very much in a day or two.

I have nothing to tell lady Ailesbury, but that I hear a deplorable account of the opera. There is a new puppet-show at Drury-lane, as fine as scenes can make it, called The Maid of the Oaks, and as dull as the author could not help making it¹.

Except M. D'Herouville I know all the people you name. C. I doubt by things I have heard formerly, may have been a *concuSSIONNAIRE*. The duke, your *protecteur*², is mediocre enough: you would have been more pleased with his wife. The chevalier's³ bon-mot is excellent, and so is he. He has as much bouffonnerie as the Italians, with more wit and novelty. His impromptu verses often admirable. Get madame du Deffand to show you his Embassy to the princess Christine, and his verses on his eldest uncle, beginning, *Si monsieur de Veau*. His second uncle has parts, but they are not so natural. Madame de Caraman is a very good kind of woman, but has not a quarter of her sister's parts. Madame de Mirepoix is *the* agreeable woman of the world, when she pleases—but there must not be a card in the room. Lord — has acted like himself; that is, unlike any body else. You know, I believe, that I think him a very good speaker; but I have little opinion of his judgment and knowledge of the world, and a great opinion of his affectation and insincerity. The abbé Raynal, though he wrote that fine work on the commerce des deux Indes, is the most tiresome creature in the world. The first time I met him was at the dull baron d'Olbach's: we were twelve at table: I dreaded opening my mouth in French, before so many people and so many servants: he began question-

¹ Mr. Walpole's opinion of this author totally changed upon the appearance of The Heiress, which he always called "the genteel comedy" in the English language. E.

² The duc de la Valiere; of whom Mr. Conway had said, that, when presented to him, "his

reception was what might be called good, but rather *de protection*. E.

³ The chevalier de Boufflers, well known for his Letters from Switzerland, addressed to his mother; his Reine de Golconde, a tale; and a number of very pretty vers de société. E.

ing me, cross the table, about our colonies, which I understand as I do Coptic. I made him signs I was deaf. After dinner he found I was not, and never forgave me. Mademoiselle Raucoux I never saw till you told me madame du Deffand said she was *demoniaque sans chaleur!* What painting! I see her now. Le Kain sometimes pleased me, oftener not. Molè is charming in genteel, or in pathetic comedy, and would be fine in tragedy, if he was stronger. Preville is always perfection. I like his wife in affected parts, though not animated enough. There was a delightful woman who did the lady Wishforts, I don't know if there still, I think her name mademoiselle Drouin; and a fat woman, rather elderly, who sometimes acted the soubrette. But you have missed the Dumènil, and Caillaut! What irreparable losses! Madame du Deffand, perhaps—I don't know—could obtain your hearing the Clairon—yet the Dumènil was infinitely preferable.

I could now almost find in my heart to laugh at you for liking Boutin's garden¹. Do you know, that I drew a plan of it, as the completest absurdity I ever saw. What! a river that wriggles at right angles through a stone-gutter, with two tanfy puddings that were dug out of it, and three or four beds in a row, by a corner of the wall, with samples of grass, corn, and of en friche, like a taylor's paper of patterns! And you like this! I will tell Park-place—Oh! I had forgot your audience in dumb show—Well, as madame de Sevigné said, Le roi de Prusse, c'est le plus grand roi du monde still². My love to the old parliament: I don't love new ones.

I went several times to madame de Monconseil's, who is just what you say. Mesdames de Tingri & de la Vauguion I never saw: madame de Noailles once or twice, and enough. You say something of madame Mallet,

¹ See another ludicrous description of this garden in a letter to Mr. Chute.

² This alludes to Mr. Conway's presentation to the king of France, Louis XVI. at Fontainebleau, of which in his letter to Mr. Walpole he gives the following account: E.

“On St. Hubert's day in the morning I had the honour of being presented to the king: 'twas a good day and an excellent deed. You may be sure I was well received, the French are so

polite! and their court so polished!—The emperor indeed talked to me every day; so did the king of Prussia regularly and much: but that was not to be compared to the extraordinary reception of his most christian majesty, who, when I was presented, did not stop, nor look to see what sort of an animal was offered to his notice, but carried his head as it seemed somewhat higher, and passed his way.”

which

which I could not read; for, by the way, your brother and I agree that you are grown not to write legibly: is that lady in being? I knew her formerly. Madame de Blot I know, and monsieur de Paulmy I know, but for heaven's sake who is col. Conway¹? Mademoiselle Sanadon is *la sana donna*, and not mademoiselle *Celadon*², as you call her. Pray assure my good monsieur Schoualow of my great regard: he is one of the best of beings.

I have said all I could, at least all I should. I reserve the rest of my paper for a postscript; for this is but Saturday, and my letter cannot depart till Tuesday: but I could not for one minute defer answering your charming volumes, which interest me so much. I grieve for lady Harriet's³ swelled face, and wish for both their sakes she could transfer it to her father. I assure her I meant nothing by desiring you to see the verses to the princess Christine⁴, wherein there is very profane mention of a pair of swelled cheeks. I hear nothing of madame d'Olonne⁵.—Oh! make madame du Deffand show you the sweet portrait of madame de Prie, the duke of Bourbon's mistress⁶. Have you seen madame de Monaco, and the remains of madame de Brionne? If you wish to see Mrs. A—, ask for the princess de Ligne. If you have seen monsieur de Maurepas, you have seen the late lord Hardwicke⁷. By your not naming him, I suppose the duc de Nivernois is not at Paris. Say a great deal for me to M. de Guifnes. You will not see my passion, the duchess de Chatillon. If you see madame de Nivernois, you will think the duke of Newcastle is come to life again. Alas! where is my postscript?

¹ An officer in the French service.

² Mademoiselle Sanadon, a lady who lived with madame du Deffand.

³ Lady Harriet Stanhope, afterwards married to lord Foley, was at this time at Paris with her father the earl of Harrington.

⁴ By the chevalier de Boufflers.

⁵ The beautiful enamel miniature of madame d'Olonne, now at Strawberry-hill.

⁶ This portrait is now at Strawberry-hill.

⁷ He means from their personal resemblance.

LETTER XCVII.

Arlington-street, November 27, 1774.

I HAVE received your delightfully plump packet with a letter of six pages, one from madame du Deffand, the Eloges, and the Lit de justice. Now observe my gratitude: I appoint you my resident at Paris; but you are not to resemble all our ministers abroad, and expect to live at home, which would destroy *my lord Castlecomer's*¹ view in your staying at Paris. However, to prove to you that I have some gratitude that is not totally selfish, I will tell you what little news I know, before I answer your letter; for English news, to be sure, is the most agreeable circumstance in a letter from England.

On my coming to town yesterday, there was nothing but more deaths—don't you think we have the plague? the bishop of Worcester, lord Breadalbane, lord Strathmore. The first fell from his horse, or with his horse, at Bath, and the bishoprick was incontinently given to bishop North.

America is still more refractory, and I doubt will outvote the ministry. They have picked general Gage's pocket of three pieces of cannon, and intercepted some troops that were going to him. Sir William Draper is writing plans of pacification in our newspapers; and lord Chatham flatters himself that he shall be sent for when the patient is given over; which I don't think at all unlikely to happen. My poor nephew² is very political too: so we shall not want mad-doctors. A-propos, I hear Wilkes says he will propose M—— for speaker.

The ecclesiastical court are come to a resolution that the duchess of Kingston is Mrs. Hervey; and the sentence will be public in a fortnight. It is not so certain that she will lose the estate. Augustus³ is not in a much more pleasant predicament than she is. I saw lord Bristol last night: he looks perfectly well, but his speech is much affected, and his right hand.

¹ A cant phrase of Mr. Walpole's, which took its rise from the following story:

The tutor of a young lord Castlecomer, who lived at Twickenham with his mother, having broke his leg, somebody pitying the poor man, to the mother, lady Castlecomer, she replied,

"Yes, indeed, it is very inconvenient to my lord Castlecomer." E.

² George Walpole, earl of Orford.

³ Augustus Hervey, to whom she was first married.

Lady

Lady Lyttelton, who, you know, never hears any thing that has happened, wrote to me two days ago, to ask if it would not be necessary for *you* to come over for the meeting of the parliament. I answered, very gravely, that to be sure you ought: but though *sir James Morgan* threatened you loudly with a petition, yet, as it could not be heard till after Christmas, I was afraid you would not be persuaded to come sooner. I hope she will inquire who *sir James Morgan* is, and that people will persuade her she has made a confusion about *sir James* ———. Now for your letter.

I have been in the chambre de parlement, I think they call it the grande chambre; and was shown the corner in which the monarchs sit, and do not wonder you did not guess where it was they sat. It is just like the dark corner, under the window, where I always sat in the house of commons. What has happened, has passed exactly according to my ideas. When one king breaks one parliament, and another another, what can the result be but despotism? or of what else is it a proof? If a tory king displaces his father's whig lord chamberlain, neither lord chamberlain has the more or the less power over the theatres and court-mourning and birth-day balls. All that can arrive is, that the people will be still more attached to the old parliament, from this seeming restitution of a right—but the people must have some power before their attachment can signify a straw. The old parliament too may some time or other give itself more airs¹ on this confession of right; but that too cannot be but in a minority, or when the power of the crown is lessened by reasons that have nothing to do with the parliament. I will answer for it, they will be too *grateful* to give umbrage to their restorer. Indeed I did not think the people would be so quick-fighted at once, as to see the distinction of old and new was without a difference. Methinks France and England are like the land and the sea; one gets a little sense when the other loses it.

I am quite satisfied with all you tell me about my friend. My intention is certainly to see her again, if I am able; but I am too old to lay plans, especially when it depends on the despot gout to register or cancel them. It is even melancholy to see her, when it will probably be but once more; and still more melancholy, when we ought to say to one another, in a different sense from the common, *à revoir!* However, as mine is a pretty cheerful

¹ We have seen these *airs* not only the cause of its own destruction, but of one of the greatest revolutions that ever took place in Europe. E.

kind

kind of philosophy, I think the best way is to think of dying, but to talk and act as if one was not to die; or else one tires other people, and dies before one's time. I have truly all the affection and attachment for her that she deserves from me, or I should not be so very thankful as I am for your kindness to her. The Choiseuls will certainly return at Christmas, and will make her life much more agreeable. The duchess has as much attention to her as I could have; but that will not keep me from making her a visit.

I have only seen, not known, the younger madame de Boufflers. For her musical talents, I am little worthy of them—yet I am just going to lady Bingham's to hear the Bastardella, whom, though the first singer in Italy, Mrs. Yates could not or would not agree with¹; and she is to have twelve hundred pounds for singing twelve times at the Pantheon, where, if she had a voice as loud as lord Clare's, she could not be heard. The two *bons-mots* you sent me are excellent; but, alas! I had heard them both before: consequently your own, which is very good too, pleased me much more. M. de Stainville I think you will not like: he has sense, but has a dry military harshness, that at least did not suit me—and then I hate his barbarity to his wife².

You was very lucky indeed to get one of the sixty tickets³. Upon the whole, your travels have been very fortunate, and the few mortifications amply compensated. If a duke⁴ has been spiteful when your back was turned, a hero-king has been all courtesy. If another king has been silent, an emperor has been singularly gracious. Frowns or silence may happen to any body: the smiles have been addressed to you particularly.—So was the ducal frown indeed—but would you have earned a smile at the price set on it? One cannot do right and be always applauded—but in such cases are not frowns tantamount?

As my letter will not set forth till the day after to-morrow, I reserve the rest for any additional news, and this time *will* reserve it.

¹ To sing at the opera.

² Upon a suspicion of gallantry, she was confined for life.

³ To see the lit de justice held by Louis XVI. when he recalled the parliament of Paris banished

ed by Louis XV. at the instigation of the chancellor Maupeou, and suppressed the new one of their creation. E.

⁴ The duke de Choiseul.

St. Parliament's day, 29th, after breakfast.

THE speech is said to be firm, and to talk of the *rebellion* of our province of Massachusetts. No sloop is arrived yet to tell us how to call the rest. Mr. Van is to move for the expulsion of Wilkes; which will distress, and may produce an odd scene. Lord Holland is certainly dead; the papers say, Robinson too, but that I don't know:—so many deaths of late make report kill to right and left.

L E T T E R XCVIII.

Arlington-street, December 15, 1774.

AS I wrote to lady Ailesbury but on Tuesday, I should not have followed it so soon with this, if I had nothing to tell you but of myself. My gout is never dangerous, and the shades of them not important. However, to dispatch this article at once, I will tell you, that the pain I felt yesterday in my elbow made me think all former pain did not deserve the name. Happily the torture did not last above two hours; and, which is more surprising, it is all the real pain I have felt; for though my hand has been as sore as if flayed, and that both feet are lame, the bootikins demonstrably prevent or extract the sting of it, and I see no reason not to expect to get out in a fortnight more. Surely, if I am laid up but one month in two years, instead of five or six, I have reason to think the bootikins sent from heaven.

The long expected sloop is arrived at last, and is indeed a *man of war*! The general congress have voted,

A non-importation.

A non-exportation.

A non-consumption.

That, in case of hostilities committed by the troops at Boston, the several provinces will march to the assistance of their countrymen.

That the cargoes of ships now at sea shall be sold on their arrival, and the money arising thence given to the poor at Boston,

That

That a letter, in the nature of a petition of rights, shall be sent to the king; another to the house of *commons*; a third to the people of England; a demand of repeal of all the acts of parliament affecting North America passed during this reign, as also of the Quebec-bill: and these resolutions not to be altered till such repeal is obtained.

Well, I believe you do not regret being neither in parliament nor in administration! As you are an idle man, and have nothing else to do, you may sit down and tell one a remedy for all this. Perhaps you will give yourself airs, and say you was a prophet, and that prophets are not honoured in their own country.—Yet, if you have any inspiration about you, I assure you it will be of great service—We are at our wit's end—which was no great journey.—Oh! you conclude lord Chatham's crutch will be supposed a wand, and be sent for—They might as well send for *my* crutch; and they should not have it; the stile is a little too high to help them over. His lordship is a little fitter for raising a storm than laying one, and of late seems to have lost both virtues. The Americans at least have acted like men, gone to the bottom at once, and set the whole upon the whole. Our conduct has been that of pert children: we have thrown a pebble at a mastiff, and are surpris'd it was not frightened. Now we must be worried by it, or must kill the guardian of the house, which will be plundered the moment little master has nothing but the old nurse to defend it. But I have done with reflections; you will be fuller of them than I.

L E T T E R XCIX.

Arlington-street, December 26, 1774.

I BEGIN my letter to-day, to prevent the fatigue of dictating two to-morrow. In the first and best place, I am very near recovered; that is, though still a mummy, I have no pain left, nor scarce any sensation of gout except in my right hand, which is still in complexion and shape a lobster's claw. Now, unless any body can prove to me that three weeks are longer than five months and a half, they will hardly convince me that the bootikins are not a cure for fits of the gout, and a very short cure, though they cannot prevent it: nor perhaps is it to be wished they should; for, if the gout prevents every thing else, would not one have something that does? I have
but

but one single doubt left about the bootikins, which is, whether they do not weaken my breast: but as I am sensible that my own spirits do half the mischief, and that, if I could have held my tongue, and kept from talking and dictating letters, I should not have been half so bad as I have been, there remains but half due to bootikins on the balance: and surely the ravages of the last long fit, and two years more in age, ought to make another deduction. Indeed, my forcing myself to dictate my last letter to you almost killed me; and since the gout is not dangerous to me if I am kept perfectly quiet, my good old friend must have patience, and not insist upon letters from me but when it is quite easy to me to send them. So much for me and my gout. I will now endeavour to answer such parts of your last letters as I can in this manner, and considering how difficult it is to read *your* writing in a dark room.

I have not yet been able to look into the French harangues you sent me. Voltaire's verses to Robert Covelle are not only very bad, but very contemptible.

I am delighted with all the honours you receive, and with all the amusements they procure you, which is the best part of honours. For the glorious part, I am always like the man in Pope's Donne,

“ Then happy he who shows the tombs, said I.”

That is, they are least troublesome there. The *serenissime*¹ you met at Montmorency is one of the least to my taste; we quarrelled about Rousseau, and I never went near him after my first journey. Madame du D. will tell you the story, if she has not forgotten it.

It is supposed here, that the new proceedings of the French parliament will produce great effects: I don't suppose any such thing. What America will produce I know still less; but certainly something very serious. The merchants have summoned a meeting for the second of next month, and the petition from the congress to the king is arrived. The heads have been shown to lord D——; but I hear one of the agents is against presenting it: yet it is thought it will be delivered, and then be ordered to be laid before parliament. The whole affair has already been talked of there on the army

¹ The prince de Conti.

and navy-days; and Burke, they say, has shone with amazing wit and ridicule on the late inactivity of Gage, and his losing his cannon and straw; on his being intrenched in a town with an army of observation; with that army being, as sir William Meredith had said, an asylum for magistrates, and to secure the port. Burke said, he had heard of an asylum for debtors and whores, never for magistrates; and of ships, never of armies, securing a port. This is all there has been in parliament, but elections. C—— F——'s place did not come into question. Mr. ——, who is one of the new elect, has opened, but with no success. There is a seaman, Luttrell, that promises much better.

I am glad you like the duchess de Lauzun¹: she is one of my favourites. The hotel du Chatelet promised to be very fine, but was not finished when I was last at Paris. I was much pleased with the person that slept against St. Lambert's poem: I wish I had thought of the nostrum, when Mr. ——, a thousand years ago, at Lyons, would read an epic poem to me just as I had received a dozen letters from England. St. Lambert is a great jackanapes, and a very tiny genius. I suppose the poem was *The Seasons*, which is four fans spun out into a Georgic.

If I had not been too ill, I should have thought of bidding you hear midnight mass on Christmas-eve in madame du Deffand's tribune, as I used to do.

¹ She became duchesse de Biron upon the death of her husband's grandfather, the marechal duc de Biron.

This amiable, interesting, and virtuous woman, the purity of whose character, even under all the unfavourable circumstances of an ill-suited marriage and a husband's strange neglect, neither French profligacy nor French levity had ever dared asperse, having twice fled to this country, after the revolution in her own, to avoid that violence and those persecutions to which her noble birth and great personal fortune could alone make her liable, unadvisedly returned to Paris in the spring of the year 1794, deluded by fallacious promises of security, and by hopes of preserving some of the very large fortune to which she was heiress, to assist those of her friends and dependants, who, involved in the

same circumstances with herself, had no such resources of their own.

This amiable Being, in the prime of life, and unaccused of any crime, was first confined in her own house, then sent to a common jail, and soon after fell an undistinguished victim to the bloody and ruthless tyranny of Robespierre.

That there may have perished, in the course of his indiscriminate slaughter, many victims equally innocent, is hardly to be doubted; but those who were personally acquainted with the mild unmeddling character, the quiet unassuming sense, and the modest diffident manners of the duchesse de Biron, can never figure her to themselves, hurried by ruffians to a prison, and perishing publicly on a scaffold, without peculiar sentiments of horror, melancholy, and disgust.

E.
To

To be sure, you know that her apartment was part of madame du Montepan's, whose arms are on the back of the grate in madame du Deffand's own bed-chamber. A-propos, ask her to show you madame de Prie's picture, M. le Duc's mistress—I am very fond of it—and make her tell you her history.

I have but two or three words more. Remember my parcel of letters from madame du D. and pray remember this injunction, not to ruin yourselves in bringing presents. A very slight fairing of a guinea or two obliges as much, is more fashionable, and not a moment sooner forgotten than a magnificent one; and then you may very cheaply oblige the more persons: but as the sick fox, in Gay's Fables, says (for one always excepts oneself),

“A chicken too might do me good—”

I allow you to go as far as three or even five guineas for a snuff-box for me: and then, as ———— told the king, when he asked for the reversion of the Light-house for two lives, and the king reproached him with having always advised him against granting reversions; he replied, “Oh sir, but if your majesty will give me this, I will take care you shall never give away another.”

Adieu, with my own left hand,

HOR. WALPOLE.

LETTER C.

Arlington-street, December 31, 1774.

NO child was ever so delighted to go into breeches, as I was this morning to get on a pair of cloth shoes as big as Jack Harris's: this joy may be the spirits of dotage—but what signifies whence one is happy? Observe too that this is written with my own *right* hand, with the bootikin actually upon it, which has no distinction of fingers: so I no longer see any miracle in Buckinger, who was famous for writing without hands or *feet* [as if it was

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indifferent

indifferent which one uses, provided one has a pair of either]. Take notice, I write so much better without fingers than with, that I advise *you* to try a bootikin. To be sure, the operation is a little slower; but to a prisoner, the duration of his amusement is of far more consequence than the vivacity of it.

Last night I received your very kind, I might say *your* letter tout court, of Christmas-day. By this time I trust you are quite out of pain about me. My fit has been as regular as possible; only, as if the bootikins were post-horses, it made the grand tour of all my limbs in three weeks. If it will always use the same expedition, I am content it should take the journey once in two years. You must not mind my breast: it was always the weakest part of a very weak system; yet did not suffer now by the gout, but in consequence of it; and would not have been near so bad, if I could have kept from talking and dictating letters. The moment I am out of pain I am in high spirits; and though I never take any medicines, there is one thing absolutely necessary to be put into my mouth—a gag. At present the town is so empty that my tongue is a fine-cure.

I am well acquainted with the Bibliotheque du Roi, and the medals, and the prints. I spent an entire day in looking over the English portraits, and kept the librarian without his dinner till dark night, till I was satisfied. Though the Choiseuls¹ will not *acquaint* with you, I hope their abbé Barthelimi² is not put under the same quarantine. Besides great learning, he has infinite wit and polissonnerie, and is one of the best kind of men in the world. As to the grandpapa³, il ne nous aime pas nous autres, and has never forgiven lord Chatham. Though exceedingly agreeable himself, I don't think his taste exquisite.—Perhaps I was piqued; but he seemed to like — better than any of us. Indeed I am a little afraid that my dear friend's impetuous zeal may have been a little too prompt in pressing you upon them d'abord:—but don't say a word of this—it is her great goodness.—I thank you a million of times for all yours to her:—she is perfectly grateful for it.

¹ Mr. Conway and the ladies of his party had met with the most flattering and distinguished reception at Paris from every body but the duc and duchesse de Choiseul, who rather seemed to decline their acquaintance. E.

² The author of the Voyage du jeune Anacharsis.

³ A name given to the duc de Choiseul by madame du Deffand.

The

The chevalier's¹ verses are pretty enough. I own I like Saurin's² much better than you seem to do. Perhaps I am prejudiced by the curse on the chancellor at the end.

Not a word of news here. In a sick-room one hears all there is, but I have not heard even a lie: but as this will not set out these three days, it is to be hoped some charitable christian will tell a body one. Lately indeed we heard that the king of Spain had abdicated; but I believe it was some stock-jobber that had deposed him.

Lord George Cavendish, for my solace in my retirement, has given me a book, the History of his own Furness-abbey, written by a Scotch ex-jesuit. I cannot say that this unnatural conjunction of a Cavendish and a jesuit has produced a lively colt; but I found one passage worth any money. It is in an extract of a constable's journal kept during the civil war; and ends thus: "And there was never heard of such troublesome and distracted times as

¹ Verses written by the chevalier de Boufflers, to be presented by madame du Deffand to the duke and dukes of Choiseul. They are mere vers de société, and would not be tolerable out of the society for which they were written. E.

² They were addressed to Mr. de Maleherbes, then premier president de la cour des aides; since still more distinguished by his having been the intrepid, though unsuccessful advocate chosen by the unfortunate Louis XVI. on his trial. He soon after perished by the same guillotine, from which he could not preserve his ill-fated master. E.

The verses were as follow:

Sur monsieur de Maleherbes, premier president de la cour des aides.

O! qu'on aime la bonhomie
Qui dans ta grande ame s'allie
Aux grands talents!

Tout Paris fête Maleherbes,
Le plus grand et le moins superbe
Des revenans¹.

Jadis l'orateur qu'on renomme,
De l'exil revenu à Rome,
Eût même accueil:
Mais le Ciceron de la France
De l'autre a toute l'éloquence
Sans son orgueil.

Amis, sa gloire l'embarasse,
Il faudra pourtant qu'il s'y fasse:
Mais filons doux,
Et nous reposons sur l'histoire;
Sans plus lui parler de sa gloire,
Buvons y tous—

À celui qui si bien conseille
Son maître, dont il a l'oreille²,
Buvons aussi
A sa santé—Je vous la porte,
Mais disons que le diable emporte
On sçait bien qui!

¹ The members of the recalled parliament were called *les revenans*.

² Le duc de Choiseul.

these

these five years have been, *but especially for constables.*" It is so natural, that *inconvenient to my lord Castlecomer* is scarce a better proverb.

Pray tell lady A. that though she has been so very good to me, I address my letters to you rather than to her, because my pen is not always upon its guard, but is apt to say whatever comes into its nib; and then if she peeps over your shoulder, I am censé not to know it. Lady Harriet's wishes have done me great good: nothing but a father's gout could be obdurate enough to resist them. My Mrs. D. says nothing to me; but I give her intentions credit, and lay her silence on you.

January 1, 1775; and a happy new year!

I WALK! I walk! walk alone!—I have been five times quite round my room to-day, and my month is not up! The day after to-morrow I shall go down into the dining-room; the next week to take the air; and then if Mrs. —— is very pressing, why, I don't know what may happen. Well! but you want news—there are none to be had. They think there is a ship lost with Gage's dispatches. Lady Temple gives all her diamonds to miss Nugent. Lord Pigot lost 400 pounds the other night at princess Amelia's. Miss Davis has carried her cause against Mrs. Yates, and is to sing again at the opera. This is all my coffee-house furnished this morning.

L E T T E R C I.

Arlington-street, January 15, 1775.

YOU have made me very happy by saying your journey to Naples is laid aside. Perhaps it made too great impression on me; but you must reflect, that all my life I have satisfied myself with your being perfect, instead of trying to be so myself. I don't ask you to return, though I wish it: in truth, there is nothing to invite you. I don't want you to come and breathe fire and sword against the Bostonians, like that second duke of Alva the inflexible lord G—— G——; or to anathematize the court and all its works, like the incorruptible B. who scorns lucre, except when he can buy an hundred thousand acres from naked Caribs for a song. I don't want you to do any thing like a party-man. I trust you think of every party as I do,

with contempt, from lord Chatham's mustard-bowl down to lord Rockingham's hartshorn. All perhaps will be tried in their turns; and yet, if they had genius, might not be mighty enough to save us—From some ruin or other I think nobody can, and what signifies an option of mischiefs?

An account is come of the Bostonians having voted an army of sixteen thousand men, who are to be called *minute-men*, as they are to be ready at a minute's warning. Two directors or commissioners, I don't know what they are called, are appointed. There has been too a kind of mutiny in the 5th regiment. A soldier was found drunk on his post. Gage, in this time of *danger*, thought rigour necessary, and sent the fellow to a court-martial. They ordered 200 lashes. The general ordered them to improve their sentence. Next day it was published in the Boston Gazette. He called them before him, and required them on oath to abjure the communication: three officers refused. Poor G. is to be scape-goat, not for this, but for what was a reason against employing him, incapacity. I wonder at the precedent! Howe is talked of for his successor.—Well, I have done with *you*!—Now I shall go gossip with lady A——.

You must know, madam, that near Bath is erected a new Parnassus, composed of three laurels, a myrtle tree, a weeping-willow, and a view of the Avon, which has been new christened Helicon. Ten years ago there lived a madam ——, an old rough humourist who passed for a wit; her daughter who passed for nothing, married to a captain ——, full of good-natured officiousness. These good folks were friends of miss Rich¹, who carried me to dine with them at ——, now Pindus. They caught a little of what was then called taste, built and planted, and begot children, till the whole caravan were forced to go abroad to retrieve. Alas! Mrs. —— is returned a beauty, a genius, a Sappho, a tenth muse, as romantic as mad^{lle} Scuderi, and as sophisticated as Mrs. V——. The captain's fingers are loaded with cameos, his tongue runs over with virtù; and that both may contribute to the improvement of their own country, they have introduced bouts-rimés as a new discovery. They hold a Parnassus-fair every Thursday, give out rhymes and themes, and all the flux of quality at Bath contend for the prizes. A Roman vase dressed with pink ribbands and myrtles receives

¹ Daughter of sir Robert Rich, and sister to the second wife of George lord Lyttelton.

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the poetry, which is drawn out every festival: six judges of these Olympic games retire and select the brightest compositions, which the respective successful acknowledge, kneel to Mrs. Calliope ———, kiss her fair hand, and are crowned by it with myrtle, with—I don't know what. You may think this a fiction, or exaggeration.—Be dumb, unbelievers! The collection is printed, published—Yes, on my faith! there are bouts-rimés on a buttered muffin, by her grace the duchess of Northumberland; receipts to make them by Corydon the venerable, alias ———; others very pretty, by lord P———; some by lord C———; many by Mrs. ——— herself, that have no fault but wanting metre; and immortality promised to her without end or measure. In short, since folly, which never ripens to madness but in this hot climate, ran distracted, there never was any thing so entertaining, or so dull—for you cannot read so long as I have been telling.

January 17.

BEFORE I could finish this, I received your dispatches by sir T. Clarges, and a most entertaining letter in three tomes. It is being very dull not to be able to furnish a quarter so much from your own country—but what can I do? You are embarked in a new world, and I am living on the scraps of an old one, of which I am tired. The best I can do is to reply to your letter, and not attempt to amuse you when I have nothing to say. I think the parliament meets to-day or in a day or two—but I hope you are coming—Your brother says so, and mad. du Deff. says so; and sure it is time to leave Paris, when you know ninety of the inhabitants. There seems much affectation in those that will not know you¹; and affectation is always a littleness—it has been even rude; but to be sure the rudeness one feels least is that which is addressed to one before there has been any acquaintance.

Ninon came², because, on mad. du D.'s mentioning it, I concluded it a new work, and am disappointed. I can say this by heart. The picture of mad. de Prie³, which you don't seem to value, and so mad. du D. says, I believe I shall dispute with you: I think it charming, but when offered to me years ago, I would not take it—it was now given to you a little à mon intention.

I am sorry that, amongst all the verses you have sent me, you should have

¹ The duke de Choiseul.

² The Life of Ninon de l'Enclos.

³ It is now at Strawberry-hill.
forgotten

forgotten what you commend the most, *Les trois exclamations*; I hope you will bring them with you. Voltaire's are intolerably stupid, and not above the level of officers in garrison. Some of M. de Pezay's are very pretty, though there is too much of them; and in truth I had seen them before. Those on mad. de la Valiere pretty too, but one is a little tired of Venus and the Graces. I am most pleased with your own—and if you have a mind to like them still better, make mad. du D. show you mine², which are neither French, nor measure, nor metre. She is unwilling to tell me so; which diverts me. Yours are really genteel and new.

I envy you the Russian anecdotes³ more than M. de Chamfort's fables, of which I know nothing; and as you say no more, I conclude I lose not much. The stories of sir Charles⁴ are so far not new to me, that I heard them of him from abroad after he was mad: but I believe no mortal of his acquaintance ever heard them before; nor did they at all correspond with his former life, with his treatment of his wife, or his history with Mrs. Woffington, qui n'étoit pas dupe. I say nothing on the other stories you tell me of billets dropped⁵, et pour cause.

I think I have touched all your paragraphs, and have nothing new to send you in return. In truth, I go no where but into private rooms; for I am not enough recovered to re-launch into the world, when I have so good an excuse for avoiding it. The bootikins have done wonders; but even two or three such victories will cost too dear. I submit very patiently to my

² They were the following lines, sent with a porcelaine dejeuner to the vicomtesse de Cambis at the beginning of the new-year, when it was the universal custom at Paris to interchange small presents known by the name of *etrennes*. E.

L'etrenne qu'on vous offre ici
N'est rare ni mignonne;
Mais les vetilles ont du prix
Quand c'est le cœur qui donne.

De plus encor pour satisfaire
Au scrupule le plus severe,
Il faut penser qu'en acceptant
C'est vous qui faites le present.

VOL. V.

³ These lines do not appear.

⁴ The account of the revolution in Russia which placed Catherine II. on the throne, by M. de la Rulhiere, now published. Mr. Conway had heard it read in manuscript in a private society. E.

⁵ Sir Charles Hanbury Williams.

⁶ This alludes to circumstances Mr. Conway mentions as having taken place at a ball at Versailles.

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lot. I am old and broken, and it never was my system to impose upon myself when one can deceive nobody else. I have spirits enough for my use, that is, amongst my friends and contemporaries: I like young people and their happiness for every thing but to live with; but I cannot learn their language, nor tell them old stories, of which I must explain every step as I go. Politics, the proper resource of age, I detest—I am contented, but see few that are so—and I never will be led by any man's self-interest. A great scene is opening, of which I cannot expect to see the end; I am pretty sure not a happy end—so that, in short, I am determined to think the rest of my life but a postscript: and as this has been too long an one, I will wish you good night, repeating what you know already, that the return of you three is the most agreeable prospect I expect to see realized. Adieu!

L E T T E R C I I .

Strawberry-hill, July 9, 1775.

THE whole business of this letter would lie in half a line. Shall you have room for me on Tuesday the 18th? I am putting myself into motion that I may go farther. I told madame du Deffand how you had scolded me on her account, and she has charged me to thank you, and tell you how much she wishes to see you too. I would give any thing to go—But the going!—However, I really think I shall—but I grow terribly affected with a *maladie de famille*, that of taking root at home.

I did but put my head into London on Thursday, and more bad news from America. I wonder when it will be bad enough to make folks think it so, without going on! The stocks indeed begin to grow a little nervous, and they are apt to affect other pulses. I heard this evening here that the Spanish fleet is failed, and that we are not in the secret whither—but I don't answer for Twickenham gazettes, and I have no better. I have a great mind to tell you a Twickenham story; and yet it will be good for nothing, as I cannot send you the accent in a letter. Here it is; and you must try to set it to the right emphasis. One of our maccaronis is dead, a captain M——, the tea-man's son. He had quitted the army, because his comrades

comrades called him captain Hyson, and applied himself to learn the classics and free-thinking; and was always disputing with the parson of the parish about Dido and his own soul. He married miss Paulin's warehouse, who had six hundred a year; but, being very much out of conceit with his own canister, could not reconcile himself to her riding-hood—so they parted beds in three nights. Of late he has taken to writing comedies, which every body was welcome to hear him read, as he could get nobody to act them. Mrs. M—— has a friend, one Mrs. V——, a mighty plausible good sort of body, who feels for every body, and a good deal for herself, is of a certain age, wears well, has some pretensions that she thinks very reasonable still, and a gouty husband. Well! she was talking to Mr. Raftor about captain M—— a little before he died. Pray, sir, does the captain ever communicate his writings to Mrs. M——?—Oh dear, no, madam; he has a sovereign contempt for her understanding.—Poor woman!—And pray, sir,—give me leave to ask you: I think I have heard that they very seldom sleep together?—Oh, never, madam! Don't you know all that?—*Poor woman!*—I don't know whether you will laugh; but Mr. Raftor, who tells a story better than any body, made me laugh for two hours. Good night.

LETTER CIII.

Paris, September 8, 1775.

THE delays of the post, and its departure before its arrival, saved me some days of anxiety for lady A——, and prevented my telling you how concerned I am for her accident; though I trust by this time she has not even pain left. I feel the horror you must have felt during her suffering in the dark, and on the sight of her arm¹; and though nobody admires her needle-work more than I, still I am rejoiced that it will be the greatest sufferer—However, I am very impatient for a farther account. Madame du Deffand, who you know never loves her friends by halves, and whose impatience never allows itself time to inform itself, was out of her wits because I could not explain exactly how the accident happened, and where. She wanted to write directly, though the post was just gone; and as soon as I could make her easy about the accident, she fell into a new distress about her fans for

¹ Lady Ailesbury had been overturned in her carriage at Park-place, and dislocated her wrist.

madame de Marchais, and concludes they have been overturned and broken too. In short, I never saw any thing like her—She has made engagements for me till Monday se'nnight; in which are included I don't know how many journeys into the country; and as nobody ever leaves her without her engaging them for another time, all these parties will be so many polypuses, that will shoot out into new ones every way. Madame de Jonfac, a great friend of mine, arrived the day before yesterday, and madame du Deffand has pinned her down to meeting me at her house four times before next Tuesday, all parentheses, that are not to interfere with our other suppers; and from those suppers I never get to bed before two or three o'clock. In short, I need have the activity of a squirrel, and the strength of a Hercules, to go through my labours—not to count how many demêlés I have had to accommodate, and how many *memoires* to present against Tonton¹, who grows the greater favourite the more people he devours. As I am the only person who dare correct him, I have already insisted on his being confined in the Bastile every day after five o'clock. T'other night he flew at lady Barrymore's face, and I thought would have torn her eye out; but it ended in biting her finger. She was terrified; she fell into tears. Madame du Deffand, who has too much parts not to see every thing in its true light, perceiving that she had not beaten Tonton half enough, immediately told us a story of a lady, whose dog having bitten a piece out of a gentleman's leg, the tender dame, in a great fright, cried out, "Won't it make my dog sick?"

Lady Barrymore has taken a house. She will be glugged with conquests: I never saw any body so much admired. I doubt her poor little head will be quite overfret.

Madame de Marchais is charming: eloquence and attention itself. I cannot stir for peaches, nectarines, grapes and bury-pears. You would think Pomona was in love with me. I am not so transported with N—cock and hen. They are a tabor and pipe that I do not understand. He mouths and she squeaks, and neither articulates. M. d'Entragues I have not seen. Upon the whole, I am much more pleased with Paris than ever I was; and, perhaps, shall stay a little longer than I intended. The Harry

¹ A favourite dog of madame du Deffand's.

Grenvilles¹ are arrived. I dined with them at madame de Viry's², who has completed the conquest of France by her behaviour on madame Clotilde's wedding, and by the fêtes she gave. Of other English I wot not, but grieve the Richmonds do not come.

I am charmed with doctor Bally; nay, and with the king of Prussia—as much as I can be with a northern monarch. For your Kragen, I think we ought to procure a female one, and marry it to Ireland, that we may breed some new islands against we have lost America. I know nothing of said America. There is not a Frenchman that does not think us distracted.

I used to scold you about your bad writing, and perceive I have written in such a hurry and blotted my letter so much, that you will not be able to read it: but consider how few moments I have to myself. I am forced to stuff my ears with cotton to get any sleep.—However, my journey has done me good. I have thrown off at least fifteen years. Here is a letter for my dear Mrs. D—— from madame de ——, who thinks she dotes on you all. Adieu!

P. S. I shall bring you two eloges of marshal Catinat, not because I admire them, but because I admire him, because I think him very like you.

LETTER CIV.

Paris, October 6, 1775.

IT will look like a month since I wrote to you; but I have been coming, and am. Madame du Deffand has been so ill, that the day she was seized I thought she would not live till night. Her Herculean weakness, which could not resist strawberries and cream after supper, has surmounted all the *ups* and *downs* which followed her excess; but her impatience to go every where and do every thing has been attended with a kind of relapse, and

¹ Henry Grenville, brother to the first earl comte de Viry when he was minister at London from the court of Turin. She is one of the celebrated beauty. ladies to whom Gray's long story is addressed. E.

² Miss Harriet Speed. She had married M. le

another

another kind of giddiness: so that I am not quite easy about her, as they allow her to take no nourishment to recruit, and she will die of inanition, if she does not live upon it. She cannot lift her head from the pillow without *étourdissemens*; and yet her spirits gallop faster than any body's, and so do her repartees. She has a great supper to-night for the duc de Choiseul, and was in such a passion yesterday with her cook about it, and that put Tonton into such a rage, that nos dames de saint Joseph thought the devil or the philosophers were flying away with their convent! As I have scarce quitted her, I can have had nothing to tell you. If she gets well, as I trust, I shall set out on the 12th; but I cannot leave her in any danger—though I shall run many myself, if I stay longer. I have kept such bad hours with this *malade*, that I have had alarms of gout; and bad weather, worse inns, and a voyage in winter, will ill suit me. The fans arrived at a propitious moment, and she immediately had them opened on her bed, and felt all the patterns, and had all the papers described. She was all satisfaction and thanks, and swore me to do her full justice to lady A—and Mrs. D—. Lord Harrington and lady Harriet are arrived; but have announced and persisted in a strict invisibility.

I know nothing of my chere patrie, but what I learn from the London Chronicle; and that tells me, that the trading towns are suing out lettres de noblesse, that is, entreating the king to put an end to commerce, that they may all be gentlemen. Here agriculture, œconomy, reformation, philosophy, are the bon-ton even at court. The two nations seem to have crossed over and figured in; but as people that copy take the bad with the good, as well as the good with the bad, there was two days ago a great horse-race in the plain de Sablon, between the comte d'Artois, the duc de Chartres, monsieur de Conflans, and the duc de Lauzun. The latter won by the address of a little English postillion, who is in such fashion, that I don't know whether the Academy will not give him for the subject of an eloge.

The duc de Choiseul, I said, is here; and as he has a second time put off his departure, cela fait beaucoup de bruit. I shall not be at all surpris'd if he resumes the reins, as (forgive me a pun) he has the *Reine* already. Messrs. de Turgot and Maleherbes certainly totter—but I shall tell you no more till I see you; for, though this goes by a private hand, it is so private, that I don't know it, being an English merchant's, who lodges in this hotel,
and

and whom I do not know by sight: so perhaps I may bring you word of this letter myself. I flatter myself lady A——'s arm has recovered its straightness and its cunning.

Madame du Deffand says I love you better than any thing in the world. If true, I hope you have not less penetration: if you have not, or it is not true, what would professions avail?—So I leave that matter in suspense. Adieu!

October 7.

MADAME du Deffand was quite well yesterday; and at near one this morning I left the duc de Choiseul, the duchess de Grammont, the prince and princess of Beauveau, princess of Poix, the marechale de Luxembourg, duchess de Lauzun, ducs de Gontaut et de Chabot, and Caraccioli, round her chaise longue; and she herself was not a dumb personage. I have not heard yet how she has slept, and must send away my letter this moment, as I must dress to go to dinner with monsieur de Maleherbes at madame de Ville-gagnon's. I must repose a great while after all this living in company; nay, intend to go very little into the world again, as I do not admire the French way of burning one's candle to the very snuff in public. Tell Mrs. D——, that the fashion now is to erect the toupée into a high detached tuft of hair, like a cockatoo's crest; and this toupée they call *la physionomie*—I don't guess why.

My laquais is come back from saint Joseph's, and says Marie de Vichy¹ has had a very good night and is quite well.—Philip², let my chaise be ready on Thursday.

L E T T E R C V.

Strawberry-hill, June 30, 1776.

I WAS very glad to receive your letter, not only because always most glad to hear of you, but because I wished to write to you, and had absolutely nothing to say till I had something to answer. I have lain but two nights in town since I saw you, have been else constantly here, very

¹ The maiden name of madame du Deffand.

² Mr. Walpole's valet de chambre.

much employed, though doing, hearing, knowing exactly nothing. I have had a gothic architect from Cambridge to design me a gallery, which will end in a moufe, that is, in an hexagon cloiset of seven feet diameter. I have been making a beauty-room, which was effected by buying two dozen of small copies of fir Peter Lely, and hanging them up; and I have been making hay, which is not made, because I put it off for three days, as I chose it should adorn the landscape when I was to have company; and so the rain is come, and has drowned it.—However, as I can even turn calculator when it is to comfort me for not minding my interest, I have discovered that it is five to one better for me that my hay should be spoiled than not; for, as the cows will eat it if it is damaged, which horses will not, and as I have five cows and but one horse, is not it plain that the worse my hay is, the better? Do not you with your refining head go, and out of excessive friendship, find out something to destroy my system. I had rather be a philosopher than a rich man; and yet have so little philosophy, that I had much rather be content than be in the right.

Mr. — and lady — have been here four or five days—so I had both content and exercise for my philosophy. I wish lady — was as fortunate! The Pembrokes, Churchills, Le Texier, as you will have heard, and the Garricks, have been with us. Perhaps, if alone, I might have come to you—but you are all too healthy and harmonious. I can neither walk nor sing—nor, indeed, am fit for any thing but to amuse myself in a sedentary trifling way. What I have most certainly not been doing, is writing any thing: a truth I say to you, but do not desire you to repeat. I deign to satisfy scarce any body else. Whoever reported that I was writing any thing, must have been so totally unfounded, that they either blundered by guessing without reason, or knew they lied—and that could not be with any kind intention; though saying I am going to do what I am not going to do, is wretched enough. Whatever is said of me without truth, any body is welcome to believe that pleases. In fact, though I have scarce a settled purpose about any thing, I think I shall never write any more. I have written a great deal too much, unless I had written better, and I know I should now only write still worse. One's talent, whatever it is, does not improve at near sixty—yet, if I liked it, I dare to say a good reason would not stop my inclination:—but I am grown most indolent in that respect, and most absolutely indifferent to every purpose of vanity. Yet without vanity I am become still prouder and more contemptuous. I have a contempt

tempt for my countrymen that makes me despise their approbation. The applause of slaves and of the foolish mad is below ambition. Mine is the haughtiness of an ancient Briton, that cannot write what would please this age, and would not if he could. Whatever happens in America, this country is undone. I desire to be reckoned of the last age, and to be thought to have lived to be superannuated, preserving my senses only for myself and for the few I value. I cannot aspire to be traduced like Algernon Sydney, and content myself with sacrificing to him amongst my lares. Unalterable in my principles, careless about most things below essentials, indulging myself in trifles by system, annihilating myself by choice, but dreading folly at an unseemly age, I contrive to pass my time agreeably enough, yet see its termination approach without anxiety. This is a true picture of my mind; and it must be true, because drawn for you, whom I would not deceive, and could not if I would. Your question on my being writing drew it forth, though with more seriousness than the report deserved—yet talking to one's dearest friend is neither wrong nor out of season. Nay, you are my best apology. I have always contented myself with your being perfect, or, if your modesty demands a mitigated term, I will say, unexceptionable. It is comical, to be sure, to have always been more solicitous about the virtue of one's friend than about one's own—yet I repeat it, you are my apology—though I never was so unreasonable as to make you answerable for my faults in return: I take them wholly to myself—But enough of this. When I know my own mind, for hitherto I have settled no plan for my summer, I will come to you. Adieu!

LETTER CVI.

Thursday, 31.

THANK you for your letter. I send this by the coach. You will have found a new scene¹—not an unexpected one by you and me, though I do not pretend I thought it so near. I rather imagined France would have instigated or winked at Spain's beginning with us. Here is a solution of the Americans declaring themselves independent. Oh! the folly, the madness, the guilt of having plunged us into this abyss! Were we and a few more endued with any uncommon penetration?—No—They who did

¹ On the opening of the parliament in the year 1776.

not see as far, *would* not. I am impatient to hear the complexion of to-day. I suppose it will on the part of administration have been a wretched farce of fear daubed over with airs of bullying. You, I do not doubt, have acted like yourself, feeling for our situation, above insulting, and unprovoked but at the criminality that has brought us to this pass. Pursue your own path, nor lean to the court that may be paid to you on either side, as I am sure you will not regard their being displeas'd that you do not go as far as their interested views may wish.

If the court should receive any more of what they call good news, I think the war with France will be unavoidable. It was the victory at Long Island, and the frantic presumption it occasioned, that has ripened France's measures—And now we are to awe them by pressing—an act that speaks our impotence!—which France did not want to learn!

I would have come to town, but I had declared so much I would not, that I thought it would look as if I came to enjoy the distress of the ministers—but I do not enjoy the distress of my country. I think we are undone—I have always thought so—whether we enslaved America or lost it totally—So we that were against the war could expect no good issue. If you do return to Park-place to-morrow, you will oblige me much by breakfasting here: you know it wastes you very little time.

I am glad I did not know of Mrs. D——'s fore throat till it is almost well. Pray take care and do not catch it.

Thank you for your care of me: I will not stay a great deal here, but at present I never was better in my life—and here I have no vexatious moments. I hate to dispute; I scorn to triumph myself, and it is very difficult to keep my temper when others do. I own I have another reason for my retirement, which is prudence. I have thought of it late, but at least I will not run into any new expence. It would cost me more than I care to afford to buy a house in town, unless I do it to take some of my money out of the stocks, for which I tremble a little. My brother is seventy; and if I live myself, I must not build too much on his life; and you know, if he fails, I lose the most secure part of my income. I refused from lord Holland, and last year from lord North, to accept the place for my own life; and having never done a dirty thing, I will not disgrace myself

myself at fifty-nine. I should like to live as well as I have done; but what I wish more, is to secure what I have already saved for those I would take care of after me. These are the true reasons of my dropping all thoughts of a better house in town, and of living so privately here. I will not sacrifice my health to my prudence; but my temper is so violent, that I know the tranquillity I enjoy here in solitude, is of much more benefit to my health, than the air of the country is detrimental to it. You see I can be reasonable when I have time to reflect; but philosophy has a poor chance with me when my warmth is stirred—and yet I know, that an angry old man out of parliament, and that can do nothing but be angry, is a ridiculous animal.

LETTER CVII.

Strawberry-hill, July 10, 1777.

DON'T be alarmed at this thousandth letter in a week. This is more to lady Hamilton¹ than to you. Pray tell her I have seen *monsieur la Baille d'Agincourt*². He brought me her letter yesterday: and I kept him to sup, *sleep* in the modern phrase, and breakfast here this morning; and flatter myself he was, and she will be, content with the regard I paid to her letter.

The weather is a thought warmer to-day, and I am as busy as bees are about their hay. My *hayssians*³ have cost me as much as if I had hired them of the landgrave.

I am glad your invasion⁴ is blown over. I fear I must invite those flat-bottomed vessels hither, as the Swifess Necker has directed them to the port of Twickenham. Madame de Blot is too fine, and monsieur Schomberg one of the most disagreeable, cross, contemptuous savages I ever saw. I have often supped with him at the duchess de Choiseul's, and could not bear him; and now I must be *charmé* and *penetré* and *comblé* to see him:

¹ The first wife of sir William Hamilton, envoy extraordinary at the court of Naples.

² M. le chevalier d'Azincourt, a French antiquary, long settled in Italy.

³ Hessian.

⁴ A party of French nobility then in England, who were to have made a visit at Park-place.

and I shall act it very ill, as I always do when I don't do what I like. Madame Necker's letter is as affected and précieuse, as if Marmontel had written it for a Peruvian milk-maid. She says I am a philosopher, and as like madame de Sevigné as two peas—who was as unlike a philosopher as a gridiron. As I have none of madame de Sevigné's natural easy wit, I am rejoiced that I am no more like a philosopher neither, and still less like a *philosophe*; which is a being compounded of D'Urfey and Diogenes, a pastoral coxcomb and a supercilious brute.

LETTER CVIII.

Tuesday evening, Sept. 16, 1777.

I HAVE got a delightful plaything, if I had time for play. It is a new sort of camera-obscura¹ for drawing the portraits of persons, or prospects, or insides of rooms, and does not depend on the sun or any thing. The misfortune is, that there is a vast deal of machinery and putting together, and I am the worst person living for managing it. You know I am impenetrably dull in every thing that requires a grain of common sense. The inventor is to come to me on Friday, and try if he can make me remember my right hand from my left. I could as soon have invented my machine as manage it; yet it has cost me ten guineas, and may cost me as much more as I please for improving it. You will conclude it was the dearness tempted me. I believe I must keep an astronomer, like Mr. Beauclerc, to help me to play with my rattle. The inventor, who seems very modest and simple, but I conclude an able flatterer, was in love with my house, and vowed nothing ever suited his camera so well. To be sure, the painted windows and the prospects, and the gothic chimneys, &c. &c. were the delights of one's eyes, when no bigger than a silver penny. You would know how to manage it, as if you had never done any thing else. Had not you better come and see it? You will learn how to conduct it, with the pleasure of correcting my awkwardness and *unlearnability*. Sir Joshua Reynolds and West have each got one; and the duke of Northumberland is so charmed with the invention, that I dare say he can talk upon and explain it till I should understand ten times less of the matter than I

¹ The machine called a delineator.

do,

do. Remember, neither lady A. nor you, nor Mrs. D. have seen my new divine closet, nor the billiard-sticks with which the countess of Pembroke and Arcadia used to play with her brother sir Philip; nor the portrait of la belle Jennings in the state bedchamber. I go to town this day se'nnight for a day or two; and as, *to be sure*, Mount-Edgcumbe has put you out of humour with Park-place, you may deign to leave it for a moment. I never did see Cotchel', and am sorry. Is not the old wardrobe there still? There was one from the time of Cain; but Adam's breeches and Eve's under petticoat were eaten by a goat in the ark. Good-night.

L E T T E R C I X.

October 5, 1777.

YOU are exceedingly good, and I shall assuredly accept your proposal in the fullest sense, and, to ensure Mrs. D—, beg I may expect you on Saturday next the 11th. If lord and lady William Campbell will do me the honour of accompanying you, I shall be most happy to see them, and expect miss Caroline². Let me know about them, that the state bedchamber may be aired.

My difficulties about removing from home arise from the consciousness of my own weakness. I make it a rule, as much as I can, to conform wherever I go. Though I am threescore to-day, I should not think that an age for giving every thing up; but it is for whatever one has not strength to perform. You, though not a vast deal younger, are as healthy and strong, thank God, as ever you was: and you cannot have ideas of the mortification of being stared at by strangers and servants, when one hobbles, or cannot do as others do. I delight in being with you, and the Richmonds, and those I love and know; but the crowds of young people, and Chichester folks, and officers, and strange servants, make me afraid of Goodwood, I own. My spirits are never low, but they will seldom last out the whole day; and though I dare to say I appear to many capricious, and different from the rest of the world, there is more reason in my behaviour than there seems. You

¹ The old residence of the family of Edgcumbe, 12 miles distant from Mount Edgcumbe.

² Miss Caroline Campbell, eldest daughter of lord William Campbell.

know, in London I seldom stir out in a morning, and always late; and it is because I want a great deal of rest. Exercise never did agree with me: and it is hard if I do not know myself by this time; and what has done so well with me will probably suit me best for the rest of my life. It would be ridiculous to talk so much of myself, and to enter into such trifling details, but *you* are the person in the world that I wish to convince that I do not act merely from humour or ill-humour; though I confess at the same time that I want your bonhomie, and have a disposition not to care at all for people that I do not absolutely like. I could say a great deal more on this head, but it is not proper; though, when one has pretty much done with the world, I think with lady Blandford that one may indulge one's self in one's own whims and partialities in one's own house. I do not mean, still less to profess, retirement, because it is less ridiculous to go on with the world to the last, than to return to it: but in a quiet way it has long been my purpose to drop a great deal of it. Of all things I am farthest from not intending to come often to Park-place, whenever you have little company; and I had rather be with you in November than in July, because I am so totally unable to walk farther than a snail. I will never say any more on these subjects, because there may be as much affectation in being over-old, as folly in being over-young. My idea of age is, that one has nothing really to do but what one ought, and what is reasonable. All affectations are pretensions; and pretending to be any thing one is not, cannot deceive when one is known, as every body must be that has lived long. I do not mean that old folks may not have pleasures, if they can; but then I think those pleasures are confined to being comfortable, and to enjoying the few friends one has not outlived. I am so fair as to own, that one's duties are not pleasures. I have given up a great deal of my time to nephews and nieces, even to some I can have little affection for. I do love my nieces, may like them; but people above forty years younger are certainly not the society I should seek. They can only think and talk of what is, or is to come; I certainly am more disposed to think and talk of what is past: and the obligation of passing the end of a long life in sets of totally new company is more irksome to me than passing a great deal of my time, as I do, quite alone. Family love and pride make me interest myself about the young people of my own family—for the whole rest of the young world, they are as indifferent to me as puppets or black children. This is my creed, and a key to my whole conduct, and the more likely to remain my
 creed,

creed, as I think it is *raisonné*. If I could paint my opinions instead of writing them, and I don't know whether it would not make a new sort of alphabet, I should use different colours for different affections at different ages¹. When I speak of love, affection, friendship, taste, liking, I should draw them rose colour, carmine, blue, green, yellow, for my cotemporaries: for new comers, the first would be of no colour; the others, purple, brown, crimson, and changeable. Remember, one tells one's creed only to one's confessor, that is sub sigillo. I write to you as I think; to others as I must. Adieu!

LETTER CX.

July 8, 1778.

I HAVE had some conversation with a ministerial person, on the subject of pacification with France; and he dropped a hint, that as we should not have much chance of a good peace, the opposition would make great clamour on it. I said a few words on the duty of ministers to do what they thought right, be the consequence what it would. But as honest men do not want such lectures, and dishonest will not let them weigh, I waved that theme, to dwell on what is more likely to be persuasive, and which I am firmly persuaded is no less true than the former maxim; and that was, that the ministers are *still* so strong, that if they could get a peace that would save the nation, though not a brilliant or glorious one, the nation in general would be pleased with it, and the clamours of the opposition be insignificant.

I added, what I think true too, that no time is to be lost in treating; not only for preventing a blow, but from the consequences the first misfortune would have. The nation is not yet alienated from the court, but it is growing so; is grown so enough, for any calamity to have violent effects. Any internal disturbance would advance the hostile designs of France. An insurrection from distress would be a double invitation to invasion; and, I am sure, much more to be dreaded, even personally, by the ministers, than the ill-humours of opposition for even an inglorious peace. To do the opposition justice, it is not composed of incendiaries. Parliamentary speeches

¹ This whimsical appropriation of colours to affections of the mind, can appear opposite only to those acquainted with Mr. Walpole's particular opinion of particular colours. E.

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raise no tumults; but tumults would be a dreadful thorough bafs to fpeeches. The minifters do not know the ftrength they have left (fuppofing they apply it in time), if they are afraid of making any peace. They were too fan-guine in making war; I hope they will not be too timid of making peace.

What do you think of an idea of mine, of offering France a neutrality? that is, to allow her to affift both us and the Americans. I know ſhe would affift only them: but were it not better to connive at her affifting them, without attacking us, than her doing both? A treaty with her would perhaps be followed by one with America. We are facrificing all the essentials we *can* recover, for a few words; and rifing the independence of this country, for the nominal fupremacy over America. France feems to leave us time for treating. She made no ſcruple of begging peace of us in 63, that ſhe might lie by and recover her advantages. Was not that a wife precedent? Does not ſhe *now* ſhow that it was? Is not policy the honour of nations? I mean, not morally, but has Europe left itſelf any other honour? And ſince it has really left itſelf no honour, and as little morality, does not the morality of a nation conſiſt in its preſerving itſelf in as much happineſs as it can? The invaſion of Portugal by Spain in the laſt war, the partition of Poland, have abrogated the law of nations. Kings have left no ties between one another. Their duty to their people is ſtill allowed. He is a good king that preſerves his people; and if temporizing answers that end, is it not juſtifiable? You, who are as moral as wife, answer my queſtions. Grotius is obſolete. Dr. Joſeph¹ and Dr. Frederic², with four hundred thouſand commentators, are reading new lectures—and I ſhould ſay, thank God, to one another, if the four hundred thouſand commentators were not in worſe danger than they. Louis XIV. is grown a caſuiſt compared to thoſe partitioners. Well, let us ſimple individuals keep our honeſty, and bleſs our ſtars that we have not armies at our command, left we ſhould divide kingdoms that are at our bienséance! What a dreadful thing it is for ſuch a wicked little imp as man to have abſolute power!— But I have travelled into Germany, when I meant to talk to you only of England; and it is too late to recall my text. Good-night.

¹ The emperor of Germany.

² Frederic II. king of Pruffia.

LETTER

LETTER CXI.

Saturday, July 18, 1778.

YESTERDAY evening the following notices were fixed up in Lloyd's coffee-house :

That a merchant in the City had received an exprefs from France, that the Breft fleet, confifting of 28 fhips of the line, were failed, with orders to burn, fink, and deftroy.

That admiral Keppel was at Plymouth, and had fent to demand three more fhips of the line to enable him to meet the French.

On thefe notices the ftocks funk $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.

An account I have received this morning from a good hand fays, that on Thursday the Admiralty received a letter from admiral Keppel, who was off the Land's End, faying, that the Worcefter was in fight; that the Peggy had joined him, and had feen the Thunderer making fail for the fleet; that he was waiting for the Centaur, Terrible, and Vigilant; and that having received advice from lord Shuldhām that the Shrewsbury was to fail from Plymouth on Thursday, he fhould likewife wait for her. His fleet will then confift of 30 fhips of the line; and he hoped to have an opportunity of trying his ftrength with the French fleet on our own coaft: if not, he would feek them on theirs.

The French fleet failed on the 7th, confifting of 31 fhips of the line, 2 fifty gun fhips, and 8 frigates.

This ftate is probably more authentic than thofe at Lloyd's.

Thus you fee how big the moment is! and, unlefs far more favourable to us in its burft than good fenfe allows one to promife, it muft leave us greatly expofed. Can we expect to beat without confiderable lofs?—and then, where have we another fleet? I need not ftate the danger from a reverfe.

The Spanish ambaffador certainly arrived on Monday.

VOL. V.

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I fhall

I shall go to town on Monday for a day or two; therefore, if you write to-morrow, direct to Arlington-street.

I add no more: for words are unworthy of the situation; and to blame now, would be childish. It is hard to be gamed for against one's consent; but when one's country is at stake, one must throw one's self out of the question. When one is old, and nobody, one must be whirled with the current, and shake one's wings like a fly, if one lights on a pebble. The prospect is so dark, that one shall rejoice at whatever does not happen, that may. Thus I have composed a sort of philosophy for myself, that reserves every possible chance. You want none of these artificial aids to your resolution. Invincible courage and immaculate integrity are not dependent on the folly of ministers or on the events of war. Adieu!

LETTER CXII.

Strawberry-hill, August 21, 1778.

I THINK it so very uncertain whether this letter will find you, that I write it merely to tell you I received yours to-day.

I recollect nothing particularly worth seeing in Sussex that you have not seen (for I think you have seen Coudray and Stansted, and I know you have Petworth), but Hurst Monceaux near Battle; and I don't know whether it is not pulled down. The site of Arundel castle is fine, and there are some good tombs of the Fitzalans at the church, but little remains of the castle; in the room of which is a modern brick-house; and in the late duke's time the ghost of a giant walked there his grace said—but I suppose the present duke has laid it in the Red Sea—of claret.

Beside Knowle and Penshurst, I should think there were several seats of old families in Kent worth seeing; but I do not know them. I poked out Summer-hill for the sake of the *Babylonienn*e in Grammont; but it is now a mere farm-house. Don't let them persuade you to visit Leeds castle, which is not worth seeing.

You have been near losing me and half-a-dozen fair cousins to-day. The
Goldsmiths

Goldsmiths company dined in Mr. Shirley's field, next to Pope's. I went to Ham with my three Waldegrave nieces and miss Keppel, and saw them land, and dine in tents erected for them from the opposite shore. You may imagine how beautiful the sight was in such a spot and in such a day! I staid and dined at Ham, and after dinner lady Dyfart with lady Bridget Tollemache took our four nieces on the water to see the return of the barges, but were to set me down at lady Browne's. We were, with a footman and the two watermen, ten in a little boat. As we were in the middle of the river, a larger boat full of people drove directly upon us on purpose. I believe they were drunk. We called to them, to no purpose; they beat directly against the middle of our little skiff—but, thank you, did not do us the least harm—no thanks to them. Lady Malpas was in lord Strafford's garden, and gave us for gone. In short, Neptune never would have had so beautiful a prize as the four girls.

I hear an express has been sent to — to offer him the mastership of the horse. I had a mind to make you guess, but you never can—to lord Exeter.

Pray let me know the moment you return to Park-place.

LETTER CXIII.

October 23, 1778.

—having thus told you all I know, I shall add a few words, to say I conclude you have known as much, by my not having heard from you. Should the post-office or secretary's office set their wits at work to bring to light all the intelligence contained under the above hiatus, I am confident they will discover nothing, though it gives an exact description of all they have been about themselves.

My personal history is very short. I have had an assembly and the rheumatism—and am buying a house—and it rains—and I shall plant the roses against my treillage to-morrow. Thus you know what I have done, suffered, am doing, and shall do. Let me know as much of you, in quantity, not in quality. Introductions to and conclusions of letters are as much out of fashion, as *to*, *at*, &c. on letters. This sublime age reduces every

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thing to its quintessence: all periphrases and expletives are so much in disuse, that I suppose soon the only way of making love will be to say "*Lie down.*" Luckily, the lawyers will not part with any synonymous words, and will, consequently, preserve the redundancies of our language—Dixi.

L E T T E R CXIV.

Arlington-street, January 9, 1779.

YOUR flight to Bath would have much surpris'd me, if Mr. C. who, I think, heard it from Stanley, had not prepar'd me for it. Since you was amus'd, I am glad you went, especially as you escap'd being initiated in Mrs. ——'s follies at ——, which you would have mention'd. She would certainly have sent some trapes of a muse to press you, had she known what good epigrams you write.

I went to Strawberry partly out of prudence, partly from ennui. I thought it best to air myself before I go in and out of hot rooms here, and had my house thoroughly warm'd for a week previously, and then only stirr'd from the red room to the blue on the same floor. I staid five days, and was neither the better nor the worse for it. I was quite tired with having neither company, books, nor amusement of any kind. Either from the emptiness of the town, or that ten weeks of gout have worn out the patience of all my acquaintance, but I do not see three persons in three days. This gives me but an uncomfortable prospect for my latter days: it is but probable that I may be a cripple in a fit or two more, if I have strength to go through them; and as that will be long life, one outlives one's acquaintance. I cannot make new acquaintance, nor interest myself at all about the young, except those that belong to me; nor does that go beyond contributing to their pleasures, without having much satisfaction in their conversation—But—one must take every thing as it comes, and make the best of it. I have had a much happier life than I deserve, and than millions that deserve better. I should be very weak, if I could not bear the uncomfortableness of old age, when I can afford what comforts it is capable of. How many poor old people have none of them! I am ashamed whenever I am peevish, and recollect that I have fire and servants to help me!

I hear

I hear admiral Keppel is in high spirits with the great respect and zeal expressed for him. In my own opinion, his constitution will not stand the struggle. I am very uneasy too for the duke of R——, who is at Portsmouth, and will be at least as much agitated.

Sir ——— has written a large pamphlet, and a very good one. It is to shew, that whenever the Grecian republics taxed their dependents, the latter resisted, and shook off the yoke. He has printed but twelve copies: the duke of G. sent me one of them. There is an anecdote of my father, on the authority of old Jack White, which I doubt. It says, he would not go on with the excise scheme, though his friends advised it. I cannot speak to the particular event, as I was then at school; but it was more like him to have yielded against his sentiments, to Mr. Pelham and his candid—or say, plausible and timid friends. I have heard him say, that he never did give up his opinion to such men, but he always repented it. However, the anecdote in the book would be more to his honour. But what a strange man is sir —! I suppose now he has written this book, he will change his opinion, and again be for carrying on the war—or, if he does not know his own mind for two years together, why will he take places, to make every body doubt his honesty?

L E T T E R C X V .

Arlington-street, May 22, 1779.

IF you hear of us no oftener than we of you, you will be as much behind hand in news as my lady Lyttelton. We have seen a traveller that saw you in your island², but it sounds like hearing of Ulysses.—Well! we must be content. You are not only not dethroned, but owe the safety of your dominions to your own skill in fortification. If we do not hear of your extending your conquests, why, it is not less than all our modern heroes have done, whom prophets have foretold and gazettes celebrated—or who have foretold and celebrated themselves. Pray be content to be cooped up in an island that has no neighbours, when the Howes and Clin-

² Mr. Conway was now at his government, Jersey.

tons,

tons, and Dunmores and Burgoynes and Campbells are not yet got beyond the great river—Inquiry!¹ To-day's papers say, that the *little prince of Orange*² is to invade you again—but we trust fir James Wallace has clipped his wings so close, that they will not grow again this season, though he is so ready to *fly*.

Nothing material has happened since I wrote last—so, as every moment of a civil war is precious, every one has been turned to the interest of diversion. There have been three masquerades, an installation, and the ball of the knights at the Haymarket this week; not to mention Almack's, Festino, lady Spencer's, Ranelagh and Vauxhall, operas and plays. The duchess of Bolton too saw masks—so many, that the floor gave way, and the company in the dining-room were near falling on the heads of those in the parlour, and exhibiting all that has not yet appeared in Doctor's Commons. At the knights' ball was such a profusion of Strawberries, that people could hardly get into the supper-room.—I could tell you more, but I do not love to exaggerate.

Lady A. told me this morning, that lord Bristol has got a calf with two feet to each leg—I am convinced it is by the duchess of Kingston, who has two of every thing, where others have but one.

Adieu!—I am going to sup with Mrs. Abington—and hope Mrs. Clive will not hear of it.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

¹ The parliamentary inquiry which took place in the house of commons on the conduct of the American war.

² The prince of Nassau, who had commanded

the attack upon Jersey, claiming relationship to the great house of Nassau, Mr. Walpole calls the "*little prince of Orange*." E.

LETTER CXVI.

Strawberry-hill, Saturday June 5, 1779.

I WRITE to you more seldom than I am disposed to do, from having nothing positive to tell you, and from being unwilling to say and unsay every minute something that is reported positively. The confident assertions of the victory over D'Estaing are totally vanished—and they who invented them, now declaim as bitterly against Byron, as if he had deceived them—and as they did against Keppel. This day se'nnight there was a great alarm about Ireland—which was far from being all invention, though not an absolute insurrection, as was said. The case, I believe, was this: The court, in order to break the volunteer army established by the Irish themselves, endeavoured to persuade a body in lady Blayney's county of Monaghan to enlist in the militia—which they took indignantly. They said, they had great regard for lady Blayney and lord Clermont; but to act under them, would be acting under the king, and that was by no means their intention. There have since been motions for inquiries what steps the ministers have taken to satisfy the Irish—and these they have imprudently rejected—which will not tend to pacification. The ministers have been pushed too on the article of Spain, and could not deny that all negotiation is at an end—though they will not own farther. However, the Spanish ambassador is much out of humour. From Paris they write confidently of the approaching declaration; and lord Sandwich, I hear, has said in a very mixed company, that it was folly not to expect it. There is another million asked, and given on a vote of credit; and lord North has boasted of such mines for next year, that one would think he believed next year would never come.

The inquiry^{*} goes on, and lord Harrington did himself and Burgoyne honour. Barré and governor Johnstone have had warm words, and Burke has been as frantic for the Roman catholics as lord George Gordon against them. The parliament, it is said, is to rise on the 21st.

You will not collect from all this that our prospect clears up. I fear there is not more discretion in the treatment of Ireland than of America.

^{*} Into the conduct of the American war.

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The court seems to be infatuated, and to think that nothing is of any consequence but a majority in parliament—though they have totally lost all power but that of provoking. Fortunate it had been for the king and kingdom, had the court had no majority for these six years! America had still been ours!—and all the lives and all the millions we have squandered! A majority that has lost thirteen provinces by bullying and vapouring, and the most childish menaces, will be a brave countermatch for France and Spain, and a rebellion in Ireland! In short, it is plain that there is nothing a majority in parliament can do, but outvote a minority; and yet by their own accounts one would think they could not do even that. I saw a paper t'other day that began with this Iriscism, “As the minority have lost us thirteen provinces, &c.” I know nothing the minority have done, or been suffered to do, but restore the Roman catholic religion—and that too was by the desire of the court.

This is however the present style. They announced with infinite applause a new production of Tickell:—it has appeared, and is a most paltry performance. It is called the *Cassette verte* of M. de Sartine, and pretends to be his correspondence with the opposition. Nay, they are so pitifully mean as to laugh at doctor Franklin, who has such thorough reason to sit and laugh at them. What triumph it must be to him to see a miserable pamphlet all the revenge they can take! There is another, still duller, called *Opposition Mornings*, in which you are lugged in. In truth, it is a compliment to any man to except him out of the number of those that have contributed to the shocking disgraces inflicted on this undone country! When lord Chatham was minister, he never replied to abuse but by a victory.

I know no private news: I have been here ever since Tuesday, enjoying my tranquillity, as much as an honest man can do who sees his country ruined. It is just such a period as makes philosophy wisdom. There are great moments when every man is called on to exert himself—but when folly, infatuation, delusion, incapacity and profligacy fling a nation away, and it concurs itself, and applauds its destroyers, a man who has lent no hand to the mischief, and can neither prevent nor remedy the mass of evils, is fully justified in sitting aloof and beholding the tempest rage, with silent scorn and indignant compassion. Nay, I have, I own, some comfortable reflections.

reflections. I rejoice that there is still a great continent of Englishmen who will remain free and independent, and who laugh at the impotent majorities of a prostitute parliament. I care not whether general Burgoyne and governor Johnstone cross over and figure in, and support or oppose; nor whether Mr. Burke, or the superior of the jesuits, is high commissioner to the kirk of Scotland. My ideas are such as I have always had, and are too plain and simple to comprehend modern confusions; and, therefore, they suit with those of few men. What will be the issue of this chaos, I know not, and, probably, shall not see. I do see with satisfaction, *that what was meditated* has failed by the grossest folly; and when one has escaped the worst, lesser evils must be endured with patience.

After this dull effusion, I will divert you with a story that made me laugh this morning till I cried. You know my Swiss David, and his incomprehensible pronunciation. He came to me, and said, "Auh! dar is meses — wants some of your large flags to put in her great O." With much ado I found out that Mrs. — had sent for leave to take up some flags out of my meadow for her grotto.

I hope in a few days to see lady A — and miss J — here; I have writ to propose it.—What are your intentions? Do you stay till you have made your island impregnable? I doubt it will be our only one that will be so.

L E T T E R C X V I I .

Strawberry-hill, June 16, 1779.

YOUR countess was here last Thursday, and received a letter from you, that told us how slowly you receive ours. When you will receive this I cannot guess; but it dates a new æra, which you with reason did not care to look at as possible. In a word, behold a Spanish war! I must detail a little to increase your wonder. I heard here the day before yesterday that it was likely; and that night received a letter from Paris, telling me (it was of the 6th) that monsieur de Beauveau was going, they knew not whither, at the head of 25,000 men, with three lieutenant-generals and six or eight *marechaux de camp* under him. Yesterday I went to town, and T. W. happened

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to call on me.—He, who used to be informed early, did not believe a word either of a Spanish war or a French expedition. I saw some other persons in the evening as ignorant. At night I went to sup at Richmond-house. The duke said the Brest fleet was certainly sailed, and had got the start of ours by twelve days; that monsieur de Beauveau was on board with a large sum of money, and with white and red cockades; and that there would certainly be a Spanish war. He added, that the opposition were then pressing in the house of commons to have the parliament continue sitting, and urging to know if we were not at the eve of a Spanish war; but the ministers persisted in the prorogation for to-morrow or Friday, and would not answer on Spain.

I said I would make you wonder——But no——Why should the parliament continue to sit? Are not the ministers and the parliament the same thing? And how has either house shown that it has any talent for war?

The duke of R. does not guess whither the Brest fleet is gone.—He thinks, if to Ireland, we should have known it by this time. He has heard that the prince of Beauveau has said he was going on an expedition that would be glorious in the eyes of posterity.—I asked, if that might not mean Gibraltar? The duke doubts, but hopes it, as he thinks it no wise measure on their side; yet he was very melancholy, as you will be, on this heavy accession to our distresses.

Well! here we are, aris et foveis and all at stake! What can we be meaning? Unable to conquer America before she was assisted—scarce able to keep France at bay—are we a match for both, and Spain too?—What can be our view? nay, what can be our expectation? I sometimes think we reckon it will be more creditable to be forced by France and Spain to give up America, than to have the merit with the latter of doing it with grace.—But, as Cato says,

I am weary of conjectures—This must end them;

that is, the sword:—and never, I believe, did a country plunge itself into such difficulties step by step, and for six years together, without once recollecting that each foreign war rendered the object of the civil war more unattainable; and that in both the foreign wars we have not an object in prospect. Unable to recruit our remnant of an army in America, are we to

make conquests on France and Spain? They may choose their attacks: we can scarce choose what we will defend.

Ireland, they say, is more temperate than was expected. That is some consolation—yet many fear the Irish will be tempted to unite with America, which would throw all that trade into their convenient harbours: and I own I have apprehensions that the parliament's rising without taking a step in their favour, may offend them. Surely at least we have courageous ministers. I thought my father a stout man:—he had not a tittle of their spirit.

The town has wound up the season perfectly in character by a fête at the Pantheon by subscription. Le Texier managed it; but it turned out sadly. The company was first shut into the galleries to look down on the supper, then let to descend to it. Afterwards they were led into the subterraneous apartment, which was laid with mould, and planted with trees, and crammed with nosegays: but the fresh earth, and the dead leaves, and the effluvia of breaths made such a stench and moisture, that they were suffocated; and when they remounted, the legs and wings of chickens and remnants of ham (for the supper was not removed) poisoned them more. A druid in an arbour distributed verses to the ladies; then the Baccelli and the dancers of the opera danced; and then danced the company; and then it being morning, and the candles burnt out, the windows were opened; and then the stewed danced assembly were such shocking figures, that they fled like ghosts as they looked.—I suppose there will be no more balls unless the French land, and then we shall show we do not mind it.

Thus I have told you all I know. You will ponder over these things in your little distant island, when we have forgotten them. There is another person, one doctor Franklin, who, I fancy, is not sorry that we divert ourselves so well.

L E T T E R C X V I I I .

Strawberry-hill, Sept. 13, 1779.

I AM writing to you at random; not knowing whether or when this letter will go: but your brother told me last night that an officer, whose

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name

name I have forgot, was arrived from Jersey, and would return to you soon. I am sensible how very seldom I have written to you—but you have been few moments out of my thoughts. What *they* have been, you who know me so minutely may well guess, and why they do not pass my lips. Sense, experience, circumstances, can teach one to command one's self outwardly, but do not divest a most friendly heart of its feelings. I believe the state of my mind has contributed to bring on a very weak and decaying body my present disorders. I have not been well the whole summer; but for these three weeks much otherwise. It has at last ended in the gout, which, to all appearance, will be a short fit.

On public affairs I cannot speak. Every thing is so exaggerated on all sides, that what grains of truth remain in the sieve would appear cold and insipid; and the great manœuvres you learn as soon as I. In the naval battle between Byron and d'Estaing, our captains were worthy of any age in our story.

You may imagine how happy I am at Mrs. D——'s return, and at her not being at Naples, as she was likely to have been, at the dreadful explosion of Vesuvius. Surely it will have glutted Sir William's rage for volcanos! How poor lady Hamilton's nerves stood it I do not conceive.—Oh, mankind! mankind!—Are there not calamities enough in store for us, but must destruction be our amusement and pursuit?

I send this to Ditton¹, where it may wait some days; but I would not suffer a sure opportunity to slip without a line. You are more obliged to me for all I do not say, than for whatever eloquence itself could pen.

P. S. I unseal my letter to add, that undoubtedly you will come to the meeting of parliament, which will be in October. Nothing can or ever did make me advise you to take a step unworthy of yourself.—But surely you have higher and more sacred duties than the government of a mole-hill!

¹ Where lord Hertford had then a villa.

LETTER

LETTER CXIX.

January 3, 1781.

AFTER I had written my note to you last night, I called on ———, who gave me the dismal account of Jamaica, that you will see in the gazette, and of the damage done to our shipping. Admiral Rowley is safe; but they are in apprehensions for Walsingham. He told me too what is not in the gazette; that of the expedition against the Spanish settlements, not a single man survives! The papers to-day, I see, speak of great danger to Gibraltar.

————— repeated to me his great desire that you should publish your speech¹, as he told you. I do not conceive why *he* is so eager for it; for he professes total despair about America. It looks to me as if there was a wish of throwing blame somewhere—but I profess I am too simple to dive into the objects of shades of intrigues; nor do I care about them. We shall be reduced to a miserable little island; and from a mighty empire sink into as insignificant a country as Denmark or Sardinia! When our trade and marine are gone, the latter of which we keep up by unnatural efforts, to which our debt will put a stop, we shall lose the East Indies as Portugal did; and then France will dictate to us more imperiously than ever we did to Ireland, which is in a manner already gone too! These are mortifying reflections, to which an English mind cannot easily accommodate itself——But, alas! we have been pursuing the very conduct that France would have prescribed, and more than with all her presumption she could have dared to expect. Could she flatter herself that we would take no advantage of the dilatoriness and unwillingness of Spain to enter into the war? that we would reject the disposition of Russia to support us? and that our still more natural friend Holland would be driven into the league against us? All this has happened; and, like an infant, we are delighted with having set our own frock in a blaze!—I sit and gaze with astonishment at our phrensy——Yet why? Are not nations as liable to intoxication as individuals? Are not predictions founded on calculation oftener rejected than the prophecies

¹ Introductory of a motion “for leave to “jesty to send out commissioners with full
“bring in a bill for quieting the troubles that “power to treat with America for that pur-
“have for some time subsisted between Great “pose.”
“Britain and America, and enabling his ma-

of

of dreamers? Do we not act precisely like C—F—, who thought he had discovered a new truth in figures, when he preached that wise doctrine, that nobody could want money that would pay enough for it?—The consequence was, that in two years he left himself without the possibility of borrowing a shilling. I am not surpris'd at the spirits of a boy of parts—I am not surpris'd at the people—I do wonder at government, that games away its consequence. For what are we now really at war with America, France, Spain, and Holland?—Not with hopes of reconquering America, not with the smallest prospect of conquering a foot of land from France, Spain, or Holland—No; we are at war on the defensive, to protect what is left, or more truly to stave off, for a year perhaps, a peace that must proclaim our nakedness and impotence. I would not willingly recur to that womanish vision of, Something may turn up in our favour!—That something must be a naval victory that will annihilate at once all the squadrons of Europe—must wipe off forty millions of new debt—reconcile the affections of America, that for six years we have laboured to alienate—and that must recall out of the grave the armies and sailors that are perished—and that must make thirteen provinces willing to receive the law, without the necessity of keeping ten thousand men amongst them. The gigantic imagination of lord Chatham would not entertain such a chimera. Lord ——— perhaps would say he did, rather than not undertake; or Mr. Burke could form a metaphoric vision, that would satisfy no imagination but his own: but I, who am nullius addictus jurare in verba, have no hopes either in our resources or in our geniuses, and look on my country already as undone!—It is grievous—but I shall not have much time to lament its fall!

LETTER CXX.

Strawberry-hill, Sunday evening, May 6, 1781.

I SUPPED with your countess on Friday at lord Frederic Campbell's, where I heard of the relief of Gibraltar by Darby. The Spanish fleet kept

It may be some comfort, in a moment not less portentous and melancholy than the one here described, to recollect the almost unhop'd-for recovery of national prosperity, which took place from the peace 1782 to the declaration of war against France in the year 1793. May our exertions procure the speedy application of a similar remedy to our present evils, and may that remedy be productive of equally good effects! E. March 1798.

close

close in Cadiz:—however, he lifted up his leg, and just squirted contempt on them. As he is disembarassed of his transports, I suppose their ships will scramble on shore rather than fight. Well, I shall be perfectly content with our fleet coming back in a whole skin. It will be enough to have out-quoted Don Quixote's own nation. As I knew your countess would write the next day, I waited till she was gone out of town and would not have much to tell you—not that I have either; and it is giving myself an air, to pretend to know more at Twickenham than she can at Henley. Though it is a bitter north-east, I came hither to-day to look at my lilacs, though à la glace, and to get from Pharaoh, for which there is a rage. I doted on it above thirty years ago; but it is not decent to sit up all night now with boys and girls. —, the banker à la mode, has been demolished. He and his associate fir — — went early t'other night to Brookes's, before C. F. and F. who keep a bank there, were come. But they soon arrived, attacked their rivals, broke their bank, and won above 4000*l.* “There,” said F. “so should all usurpers be served!”—He did still better; for he sent for his tradesmen, and paid as far as the money would go.—In the mornings he continues his war on lord North—but cannot break *that* bank. The court has carried a secret committee for India affairs—and it is supposed that Rumbold is to be the sacrifice:—but as he is near as rich as lord Clive, I conclude he will escape by the same golden key.

I told you in my last, that Tonton¹ was arrived. I brought him this morning to take possession of his new villa; but his inauguration has not been at all pacific. As he has already found out that he may be as despotic as at saint Joseph's, he began with exiling my beautiful little cat;—upon which, however, we shall not quite agree. He then flew at one of my dogs, who returned it, by biting his foot till it bled; but was severely beaten for it. I immediately rung for Margaret² to dress his foot; but in the midst of my tribulation could not keep my countenance; for she cried, “Poor little thing, he does not understand my language!”—I hope she will not recollect too that he is a papist!

¹ Madame du Deffand's dog, which she left by will to Mr. Walpole.

² Mr. Walpole's housekeeper.

Berkeley

Berkeley-square, Tuesday, May 8.

I CAME before dinner, and find your long letter of the 3d. You have mistaken Tonton's sex, who is a cavalier, and a little of the mousquetaire still; but if I do not correct his vivacities, at least I shall not encourage them like my dear old friend.

You say nothing of your health: therefore, I trust, it is quite re-established. My own is most flourishing for me.

They say the parliament will rise by the birth-day—not that it seems to be any grievance or confinement to any body. I hope you will soon come¹ and enjoy a quiet summer under the laurels of your own conscience. They are at least as spreading as any body's else; and the foil will preserve their verdure for ever. Methinks we western powers might as well make peace, since we make war so clumsily.—Yet I doubt the awkwardness of our enemies will not have brought down our stomach. Well, I wish for the sake of mankind there was an end of their sufferings! Even spectators are not amused—the whole war has passed like the riotous murmurs of the upper gallery before the play begins—they have pelted the candle-snuffers, the stage has been swept, the music has played, people have taken their places—but the deuce a bit of any performance!—And when folks go home, they will have seen nothing but a farce, that has cost fifty times more than the best tragedy!

LETTER CXXI.

Berkeley-square, May 28, 1781.

THIS letter, like an embarkation, will not set out till it has gotten its complement; but I begin it, as I have just received your second letter. I wrote to you two days ago, and did not mean to complain; for you certainly cannot have variety of matter in your sequestered isle: and since you do not disdain trifling news, this good town, that furnishes nothing else, at least produces weeds, which shoot up in spite of the *Scotch thistles*, that have choked all good fruits. I do not know what lady C. designs to do with her play; I hope, act it only in private; for her other was mur-

¹ From Jersey.

dered, and the audience did not exert the least gallantry to so pretty an authoress, though she gave them so fair an opportunity. For my own play, I was going to publish it in my own defence, as a spurious edition was advertised here, besides one in Ireland.—My advertisement has overlaid the former for the present, and that tempts me to suppress mine, as I have a thorough aversion to its appearance. Still, I think I shall produce it in the dead of summer, that it may be forgotten by winter; for I could not bear having it the subject of conversation in a full town. It is printed; so I can let it steal out in the midst of the first event that engrosses the public; and as it is not quite a novelty, I have no fear but it will be still-born, if it is twin with any babe that squalls and makes much noise.—At the same time with yours I received a letter from another cousin at Paris, who tells me Necker is on the verge; and in the postscript says, he has actually resigned. I heard so a few days ago; but this is a full confirmation. Do you remember a conversation at your house, at supper, in which a friend of yours spoke very unfavourably of Necker, and seemed to wish his fall? In my own opinion, they are much in the wrong. It is true, Necker laboured with all his shoulders to restore their finances; yet I am persuaded that his attention to that great object made him clog all their military operations. They will pay dearer for money; but money they will have—nor is it so dear to them; for, when they have gotten it, they have only not to pay. A monsieur Joly de Fleury is comptroller-general. I know nothing of him—but as they change so often, some able man will prove minister at last—and there they will have the advantage again.

Lord Cornwallis's courier, Mr. Broderic, is not yet arrived; so you are a little precipitate in thinking America so much nearer to being subdued, which you have often swallowed up as if you were a minister; and yet, methinks, that æra has been so frequently put off, that I wonder you are not cured of being sanguine—or rather, of believing the magnificent lies that every trifling advantage gives birth to. If a quarter of the Americans had joined the royalists, that have been said to join, all the colonies would not hold them. But, at least, they have been like the trick of kings and queens at cards; where one of two goes back every turn to fetch another. However, this is only for conversation for the moment. With such aversion to disputation, I have no zeal for making converts to my own opinion, not even on points that touch me nearer.

Thursday, May 31.

If you see the papers, you will find that there was a warm debate yesterday on a fresh proposal from Harley for pacification with America; in which the ministers were roundly reproached with their boasts of the returning zeal of the colonies; and which, though it ought by their own accounts to be so much nearer complete, they could not maintain to be at all effectual; though even yesterday a report was revived of a second victory of lord Cornwallis. This debate prevented another on the marriage-bill, which C. F. wants to get repealed, and which he told me he was going to labour. I mention this from the circumstance of the moment when he told me so. I had been to see if lady A—— was come to town: as I came up St. James's-street, I saw a cart and porters at C——'s door; coppers and old chests of drawers loading.—In short, his success at Faro has awakened his host of creditors—but unless his bank had swelled to the size of the bank of England, it could not have yielded a sop apiece for each. Epsom too had been unpropitious—and one creditor has actually seized and carried off his goods, which did not seem worth removing. As I returned full of this scene, whom should I find sauntering by my own door but C.? He came up and talked to me at the coach-window, on the marriage bill, with as much sangfroid as if he knew nothing of what had happened.—I have no admiration for insensibility to one's own faults, especially when committed out of vanity. Perhaps the whole philosophy consisted in the commission. If *you* could have been as much to blame, the last thing you would bear well would be your own reflections. The more marvellous F——'s parts are, the more one is provoked at his follies, which comfort so many rascals and blockheads; and make all that is admirable and amiable in him, only matter of regret to those who like him as I do.

I did intend to fettle at Strawberry on Sunday; but must return on Thursday, for a party made at Marlborough-house for princess Amelia. I am continually tempted to retire entirely—and should—if I did not see how very unfit English tempers are for living quite out of the world. We grow abominably peevish and severe on others, if we are not constantly rubbed against and polished by them. I need not name friends and relations of yours and mine as instances. My prophecy on the short reign of Faro is verified already. The bankers find that all the calculated advantages of the
game

game do not balance pinchbeck parolis and debts of honourable women.—The bankers, I think, might have had a previous and more generous reason, the very bad air of holding a bank:—but this country is as hardened against the petite morale, as against the greater.—What should I think of the world if I quitted it entirely?

L E T T E R CXXII.

Strawberry-hill, June 3, 1781.

YOU know I have more philosophy about *you* than courage; yet for once I have been very brave. There was an article in the papers last week that said, a letter from Jersey mentioned apprehensions of being attacked by 4000 French.—Do you know that I treated the paragraph with scorn?—No, no: I am not afraid for your island, when you are at home in it, and have had time to fortify it, and have sufficient force. No, no: it will not be surpris'd when you are there, and when our fleet is returned, and Digby before Brest.—However, with all my valour, I could not help going to your brother to ask a few questions—but he had heard of no such letter. The French would be foolish indeed if they ran their heads a third time against your rocks, when watched by the most vigilant of all governors. Your nephew G—— is arriv'd with the fleet: my door opened t'other morning; I looked towards the common horizon of heads, but was a foot and a half below any face. The handsomest giant in the world made but one step cross my room; and, seizing my hand, gave it such a robust gripe, that I squall'd; for he crush'd my poor chalk-stones to powder. When I had recovered from the pain of his friendly salute, I said, “It must be G—— C——: and yet is it possible?—Why, it is not fifteen months ago since you was but six feet high.”—In a word, he is within an inch of Robert and Edward, with larger limbs, almost as handsome as Hugh, with all the bloom of youth; and—in short, another of those comely sons of Anak, the breed of which your brother and lady Hertford have piously restored for the comfort of the daughters of Sion. He is delighted with having tapp'd his warfare with the siege of Gibraltar, and burns to stride to America. The town, he says, is totally destroyed; and between two and three hundred persons were killed.—Well! it is pity lady Hertford has done breeding: we shall want such a race to re-people even the ruins we do not lose! The

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rising

rising generation does give one some hopes.—I confine myself to some of this year's birds. The young William Pitt has again displayed paternal oratory. The other day, on the commission of accounts, he answered lord North, and tore him limb from limb. If C. F. could feel, one should think such a rival, with an unspotted character, would rouse him—What, if a Pitt and Fox should again be rivals!—A still newer orator has appeared in the India business, a Mr. Banks, and against lord North too—and with a merit, that the very last crop of orators left out of their rubric—modesty. As young Pitt is modest too, one would hope some genuine English may revive!

Tuesday, June 5.

THIS is the season of opening my cake-house. I have chosen a bad spot, if I meant to retire; and calculated ill, when I made it a puppet-show.

Last week we had two or three mastiff-days; for they were fiercer than our common dog-days. It is cooled again; but rain is as great a rarity as in Egypt; and father Thames is so far from being a Nile, that he is dying for thirst himself.—But it would be prudent to reserve paragraphs of weather till people are gone out of town; for then I can have little to send you else from hence.

Berkeley-square, June 6.

As soon as I came to town to-day Le Texier called on me, and told me he has miscarried of Pygmalion. The expence would have mounted to 150*l.* and he could get but 60 subscribers at a guinea apiece. I am glad his experience and success have taught him thrift—I did not expect it. Sheridan had a heavier miscarriage last night. The two Vestris had imagined a fête; and, concluding that whatever they designed would captivate the town and its purses, were at the expence of 1200*l.* and, distributing tickets at two guineas apiece, disposed of not two hundred. It ended in a bad opera, that began three hours later than usual, and at quadruple the price. There were bushels of dead flowers, lamps, country dances—and a cold supper—Yet they are not abused as poor Le Texier was last year.

June 8.

I CONCLUDE my letter, and I hope our present correspondence, very agreeably; for your brother told me last night, that you have written to lord
Hillsborough

Hillsborough for leave to return. If all our governors could leave their dominions in as good plight, it were lucky. Your brother owned, what the gazette with all its circumstances cannot conceal, that lord Cornwallis's triumphs have but increased our losses, without leaving any hopes. I am told that his army, which when he parted from Clinton amounted to 17,000 men, does not now contain above as many hundred, except the detachments. The gazette, to my sorrow and your greater sorrow, speaks of colonel * O'Hara having received two dangerous wounds.

Princess Amelia was at Marlborough-house last night, and played at Faro till twelve o'clock—There ends the winter campaign!—I go to Strawberry-hill to-morrow; and I hope, à l'Irlandoise, that the next letter I write to you—will be not to write to you any more.

L E T T E R CXXIII.

Strawberry-hill, September 16, 1781.

I AM not surpris'd that such a mind as yours cannot help expressing gratitude: it would not be your mind, if it could command that sensation as triumphantly as it does your passions. Only remember that the expression is unnecessary. I do know that you feel the entire friendship I have for you; nor should I love you so well if I was not persuaded of it. There never was a grain of any thing romantic in my friendship for you. We loved one another from children, and as so near relations; but my friendship grew up with your virtues, which I admired though I did not imitate. We had scarce one in common but disinterestedness. Of the reverse we have both, I may say, been so absolutely clear, that there is nothing so natural and easy as the little moneyed transactions between us; and therefore knowing how perfectly indifferent I am upon that head, and remembering the papers I showed you, and what I said to you when I saw you last, I am sure you will have the complaisance never to mention thanks more.—Now to answer your questions.

As to coming to you, as that sen gregepis lord George Gordon has

* Now general O'Hara, governor of Gibraltar.

given

given up the election to my great joy, I can come to you on Sunday next. It is true, I had rather you visited your regiment first, for this reason: I expect summons to Nuneham every day; and besides, having never loved two journeys instead of one, I grow more covetous of my time, as I have little left, and therefore had rather take Park-place, going and coming, on my way to lord Harcourt.

I don't know a word of news public or private. I am deep in my dear old friend's ¹ papers. There are some very delectable; and though I believe, nay know, I have not quite all, there are many which I almost wonder, after the little delicacy they ² have shown, ever arrived to my hands. I dare to say they will not be quite so just to the public; for though I consented that the correspondence with Voltaire should be given to the editors of his works, I am persuaded that there are many passages at least which they will suppress, as very contemptuous to his chief votaries—I mean of the votaries to his sentiments—for, like other heresiarchs, he despised his tools. If I live to see the edition, it will divert me to collate it with what I have in my hands.

You are the person in the world the fittest to encounter the meeting you mention for the choice of a bridge ³. You have temper and patience enough to bear with fools and false taste. I, so unlike you, have learnt some patience with both sorts too, but by a more summary method than by waiting to instill reason into them. Mine is only by leaving them to their own vagaries, and by despairing that sense and taste should ever extend themselves. Adieu!

P. S. In Voltaire's letters are some bitter traits on the king of Prussia, which, as he is defender of their no faith, I conclude will be rayés too.

¹ Madame du Deffand, who died in September 1781, and left all her papers to Mr. Walpole.

² He means the executors of madame du Deffand.

³ The bridge over the Thames at Henley, to whose singular beauty the good taste of Mr. Conway materially contributed.

LETTER

LETTER CXXIV.

Berkeley-square, Sunday morning, November 18, 1781.

I HAVE been here again for three days, tending and nursing and waiting on Mr. Jephson's play. I have brought it into the world, was well delivered of it, it can stand on its own legs—and I am going back to my own quiet hill, never likely to have any thing more to do with theatres. Indeed it has seemed strange to me, who for these three or four years have not been so many times in a play-house, nor knew six of the actors by sight, to be at two rehearsals, behind the scenes, in the green-room, and acquainted with half the company. The Count of Narbonne was played last night with great applause, and without a single murmur of disapprobation. Miss Young has charmed me. She played with intelligence that was quite surprizing. The applause to one of her speeches lasted a minute, and recommenced twice before the play could go on. I am sure you will be pleased with the conduct and the easy beautiful language of the play, and struck with her acting.

LETTER CXXV.

Strawberry-hill, September 17, 1782.

I HAD not time yesterday to say what I had to say about your coming hither. I should certainly be happy to see you and lady Ailesbury at any time; but it would be unconscionable to expect it when you have scarce a whole day in a month to pass at your own house, and to look after your own works. Friends, I know, lay as great stresses upon trifles as upon serious points; but as there never was a more sincere attachment than mine, so it is the most reasonable one too, for I always think for you more than myself. Do whatever you have to do, and be assured, That is what I like best that you should do. The present hurry cannot last always. Your present object is to show how much more fit you are for your post¹ than

¹ Mr. Conway was now commander in chief.

any

any other man, by which you will do infinite service too; and will throw a great many private acts of good-nature and justice into the account. Do you think I would stand in the way of any of these things? and that I am not aware of them? Do not think about me. If it suits you at any moment, come. Except Sunday next, when I am engaged to dine abroad, I have nothing to do till the middle of October, when I shall go to Nuneham; and, going or coming, may possibly catch you at Park-place.

If I am not quite credulous about your turning smoke into gold³, it is perhaps because I am very ignorant. I like Mr. M—— extremely; and though I have lived so long that I have little confidence, I think you could not have chosen one more likely to be faithful. I am sensible that my kind of distrust would prevent all great enterprises—and yet I cannot but fear, that unless one gives one's self up entirely to the pursuit of a new object, the risk must be doubled. But I will say no more; for I do not even wish to dissuade you, as I am sure I understand nothing of the matter, and therefore mean no more than to keep your discretion awake.

The tempest of Monday night alarmed me too for the fleet: and as I have nothing to do but to care, I feel for individuals as well as for the public; and think of all those who may be lost, and of all those who may be made miserable by such loss. Indeed I care most for individuals—for as to the public, it seems to be totally insensible to every thing!

I know nothing worth repeating; and having now answered all your letter, shall bid you good night.

L E T T E R CXXVI.

Strawberry-hill, August 15, 1783.

THE address from the volunteers is curious indeed, and upon the first face a little Irish. What! would they throw off our parliament, and yet

³ Alluding to the coke ovens, for which Mr. Conway afterwards obtained a patent.

amend

amend it? It is like correcting a question in the house of commons, and then voting against it. But I suppose they rather mean to increase confusion here, that we may not be at leisure to impede their progress—at least this may be the intention of the leaders. Large bodies are only led by being in earnest themselves, when their leaders are not so:—but my head is not clear enough to apply it to different matters—nor could I do any good if it were. Our whole system is become a disjointed chaos—and time must digest it—or blow it up shortly.—I see no way into it—nor expect any thing favourable but from chance, that often stops confusion on a sudden. To restore us by any system, it would require a single head furnished with wisdom, temper, address, fortitude, full and undivided power, and sincere patriotism divested of all personal views. Where is that prodigy to be found?—and how should it have the power, if it had all the rest? And if it had the power, how could it be divested of that power again? And if it were not, how long would it retain its virtues? Power and wisdom would soon unite, like Antony and Augustus, to annihilate their colleague virtue, for being a poor creature like Lepidus. In short, the mass of matter is too big for me: I am going out of the world, and cannot trouble myself about it. I do think of your part in it, and wish to preserve you where you are, for the benefits that you may contribute. I have a high opinion of Mr. F. and believe that by frankness you may become real friends; which would be greatly advantageous to the country. There is no competition in my mind where you are concerned: but F. is the minister with whom I most wish you united—indeed, to all the rest I am indifferent or adverse—but, besides his superior abilities, he has a liberality of acting that is to my taste. It is like my father's plainness, and has none of the paltry little finesses of a statesman.

Your parties do not tempt me, because I am not well enough to join in them: nor yet will they stop me, though I had rather find only you and lady A. and Mrs. D. I am not seriously ill—nay, am better upon the whole than I was last year: but I perceive decays enough in myself to be sensible that the scale may easily be inclined to the worst side. This observation makes me very indifferent to every thing that is not much at my heart. Consequently what concerns you is, as it has always been for above forty years, a principal object. Adieu!

LETTER CXXVII.

Berkeley-square, Wednesday, May 5, 1784.

YOUR cherries, for aught I know, may, like Mr. Pitt, be half ripe before others are in blossom; but at Twickenham, I am sure, I could find dates and pomegranates on the quickset hedges, as soon as a cherry in swaddling-clothes on my walls. The very leaves on the horse-chestnuts are little snotty-nosed things, that cry and are afraid of the north-wind, and cling to the bough as if *old poker* was coming to take them away. For my part, I have seen nothing like spring but a chimney-sweeper's garland; and yet I have been three days in the country—and the consequence was, that I was glad to come back to town. I do not wonder that you feel differently. Any thing is warmth and verdure when compared to poring over memorials. In truth, I think you will be much happier for being out of parliament. You could do no good there; you have no views of ambition to satisfy:—and when neither duty nor ambition calls (I do not condescend to name avarice, which never is to be satisfied, nor deserves to be reasoned with, nor has any place in your breast) I cannot conceive what satisfaction an elderly man can have in listening to the passions or follies of others: nor is eloquence such a banquet, when one knows that, whoever the cooks are, whatever the sauces, one has eaten as good beef or mutton before—and, perhaps, as well dressed. It is surely time to live for one's self, when one has not a vast while to live; and you, I am persuaded, will live the longer for leading a country life. How much better to be planting, nay, making experiments on smoke (if not too dear), than reading applications from officers, a quarter of whom you could not serve, nor content three quarters! You had not time for necessary exercise; and, I believe, would have blinded yourself. In short, if you will live in the air all day, be totally idle, and not read or write a line by candle-light, and retrench your suppers, I shall rejoice in your having nothing to do but that dreadful punishment, pleasing yourself. Nobody has any claims on you; you have satisfied every point of honour; you have no cause for being particularly grateful to the opposition; and you want no excuse for living for yourself. Your resolutions on œconomy are not only prudent, but just—and, to say the truth, I believe that if you had continued at the head of the army you would have ruined yourself. You have too much gene-

profity to have curbed yourself, and would have had too little time to attend to doing so. I know by myself how pleasant it is to have laid up a little for those I love, for those that depend on me, and for old servants. Moderate wishes may be satisfied—and, which is still better, are less liable to disappointment. I am not preaching, nor giving advice—but congratulating you:—and it is certainly not being selfish, when I rejoice at your being thrown by circumstances into a retired life, though it will occasion my seeing less of you. But I have always preferred what was most for your own honour and happiness; and as you taste satisfaction already, it will not diminish, for they are the first moments of passing from a busy life to a quiet one that are the most irksome. You have the felicity of being able to amuse yourself with what the grave world calls trifles—but as gravity does not happen to be wisdom, trifles are full as important as what is respected as serious; and more amiable, as generally more innocent. Most men are bad or ridiculous, sometimes both:—at least my experience tells me, what my reading had told me before, that they are so in a great capital of a sinking country. If immortal fame is his object, a Cato may die—but he will do no good. If only the preservation of his virtue had been his point, he might have lived comfortably at Athens, like Atticus—who, by the way, happens to be as immortal; though I will give him credit for having had no such view. Indeed, I look on this country as so irrecoverably on the verge of ruin, from its enormous debt, from the loss of America, from the almost as certain prospect of losing India, that my pride would dislike to be an actor when the crash may happen.

You seem to think that I might send you more news. So I might, if I would talk of elections: but those, you know, I hate; as, in general, I do all details. How Mr. Fox has recovered such a majority I do not guess; still less do I comprehend how there could be so many that had not voted, after the poll had lasted so long. Indeed, I should be sorry to understand such mysteries.—Of new peers, or new elevations, I hear every day, but am quite ignorant which are to be true. Rumour always creates as many as the king, when he makes several. In fact, I do know nothing.

Adieu!

P. S. The summer is come to town, but I hope is gone into the country too.

G g 2

LETTER

LETTER CXXVIII.

Strawberry-hill, May 21, 1784.

I AM perfectly satisfied with your epitaph^{*}, and would not have a syllable altered. It tells exactly what it means to say, and, that truth being an encomium, wants no addition or amplification. Nor do I love late language for modern facts, nor will European tongues perish since printing has been discovered. I should approve French least of all. It would be a kind of insult to the vanquished: and besides, the example of a hero should be held out to his countrymen rather than to their enemies. You must take care to have the word *caused*, in the last line but one, spelt rightly, and not *caus'd*.

I know nothing of the parliament but what you saw in the papers. I came hither yesterday, and am transported, like you, with the beauty of the country; aye, and with its perfumed air too. The *lilac-tide* scents even the insides of the rooms.

I desired lady A—— to carry you lord Melcombe's Diary. It is curious indeed, not so much from the secrets it blabs, which are rather characteristic than novel, but from the wonderful folly of the author, who was so fond of talking of himself, that he tells all he knew of himself, though scarce an event that does not betray his profligacy; and (which is still more surprising that he should disclose) almost every one exposes the contempt in which he was held, and his consequential disappointments and disgraces!—Was ever any man the better for another's experience?—What a lesson is here against verfatility!

I, who have lived through all the scenes unfolded, am entertained—but I should think that to younger readers half the book must be unintelligible. He explains nothing but the circumstances of his own situation; and though he touches on many important periods, he leaves them undeveloped, and often undetermined. It is diverting to hear him rail at lord Halifax and others, for the very kind of double-dealing which he relates coolly of himself in the next page. Had he gone backwards, he might

* An epitaph for the monument, erected by the States of Jersey, to the memory of major Pearson, killed in the attack of that island by the French, in January 1781.

have given half-a-dozen volumes of his own life with similar anecdotes and variations.

I am most surpris'd, that when self-love is the whole ground-work of the performance, there should be little or no attempt at shining as an author, though he was one. As he had so much wit too, I am amazed that not a feature of it appears. The discussion in the Appendix, on the late prince's question for increase of allowance, is the only part in which there is sense or honesty.

There is, in the imperfect account of Rochfort, a strong circumstance or two that pleas'd me much. There are many passages that will displease several others throughout.

Mr. Coxe's Travels are very different: plain, clear, sensible, instructive, and entertaining. It is a noble work, and precious to me who delight in quartos: the two volumes contain twelve hundred pages—I have already devour'd a quarter, though I have had them but three days.

[The rest of this letter is lost.]

LETTER CXXIX.

Strawberry-hill, June 25, 1784.

I CAN answer you very readily in your own tone, that is, about weather and country grievances, and without one word of news or politics; for I know neither, nor enquire of them. I am very well content to be a Strulbrug, and to *exist* after I have done *being*: and I am still better pleas'd that you are in the same way of thinking, or of not thinking; for I am sure both your health and your mind will find the benefits of living for yourself and family only. It were not fit that the young should centre themselves in so narrow a circle—nor do the young seem to have any such intention. Let them mend or mar the world as they please—the world takes its own way upon the whole; and though there may be an uncommon swarm of animalculæ for a season, things return into their own channel from their own bias, before any effectual nostrum of fumigation is discovered. In the mean time I am for giving all due weight
to

to local grievances, though with no natural turn towards attending to them:—but they serve for conversation. We have no newly-invented grubs to eat our fruit—indeed I have no fruit to be eaten—but I should not lament if the worms would eat my gardener, who, you know, is so bad an one, that I never have any thing in my garden. I am now waiting for dry weather to cut my hay—though nature certainly never intended hay should be cut dry, as it always rains all June.—But here is a worse calamity: one is never safe by day or night: Mrs. Walsingham, who has bought your brother's late house at Ditton, was robbed a few days ago in the high road, within a mile of home, at seven in the evening. The *diminorum gentium* pilfer every thing. Last night they stole a couple of yards of lead off the pediment of the door of my cottage. A gentleman at Putney, who has three men servants, had his house broken open last week, and lost some fine miniatures, which he valued so much, that he would not hang them up. You may imagine what a pain this gives me in my bawbles! I have been making the round of my fortifications this morning, and ordering new works.

I am concerned for the account you give me of ———. Life does not appear to be such a jewel as to preserve it carefully for its own sake. I think the same of its *good things*: if they do not procure amusement or comfort, I doubt they only produce the contrary.—Yet it is silly to refine; for, probably, whatever any man does by choice, he knows will please him best, or at least will prevent greater uneasiness. I, therefore, rather retract my concern; for with a vast fortune ——— might certainly do what he would—and if, at his age, he can wish for more than that fortune will obtain, I may pity his taste or temper: but I shall think that you and I are much happier who can find enjoyments in an humbler sphere, nor envy those who have no time for trifling. I, who have never done any thing else, am not at all weary of my occupation. Even three days of continued rain have not put me out of humour or spirits. C'est beaucoup dire for an Anglois. Adieu!

LETTER,

LETTER CXXX.

Strawberry-hill, June 30, 1784.

INSTEAD of coming to you, I am thinking of packing up and going to town for winter, so desperate is the weather! I found a great fire at Mrs. Clive's this evening, and Mr. Rastor hanging over it like a smoked ham. They tell me my hay will be all spoiled for want of cutting; but I had rather it should be destroyed by standing than by being mowed, as the former will cost me nothing but the crop, and 'tis very dear to make nothing but a water fouchy of it.

You know I have lost a niece, and found another nephew: he makes the fifty-fourth, reckoning both sexes. We are certainly an affectionate family, for of late we do nothing but marry one another.

Have not you felt a little twinge in a remote corner of your heart on lady ——'s death? She dreaded death so extremely, that I am glad she had not a moment to be sensible of it. I have a great affection for sudden deaths—They save one's self and every body else a deal of ceremony.

The duke and duchess of M—— breakfasted here on Monday, and seemed much pleased, though it rained the whole time with an Egyptian darkness. I should have thought there had been deluges enough to destroy all Egypt's other plagues; but the newspapers talk of locusts—I suppose, relations of your beetles, though probably not so fond of green fruit; for the scene of their campaign is Queen-square, Westminster, where there certainly has not been an orchard since the reign of Canute.

I have, at last, seen an air balloon—just as I once did see a tiny review, by passing one accidentally on Hounslow-heath. I was going last night to lady Onslow at Richmond, and over Mr. Cambridge's field I saw a bundle in the air not bigger than the moon, and she herself could not have descended with more composure if she had expected to find Endymion fast asleep. It seemed to 'light on Richmond-hill; but Mrs. H—— was going by, and her coiffeure prevented my seeing it alight. The papers say, that a balloon has been made at Paris, representing the castle of Stockholm, in compliment to the king of Sweden, but that they were afraid to
let.

let it off—So, I suppose, it will be served up to him in a dessert. No great progress surely is made in these airy navigations, if they are still afraid of risking the necks of two or three subjects for the entertainment of a visiting sovereign. There is seldom a feu de joie for the birth of a dauphin that does not cost more lives. I thought royalty and science never haggled about the value of blood when experiments are in question.

I shall wait for summer before I make you a visit. Though I dare not say that you have converted your smoke-kilns into a manufacture of balloons, pray do not erect a Strawberry castle in the air for my reception, if it will cost a pismire a hair of its head. Good-night!—I have ordered my bed to be heated as hot as an oven, and Tonton and I must go into it.

L E T T E R CXXXI.

Strawberry-hill, August 14, 1784.

AS lady C. offers to be postman, I cannot resist writing a line, though I have not a word to say. In good sooth, I know nothing, hear of nothing but robberies and house-breaking; consequently never think of ministers, India directors, and such honest men. Mrs. Clive has been broken open, and Mr. Raftor miscarried and died of the fright. Lady —— has lost all her liveries and her temper, and lady —— has cried her eyes out on losing a lurch and almost her wig.—In short, as I do not love exaggeration, I do not believe there have been above three-score highway robberies within this week, fifty-seven houses that have been broken open, and two hundred and thirty that are to be stripped on the first opportunity. We are in great hopes, however, that the king of Spain, now he has demolished Algiers, the metropolitan see of thieves, will come and bombard Richmond, Twickenham, Hampton-court, and all the suffragan cities that swarm with pirates and banditti, as he has a better knack at destroying vagabonds than at recovering his own.

Ireland is in a blessed way; and as if the climate infected every body that sets foot there, the viceroy's aides de camp have *blundered* into a riot, that will set all the humours afloat.

I wish

I wish you joy of the summer being come now it is gone, which is better than not coming at all. I hope lady C. will return with an account of your all being perfectly well. Adieu!

L E T T E R CXXXII.

Strawberry-hill, October 15, 1784.

AS I have heard nothing from you, I flatter myself lady A. mends, or I think you would have brought her again to the physicians: you will, I conclude, next week, as towards the end of it the ten days they named will be expired. I must be in town myself about Thursday on some little business of my own.

As I was writing this, my servants called me away to see a balloon—I suppose Blanchard's, that was to be let off from Chelsea this morning. I saw it from the common field before the window of my round tower. It appeared about a third of the size of the moon, or less, when setting, something above the tops of the trees on the level horizon. It was then descending; and after rising and declining a little, it sunk slowly behind the trees, I should think about or beyond Sunbury, at five minutes after one. But you know I am a very inexact guesser at measures and distances, and may be mistaken in many miles; and you know how little I have attended to those *aironauts*: only t'other night I diverted myself with a sort of meditation on future *airgation*, supposing that it will not only be perfected, but will depose navigation. I did not finish it, because I am not skilled, like the gentleman that used to write political ship-news, in that style, which I wanted to perfect my essay: but in the prelude I observed how ignorant the ancients were in supposing Icarus melted the wax of his wings by too near access to the sun, whereas he would have been frozen to death before he made the first post on that road. Next, I discovered an alliance between bishop Wilkins's art of flying and his plan of an universal language, the latter of which he no doubt calculated to prevent the want of an interpreter when he should arrive at the moon.

But I chiefly amused myself with ideas of the change that would be made in the world by the substitution of balloons to ships. I supposed our sea-

ports to become *deserted villages*, and Salisbury-plain, Newmarket-heath, (another canvas for alteration of ideas), and all downs (but *the Downs*) arising into dock-yards for aerial vessels. Such a field would be ample in furnishing new speculations—But to come to my ship-news.

The good balloon *Dædalus*, capt. Wing-ate, will fly in a few days for China; he will stop at the top of the Monument to take in passengers.

Arrived on Brand-sands, the Vulture, capt. Nabob; the Tortoise snow, from Lapland; the *Pet-en-l'air*, from Versailles; the *Dreadnought*, from mount Etna, fir W. Hamilton commander; the *Tympany*, *Mongolfier*; and the *Mine-A-in-a-bandbox*, from the cape of Good Hope. Foundered in a hurricane, the *Bird of Paradise*, from mount Ararat. The *Bubble*, Sheldon, took fire, and was burnt to her gallery; and the *Phoenix* is to be cut down to a second rate.—In those days Old Sarum will again be a town and have houses in it. There will be fights in the air with wind-guns and bows and arrows; and there will be prodigious increase of land for tillage, especially in France, by breaking up all public roads as useless.—But enough of my fooleries, for which I am sorry you must pay double postage.

L E T T E R CXXXIII.

Sunday night, Nov. 28, 1784.

I HAVE received the parcel of papers you sent me¹, which I conclude come from lord Strafford, and will apply them as well as I possibly can, you may be sure—but with little of doing any good: humanity is no match for cruelty. There are now and then such angelic beings as Mr. Hanway and Mr. Howard; but our race in general is pestilently bad and malevolent. I have been these two years wishing to promote my excellent Mr. Porter's plan for alleviating the woes of chimney-sweepers, but never could make impression on three people; on the contrary, have generally caused a smile.

G—C—'s intelligence of hostilities commenced between the Dutch

¹ Against cruelty to dogs.

and Imperialists makes me suppose that France will support the former—or could they resist? Yet I had heard that France would not. Some have thought, as I have done, that a combination of partition would happen between Austria, France, and Prussia, the modern law of nations for avoiding wars. I know nothing: so my conjectures may all be erroneous; especially as one argues from reason; a very inadequate judge, as it leaves passions, caprices, and accidents, out of its calculation. It does not seem the interest of France, that the emperor's power should increase in their neighbourhood and extend to the sea. Consequently it is France's interest to protect Holland in concert with Prussia. This last is a transient power, and may determine on the death of the present king; but the Imperial is a permanent force, and must be the enemy of France, however present connections may incline the scale.

In any case, I hope we shall no way be hooked into the quarrel; not only from the impotence of our circumstances, but as I think it would decide the loss of Ireland, which seems tranquillizing: but should we have any bickering with France, she would renew the manœuvres she practised so fatally in America. These are my politics; I do not know with whose they coincide or disagree, nor does it signify a straw. Nothing will depend on my opinion; nor have I any opinion about them, but when I have nothing at all to do that amuses me more, or nothing else to fill a letter.

I can give you a sample of my idleness, which may divert lady A—— and your academy of arts and sciences for a minute in the evening. It came into my head yesterday to send a card to lady Lyttelton, to ask when she would be in town—here it is in an heroic epistle:

From a castle as vast—as the castles on signs;
 From a hill that all Africa's—mole-hills outshines,
 This epistle is sent to a cottage so small,
 That the door cannot ope, if you stand in the hall,
 To a lady, who would be fifteen, if her knight
 And old swain were as young as Methusalem quite:
 It comes to inquire—not whether her eyes
 Are as radiant as ever—but how many sighs
 He must vent to the rocks and the echos around,
 (Though nor echo nor rock in the parish is found)

H h 2

Before

Before she obdurate his passion will meet—
His passion to see her in Portugal-street.

As the sixth line goes rather too near the core, do not give a copy of it: however, I should be sorry if it displeas'd; though I do not believe it will, but be taken with good-humour as it was meant¹.

L E T T E R CXXXIV.

Strawberry-hill, October 6, 1785.

I WONDERED I did not hear from you, as I concluded you returned. You have made me good amends by the entertaining story of your travels. If I were not too disjointed for long journeys, I should like to see much of what you have seen; but if I had the agility of Veftris, I would not purchase all that pleasure for my eyes at the expence of my unfociability, which could not have borne the hospitality you experienced. It was always death to me, when I did travel England, to have lords and ladies receive me and shew me their castles, instead of turning me over to their house-keeper: it hindered my seeing any thing, and I was the whole time meditating my escape: but lady A. and you are not such sensitive plants, nor shrink and close up if a stranger holds out a hand.

I don't wonder you was disappointed with Jarvis's windows at New College: I had foretold their miscarriage: the old and the new are mismatched as an orange and a lemon, and destroy each other; nor is there room enough to retire back and see half of the new; and sir Joshua's wathy Virtues make the Nativity a dark spot from the darkness of the Shepherds, which happened, as I knew it would, from most of Jarvis's colours not being transparent.

¹ It was taken in perfect good humour; and she returned the following answer, which Mr. Walpole owned was better than his address: E.

Remember'd (tho' old) by a wit and a beau!
I shall fancy, ere long, I'm a Ninon l'Enclos.
I must feel impatient such kindness to meet,
And shall hasten my flight into Portugal-street.

Ripley cottage, 28th Nov.

I

I have

I have not seen the improvements at Blenheim. I used to think it one of the ugliest places in England; a giant's castle who had laid waste all the country round him. Every body now allows the merit of Brown's achievements there.

Of all your survey I wish most to see Beau Desert. Warwick-castle, and Stowe, I know by heart:—the first I had rather possess than any seat upon earth—not that I think it the most beautiful of all, though charming, because I am so intimate with all its proprietors for the last thousand years.

I have often and often studied the new plan of Stowe: it is pompous; but though the wings are altered, they are not lengthened. Though three parts of the edifices in the garden are bad, they enrich that insipid country, and the vastness pleases me more than I can defend.

I rejoice that your jaunt has been serviceable to lady A. The *charming-man*¹ is actually with me; but neither he nor I can keep our promise incontinently. He expects two sons of his brother sir William, whom he is to pack up and send to the Peres de l'Oratoire at Paris. I expect lord and lady W. to-morrow, who are to pass a few days with me: but both the *charming-man* and I will be with you soon. I have no objection to a wintry visit: as I can neither ride nor walk, it is more comfortable when most of my time is passed within doors. If I continue perfectly well, as I am, I shall not settle in town till after Christmas: there will not be half a dozen persons there for whom I care a straw.

I know nothing at all. The peace between the Austrian harpy and the frogs is made. They were stout, and preferred being gobbled to parting with their money. At last, France offered to pay the money for them. The harpy blushed—for the first time—and would not take it, but signed the peace—and will plunder somebody else.

Have you got Boswell's most absurd enormous book?—The best thing in it is a bon mot of lord Pembroke. The more one learns of Johnson, the more preposterous assemblage he appears of strong sense, of the lowest

¹ Edward Jerningham, esq.

bigotry,

bigotry and prejudices, of pride, brutality, fretfulness, and vanity—and Boswell is the ape of most of his faults, without a grain of his sense. It is the story of a mountebank and his zany.

I forgot to say, that I wonder how, with your turn and knowledge and enterprise in scientific exploits, you came not to visit the duke of Bridgewater's operations—or did you omit them, because I should not have understood a word you told me? Adieu!

L E T T E R CXXXV.

Sunday night, June 18, 1786.

I SUPPOSE you have been swearing at the east wind for parching your verdure, and are now weeping for the rain that drowns your hay. I have these calamities in common, and my constant and particular one, people that come to see my house, which unfortunately is more in request than ever. Already I have had twenty-eight sets, have five more tickets given out, and yesterday before I had dined three German barons came. My house is a torment, not a comfort!

I was sent for again to dine at Gunnersbury on Friday, and was forced to send to town for a dress-coat and a sword. There were the prince of Wales, the prince of Mecklenburg, the duke of Portland, lord Clanbrassil, lord and lady Clermont, lord and lady Southampton, lord Pelham, and Mrs. Howe. The prince of Mecklenburg went back to Windsor after coffee; and the prince and lord and lady Clermont to town after tea to hear some new French players at lady William Gordon's. The princess, lady Barrymore, and the rest of us, played three pools at commerce till ten. I am afraid I was tired and gaped. While we were at the dairy, the princess insisted on my making some verses on Gunnersbury. I pleaded being superannuated. She would not excuse me. I promised she should have an ode on her next birth-day; which diverted the prince—but all would not do—So, as I came home, I made the following stanzas, and sent them to her breakfast next morning:

I. In

I.

In deathless odes for ever green
 Augustus' laurels blow ;
 Nor e'er was grateful duty seen
 In warmer strains to flow.

II.

Oh ! why is Flaccus not alive
 Your fav'rite scene to sing ?
 To Gunnersbury's charms could give
 His lyre immortal spring.

III.

As warm as his my zeal for you,
 Great princefs, could I show it :
 But though you have a Horace too—
 Ah, madam, he's no poet.

If they are but poor verses, consider I am sixty-nine, was half asleep, and made them almost extempore—and by command! However, they succeeded, and I received this gracious answer :

“ I wish I had a name that could answer your pretty verses. Your yawning yesterday opened your vein for pleasing me ; and I return you my thanks, my good Mr. Walpole, and remain sincerely your friend,

AMELIA.”

I think this is very genteel at seventy-five.

Do you know that I have bought the Jupiter Serapis as well as the Julio Clovio ! Mr. ——— affures me he has seen six of the hand, and not one of them so fine or so well preserved. I am glad sir Joshua Reynolds saw no more excellence in the Jupiter than in the Clovio ; or the duke of Portland, I suppose, would have purchased it, as he has the vase for a thousand pounds. I would not change. I told sir W. Hamilton and the late duchess, when I never thought it would be mine, that I had rather have the head than the vase. I shall long for Mrs. D—— to make a bust to it,

* At the sale of the duchess dowager of Portland.

and

and then it will be still more valuable. I have deposited both the Illumination and the Jupiter in lady Di's cabinet¹, which is worthy of them—And here my collection winds up—I will not purchase trumpery after such jewels. Besides, every thing is much dearer in old age, as one has less time to enjoy. Good-night!

L E T T E R C X X X V I .

Strawberry-hill, October 29, 1786.

I WAS sorry not to be apprised of your intention of going to town, where I would have met you; but I knew it too late, both as I was engaged, and as you was to return so soon. I mean to come to Park-place in a week or fortnight: but I should like to know what company you expect, or do not expect; for I had rather fill up your vacancies, than be a supernumerary.

Lady O—— has sent me two charades made by col. F——: the first she says is very easy, the second very difficult. I have not come within sight of the easy one; and though I have a guess at the other, I do not believe I am right; and so I send them to you, who are master-general of the *Œdipuses*.

The first, that is so easy:

In concert, song, or serenade,
My first requires my second's aid.
To those residing near the pole
I would not recommend my whole.

The two last lines, I conclude, neither connect with the two first, nor will help one to decyphering them:

The difficult one:

Charades of all things are the worst,
But yet my best have been my first.
Who with my second are concern'd
Will to despise my whole have learn'd.

¹ A cabinet at Strawberry-hill, ornamented with drawings by lady Diana Beauclerc.

This

This sounds like a good one, and therefore I will not tell you my solution; for, if it is wrong, it might lead you astray; and if it is right, it would prove the charade is not a good one.

Had I any thing better, I would not send you charades, unless for the name of the author.

I have had a letter from your brother, who tells me that he has his grandson S—— with him, who is a prodigy.—I say to myself,

—Prodigies are grown so frequent,
That they have lost their name——

I have seen prodigies in plenty of late—aye, and formerly too—but, divine as they have all been, each has had a mortal heel, and has trodden back a vast deal of their celestial path! I beg to be excused from any more credulity.

I am sorry you have lost your fac-totum——. I suppose he had discovered that he was too necessary to you. Every day cures one of reliance on others; and we acquire a prodigious stock of experience by the time that we shall cease to have occasion for any. Well! I am not clear, but making or solving charades is as wise as any thing we can do. I should pardon professed philosophers, if they would allow that their wisdom is only trifling, instead of calling their trifling, wisdom. Adieu!

L E T T E R C X X X V I I .

Strawberry-hill, June 17, 1787.

I HAVE very little to tell you since we met but disappointments, and those of no great consequence.

On Friday night lady P—— wrote to me that princess Lubomirski was to dine with her the next day, and desired to come in the morning to see Strawberry.—Well, my castle put on its robes, breakfast was prepared, and I shoved another company out of the house, who had a ticket for seeing it. The sun shone, my hay was cocked, we looked divinely—and at half an hour after two nobody came but a servant from lady P——, to say her

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I i

Polish

Polish altitude had sent her word she had another engagement in town that would keep her too late:—so lady P——'s dinner was added; and we had nothing to do, but, like good christians, if we chose it, to compel every body on the road, whether they chose it or not, to come in and eat our soup and biscuits. Methinks this *liberum veto* was rather impertinent, and I begin to think that the partition of Poland was very right.

Your brother has sent me a card for a ball on Monday, but I have excused myself. I have not yet compassed the whole circuit of my own garden, and I have had an inflammation in one of my eyes, and don't think I look as well as my house and my verdure; and had rather see my hay-cocks, than the duchess of Polignac and madame Lubomirski. *The way to keep him*² had the way to get me, and I could crawl to it, because I had an inclination; but I have a great command of myself when I have no mind to do any thing. Lady Constant was worth an hundred *acs* and *irskis*.

Let me hear of you when you have nothing else to do; though I suppose you have as little to tell as you see I had.

L E T T E R CXXXVIII.

Berkeley-square, Nov. 11, 1787.

FROM violent contrary winds², and by your letter going to Strawberry-hill, whence I was come, I have but just received it, and perhaps shall only be able to answer it by snatches, being up to the chin in nephews and nieces.
* * * *

I find you knew nothing of the pacification when you wrote. When I saw your letter, I hoped it would tell me you was coming back, as your island is as safe as if it was situated in the Pacific Ocean, or at least as islands there used to be, till sir Joseph Banks chose to *put them up*. I sent you the good news on the very day before you wrote, though I imagined you would learn it by earlier intelligence. Well, I enjoy both your safety and your great success, which is enhanced by its being owing to your character and

¹ The first comedy represented at the theatre in Richmond-house.

² Mr. Conway was now in Jersey.

abilities. I hope the latter will be allowed to operate by those who have not quite so much of either.

I shall be wonderful glad to see little master Stonehenge² at Park-place: it will look in character there; but your own bridge is so stupendous in comparison, that hereafter the latter will be thought to have been a work of the Romans. Dr. Stukeley will burst his cerements to offer mistletoe in your temple—and Mason, on the contrary, will die of vexation and spite that he cannot have Caractacus acted on the spot—Peace to all such!—

—— but were there one whose fires
True Genius kindles, and fair Fame inspires,

he would immortalize you, for all you have been carrying on in Jersey, and for all you shall carry off. Inigo Jones, or Charlton, or somebody, I forget who, called Stonehenge chorea gigantum—this will be the chorea of the pigmies—and as I forget too what is Latin for Lilliputians, I will make a bad pun, and say,

—— portantur avari
Pigmalionis opes——

Pygmalion is as well-founding a name for such a monarch as Oberon.— Pray do not disappoint me, but transport the cathedral² of your island to your domain on our continent. I figure unborn antiquaries making pilgrimages to visit your bridge, your daughter's bridge³, and the druidic temple; and if I were not too old to have any imagination left, I would add a sequel to *Mi Li*⁴. Adieu!

² Mr. Walpole thus calls the small druidic temple discovered in Jersey, which the states of that island had presented to their governor general Conway to be transported to and erected at Park-place, with the following inscription: E

Pour des siècles caché aux regards des mortels,
Cet ancien monument, ces pierres, ces autels,
Où le sang des humains offert en sacrifice
Ruiffela pour des dieux qu'enfantait le caprice;
Ce monument sans prix par son antiquité
Temoignera pour nous à la posterité,
Que dans tous les dangers Césarée eût un pere
Attentif et vaillant, genereux et prospere,

Et redira CONWAY, aux siècles à venir,
Qu'en vertu du respect dû à ce souvenir,
Elle te fit ce don acquis à ta vaillance
Comme un juste tribut de sa reconnaissance.

² The druidic temple.

³ The key stones of the centre arch of the bridge at Henley are ornamented with heads of the Thames and Isis, designed by the hon. Mrs. Damer, and executed by her in Portland stone. E.

⁴ One of the Hieroglyphic Tales, containing a description of Park-place.

LETTER CXXXIX.

Strawberry-hill, Wednesday night.

I WRITE a few lines only to confirm the truth of much of what you will read in the papers from Paris. Worsé may already be come, or is expected every hour.

Mr. ——— and lady ——— called on me before dinner, after the post was gone out; and he showed me a letter from D——, who said two couriers arrived yesterday from the duke of Dorset and the duchess of Devonshire, the latter of whom was leaving Paris directly. Necker had been dismissed, and was thought to be set out for Geneva. Breteuil, who was at his country-house, had been sent for to succeed him. Paris was in an uproar; and, after the couriers had left it, firing of cannon was heard for four hours together. That must have been from the Bastile, as probably the tiers état were not so provided. It is shocking to imagine what may have happened in such a thronged city!

One of the couriers was stopped twice or thrice, as supposed to pass from the king; but redeemed himself by pretending to be dispatched by the tiers état. Madame de Calonne told D—— that the newly encamped troops desert by hundreds.

Here seems the egg to be hatched, and imagination runs away with the idea. I may fancy I shall hear of the king and queen leaving Versailles, like Charles I.—and then skips imagination six-and-forty years lower, and figures their fugitive majesties taking refuge in this country.

I have besides another idea. If the Bastile conquers, still is it impossible, considering the general spirit in the country, and the numerous fortified places in France, but some may be seized by the *dissidents*, and whole provinces be torn from the crown?—On the other hand, if the king prevails, what heavy despotism will the états, by their want of temper and moderation, have drawn on their country! They might have obtained many capital points, and removed great oppression.—No French monarch will ever summon états again, if this moment has been thrown away.

Though

Though I have stocked myself with such a set of visions for the event either way, I do not pretend to foresee what will happen. Penetration argues from reasonable probabilities; but chance and folly are apt to contradict calculation, and hitherto they seem to have full scope for action. One hears of no genius on either side, nor do symptoms of any appear. There will perhaps: such times and tempests bring forth, at least bring out, great men. I do not take the duke of Orleans or Mirabeau to be built du bois dont on les fait—no; nor monsieur Necker. He may be a great traitor, if he made the confusion designedly:—but it is a woful evasion, if the promised financier slips into a black politician. I adore liberty, but I would bestow it as honestly as I could; and a civil war, besides being a game of chance, is paying a very dear price for it.

For us, we are in most danger of a deluge; though I wonder we so frequently complain of long rains. The saying about St. Swithin is a proof of how often they recur; for proverbial sentences are the children of experience, not of prophecy. Good-night!—In a few days I shall send you a beautiful little poem¹ from the Strawberry press.

LETTER CXL.

Strawberry-hill, September 5, 1789.

YOU speak so unperemptorily of your motions, that I must direct to you at random: the most probable place where to hit you, I think, will be Goodwood; and I do address this thither, because I am impatient to thank you for your tale, which is very pretty and easy and genteel. It has made me make a reflection, and that reflection made six lines; which I send you, not as good, but as expressing my thoughts on your writing so well in various ways which you never practised when you was much younger.—Here they are:

The muse most wont to fire a youthful heart,
To gild *your* setting sun reserv'd her art;

¹ This was Bonner's Ghost.

To

To crown a life in virtuous labours past,
 Bestow'd her numbers, and her wit at last;
 And when your strength and eloquence retire,
 Your voice in notes harmonious shall expire.

The *swan* was too common a thought to be directly specified—and, perhaps, even to be alluded to—No matter—such a trifle is below criticism.

I am still here, in no uncertainty, God knows, about poor lady Dyfart, of whom there are not the smallest hopes. She grows weaker every day, and does actually still go out for the air, and may languish many days, though most probably will go off in a moment, as the water rises. She retains her senses perfectly, and as perfectly her unalterable calmness and patience, though fully sensible of her situation. At your return from Goodwood, I shall like to come to you, if you are unengaged, and ready to receive me. For the beauties of Park-place, I am too well acquainted with them, not like all old persons about their cotemporaries, to think it preserves them long after they are faded; and I am so *unwalking*, that prospects are more agreeable to me when framed and glazed, and I look at them through a window. It is yourselves I want to visit, not your verdure. Indeed, except a parenthesis of scarce all August, there has been no temptation to walk abroad; and the tempter himself would not have persuaded me, if I could, to have climbed that long-lost mountain whence he could show one even the antipodes. It rained incessantly all June and all July; and now again we have torrents every day.

J——'s brother, the chevalier, is arrived from Paris, and does not diminish the horrors one hears every day. They are now in the capital dreading the fifteen thousand deserters who hover about them. I conclude, that when in the character of banditti the whole disbanded army have plundered and destroyed what they can, they will congregate into separate armies under different leaders, who will hang out different principles, and the kingdom will be a theatre of civil wars; and, instead of liberty, the nation will get petty tyrants—perhaps petty kingdoms:—and when millions have suffered, or been sacrificed, the government will be no better than it was—all owing to the intemperance of the états, who might have obtained a good constitution, or at least one much meliorated, if they had set out with discretion

cretion and moderation. They have left too a sad lesson to despotic princes, who will quote this precedent of frantic états against assembling any more, and against all the examples of senates and parliaments that have preserved rational freedom.

Let me know when it will be convenient to you to receive me. Adieu!

L E T T E R C X L I.

Strawberry-hill, Wednesday night, July 1790.

IT is certainly not from having any thing to tell you, that I reply so soon, but as the most agreeable thing I can do in my confinement. The gout came into my heel the night before last, perhaps from the deluge and damp. I increased it yesterday by limping about the house with a party I had to breakfast. To-day I am lying on the settee, unable to walk alone, or even to put on a slipper. However, as I am much easier this evening, I trust it will go off.

I do not love disputes, and shall not argue with you about Bruce; but if you like him, you shall not choose an author for me. It is the most absurd, obscure, and tiresome book I know. I shall admire if you have a clear conception about most of the persons and matters in his work—but, in fact, I do not believe you have. Pray, can you distinguish between his *cock* and *hen* Heghes, and between all *Yafoufes* and *Ozoros*?—and do you firmly believe that an old man and his son were sent for and put to death, because the king had run into a thorn-bush, and was forced to leave his clothes behind him? Is it your faith, that one of their Abyssinian majesties pleaded not being able to contribute towards sending for a new Abuna, because he had spent all his money at Venice in looking-glasses? And do you really think that Peter Paez was a Jack-of-all-trades, and built palaces and convents without assistance, and furnished them with his own hands? You, who are a little apt to contest most assertions, must have strangely let out your credulity! I could put forty questions to you as wonderful, and, for my part, could as soon credit

I am tired of railing at French barbarity and folly. They are more puerile
now

now serious, than when in the long paroxysm of gay levity. Legislators, a senate, to neglect laws, in order to annihilate coats of arms and liveries! to pull down a king, and set up an emperor! They are hastening to establish the tribunal of the prætorian guards; for the sovereignty, it seems, is not to be hereditary. One view of their fête of the 14th I suppose is to draw money to Paris—and the consequence will be, that the deputies will return to the provinces drunk with independence and self-importance, and will commit fifty times more excesses, massacres, and devastations, than last year. George Selwyn says, that *monsieur*, the king's brother, is the only man of rank from whom they cannot take a title.

How frantically have the French acted, and how rationally the Americans!—But Franklin and Washington were great men. None have appeared yet in France; and Necker has only returned to make a wretched figure! He is become as insignificant as his king; his name is never mentioned, but now and then as disapproving something that is done. Why then does he stay? Does he wait to strike some great stroke, when every thing is demolished? His glory, which consisted in being minister though a protestant, is vanished by the destruction of popery; the honour of which, I suppose, he will scarce assume to himself.

I have vented my budget, and now good night! I feel almost as if I could walk up to bed.

L E T T E R CXLII.

Strawberry-hill, August 9, at night.

MR. N—— has offered to be postman to you; *whereof*, though I have nothing, or as little as nothing, to say, I thought *as how* it would look kinder to send nothing in writing than by word of mouth.

Nothing the first. So the peace is made, and the stocks drank its health in a bumper; but when they waked the next morning, they found they had reckoned without their host, and that their majesties the king of big Britain and the king of little Spain have agreed to make peace some time or other, if they can agree upon it; and so the stocks drew in their horns: but having
great

great trust in some time or other, they only fell two pegs lower. I, who never believed there would be war, keep my prophetic stocks up to par, and my consolation still higher; for when Spanish pride truckles, and English pride has had the honour of bullying, I dare to say we shall be content with the ostensible triumph, as Spain will be with some secret article that will leave her much where she was before.—Vide Falkland's island.

Nothing the second. Miss —'s match with lord —. You asserted it so peremptorily, that, though I doubted it, I quoted you. Lo! it took its rise solely in poor old —'s dotage, that still harps on conjunctions copulative—but now disavows it, as they say, on a remonstrance from her daughter.

Nothing the third. Nothing will come of nothing, says king Lear, and

Your humble servant

HOR. WALPOLE.

L E T T E R CXLIII.

Strawberry-hill, September 27, 1791.

YOUR letter was most welcome, as yours always are, and I answer it immediately, though our post comes in so late that this will not go away till to-morrow.—Nay, I write, though I shall see you on Sunday, and have not a tittle to tell you. I lead so insipid a life, that, though I am content with it, it can furnish me with nothing but repetitions. I scarce ever stir from home in a morning, and most evenings go and play at loto with the French at Richmond, where I am heartily tired of hearing of nothing but their absurd countrymen, absurd both democrates and aristocrates. Calonne sends them gross lies, that raise their hopes to the skies: and in two days they hear of nothing but new horrors and disappointments; and then, poor souls! they are in despair. I can say nothing to comfort them, but what I firmly believe, which is, that total anarchy must come on rapidly.—Nobody pays the taxes that are laid, and which, intended to produce eighty millions a month, do not bring in six, The new

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assembly

assembly will fall on the old, probably plunder the richest, and certainly disapprove of much they have done; for can eight hundred new ignorants approve of what has been done by twelve hundred almost as ignorant, and who were far from half agreeing?—And then their immortal constitution (which, besides, is to be mightily mended nine years hence) will die before it has cut any of its teeth but its grinders. The exiles are enraged at their poor king for saving his own life by a forced acceptance; and yet I know no obligation he has to his noblesse, who all ran away to save their own lives; not a gentleman, but the two poor gendarmes at Versailles, having lost their lives in his defence. I suppose La Fayette, Barnave, the Lameths, &c. will run away too, when the new tinkers and cobblers, of whom the present elect are and will be composed, proceed on the levelling system taught them by their predecessors, who, like other levellers, have taken good care of themselves. Good Dr. Priestley's friend, good monsieur Condorcet, has got a place in the treasury of 1000*l.* a year:—*ex uno disce omnes!*—And thus a set of rascals, who might, with temper and discretion, have obtained a very wholesome constitution, witness Poland! have committed infinite mischief, infinite cruelty, infinite injustice, and left a shocking precedent against liberty, unless the Poles are as much admired and imitated as the French ought to be detested.

I do not believe the emperor will stir—yet. He, or his ministers, must see that it is the interest of Germany to let France destroy itself. His interference yet might unite and consolidate—at least check farther confusion:—and though I rather think that twenty thousand men might march from one end of France to the other, as, though the officers often rallied, French soldiers never were stout; yet having no officers, no discipline, no subordination, little resistance might be expected. Yet the enthusiasm that has been spread might turn into courage. Still it were better for Cæsar to wait. Quarrels amongst themselves will dissipate enthusiasm; and if they have no foreign enemy, they will soon have spirit enough to turn their swords against one another, and what enthusiasm remains will soon be converted into the inveteracy of faction. This is speculation, not prophecy:—I do not pretend to guess what will happen:—I do think I know what will not: I mean, the system of experiments that they call a constitution, cannot last. Marvellous indeed would it be, if a set of military noble lads, pedantic academicians, curates of villages, and country advocates, could in two years, amidst the utmost confusion and altercation
amongst

amongst themselves, dictated to or thwarted by obstinate clubs of various factions, have achieved what the wisdom of all ages and all nations has never been able to compose—a system of government that would set four-and-twenty millions of people free, and contain them within any bounds! This too without one great man amongst them.—If they had had, as Mirabeau seemed to promise to be—but as we know that he was too—a consummate villain, there would soon have been an end of their vision of liberty. And so there will be still, unless, after a civil war, they split into small kingdoms or commonwealths.—A little nation may be free; for it can be upon its guard. Millions cannot be so; because, the greater the number of men that are one people, the more vices, the more abuses there are, that will either require or furnish pretexts for restraints; and if vices are the mother of laws, the execution of laws is the father of power:—and of such parents one knows the progeny.

I did not think of writing such a rhapsody when I began—it shows how idle I am—I hope you will be so when you receive it. Adieu! I have tired my hand.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. The king of the French has written to the king of France and Great Britain, to notify his accession to the throne of Fontainebleau, where he is determined to reign as long as he is permitted, and obey all the laws that have been made to dethrone him.

N. B. The cardinal de Lomenie, whom they call the cardinal de *l'Ignominie* with much reason, is the only gentleman elected for the new chaos, and he has declined.

L E T T E R C X L I V .

Strawberry-hill, August 31, 1792.

YOUR long letter and my short one crossed one another upon the road. I knew I was in your debt: but I had nothing to say but what

K k 2 you

you know better than I; for you read all the French papers, and I read none, as they have long put me out of all patience: and besides, I hear so much of their horrific proceedings, that they quite disturb me, and have given me what I call *the French disease*; that is, a barbarity that I abhor, for I cannot help wishing destruction to thousands of human creatures whom I never saw.—But when men have worked themselves up into tigers and hyænas, and labour to communicate their appetite for blood, what signifies whether they walk on two legs or four, or whether they dwell in cities, or in forests and dens?—Nay, the latter are the more harmless wild beasts; for they only cranch a poor traveller now and then, and when they are famished with hunger:—the others, though they have dined, cut the throats of some hundreds of poor Swifs for an afternoon's luncheon. Oh! the execrable nation!

I cannot tell you any new particulars, for mesdames de Cambis and d'Hennin, my chief informers, are gone to Goodwood to the poor duchesse de Biron, of whose recovery I am impatient to hear—and so I am of the cause of her very precipitate flight and panic. She must, I think, have had strong motives; for two years ago I feared she was much too courageous, and displayed her intrepidity too publicly. If I did not always condemn the calling *bad people mad people*, I should say all Paris is gone distracted: they furnish provocation to every species of retaliation, by publishing rewards for assassination of kings and generals, and cannot rest without incensing all Europe against them.

The duchess of York gave a great entertainment at Oatlands on her duke's birth-day, sent to his tradesmen in town to come to it, and allowed two guineas apiece to each for their carriage—gave them a dance, and opened the ball herself with the prince of Wales. A company of strollers came to Weybridge to act in a barn: she was solicited to go to it, and did out of charity, and carried all her servants. Next day a methodist teacher came to preach a charity sermon in the same theatre, and she consented to hear it on the same motive—but her servants desired to be excused, on not understanding English.—“Oh!” said the duchess, “but you went to the comedy, which you understood less, and you shall go to the sermon;” to which she gave handsomely, and for them. I like this.

Tack

Tack this to my other fragment, and then, I trust, I shall not be a defaulter in correspondence. I own I am become an indolent poor creature:—but is that strange? With seventy-five years over my head, or on the point of being so; with a chalk-stone in every finger; with feet so limping, that I have been but twice this whole summer round my own small garden, and so much weaker than I was, can I be very comfortable, but when sitting quiet and doing nothing? All my strength consists in my sleep, which is as vigorous as at twenty:—but with regard to letter-writing, I have so many to write on business which I do not understand, since the unfortunate death of my nephew, that, though I make them as brief as possible, half-a-dozen short ones tire me as much as a long one to an old friend; and as the busy ones must be executed, I trespass on the others, and remit them to another day. Norfolk has come very mal-à-propos into the end of my life, and certainly never entered into my views and plans; and I, who could never learn the multiplication table, was not intended to transact leases, direct repairs of farm-houses, settle fines for church lands, negotiate for lowering interest on mortgages, &c. In short, as I was told formerly, though I know several things, I never understood any thing useful. A-propos, the letter of which lady C—— told you is not at all worth your seeing. It was an angry one to a parson who oppresses my tenants, and will go to law with them about tythes. She came in as I was writing it; and as I took up the character of parson myself, and preached to him as pastor of a flock, which it did not become him to lead into the paths of law, instead of those of peace, I thought it would divert, and showed it to her.

Adieu! I have been writing to you till midnight, and my poor fingers ache.

Yours ever,

ORFORD.

LETTER CXLV.

Strawberry-hill, June 13, 1793.

I THANK you much for all your information—some parts made me smile:—yet, if what you heard of —— proves true, I rather think it deplorable!

deplorable! How can love of money, or the still vainer of all vanities, ambition of wearing a high but most insignificant office, which even poor lord —— could execute, tempt a very old man, who loves his ease and his own way, to stoop to wait like a footman behind a chair, for hours, and in a court whence he had been cast ignominiously? I believe I have more pride than most men alive: I could be flattered by honours acquired by merit, or by some singular action of eclat—but for titles, ribbands, offices of no business, which any body can fill, and must be given to many, I should just as soon be proud of being the top 'quire in a country village. It is only worse to have waded to distinction through dirt, like lord ——.

All this shifting of scenes may, as you say, be food to the Fronde.—Sed defendit numerus. It is perfectly ridiculous to use any distinction of parties but the *ins* and the *outs*. Many years ago I thought that the wisest appellations for contending factions ever assumed, were those in the Roman empire, who called themselves *the greens and the blues*: it was so easy, when they changed sides, to slide from one colour to the other—and then a blue might plead that he had never been *true blue*, but always a *greenish blue*; and vice versa.

I allow that the steadiest party man may be staggered by novel and unforeseen circumstances. The outrageous proceedings of the French republicans have wounded the cause of liberty, and will, I fear, have shaken it for centuries; for Condorcet and such fiends are worse than the imperial and royal dividers of Poland.—But I do not see why detestation of anarchy and assassination must immediately make one fall in love with garters and seals.

I am sitting by the fire, as I have done ever since I came hither; and since I do not expect warm weather in June, I am wishing for rain, or I shall not have a mouthful of hay, nor a noseful of roses.—Indeed, as I have seen several fields of hay cut, I wonder it has not brought rain, as usual. My creed is, that rain is good for hay, as I conclude every climate and its productions are suited to each other. Providence did not trouble itself about its being more expensive to us to make our hay over and over; it only took care it should not want water enough. Adieu!

LETTER

LETTER CXLVI.

Strawberry-hill, Wednesday night, late, July 17, 1793.

I AM just come from dining with the bishop of London at Fulham, where I found lord and lady F. C. who told me of the alarm you had from hearing some screams that you thought lady A.'s, and the disorder brought upon you by flying to assist her. I do not at all wonder at your panic, and rejoice it was not founded, and that you recovered so soon. I am not going to preach against your acting so naturally:—but as you have some complaint on your breast, I must hope you will remember this accident, and be upon your guard against both sudden and rapid exertions, when you have not a tantamount call. I conclude the excessive heat we have had for twelve complete days contributed to overpower you.

It is much cooler to-day, yet still delicious; for be it known to you that I have enjoyed weather worthy of Africa, and yet without swallowing mouthfuls of musketos, nor expecting to hear hyænas howl in the village, nor to find scorpions in my bed. Indeed, all the way I came home, I could but gaze at the felicity of my countrymen. The road was one string of stage-coaches loaded within and without with noisy jolly folks, and chaises and gigs that had been pleasuring in clouds of dust; every door and every window of every house was open, lights in every shop, every door with women sitting in the street, every inn crowded with jaded horses, and every ale-house full of drunken toppers; for you know the English always announce their sense of heat or cold by drinking.—Well! it was impossible not to enjoy such a scene of happiness and affluence in every village, and amongst the lowest of the people—and who are told by villainous scribblers that they are oppressed and miserable.—New streets, new towns are rising every day and every where; the earth is covered with gardens and crops of grain.

How bitter to turn from this Elysium to the Temple at Paris! The fiends there have now torn her son from the queen! Can one believe that they are human beings, who 'midst all their confusions sit coolly meditating new

tortures, new anguish for that poor, helpless, miserable woman, after four years of unexampled sufferings? Oh! if such crimes are not made a dreadful lesson, this world might become a theatre of cannibals!

I hope the checks in Bretagne are legends coined by miscreants at Paris. What can one believe? Well, I will go to bed, and try to dream of peace and plenty; and though my lawn is burnt, and my peas and beans, and roses and strawberries parched, I will bear it with patience till the harvest is got in. Saint Swithin can never hold his water for forty days, though he can do the contrary. Good-night!

Yours ever,

O.

L E T T E R CXLVII.

Berkeley-square, January 10, 1794.

I CERTAINLY sympathize with you on the reversed and gloomy prospect of affairs, too extensive to detail in a letter; nor indeed do I know any thing more than I collect from newspapers and public reports; and those are so overcharged with falsehoods on all sides, that, if one waits for truth to emerge, one finds new subjects to draw one's attention before firm belief can settle its trust on any. That the mass and result are bad, is certain; and though I have great alacrity in searching for comforts and grounds of new hopes, I am puzzled as much in seeking resources, as in giving present credit. Reasoning is out of the question: all calculation is baffled: nothing happens that sense or experience said was probable. I wait to see what will happen, without a guess at what is to be expected. A storm, when the parliament meets, will no doubt be attempted. How the ministers are prepared to combat it, I don't know—but I hope sufficiently—if it spreads no farther:—at least I think they have no cause to fear the new leader who is to make the attack. * * * *

I have neither seen Mr. Wilson's book nor his answerers. So far from reading political pamphlets, I hunt for any books, except modern novels, that will not bring France to my mind, or that at least will put it out for a time.

time. But every fresh person one sees, revives the conversation: and excepting a long succession of fogs, nobody talks of any thing else; nor of private news do I know a tittle. Adieu!

Yours ever,

O.

LETTER CXLVIII.

Strawb. July 2, 1795.

I *WILL* write a word to you, though scarce time to write one, to thank you for your great kindness about the foldier, who shall get a substitute if he can.

As you are, or have been in town, your daughter will have told you in what a bustle I am, preparing—not to resist, but to receive an invasion of royalties to-morrow—and cannot even escape them like admiral Cornwallis, though seeming to make a semblance; for I am to wear a sword, and have appointed two aides de camp, my nephews, George and Horace C——. If I *fall*, as ten to one but I do, to be sure it will be a superb tumble, at the feet of a queen and eight daughters of kings; for, besides the six princesses, I am to have the duchess of York and the princess of Orange! Woe is me, at 78, and with scarce a hand and foot to my back! Adieu!

Yours, &c.

A POOR OLD REMNANT.

LETTER CXLIX.

Strawberry-hill, July 7, 1795.

I AM not dead of fatigue with my royal visitors, as I expected to be, though I was on my poor lame feet three whole hours. Your daughter, who kindly assisted me in doing the honours, will tell you the particulars, and how prosperously I succeeded. The queen was uncommonly condescending and gracious, and deigned to drink my health when I presented her with the last glass, and to thank me for all my attentions.—Indeed my

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memory de vieille cour was but once in default. As I had been assured that her majesty would be attended by her chamberlain, yet was not, I had no glove ready when I received her at the step of her coach: yet she honoured me with her hand to lead her up stairs; nor did I recollect my omission when I led her down again. Still, though gloveless, I did not squeeze the royal hand, as vice-chamberlain Smith did to queen Mary².

You will have stared, as I did, at the elector of Hanover deserting his ally the king of Great Britain, and making peace with the monsters. But Mr. F——, whom I saw at my sister's on Sunday, laughs at the article in the newspapers, and says it is not an unknown practice for stock-jobbers to hire an emissary at the rate of five hundred pounds, and dispatch to Franckfort, whence he brings forged attestations of some marvellous political event, and spreads it on 'Change; which produces such a fluctuation in the stocks, as amply overpays the expence of his mission.

This was all I learnt in the single night I was in town. I have not redde the new French constitution, which seems longer than probably its reign will be. The five sovereigns will, I suppose, be the first guillotined. Adieu!

Yours ever,

O.

² It is said that queen Mary asked some of her attendant ladies, what a squeeze of the hand was supposed to intimate?—They said, "Love." —"Then," said the queen, "my vice-chamberlain must be violently in love with me, for he always squeezes my hand."

[Marshal Conway died three days after the date of this letter.]