

liked in those places, as too severe, if not smoothed and introduced by the *graces*; but of these graces, of this necessary *beau vernis*, it seems, there are still *quelques couches qui manquent*. Now, pray let me ask you, coolly and seriously, *pourquoi ces couches manquent-elles?* For you may as easily take them, as you may wear more or less powder in your hair, more or less lace upon your coat. I can, therefore, account for your wanting them no other way in the world, than from your not being yet convinced of their full value. You have heard some English bucks say, “Damn these finical outlandish airs, “give me a manly, resolute manner. They make “a rout with their graces, and talk like a parcel of “dancing-masters, and dress like a parcel of fops; “one good Englishman will beat three of them.” But let your own observation undeceive you of these prejudices. I will give you one instance only, instead of an hundred that I could give you, of a very shining fortune and figure, raised upon no other foundation whatsoever, than that of address, manners, and graces. Between you and me (for this example must go no farther) what do you think made our friend, Lord A****e, Colonel of a regiment of guards, Governor of Virginia, Groom of the Stole, and Ambassador to Paris; amounting in all to sixteen or seventeen thousand pounds a year? Was it his birth? No, a Dutch Gentleman only. Was it his estate? No, he had none. Was it his learning, his parts, his political abilities and application? You can answer these questions as easily, and

and as soon, as I can ask them. What was it then? Many people wondered, but I do not; for I know, and will tell you. It was his air, his address, his manners, and his graces. He pleased, and by pleasing became a favourite; and by becoming a favourite became all that he has been since. Show me any one instance, where intrinsic worth and merit, unassisted by exterior accomplishments, have raised any man so high. You know the Duc de Richelieu, now *Maréchal, Cordon bleu, Gentilhomme de la Chambre*, twice Embassador, &c. By what means? Not by the purity of his character, the depth of his knowledge, or any uncommon penetration and sagacity. Women alone formed and raised him. The Dutchess of Burgundy took a fancy to him, and had him before he was sixteen years old; this put him in fashion among the *beau monde*: and the late Regent's eldest daughter, now Madame de Modene, took him next, and was near marrying him. These early connexions with women of the first distinction gave him those manners, graces, and address, which you see he has; and which, I can assure you, are all that he has; for strip him of them, and he will be one of the poorest men in Europe. Man or woman cannot resist an engaging exterior; it will please, it will make its way. You want, it seems, but *quelques couches*; for God's sake, lose no time in getting them; and now you have gone so far, complete the work. Think of nothing else till that work is finished: unwearied application will bring about any thing; and surely

your

your application can never be so well employed as upon that object, which is absolutely necessary to facilitate all others. With your knowledge and parts, if adorned by manners and graces, what may you not hope one day to be? But without them, you will be in the situation of a man who would be very fleet of one leg, but very lame of the other. He could not run, the lame leg would check and clog the well one, which would be very near useless.

From my original plan for your education, I meant to make you *un homme universel*; what depended upon me is executed, the little that remains undone depends singly upon you. Do not then disappoint, when you can so easily gratify me. It is your own interest which I am pressing you to pursue, and it is the only return that I desire for all the care and affection of, Yours.

L E T T E R CCLXXX.

London, May the 31st, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE world is the book, and the only one to which, at present, I would have you apply yourself; and the thorough knowledge of it will be of more use to you,

you, than all the books that ever were read. Lay aside the best book whenever you can go into the best company; and, depend upon it, you change for the better. However, as the most tumultuous life, whether of business or pleasure, leaves some vacant moments every day, in which a book is the refuge of a rational being, I mean now to point out to you the method of employing those moments (which will and ought to be but few) in the most advantageous manner. Throw away none of your time upon those trivial futile books, published by idle or necessitous authors, for the amusement of idle and ignorant readers: such sort of books swarm and buzz about one every day; flap them away; they have no sting. *Certum pete finem*; have some one object for those leisure moments, and pursue that object invariably till you have attained it; and then take some other. For instance, considering your destination, I would advise you to single out the most remarkable and interesting æras of modern history, and confine all your reading to that æra. If you pitch upon the Treaty of Munster (and that is the proper period to begin with, in the course which I am now recommending) do not interrupt it by dipping and deviating into other books, unrelative to it: but consult only the most authentic histories, letters, memoirs, and negotiations, relative to that great transaction; reading and comparing them, with all that caution and distrust, which Lord Bolingbroke recommends to you, in a better manner, and in better words, than I can. The next period, worth

worth your particular knowledge, is the treaty of the Pyrenées; which was calculated to lay, and in effect did lay, the foundation of the succession of the House of Bourbon to the Crown of Spain. Pursue that in the same manner, singling, out of the millions of volumes written upon that occasion, the two or three most authentic ones, and particularly letters, which are the best authorities in matters of negotiation. Next come the Treaties of Nimeguen and Ryswick, postscripts in a manner to those of Munster and the Pyrenées. Those two transactions have had great light thrown upon them by the publication of many authentic and original letters and pieces. The concessions made at the Treaty of Ryswick, by the then triumphant Lewis the XIVth, astonished all those who viewed things only superficially; but, I should think, must have been easily accounted for by those who knew the state of the kingdom of Spain, as well as of the health of its King, Charles the II^d, at that time. The interval between the conclusion of the peace of Ryswick, and the breaking-out of the great war in 1702, though a short, is a most interesting one. Every week of it almost produced some great event. Two Partition Treaties, the death of the King of Spain, his unexpected Will, and the acceptance of it by Lewis the XIVth, in violation of the second treaty of Partition, just signed and ratified by him: Philip the Vth quietly and chearfully received in Spain, and acknowledged as King of it, by most of those Powers, who afterwards joined in an alliance to de-
throne

throne him. I cannot help making this observation upon that occasion ; That character has often more to do in great transactions, than prudence and sound policy : for Lewis the XIVth gratified his personal pride, by giving a Bourbon King to Spain, at the expence of the true interest of France ; which would have acquired much more solid and permanent strength by the addition of Naples, Sicily, and Lorraine, upon the foot of the second Partition Treaty ; and I think it was fortunate for Europe that he preferred the Will. It is true, he might hope to influence his grandson ; but he could never expect that his Bourbon posterity in France should influence his Bourbon posterity in Spain ; he knew too well how weak the ties of blood are among men, and how much weaker still they are among Princes. The Memoirs of Count Harrach, and of Las Torres, give a good deal of light into the transactions of the Court of Spain, previous to the death of that weak King ; and the letters of the Maréchal d'Harcourt, then the French Ambassador in Spain, of which I have authentic copies in manuscript, from the year 1698 to 1701, have cleared up that whole affair to me. I keep that book for you. It appears by those letters, that the imprudent conduct of the House of Austria, with regard to the King and Queen of Spain, and Madame Berlips, her favourite, together with the knowledge of the Partition Treaty, which incensed all Spain, were the true and only reasons of the Will in favour of the Duke of Anjou. Cardinal Portocarrero, nor any of the Grantees, were

were bribed by France, as was generally reported and believed at that time; which confirms Voltaire's anecdote upon that subject. Then opens a new scene and a new century: Lewis the XIVth's good fortune forsakes him, till the Duke of Marlborough and Prince Eugene make him amends for all the mischief they had done him, by making the Allies refuse the terms of peace offered by him at Gertruydenberg. How the disadvantageous peace of Utrecht was afterwards brought on, you have lately read; and you cannot inform yourself too minutely of all those circumstances, that treaty being the freshest source, from whence the late transactions of Europe have flowed. The alterations which have since happened, whether by wars or treaties, are so recent, that all the written accounts are to be helped out, proved, or contradicted, by the oral ones of almost every informed person, of a certain age or rank in life. For the facts, dates, and original pieces of this century, you will find them in Lamberti, till the year 1715; and after that time in Roussel's *Recueil*.

I do not mean that you should plod hours together in researches of this kind; no, you may employ your time more usefully: but I mean, that you should make the most of the moments you do employ, by method, and the pursuit of one single object at a time; nor should I call it a digression from that object, if, when you meet with clashing and jarring pretensions of different Princes to the same

thing, you had immediately recourse to other books; in which those several pretensions were clearly stated; on the contrary, that is the only way of remembering those contested rights and claims: for, were a man to read *toute de suite*, Schwederus's *Theatrum Pretensionum*, he would only be confounded by the variety, and remember none of them; whereas, by examining them occasionally, as they happen to occur, either in the course of your historical reading, or as they are agitated in your own times, you will retain them, by connecting them with those historical facts which occasioned your enquiry. For example, had you read, in the course of two or three folios of Pretensions, those, among others, of the two kings of England and Prussia to Ost Frise, it is impossible that you should have remembered them; but now, that they are become the debated object at the Dyet at Ratisbon, and the topic of all political conversations, if you consult both books and persons concerning them, and inform yourself thoroughly, you will never forget them as long as you live. You will hear a great deal of them on one side, at Hanover; and as much on the other side, afterwards, at Berlin: hear both sides, and form your own opinion; but dispute with neither.

Letters from foreign Ministers to their Courts, and from their Courts to them, are, if genuine, the best and most authentic records you can read, as far as they go. Cardinal d'Osset's, President Jeanin's, D'Estrade's, Sir William Temple's, will not only inform

form your mind, but form your style; which, in letters of business, should be very plain and simple, but, at the same time, exceedingly clear, correct, and pure.

All that I have said may be reduced to these two or three plain principles; 1st, That you should now read very little, but converse a great deal: 2^{dly}, To read no useless, unprofitable books; and, 3^{dly}, That those which you do read may all tend to a certain object, and be relative to, and consequential of, each other. In this method, half an hour's reading every day will carry you a great way. People seldom know how to employ their time to the best advantage, till they have too little left to employ; but if, at your age, in the beginning of life, people would but consider the value of it, and put every moment to interest, it is incredible what an additional fund of knowledge and pleasure such an œconomy would bring in. I look back with regret upon that large sum of time, which, in my youth, I lavished away idly, without either improvement or pleasure. Take warning betimes, and enjoy every moment; pleasures do not commonly last so long as life, and therefore should not be neglected; and the longest life is too short for knowledge, consequently every moment is precious.

I am surprised at having received no letter from you since you left Paris. I still direct this to Strasbourg, as I did my two last. I shall direct my next to the post-house at Maënce, unless I receive, in the mean

mean time, contrary instructions from you. Adieu! Remember *les attentions*: they must be your passports into good company.

L E T T E R CCLXXXI.

London, June, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VERY few celebrated negotiators have been eminent for their learning. The most famous French negotiators (and I know no nation that can boast of abler) have been military men, as Monsieur d'Harcourt, Comte d'Estrades, Maréchal d'Uxelles, and others. The late Duke of Marlborough, who was at least as able a negotiator as a general, was exceedingly ignorant of books, but extremely knowing in men; whereas the learned Grotius appeared, both in Sweden and in France, to be a very bungling minister. This is, in my opinion, very easily to be accounted for. A man of very deep learning must have employed the greatest part of his time in books; and a skilful negotiator must necessarily have employed much the greatest part of his time with men. The sound scholar, when dragged out of his dusty closet into business, acts by book, and deals with men as he has read of them; not as he has known them

them by experience : he follows Spartan and Roman precedents, in what he falsely imagines to be similar cases ; whereas two cases never were, since the beginning of the world, exactly alike : and he would be capable, where he thought spirit and vigour necessary, to draw a circle round the persons he treated with, and to insist upon a categorical answer before they went out of it, because he had read, in the Roman history, that once upon a time some Roman ambassador did so. No ; a certain degree of learning may help, but no degree of learning will ever make a skilful minister : whereas a great knowledge of the world, of the characters, passions, and habits of mankind, has, without one grain of learning, made a thousand. Military men have seldom much knowledge of books ; their education does not allow it ; but what makes great amends for that want is, that they generally know a great deal of the world ; they are thrown into it young ; they see variety of nations and characters ; and they soon find, that to rise, which is the aim of them all, they must first please : these concurrent causes almost always give them manners and politeness. In consequence of which, you see them always distinguished at Courts, and favoured by the women. I could wish that you had been of an age to have made a campaign or two as a volunteer. It would have given you an attention, a versatility, and an alertness ; all which I doubt you want, and a great want it is.

A foreign minister has not great business to transact every day ; so that his knowledge and his skill in negotiating are not frequently put to the trial : but he has that to do every day, and every hour of the day, which is necessary to prepare and smooth the way for his business; that is, to insinuate himself by his manners, not only into the houses, but into the confidence of the most considerable people of that place ; to contribute to their pleasures, and insensibly not to be looked upon as a stranger himself. A skilful minister may very possibly be doing his master's business full as well, in doing the honours gracefully and genteelly of a ball or a supper, as if he were laboriously writing a protocol in his closet. The Maréchal de Harcourt, by his magnificence, his manners, and his politeness, blunted the edge of the long aversion which the Spaniards had to the French. The Court and the Grandees were personally fond of him, and frequented his house ; and were at last insensibly brought to prefer a French to a German yoke ; which, I am convinced, would never have happened had Comte d'Harrach been Maréchal d'Harcourt, or the Maréchal d'Harcourt Comte d'Harrach. The Comte d'Estades had, by *ses manieres polies et liantes*, formed such connections, and gained such an interest in the republic of the United Provinces, that Monsieur de Witt, the then Pensionary of Holland, often applies to him to use his interest with his friends, both in Holland and the other provinces, whenever he (De Witt) had a difficult

ficult point which he wanted to carry. This was certainly not brought about by his knowledge of books, but of men : dancing, fencing, and riding, with a little military architecture, were no doubt the top of his education ; and, if he knew that *collegium*, in Latin, signified *college* in French, it must have been by accident. But he knew what was more useful : from thirteen years old he had been in the great world, and had read men and women so long, that he could then read them at sight.

Talking, the other day, upon this and other subjects, all relative to you, with one who knows and loves you very well, and expressing my anxiety and wishes that your exterior accomplishments, as a man of fashion, might adorn, and at least equal your intrinsic merit as a man of sense and honour; the person interrupted me, and said, Set your heart at rest; that never will nor can happen. It is not in character; that gentleness, that *douceur*, those attentions, which you wish him to have, are not in his nature; and do what you will, nay, let him do what he will he never can acquire them. Nature may be a little disguised and altered by care; but can by no means whatsoever be totally forced and changed. I denied this principle to a certain degree; but admitting, however, that in many respects our nature was not to be changed; and asserting, at the same time, that in others it might by care be very much altered and improved, so as in truth to be changed; that I took those exterior accomplishments, which we had been talking of, to be mere modes, and absolutely de-

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pending upon the will, and upon custom; and that, therefore, I was convinced that your good sense, which must shew you the importance of them, would make you resolve at all events to acquire them, even in spite of nature, if nature be in the case; our dispute, which lasted a great while, ended, as Voltaire observes that disputes in England are apt to do, in a wager of fifty guineas; which I myself am to decide upon honour, and of which this is a faithful copy. If you think I shall win it, you may go my halves if you please; declare yourself in time. This I declare, that I would most chearfully give a thousand guineas to win those fifty: you may secure them me if you please.

I grow very impatient for your future letters from the several Courts of Manheim, Bonn, Hanover, &c. &c. And I desire that your letters may be to me, what I do not desire they should be to any body else; I mean, full of yourself. Let the egotism, a figure which upon all other occasions I detest, be your only one to me. Trifles that concern you are not trifles to me; and my knowledge of them may possibly be useful to you. Adieu.—*Les graces, les graces, les graces.*

LETTER

LETTER CCLXXXII.

London, June the 23d, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I DIRECT this letter to Maïence, where I think it is likely to meet you, supposing, as I do, that you staid three weeks at Manheim after the date of your last from thence; but should you have staid longer at Manheim, to which I have no objection, it will wait for you at Maïence. Maïence will not, I believe, have charms to detain you above a week; so that I reckon you will be at Bonn at the end of July, N. S. There you may stay just as little or as long as you please, and then proceed to Hanover.

I had a letter by the last post from a relation of mine at Hanover, Mr. Stanhope Aspinwall, who is in the Duke of Newcastle's office, and has lately been appointed the King's Minister to the Dey of Algiers; a post which, notwithstanding your views of foreign affairs, I believe you do not envy him. He tells me in that letter, there are very good lodgings to be had at one Mrs. Meyers', the next door to the Duke of Newcastle's, which he offers to take for you: I have desired him to do it, in case Mrs. Meyers will wait for you till the latter end of August, or the beginning of September, N. S. which, I suppose, is about the time when you will be at Hanover.

Hanover. You will find this Mr. Aspinwall of great use to you there. He will exert himself to the utmost to serve you; he has been twice or thrice at Hanover, and knows all the *allûres* there: he is very well with the Duke of Newcastle, and will puff you there. Moreover, if you have a mind to work as a volunteer in that *bureau*, he will assist and inform you. In short, he is a very honest, sensible, and informed man; *mais ne paie pas beaucoup de sa figure; il abuse même du privilège qu'ont les hommes d'être laids; et il ne sera pas en reste, avec les Lions et les Leopards qu'il trouvera à Alger.*

As you are entirely master of the time when you will leave Bonn, and go to Hanover, so are you master to stay at Hanover as long as you please, and to go from thence where you please; provided that at Christmas you are at Berlin, for the beginning of the Carnival: this I would not have you say at Hanover, considering the mutual disposition of those two courts: but when any body asks you where you are to go next, say, that you propose rambling in Germany, at Brunswick, Cassel, &c. till the next spring; when you intend to be in Flanders, in your way to England. I take Berlin, at this time, to be the politest, the most shining, and the most useful Court in Europe, for a young fellow to be at: and therefore I would upon no account not have you there, for at least a couple of months of the Carnival. If you are as well received, and pass your time as well, at Bonn, as I believe you will, I would advise you to remain there till about the 20th of August,

guft, N. S.; in four days more you will be at Hanover. As for your ftay there, it muft be shorter or longer, according to certain circumftances *which you know of*; fuppoſing them at the beſt, then ftay till within a week or ten days of the King's return to England; but fuppoſing them at the worſt, your ftay muft not be too ſhort, for reaſons which you alſo know: no reſentment muſt either appear or be ſuſpected; therefore, at worſt, I think you muſt remain there a month, and at beſt, as long as ever you pleaſe. But I am convinced that all will turn out very well for you there. Every body is engaged or inclined to help you; the Miniſters, both Engliſh and German, the principal Ladies, and moſt of the foreign Miniſters; ſo that I may apply to you *nullum numen abeſt, ſi ſit prudentia*. Du Perron will, I believe, be back there, from Turin, much about the time you get thither: pray be very attentive to him, and connect yourſelf with him as much as ever you can; for, beſides that he is a very pretty and well-informed man, he is very much in faſhion at Hanover, is perſonally very well with the King, and certain Ladies; ſo that a viſible intimacy and connection with him will do you credit and ſervice. Pray cultivate Monſieur Hop the Dutch Miniſter, who has always been very much my friend, and will, I am ſure, be yours: his manners, it is true, are not very engaging; he is rough, but he is ſincere. It is very uſeful ſometimes to ſee the things which one ought to avoid, as it is right to ſee very often thoſe which one ought to imitate; and my friend Hop's

manners

manners will frequently point out to you what yours ought to be by the rule of contraries.

Congreve points out a sort of critics, to whom he says that we are doubly obliged.

Rules for good writing they with pains indite,
Then shew us what is bad, by what they write.

It is certain that Monsieur Hop, with the best heart in the world, and a thousand good qualities, has a thousand enemies, and hardly a friend; singly from the roughness of his manners.

N. B. I heartily wish you could have staid long enough at Manheim, to have been seriously and desperately in love with Madame de Taxis; who I suppose is a proud insolent fine Lady, and who would consequently have expected attentions little short of adoration: nothing would do you more good than such a passion; and I live in hopes that somebody or other will be able to excite such a one in you: your hour may not yet be come, but it will come. Love has not been unaptly compared to the small-pox, which most people have sooner or later. Iphigenia had a wonderful effect upon Cimon; I wish some Hanoverian Iphigenia may try her skill upon you.

I recommend to you again, though I have already done it twice or thrice, to speak German, even affectedly, while you are at Hanover; which will show that you prefer that language, and be of more use to you there with *somebody*, than you can imagine. When you carry my letters to Monsieur Münchausen,
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and Monsieur Schwiegeldt, address yourself to them German; the latter speaks French very well, but the former extremely ill. Show great attention to Madame Münchausen's daughter, who is a great favourite: these little trifles please mothers, and sometimes fathers, extremely. Observe, and you will find, almost universally, that the least things either please or displease most; because they necessarily imply, either a very strong desire of obliging, or an unpardonable indifference about it. I will give you a ridiculous instance enough of this truth, from my own experience. When I was Embassador the first time in Holland, Comte de Waffenaer and his wife, people of the first rank and consideration, had a little boy of about three years old, of whom they were exceedingly fond; in order to make my court to them, I was so too, and used to take the child often upon my lap, and play with him. One day his nose was very snotty, upon which I took out my handkerchief and wiped it for him; this raised a loud laugh, and they called me a very handy nurse; but the father and mother were so pleased with it, that to this day it is an anecdote in the family; and I never receive a Letter from Comte Waffenaer, but he makes me the compliments *du morveux que j'ai mouché autrefois*: who, by the way, I am assured, is now the prettiest young fellow in Holland. Where one would gain people, remember that nothing is little. Adieu!

LETTER

L E T T E R CCLXXXIII.

London, June the 26th, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS I have reason to fear, from your last letter of the 18th, N. S. from Manheim, that all, or at least most of my letters to you, since you left Paris, have miscarried; I think it requisite at all events, to repeat in this the necessary parts of those several letters, as far as they relate to your future motions.

I suppose that this will either find you, or be but a few days before you, at Bonn, where it is directed; and I suppose too, that you have fixed your time for going from thence to Hanover. If things *turn out well at Hanover*, as in my opinion they will, *Cbi sta bene non si muova*, stay there till a week or ten days before the King sets out for England; but, should *they turn out ill*, which I cannot imagine, stay however a month, that your departure may not seem a step of discontent or peevishness; the very suspicion of which is by all means to be avoided. Whenever you leave Hanover, be it sooner or later, where would you go? *Ella è Padrone*, and I give you your choice: Would you pass the months of November and December at Brunswick, Cassel, &c.? Would you chuse to go for a couple of months to Ratisbon, where you will be very well recommended to, and treated by the King's Electoral Minister, the Baron de Bähr,

and

and where you would improve your *jus publicum*? Or would you rather go directly to Berlin, and stay there till the end of the Carnival? Two or three months at Berlin are, considering all circumstances, necessary for you; and the Carnival months are the best: *pour le reste, décidez en dernier ressort, et sans appel comme d'abus.* Let me only know your decree, when you have formed it. Your good or ill success at Hanover will have a very great influence upon your subsequent character, figure, and fortune in the world; therefore I confess, that I am more anxious about it, than ever bride was on her wedding-night, when wishes, hopes, fears, and doubts, tumultuously agitate, please, and terrify her. It is your first crisis: the character which you acquire there will, more or less, be that which will abide by you for the rest of your life. You will be tried and judged there, not as a boy, but as a man: and from that moment there is no appeal for character; it is fixed. To form that character advantageously, you have three objects particularly to attend to: your character as a man of morality, truth, and honour: your knowledge in the objects of your destination, as a man of business; and your engaging and insinuating address, air, and manners, as a courtier; the sure and only steps to favour. Merit at Courts, without favour, will do little or nothing; favour, without merit, will do a good deal; but favour and merit together will do every thing. Favour at Courts depends upon so many, such trifling, such unexpected, and unforeseen events, that a good Courier must attend to every

every circumstance, however little, that either does or can happen; he must have no absences, no *distractions*; he must not say, "I did not mind it; who would have thought it?" He ought both to have minded, and to have thought it. A chamber-maid has sometimes caused revolutions in Courts, which have produced others in Kingdoms. Were I to make my way to favour in a Court, I would neither wilfully, nor by negligence, give a dog or a cat there reason to dislike me. Two *pies grièches*, well instructed, you know, made the fortune of de Luines with Lewis XIII. Every step a man makes at Court requires as much attention and circumspection, as those which were made formerly between hot plough-shares, in the Ordeal, or fiery trials; which, in those times of ignorance and superstition, were looked upon as demonstrations of innocence or guilt. Direct your principal battery, at Hanover, at the D— of N—'s: there are many very weak places in that citadel; where, with a very little skill, you cannot fail making a great impression. Ask for his orders, in every thing you do; talk Austrian and Antigallican to him; and, as soon as you are upon a foot of talking easily to him, tell him *en badinant*, that his skill and success in thirty or forty elections in England leave you no reason to doubt of his carrying his Election for Frankfort: and that you look upon the Archduke as his Member for the Empire. In his hours of festivity and computation, drop, that he puts you in mind of what Sir William Temple says of the Pensionary De Witt, who at that time governed half Europe; that he

he appeared at balls, assemblies, and public places, as if he had nothing else to do, or to think of. When he talks to you upon foreign affairs, which he will often do, say, that you really cannot presume to give any opinion of your own upon those matters, looking upon yourself, at present, only as a postscript to the *corps diplomatique*; but that, if his Grace will be pleased to make you an additional volume to it, though but in *duodecimo*, you will do your best, that he shall neither be ashamed nor repent of it. He loves to have a favourite, and to open himself to that favourite: he has now no such person with him; the place is vacant, and if you have dexterity you may fill it. In one thing alone do not humour him; I mean drinking; for, as I believe you have never yet been drunk, you do not yourself know how you can bear your wine, and what a little too much of it may make you do or say: you might possibly kick down all you had done before.

You do not love gaming, and I thank God for it; but at Hanover I would have you show, and profess, a particular dislike to play, so as to decline it upon all occasions, unless where one may be wanted to make a fourth at whist or quadrille; and then take care to declare it the result of your complaisance, not of your inclinations. Without such precaution, you may very possibly be suspected, though unjustly, of loving play, upon account of my former passion for it; and such a suspicion would do you a great deal of hurt, especially with the King, who detests gaming. I must end this abruptly. God bless you!

L E T T E R CCLXXXIV.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VERSATILITY as a Courtier, may be almost decisive to you hereafter; that is, it may conduce to, or retard your preferment in your own destination. The first reputation goes a great way; and, if you fix a good one at Hanover, it will operate also to your advantage in England. The trade of a Courtier is as much a trade as that of a shoe-maker; and he who applies himself the most will work the best: the only difficulty is to distinguish (what I am sure you have sense enough to distinguish) between the right and proper qualifications and their kindred faults; for there is but a line between every perfection and its neighbouring imperfection. As for example, you must be extremely well-bred and polite, but without the troublesome forms and stiffness of ceremony. You must be respectful and assenting, but without being servile and abject. You must be frank, but without indiscretion; and close, without being coſtive. You must keep up dignity of character, without the least pride of birth or rank. You must be gay, within all the bounds of decency and respect; and grave without the affectation of wisdom, which does not become the age of twenty. You must be essentially secret, without being dark and mysterious. You must be firm, and even bold, but with great seeming modesty.

With

With these qualifications, which, by the way, are all in your own power, I will answer for your success, not only at Hanover, but at any Court in Europe. And I am not sorry that you begin your apprenticeship at a little one; because you must be more circumspect, and more upon your guard there, than at a great one, where every little thing is not known, nor reported.

When you write to me, or to any body else, from thence, take care that your letters contain commendations of all you see and hear there; for they will most of them be opened and read: but, as frequent Couriers will come from Hanover to England, you may sometimes write to me without reserve; and put your letters into a very little box, which you may send safely by some of them.

I must not omit mentioning to you, that, at the Duke of Newcastle's table, where you will frequently dine, there is a great deal of drinking; be upon your guard against it, both upon account of your health, which would not bear it, and of the consequences of your being flustered and heated with wine: it might engage you in scrapes and frolics, which the King (who is a very sober man himself) detests. On the other hand, you should not seem too grave and too wise to drink like the rest of the company; therefore use art: mix water with your wine; do not drink all that is in the glass; and, if detected, and pressed to drink more, do not cry out sobriety; but say, that you have lately been out of order, that you are subject to inflammatory complaints, and that you must

beg to be excused for the present. A young fellow ought to be wiser than he should seem to be; and an old fellow ought to seem wise whether he really be so, or not.

During your stay at Hanover, I would have you make two or three excursions to parts of that Electorate: the Hartz, where the silver mines are; Göttingen, for the university; Stade, for what commerce there is. You should also go to Zell. In short, see every thing that is to be seen there, and inform yourself well of all the details of that country. Go to Hamburgh for three or four days, know the constitution of that little Hanseatic republic, and inform yourself well of the nature of the King of Denmark's pretensions to it.

If all things turn out right for you at Hanover, I would have you make it your head-quarters, till about a week or ten days before the King leaves it; and then go to Brunswick, which, though a little, is a very polite pretty Court. You may stay there a fortnight or three weeks, as you like it; and from thence go to Cassel, and there stay till you go to Berlin; where I would have you be by Christmas. At Hanover you will very easily get good letters of recommendation to Brunswick and to Cassel. You do not want any to Berlin; however, I will send you one for Voltaire. *A propos* of Berlin; be very reserved and cautious, while at Hanover, as to that King and that country; both which are detested, because feared by every body there, from his Majesty

jeſty down to the meanſt peaſant : but, however, they both extremely deſerve your utmoſt attention ; and you will ſee the arts and wiſdom of government better in that country, now, than in any other in Europe. You may ſtay three months at Berlin, if you like it, as I believe you will ; and after that I hope we ſhall meet here again.

Of all the places in the world (I repeat it once more) eſtabliſh a good reputation at Hanover, *et faites vous valoir la, autant qu'il eſt poſſible, par le brillant, les manieres, et les graces.* Indeed, it is of the greateſt importance to you, and will make any future application to the King in your behalf very eaſy. He is more taken by thoſe little things, than any man, or even woman, that I ever knew in my life : and I do not wonder at him. In ſhort, exert to the utmoſt all your means and powers to pleaſe ; and remember, that he who pleaſes the moſt will riſe the ſooneſt and the higheſt. Try but once the pleaſure and advantage of pleaſing ; and I will answer, that you will never more neglect the means.

I ſend you herewith two letters, the one to Monſieur Münchauſen, the other to Monſieur Schwiegeldt, an old friend of mine, and a very ſenſible knowing man. They will both, I am ſure, be extremely civil to you, and carry you into the beſt company ; and then it is your buſineſs to pleaſe that company. I never was more anxious about any period of your life than I am about this your Hanover expedition, it being of ſo much more conſequence to you than

any other. If I hear from thence, that you are liked and loved there, for your air, your manners, and address, as well as esteemed for your knowledge, I shall be the happiest man in the world ! Judge then what I must be, if it happens otherwise. Adieu !

L E T T E R CCLXXXV.

London, July the 21st, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

BY my calculation, this letter may probably arrive at Hanover three or four days before you ; and, as I am sure of its arriving there safe, it shall contain the most material points that I have mentioned in my several letters to you since you left Paris, as if you had received but few of them, which may very probably be the case.

As for your stay at Hanover, it must not *in all events* be less than a month ; but, if things turn out to *your satisfaction*, it may be just as long as you please. From thence you may go wherever you like ; for I have so good an opinion of your judgment, that I think you will combine and weigh all circumstances, and chuse the properest places. Would you faunter at some of the small courts, as
Brunswick,

Brunswick, Cassel, &c. till the Carnival at Berlin? You are master. Would you pass a couple of months at Ratisbon, which might not be ill-employed? *A la bonne heure.* Would you go to Brussels, stay a month or two there with Dayrolles, and from thence to Mr. Yorke, at the Hague? With all my heart. Or, lastly, would you go to Copenhagen and Stockholm? *Elle è anche Padrone*: chuse intirely for yourself, without any farther instructions from me; only let me know your determination in time, that I may settle your credit, in case you go to places where at present you have none. Your object should be to see the *mores multorum hominum et urbes*; begin and end it where you please.

By what you have already seen of the German Courts, I am sure you must have observed that they are much more nice and scrupulous, in points of ceremony, respect, and attention, than the greater Courts of France and England. You will therefore, I am persuaded, attend to the minutest circumstances of address and behaviour, particularly during your stay at Hanover, which (I will repeat it, though I have said it often to you already) is the most important preliminary period of your whole life. Nobody in the world is more exact in all points of good-breeding, than the King; and it is the part of every man's character that he informs himself of first. The least negligence, or the slightest inattention, reported to him, may do you infinite prejudice; as their contraries would service.

If Lord Albemarle (as I believe he did) trusted you with the secret affairs of his department, let the Duke of Newcastle know that he did so; which will be an inducement to him to trust you too, and possibly to employ you in affairs of consequence. Tell him, that, though you are young, you know the importance of secrecy in business, and can keep a secret; that I have always inculcated this doctrine into you, and have moreover strictly forbidden you ever to communicate, even to me, any matters of a secret nature, which you may happen to be trusted with in the course of business.

As for business, I think I can trust you to yourself; but I wish I could say as much for you with regard to those exterior accomplishments, which are absolutely necessary to smooth and shorten the way to it. Half the business is done, when one has gained the heart and the affections of those with whom one is to transact it. Air and address must begin, manners and attention must finish that work. I will let you into one secret concerning myself; which is, that I owe much more of the success which I have had in the world, to my manners, than to any superior degree of merit or knowledge. I desired to please, and I neglected none of the means. This, I can assure you, without any false modesty, is the truth. You have more knowledge than I had at your age; but then I had much more attention and good-breeding than you. Call it vanity, if you please, and possibly it was so; but my great object was to make every man I

met with like me, and every woman love me. I often succeeded; but why? By taking great pains; for otherwise I never should; my figure by no means entitled me to it, and I had certainly an uphill game: whereas your countenance would help you, if you made the most of it, and proscribed for ever the guilty, gloomy, and funereal part of it. Dress, address, and air, would become your best countenance, and make your little figure pass very well.

If you have time to read, at Hanover, pray let the books you read be all relative to the history and constitution of that country; which I would have you know as correctly as any Hanoverian in the whole Electorate. Inform yourself of the powers of the States, and of the nature and extent of the several Judicatures; the particular articles of trade and commerce of Bremen, Harburg, and Stade; the details and value of the mines of the Hartz. Two or three short books will give you the outlines of all these things; and conversation turned upon those subjects will do the rest, and better than books can.

Remember of all things to speak nothing but German there; make it (to express myself pedantically) your vernacular language; seem to prefer it to any other; call it your favourite language, and study to speak it with purity and elegance, if it has any. This will not only make you perfect in it, but will please, and make your court there better than any thing. *A propos* of languages; Did you improve

improve your Italian while you were at Paris, or did you forget it? Had you a master there; and what Italian books did you read with him? If you are master of Italian, I would have you afterwards, by the first convenient opportunity, learn Spanish, which you may very easily and in a very little time do; you will then, in the course of your foreign business, never be obliged to employ, pay, or trust any translator, for any European language.

As I love to provide eventually for every thing that can possibly happen, I will suppose the worst that can befall you at Hanover. In that case, I would have you go immediately to the Duke of Newcastle, and beg his Grace's advice, or rather orders, what you should do; adding, that his advice will always be orders to you. You will tell him, that, though you are exceedingly mortified, you are much less so, than you should otherwise be, from the consideration, that, being utterly unknown to his M—, his objection could not be personal to you, and could only arise from circumstances, which it was not in your power either to prevent or remedy: that, if his Grace thought that your continuing any longer there would be disagreeable, you intreated him to tell you so; and that, upon the whole, you referred yourself intirely to him, whose orders you should most scrupulously obey. But this precaution, I dare say, is *ex abundanti*; and will prove unnecessary; however, it is always right to be prepared for all events, the worst as well as the best:

best: it prevents hurry and surprise, two dangerous situations in business; for I know no one thing so useful, so necessary in all business, as great coolness, steadiness, and *sang froid*; they give an incredible advantage over whomever one has to do with.

I have received your letter of the 15th, N. S. from Maïence, where I find that you have diverted yourself much better than I expected. I am very well acquainted with Comte Cobentzel's character both of parts and business. He could have given you letters to Bonn, having formerly resided there himself. You will not be so agreeably *electrified*, where this letter will find you, as you were both at Mannheim and Maïence; but I hope you may meet with a second German Mrs. F.—d, who may make you forget the two former ones, and practise your German. Such transient passions will do you no harm; but, on the contrary, a great deal of good: they will refine your manners and quicken your attention; they give a young fellow *du brillant*, and bring him into fashion; which last is a great article in setting out in the world.

I have wrote, above a month ago, to Lord Albemarle, to thank him for all his kindnesses to you; but pray have you done as much? Those are the necessary attentions, which should never be omitted, especially in the beginning of life, when a character is to be established.

That ready wit which you so partially allow me, and so justly Sir Charles Williams, may create many admirers;

admirers; but, take my word for it, it makes few friends. It shines and dazzles like the noon-day sun; but, like that too, is very apt to scorch; and therefore is always feared. The milder morning and evening light and heat of that planet sooth and calm our minds. Good-sense, complaisance, gentleness of manners, attentions, and graces, are the only things that truly engage, and durably keep the heart at long run. Never seek for wit; if it presents itself, well and good: but, even in that case, let your judgment interpose; and take care that it be not at the expence of any body. Pope says very truly,

There are whom Heaven has blest with store of wit,
Yet want as much again to govern it.

And in another place, I doubt with too much truth,
For wit and judgment ever are at strife,
Though meant each other's aid, like man and wife.

The Germans are very seldom troubled with any extraordinary ebullitions or effervescences of wit, and it is not prudent to try it upon them; whoever does, *offendet solido*.

Remember to write me very minute accounts of all your transactions at Hanover, for they excite both my impatience and anxiety. Adieu!

LETTER

L E T T E R CCLXXXVI.

London, August the 4th, O. S. 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I AM extremely concerned at the return of your old asthmatic complaint, of which your letter from Cassel, of the 28th July, N. S. informs me. I believe it is chiefly owing to your own negligence; for, notwithstanding the season of the year, and the heat and agitation of travelling, I dare swear you have not taken one single dose of gentle, cooling physic, since that which I made you take at Bath. I hope you are now better, and in better hands, I mean in Dr. Hugo's, at Hanover; he is certainly a very skilful physician, and therefore I desire that you will inform him most minutely of your own case, from your first attack in Carniola to this last at Marpurgh; and not only follow his prescriptions exactly at present, but take his directions, with regard to the regimen that he would have you observe to prevent the returns of this complaint; and, in case of any returns, the immediate applications, whether external or internal, that he would have you make use of. Consider, it is very well worth your while to submit at present to any course of medicine or diet, to any restraint or confinement, for a time, in order to get rid, once for all, of so troublesome and painful a distemper: the returns of which would equally break-

in

in upon your business or your pleasures. Notwithstanding all this, which is plain sense and reason, I much fear that, as soon as ever you are got out of your present distress, you will take no preventive care, by a proper course of medicines and regimen; but, like most people of your age, think it impossible that you ever should be ill again. However, if you will not be wise for your own sake, I desire you will be so for mine, and most scrupulously observe Dr. Hugo's present and future directions.

Hanover, where I take it for granted you are, is at present the seat and centre of foreign negotiations; there are ministers from almost every court in Europe; and you have a fine opportunity of displaying with modesty, in conversation, your knowledge of the matters now in agitation. The chief I take to be the Election of the King of the Romans, which, though I despair of, I heartily wish were brought about, for two reasons. The first is, that I think it may prevent a war upon the death of the present Emperor, who, though young and healthy, may possibly die, as young and healthy people often do. The other is, the very reason that makes some Powers oppose it, and others dislike it who do not openly oppose it; I mean, that it may tend to make the Imperial dignity hereditary in the House of Austria; which I heartily wish, together with a very great increase of power in the Empire; till when, Germany will never be any thing near a match for France. Cardinal Richelieu showed his superior abilities in nothing more, than in thinking no pains nor expence
too

too great to break the power of the House of Austria in the Empire. Ferdinand had certainly made himself absolute, and the Empire consequently formidable to France, if that Cardinal had not piously adopted the Protestant cause, and put the Empire, by the treaty of Westphalia, in pretty much the same disjointed situation in which France itself was before Lewis the XIth; when Princes of the blood, at the head of provinces, and Dukes of Brittany, &c. always opposed, and often gave laws to the Crown. Nothing but making the Empire hereditary in the House of Austria can give it that strength and efficiency which I wish it had, for the sake of the balance of power. For, while the Princes of the Empire are so independent of the Emperor, so divided among themselves, and so open to the corruption of the best bidders, it is ridiculous to expect that Germany ever will, or can act as a compact and well-united body against France. But as this notion of mine would as little please *some of our friends*, as many of our enemies, I would not advise you, though you should be of the same opinion, to declare yourself too freely so. Could the Elector Palatine be satisfied, which I confess will be difficult, considering the nature of his pretensions, the tenaciousness and haughtiness of the Court of Vienna, and our inability to do, as we have too often done, their work for them; I say, if the Elector Palatine could be engaged to give his vote, I should think it would be right to proceed to the Election with a clear majority of five votes; and leave the King of Prussia,

Prussia, and the Elector of Cologne, to protest and remonstrate as much as ever they please. The former is too wise, and the latter too weak in every respect, to act in consequence of those protests. The distracted situation of France, with its ecclesiastical and parliamentary quarrels, not to mention the illness, and possibly the death, of the Dauphin, will make the King of Prussia, who is certainly no Frenchman in his heart, very cautious how he acts as one. The Elector of Saxony will be influenced by the King of Poland, who must be determined by Russia, concerning his views upon Poland, which, by the bye, I hope he will never obtain: I mean, as to making that crown hereditary in his family. As for his son's having it by the precarious tenure of election, by which his father now holds it, *à la bonne heure*. But, should Poland have a good government under hereditary Kings, there would be a new devil raised in Europe, that I do not know who could lay. I am sure, I would not raise him, though on my own side for the present.

I do not know how I came to trouble my head so much about politics to-day, which has been so very free from them for some years: I suppose it was, because I knew that I was writing to the most consummate politician of this, and his age. If I err, you will set me right; *si quid novisti rectius istis, candidus imperti*, &c.

I am excessively impatient for your next letter, which I expect by the first post from Hanover, to remove my anxiety, as I hope it will, not only with regard

regard to your health, but likewise to *other things*; in the mean time, in the language of a pedant, but with the tendernefs of a parent, *jubeo te bene valere.*

Lady Chesterfield makes you many compliments, and is much concerned at your indisposition.

L E T T E R CCLXXXVII.

A Monsieur de Voltaire, pour lors à Berlin.

A Londres, 27^e d'Aout, V. S. 1752.

MONSIEUR,

• JE m'intéresse infiniment à tout ce qui touche Monsieur Stanhope, qui aura l'honneur de vous rendre cette lettre; c'est pourquoi je prens la liberté de vous le présenter; je ne peux pas lui en donner une preuve plus convainquante. Il a beaucoup lû, il a beaucoup vû, s'il l'a bien digéré voilà ce que je ne sçais pas; il n'a que vingt ans. Il a déjà été à Berlin il y a quelques années, et c'est pourquoi il y retourne à present; car à cette heure on revient au Nord par les mêmes raisons, pour lesquelles on alloit il n'y a pas longtems au Sud.

Permettez, Monsieur, que je vous remercie du plaisir et de l'instruction que m'a donné vôte Histoire du Siècle de Louis XIV. Je ne l'ai lu en-

core que quatre fois, c'est que je voudrois l'oublier un peu avant la cinquième, mais je vois que cela m'est impossible ; j'attendrai donc l'augmentation que vous nous en avez promis, mais je vous supplie de ne me la pas faire attendre longtems. Je croïois, sçavoir passablement l'Histoire du Siècle de Louis XIV. moiennant les milliers d'Histoires, de Memoires, d'Anecdotes, &c. que j'en avois lû ; mais vous m'avez bien montré que je m'étois trompé, et que je n'en avois qu'une idée très confuse à bien des égards, et très fausse à bien d'autres. Que je vous sçais gré sur tout, Monsieur, du jour dans lequel vous avez mis les folies et les fureurs des sectes. Vous emploïez contre ces fous ou ces imposteurs les armes convenables ; d'en emploïer d'autres ce seroit les imiter : c'est par le ridicule qu'il faut les attaquer, c'est par le mépris qu'il faut les punir. A propos de ces fous, je vous envoie cijnointe une piece sur leur sujet par le feu Docteur Swift, laquelle je crois ne vous déplaira pas*. Elle n'a jamais été imprimée,

vous

* The DAY of JUDGMENT :

Written by Dean Swift ; and referred to in the above passage.

WITH a whirl of thought oppress'd,
 I sunk from reverie to rest.
 An horrid vision seiz'd my head ;
 I saw the graves give up their dead !
 Jove, arm'd with terrors, burst the skies,
 And thunder roars, and lightning flies !
 Amaz'd, confus'd, its fate unknown,
 The world stands trembling at his throne !
 While each pale sinner hung his head,
 Jove, nodding, shook the heavens, and said,

Offending