

vous en dévinerez bien la raison, mais elle est authentique. J'en ai l'original écrit de sa propre main. Son Jupiter, au jour du jugement, les traite à peu près comme vous les traitez, et comme ils le méritent.

Au reste, Monsieur, je vous dirai franchement, que je suis embarrassé sur votre sujet, et que je ne peux pas me décider sur ce que je souhaiterois de votre part. Quand je lis votre dernière histoire, je voudrois que vous fussiez toujours historien; mais quand je lis votre Rome Sauvée (toute mal imprimée et défigurée qu'elle est) je vous voudrois toujours Poète. J'avoue pourtant qu'il vous reste encore une histoire à écrire digne de votre plume, et dont votre plume est seule digne. Vous nous avez donné il y a longtems l'histoire du plus grand Furieux (je vous demande pardon si je ne peux pas dire du plus grand Héros) de l'Europe. Vous nous avez donné en dernier lieu, l'histoire du plus grand Roi;

" Offending race, of human kind:

" By nature, reason, *learning*, blind;

" You who through frailty step'd aside,

" And you who never fell,—*through pride*;

" You who in different sects were sham'd,

" And come to see each other damn'd;

" (So some folks told you, but they knew

" No more of Jove's designs than you)——

" The world's mad business now is o'er,

" And I resent these pranks no more.

" —— I to such blockheads set my wit!

" I damn such fools!——Go, go, you're *bit*."

donnez nous, à présent, l'histoire du plus grand et du plus honnête Homme de l'Europe, que je croirois dégrader en appelant Roi. Vous l'avez toujours devant vos yeux, rien ne vous seroit plus facile ; sa gloire n'exigeant pas votre invention poétique, mais pouvant se reposer en toute sûreté sur votre vérité historique. Il n'a rien à demander à son historien, que son premier devoir comme historien, qui est, *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*. Adieu, Monsieur, je vois bien que je dois vous admirer de plus en plus tous les jours, mais aussi je sçais bien que rien ne pourra jamais ajouter à l'estime et à l'attachement avec lesquels je suis actuellement,

Votre très humble, et

très obéissant serviteur,

CHESTERFIELD.

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TRANSLATION.

London, August the 27th, O. S. 1752.

SIR,

AS a most convincing proof how infinitely I am interested in every thing which concerns Mr. Stanhope, who will have the honour of presenting you this letter, I take the liberty of introducing him to you. He has read a great deal, he has seen a great deal ; whether or not he has made a proper use of  
that

that knowledge, is what I do not know : he is only twenty years of age. He was at Berlin some years ago, and therefore he returns thither ; for at present people are attracted towards the North, by the same motives which but lately drew them to the South.

Permit me, Sir, to return you thanks for the pleasure and instruction I have received from your history of Lewis XIV. I have as yet read it but four times, because I wish to forget it a little before I read it a fifth ; but I find that impossible : I shall therefore only wait till you give us the augmentation which you promised : let me intreat you not to defer it long. I thought myself pretty conversant in the History of the reign of Lewis the XIV. by means of those innumerable histories, memoirs, anecdotes, &c. which I had read relative to that period of time. You have convinced me that I was mistaken, and had upon that subject very confused ideas in many respects, and very false ones in others. Above all, I cannot but acknowledge the obligation we have to you, Sir, for the light which you have thrown upon the follies and outrages of the different sects : the weapons you employ against those madmen, or those impostors, are the only suitable ones ; to make use of any others would be imitating them ; they must be attacked by ridicule, and punished with contempt. *A propos* of those fanatics ; I send you here enclosed, a piece upon that subject, written by the late Dean

Swift: I believe you will not dislike it. You will easily guess why it was never printed: it is authentic, and I have the original in his own handwriting. His Jupiter, at the day of Judgment, treats them much as you do, and as they deserve to be treated.

Give me leave, Sir, to tell you freely, that I am embarrassed upon your account, as I cannot determine what it is that I wish from you. When I read your last history, I am desirous that you should always write history; but when I read your *Rome Suavée* (although ill-printed and disfigured), yet I then wish you never to deviate from poetry; however, I confess that there still remains one history worthy of your pen, and of which your pen alone is worthy. You have long ago given us the history of the greatest and most outrageous Madman (I ask your pardon if I cannot say the greatest Hero) of Europe: you have given us latterly the history of the greatest King; give us now the history of the greatest and most virtuous Man in Europe; I should think it degrading to call him King. To you this cannot be difficult, he is always before your eyes; your poetical invention is not necessary to his glory, as that may safely rely upon your historical candour. The first duty of an historian is the only one he need require from his, *Ne quid falsi dicere audeat, ne quid veri non audeat*. Adieu, Sir! I find that I must admire you every day more and more; but I also know that nothing ever can add



to the esteem and attachment with which I am actually,

Your most humble, and  
most obedient servant,

CHESTERFIELD.

## LETTER CCLXXXVIII.

London, September the 19th, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

SINCE you have been at Haver, your correspondence has been both unfrequent and laconic. You made indeed one great effort in folio on the 18th, with a postscript of the 22d August, N. S. and since that, *vous avez ratté en quarto*. On the 31st August, N. S. you give me no informations of what I want chiefly to know; which is, what Dr. Hugo (whom I charged you to consult) said of your asthmatic complaint, and what he prescribed you to prevent the returns of it; and also what is the company that you keep there; who has been kind and civil to you, and who not.

You say that you go constantly to the parade; and you do very well; for though you are not of that trade, yet military matters make so great a part both of conversation and negotiation, that it is very proper

not to be ignorant of them. I hope you mind more than the mere exercise of the troops you see; and that you inform yourself at the same time of the more material details; such as their pay, and the difference of it when in and out of quarters, what is furnished them by the country when in quarters, and what is allowed them of ammunition, bread, &c. when in the field; the number of men and officers in the several troops and companies, together with the non-commissioned officers, as *corporals*, *freycorporals*, *anspessades*, serjeants, quarter-masters, &c.; the clothing, how frequent, how good, and how furnished; whether by the Colonel, as here in England, from what we call the *off-reckonings*, that is, deductions from the men's pay, or by Commissaries appointed by the Government for that purpose, as in France and Holland. By these inquiries you will be able to talk military with military men, who, in every country in Europe, except England, make at least half of all the best companies. Your attending the parades has also another good effect, which is, that it brings you of course acquainted with the officers, who, when of a certain rank and service, are generally very polite, well-bred people, *et du bon ton*. They have commonly seen a great deal of the World, and of Courts; and nothing else can form a gentleman, let people say what they will of sense and learning: with both which a man may contrive to be a very disagreeable companion. I dare say, there are very few Captains of foot who are not much better company than ever Descartes or Sir Isaac Newton were.

were. I honour and respect such superior geniuses; but I desire to converse with people of this world, who bring into company their share, at least, of cheerfulness, good-breeding, and knowledge of mankind. In common life, one much oftener wants small money, and silver, than gold. Give me a man who has ready cash about him for present expences; six-pences, shillings, half-crowns, and crowns, which circulate easily: but a man who has only an ingot of gold about him, is much above common purposes, and his riches are not handy nor convenient. Have as much gold as you please in one pocket, but take care always to keep change in the other; for you will much oftener have occasion for a shilling than for a guinea. In this the French must be allowed to excel all people in the world: they have *un certain entregent, un enjouement, une aimable légèreté dans la conversation, une politesse aisée et naturelle, qui paroît ne leur rien coûter*, which give Society all its charms. I am sorry to add, but it is too true, that the English and the Dutch are the farthest from this, of all the people in the world; I do by no means except even the Swifs.

Though you did not think proper to inform me, I know from other hands, that you were to go to the Göhr with a Comte de Schullemburgh for eight or ten days, only to see the reviews. I know also, that you had a blister upon your arm, which did you a great deal of good: I know too, you have contracted a great friendship with Lord Effex; and that you

two were inseparable at Hanover. All these things I would rather have known from you than from others; and they are the sort of things that I am the most desirous of knowing, as they are more immediately relative to yourself.

I am very sorry for the Dutches of Newcastle's illness, full as much upon your as upon her account, as it has hindered you from being so much known to the Duke as I could have wished; use and habit going a great way with him, as indeed they do with most people. I have known many people patronized, pushed up, and preferred, by those who could have given no other reason for it, than that they were used to them. We must never seek for motives by deep reasoning, but we must find them out by careful observation and attention: no matter what they should be; but the point is, what they are. Trace them up, step by step, from the character of the person. I have known *de par le monde*, as Brantome says, great effects from causes too little ever to have been suspected. Some things must be known, and can never be guessed.

God knows where this letter will find you, or follow you; not at Hanover I suppose; but wherever it does, may it find you in health and pleasure! Adieu.

## LETTER CCLXXXIX.

London, September the 22d, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE day after the date of my last, I received your letter of the 8th. I approve extremely of your intended progress, and am very glad that you go to the Göhr with Comte Schullemburgh. I would have you see every thing with your own eyes, and hear every thing with your own ears: for I know, by very long experience, that it is very unsafe to trust to other people's. Vanity and interest cause many misrepresentations; and folly causes many more. Few people have parts enough to relate exactly and judiciously: and those who have, for some reason or other, never fail to sink or to add some circumstances.

The reception which you have met with at Hanover, I look upon as an omen of your being well received every where else; for, to tell you the truth, it was the place that I distrusted the most in that particular. But there is a certain conduct, there are *certaines manieres*, that will, and must get the better of all difficulties of that kind; it is to acquire them, that you still continue abroad, and go from Court to Court; they are personal, local, and temporal; they are modes which vary, and owe their existence to accidents, whim, and humour; all the sense and reason

reason in the world would never point them out; nothing but experience, observation, and what is called knowledge of the world, can possibly teach them. For example, it is respectful to bow to the King of England, it is disrespectful to bow to the King of France; it is the rule to courtesy to the Emperor; and the prostration of the whole body is required by Eastern Monarchs. These are established ceremonies, and must be complied with; but why they were established I defy sense and reason to tell us. It is the same among all ranks, where certain customs are received, and must necessarily be complied with, though by no means the result of sense and reason. As for instance, the very absurd, though almost universal custom, of drinking people's healths. Can there be any thing in the world less relative to any other man's health, than my drinking a glass of wine? Common sense, certainly, never pointed it out: but yet common sense tells me I must conform to it. Good sense bids one be civil, and endeavour to please; though nothing but experience and observation can teach one the means, properly adapted to time, place, and persons. This knowledge is the true object of a gentleman's travelling, if he travels as he ought to do. By frequenting good company in every country, he himself becomes of every country; he is no longer an Englishman, a Frenchman, or an Italian; but he is an European; he adopts, respectively, the best manners of every country; and is a Frenchman at Paris, an Italian at Rome, an Englishman at London.

This



This advantage, I must confess, very seldom accrues to my countrymen from their travelling; as they have neither the desire nor the means of getting into good company abroad: for, in the first place, they are confoundedly bashful; and, in the next place, they either speak no foreign language at all, or, if they do, it is barbarously. You possess all the advantages that they want; you know the languages in perfection, and have constantly kept the best company in the places where you have been; so that you ought to be an European. Your canvas is solid and strong, your outlines are good; but remember, that you still want the beautiful colouring of Titian, and the delicate graceful touches of Guido. Now is your time to get them. There is in all good company a fashionable air, countenance, manner, and phraseology, which can only be acquired by being in good company, and very attentive to all that passes there. When you dine or sup at any well-bred man's house, observe carefully how he does the honours of his table to the different guests. Attend to the compliments of congratulation or condolence, that you hear a well-bred man make to his superiors, to his equals, and to his inferiors; watch even his countenance and his tone of voice, for they all conspire in the main point of pleasing. There is a certain distinguishing diction of a man of fashion: he will not content himself with saying, like John Trott, to a new-married man, Sir, I wish you much joy; or to a man who has lost his son, Sir, I am sorry for your loss; and both with a countenance equally unmoved: but



but he will say in effect the same thing, in a more elegant and less trivial manner, and with a countenance adapted to the occasion. He will advance with warmth, vivacity, and a cheerful countenance, to the new-married man, and embracing him, perhaps say to him, "If you do justice to my attachment to you, you will judge of the joy that I feel upon this occasion, better than I can express it, &c." To the other in affliction, he will advance slowly, with a grave composure of countenance, in a more deliberate manner, and, with a lower voice, perhaps say, "I hope you do me the justice to be convinced, that I feel whatever you feel, and shall ever be affected where you are concerned."

Your *abord*, I must tell you, was too cold and uniform; I hope it is now mended. It should be respectfully open and cheerful with your superiors, warm and animated with your equals, hearty and free with your inferiors. There is a fashionable kind of *small talk*, that you should get; which, trifling as it is, is of use in mixed companies, and at table, especially in your foreign department; where it keeps off certain serious subjects, that might create disputes, or at least coldness for a time. Upon such occasions it is not amiss to know how to *parler cuisine*, and to be able to dissert upon the growth and flavour of wines. These, it is true, are very little things; but they are little things that occur very often, and therefore should be said *avec gentillesse et grace*. I am sure they must fall often in your way; pray take

care to catch them. There is a certain language of conversation, a fashionable diction, of which every gentleman ought to be perfectly master, in whatever language he speaks. The French attend to it carefully, and with great reason; and their language, which is a language of *parafes*, helps them out exceedingly. That delicacy of diction is characteristical of a man of fashion and good company.

I could write folios upon this subject, and not exhaust it; but I think, and hope, that to you I need not. You have heard and seen enough to be convinced of the truth and importance of what I have been so long inculcating into you upon these points. How happy am I, and how happy are you, my dear child, that these Titian tints, and Guido graces, are all that you want, to complete my hopes and your own character! But then, on the other hand, what a drawback would it be to that happiness, if you should never acquire them! I remember, when I was of your age, though I had not near so good an education as you have, or seen a quarter so much of the world, I observed those masterly touches, and irresistible graces in others, and saw the necessity of acquiring them myself; but then an awkward *mauvaise honte*, of which I had brought a great deal with me from Cambridge, made me ashamed to attempt it, especially if any of my countrymen and particular acquaintance were by. This was extremely absurd in me; for without attempting I could never succeed. But at last, insensibly, by frequenting a  
great

great deal of good company, and imitating those whom I saw that every body liked, I formed myself *tant bien que mal*. For God's sake, let this last fine varnish, so necessary to give lustre to the whole piece, be the sole and single object now of your utmost attention: Berlin may contribute a great deal to it if you please; there are all the ingredients that compose it.

*A propos* of Berlin; while you are there, take care to seem ignorant of all political matters between the two courts; such as the affairs of Ost-Frise, and Saxe Lawemburg, &c. and enter into no conversations upon those points: however, be as well at Court as you possibly can; live at it, and make one of it. Should General Keith offer you civilities, do not decline them; but return them however without being *enfant de la maison chez lui*: say *des choses flatteuses* of the Royal Family, and especially of his Prussian Majesty, to those who are the most like to repeat them. In short, make yourself well there, without making yourself ill *somewhere else*. Make compliments from me to Algarotti, and converse with him in Italian.

I go next week to the Bath, for a deafness, which I have been plagued with this four or five months; and which I am assured that pumping my head will remove. This deafness, I own, has tried my patience; as it has cut me off from society, at an age when I had no pleasures but those left. In the meantime, I have, by reading and writing, made my  
eyes

eyes supply the defect of my ears. Madame H——, I suppose, entertained both yours alike; however, I am very glad you were well with her; for she is a good *Prôneuse*, and puffs are very useful to a young fellow at his entrance into the world.

If you should meet with Lord Pembroke again, any where, make him many compliments from me; and tell him, I should have written to him, but that I knew how troublesome an old correspondent must be to a young one. He is much commended in the accounts from Hanover.

You will stay at Berlin just as long as you like it, and no longer; and from thence you are absolutely master of your own motions, either to the Hague, or to Brussels; but I think you had better go to the Hague first, because that from thence Brussels will be in your way to Calais, which is a much better passage to England than from Helvoetsluys. The two Courts of the Hague and Brussels are worth your seeing; and you will see them both to advantage, by means of Colonel Yorke and Dayrolles. Adieu. Here is enough for this time.

## / L E T T E R CCXC.

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

MY DEAR FRIEND,

AS you chiefly employ, or rather wholly engross my thoughts, I see every day with increasing pleasure the fair prospect which you have before you. I had two views in your education: they draw nearer and nearer, and I have now very little reason to distrust your answering them fully. Those two were, Parliamentary and foreign affairs. In consequence of those views, I took care, first, to give you a sufficient stock of sound learning; and, next, an early knowledge of the world. Without making a figure in Parliament, no man can make any in this country; and eloquence alone enables a man to make a figure in Parliament, unless it be a very mean and contemptible one, which those make there who silently vote, and who do *pedibus ire in sententiam*. Foreign affairs, when skilfully managed, and supported by a parliamentary reputation, lead to whatever is most considerable in this country. You have the languages necessary for that purpose, with a sufficient fund of historical and treaty knowledge; that is to say, you have the Matter ready, and only want the Manner. Your objects being thus fixed, I recommend to you to have them constantly in your thoughts, and to direct your reading, your actions,

and

and your words, to those views. Most people think only *ex re nata*, and few *ex professo*: I would have you do both, but begin with the latter. I explain myself: Lay down certain principles, and reason and act consequentially from them. As for example; say to yourself, I will make a figure in Parliament, and, in order to do that, I must not only speak, but speak very well. Speaking mere common sense will by no means do; and I must speak not only correctly, but elegantly; and not only elegantly, but eloquently. In order to this, I will first take pains to get an habitual, but unaffected, purity, correctness, and elegance of style in my common conversation; I will seek for the best words, and take care to reject improper, inexpressive, and vulgar ones. I will read the greatest masters of oratory, both antient and modern, and I will read them singly in that view. I will study Demosthenes and Cicero, not to discover an old Athenian or Roman custom, nor to puzzle myself with the value of talents, mines, drachms, and sesterces, like the learned blockheads in *us*; but to observe their choice of words, their harmony of diction, their method, their distribution, their exordia, to engage the favour and attention of their audience; and their perorations, to enforce what they have said, and to leave a strong impression upon the passions. Nor will I be pedant enough to neglect the moderns; for I will likewise study Atterbury, Dryden, Pope, and Bolingbroke: nay, I will read every thing that I do read, in that intention,



tion, and never cease improving and refining my style upon the best models, till at last I become a model of eloquence myself, which, by care, it is in every man's power to be. If you set out upon this principle, and keep it constantly in your mind, every company you go into, and every book you read, will contribute to your improvement, either by shewing you what to imitate, or what to avoid. Are you to give an account of any thing to a mixed company? or are you to endeavour to persuade either man or woman? This principle, fixed in your mind, will make you carefully attend to the choice of your words, and to the clearness and harmony of your diction.

So much for your parliamentary object; now to the foreign one.

Lay down first those principles which are absolutely necessary to form a skilful and successful Negotiator, and form yourself accordingly. What are they? First, the clear historical knowledge of past transactions of that kind. That you have pretty well already, and will have daily more and more; for, in consequence of that principle, you will read history, memoirs, anecdotes, &c. in that view chiefly. The other necessary talents for negotiation are; the great art of pleasing, and engaging the affection and confidence, not only of those with whom you are to co-operate, but even of those whom you are to oppose; to conceal your own thoughts and views, and to discover other people's; to engage other people's confidence, by a seeming cheerful  
frankness



frankness and openness, without going a step too far ; to get the personal favour of the King, Prince, Ministers, or Mistresses of the Court to which you are sent ; to gain the absolute command over your temper and your countenance, that no heat may provoke you to say, nor no change of countenance to betray, what should be a secret. To familiarize and domesticate yourself in the houses of the most considerable people of the place, so as to be received there rather as a friend to the family, than as a foreigner. Having these principles constantly in your thoughts, every thing you do, and every thing you say, will some way or other tend to your main view ; and common conversation will gradually fit you for it. You will get an habit of checking any rising heat ; you will be upon your guard against any indiscreet expression ; you will by degrees get the command of your countenance, so as not to change it upon any the most sudden accident ; and you will, above all things, labour to acquire the great art of pleasing, without which nothing is to be done. Company is, in truth, a constant state of negotiation ; and, if you attend to it in that view, will qualify you for any. By the same means that you make a friend, guard against an enemy, or gain a mistress ; you will make an advantageous treaty, baffle those who counteract you, and gain the Court you are sent to. Make this use of all the Company you keep, and your very pleasures will make you a successful Negotiator. Please all who are worth pleasing ; offend none. Keep your own

secret, and get out other people's. Keep your own temper, and artfully warm other people's. Counterwork your rivals with diligence and dexterity, but at the same time with the utmost personal civility to them; and be firm without heat: Messieurs d'Avaux and Seruien did no more than this. I must make one observation, in confirmation of this assertion; which is, that the most eminent Negotiators have always been the politest and best-bred men in company; even what the women call the *prettiest men*. For God's sake, never lose view of these two your capital objects; bend every thing to them, try every thing by their rules, and calculate every thing for their purposes. What is peculiar to these two objects is, that they require nothing, but what one's own vanity, interest, and pleasure, would make one do independently of them. If a man were never to be in business, and always to lead a private life, would he not desire to please and to persuade? So that, in your two destinations, your fortune and figure luckily conspire with your vanity and your pleasures. Nay more; a foreign minister, I will maintain it, can never be a good man of business, if he is not an agreeable man of pleasure too. Half his business is done by the help of his pleasures: his views are carried on, and perhaps best, and most unsuspectedly, at balls, suppers, assemblies, and parties of pleasure; by intrigues with women, and connections insensibly formed with men, at those unguarded hours of amusement.

These

These objects now draw very near you, and you have no time to lose in preparing yourself to meet them. You will be in Parliament almost as soon as your age will allow ; and I believe you will have a foreign department still sooner, and that will be earlier than ever any body had one. If you set out well at one-and-twenty, what may you not reasonably hope to be at one-and-forty ? All that I could wish you ! Adieu.

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## LETTER CCXCI.

London, September the 29th, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THERE is nothing so necessary, but at the same time there is nothing more difficult (I know it by experience) for you young fellows, than to know how to behave yourselves prudently towards those whom you do not like. Your passions are warm, and your heads are light ; you hate all those who oppose your views, either of ambition or love ; and a rival, in either, is almost a synonymous term for an enemy. Whenever you meet such a man, you are awkwardly cold to him, at best ; but often rude, and always desirous to give him some indirect slap. This is unreasonable ; for one man has as good a right to pursue an

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employ-

employment, or a mistress, as another: but it is, into the bargain, extremely imprudent; because you commonly defeat your own purpose by it, and, while you are contending with each other, a third often prevails. I grant you that the situation is irksome; a man cannot help thinking as he thinks, nor feeling what he feels; and it is a very tender and sore point to be thwarted and counterworked in one's pursuits at Court, or with a mistress: but prudence and abilities must check the effects, though they cannot remove the cause. Both the pretenders make themselves disagreeable to their mistress, when they spoil the company by their pouting or their sparring; whereas, if one of them has command enough over himself (whatever he may feel inwardly) to be cheerful, gay, and easily and unaffectedly civil to the other, as if there were no manner of competition between them, the Lady will certainly like him the best, and his rival will be ten times more humbled and discouraged; for he will look upon such a behaviour as a proof of the triumph and security of his rival; he will grow outrageous with the Lady, and the warmth of his reproaches will probably bring on a quarrel between them. It is the same in business; where he who can command his temper and his countenance the best, will always have an infinite advantage over the other. This is what the French call *un procédé bonnête et galant*, to pique yourself upon showing particular civilities to a man, to whom lesser minds would in the same case show dislike, or perhaps rudeness. I will give you an instance of this in my own

( case ;

case ; and pray remember it, whenever you come to be, as I hope you will, in a like situation.

When I went to the Hague, in 1744, it was to engage the Dutch to come roundly into the war, and to stipulate their quotas of troops, &c. Your acquaintance, the Abbé de la Ville, was there on the part of France, to endeavour to hinder them from coming into the war at all. I was informed, and very sorry to hear it, that he had abilities, temper, and industry. We could not visit, our two masters being at war ; but the first time I met him at a third place, I got somebody to present me to him ; and I told him, that though we were to be national enemies, I flattered myself we might be, however, personal friends : with a good deal more of the same kind ; which he returned in full as polite a manner. Two days afterwards, I went, early in the morning, to solicit the Deputies of Amsterdam, where I found l'Abbé de la Ville, who had been before hand with me ; upon which I addressed myself to the Deputies, and said, smilingly, *\* Je suis bien fâché, Messieurs, de trouver mon Ennemi avec vous ; je le connois déjà assez pour le craindre : la partie n'est pas égale, mais je me fie à vos propres intérêts contre les talens de mon Ennemi ; et au moins, si je n'ai pas eu le premier mot, j'aurai le dernier aujourd'hui.* They smiled : the Abbé was

\* I am very sorry, Gentlemen, to find my enemy with you ; my knowledge of his capacity is already sufficient to make me fear him : we are not upon equal terms ; but I trust to your own interest, against his talents. If I have not this day had the first word, I shall at least have the last.

pleased

pleased with the compliment, and the manner of it, stayed about a quarter of an hour, and then left me to my Deputies, with whom I continued upon the same tone, though in a very serious manner, and told them that I was only come to state their own true interests to them, plainly and simply, without any of those arts, which it was very necessary for my friend to make use of to deceive them. I carried my point, and continued my *procédé* with the Abbé; and, by this easy and polite commerce with him at third places, I often found means to fish out from him whereabouts he was.

Remember, there are but two *procédés* in the world for a gentleman and man of parts: either extreme politeness, or knocking<sup>d</sup> down. If a man notoriously and designedly<sup>n</sup> insults and affronts you, knock him down; but, if he only injures you, your best revenge is to be extremely civil to him in your outward behaviour, though at the same time you counterwork him, and return him the compliment, perhaps with interest. This is not perfidy, nor dissimulation; it would be so, if you were, at the same time, to make professions of esteem and friendship to this man; which I by no means recommend, but, on the contrary, abhor. All acts of civility are, by common consent, understood to be no more than a conformity to custom, for the quiet and convenience of society, the *agréments* of which are not to be disturbed by private dislikes and jealousies. Only women and little minds pout and spar for the entertainment of the company, that always laugh at, and never pity

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them. For my own part, though I would by no means give up any point to a competitor, yet I would pique myself upon showing him rather more civility than to another man. In the first place, this *procédé* infallibly makes all *les rieurs* of your side, which is a considerable party; and in the next place, it certainly pleases the object of the competition, be it either man or woman; who never fail to say, upon such an occasion, that *they must own you have behaved yourself very handsomely in the whole affair*. The world judges from the appearances of things, and not from the reality, which few are able, and still fewer are inclined to fathom; and a man who will take care always to be in the right in those things, may afford to be sometimes a little in the wrong in more essential ones: there is a willingness, a desire, to excuse him. With nine people in ten, good-breeding passes for good-nature, and they take attentions for good offices. At Courts there will be always coldnesses, dislikes, jealousies, and hatred; the harvest being but small, in proportion to the number of labourers; but then, as they arise often, they die soon, unless they are perpetuated by the manner in which they have been carried on, more than by the matter which occasioned them. The turns and vicissitudes of Courts frequently make friends of enemies, and enemies of friends: you must labour, therefore, to acquire that great and uncommon talent, of hating with good-breeding, and loving with prudence; to make no quarrel irreconcilable, by silly and unnecessary



necessary indications of anger; and no friendship dangerous, in case it breaks, by a wanton, indiscreet, and unreserved confidence.

Few (especially young) people know how to love, or how to hate; their love is an unbounded weakness, fatal to the person they love; their hate is a hot, rash, and imprudent violence, always fatal to themselves. Nineteen fathers in twenty, and every mother, who had loved you half as well as I do, would have ruined you; whereas I always made you feel the weight of my authority, that you might one day know the force of my love. Now, I both hope and believe, my advice will have the same weight with you from choice, that my authority had from necessity. My advice is just eight-and-thirty years older than your own, and consequently, I believe you think, rather better. As for your tender and pleasurable passions, manage them yourself: but let me have the direction of all the others. Your ambition, your figure, and your fortune, will, for some time at least, be rather safer in my keeping than in your own. Adieu.

LETTER

## L E T T E R CCXCII.

Bath, October the 4th, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND, . . . .

I CONSIDER you now as at the Court of Augustus, where, if ever the desire of pleasing animated you, it must make you exert all the means of doing it. You will see there, full as well, I dare say, as Horace did at Rome, how States are defended by arms, adorned by manners, and improved by laws. Nay, you have an Horace there, as well as an Augustus: I need not name Voltaire, *qui nil molitur ineptè*, as Horace himself said of another poet. I have lately read over all his works that are published, though I had read them more than once before. I was induced to this by his *Siècle de Louis XIV.* which I have yet read but four times. In reading over all his works, with more attention I suppose than before, my former admiration of him is, I own, turned into astonishment. There is no one kind of writing in which he has not excelled. You are so severe a Classic, that I question whether you will allow me to call his *Henriade* an Epic poem, for want of the proper number of Gods, Devils, Witches, and other absurdities, requisite for the machinery; which machinery is (it seems) necessary to constitute the *Epopée*. But whether you do or not, I will declare (though possibly to my own shame), that I never read

read an Epic poem with near so much pleasure. I am grown old, and have possibly lost a great deal of that fire, which formerly made me love fire in others at any rate, and however attended with smoke: but now I must have all sense, and cannot, for the sake of five righteous lines, forgive a thousand absurd ones.

In this disposition of mind, judge whether I can read all Homer through *tout de suite*. I admire his beauties; but to tell you the truth, when he slumbers, I sleep. Virgil, I confess, is all sense, and therefore I like him better than his model; but he is often languid, especially in his five or six last books, during which I am obliged to take a good deal of snuff. Besides, I profess myself an ally of Turnus's, against the pious Æneas, who, like many *soi-disant* pious people, does the most flagrant injustice and violence, in order to execute what they impudently call the will of Heaven. But what will you say, when I tell you truly, that I cannot possibly read our countryman Milton through? I acknowledge him to have some most sublime passages, some prodigious flashes of light; but then you must acknowledge, that light is often followed by *darkness visible*, to use his own expression. Besides, not having the honour to be acquainted with any of the parties of his Poem, except the Man and the Woman, the characters and speeches of a dozen or two of Angels, and of as many Devils, are as much above my reach as my entertainment. Keep this secret for me: for,  
if

if it should be known, I should be abused by every tasteless Pedant and every solid Divine in England.

Whatever I have said to the disadvantage of these three Poems, holds much stronger against Tasso's Gierusalemme: it is true, he has very fine and glaring rays of poetry; but then they are only meteors, they dazzle, then disappear, and are succeeded by false thoughts, poor *concetti*, and absurd impossibilities: witness the Fish and Parrot; extravagancies unworthy of an Heroic Poem, and would much better have become Ariosto, who professes *le coglionerie*.

I have never read the Lusiade of Camoens, except in a prose translation, consequently I have never read it at all, so shall say nothing of it; but the *Henriade* is all sense from the beginning to the end, often adorned by the justest and liveliest reflections, the most beautiful descriptions, the noblest images, and the sublimest sentiments; not to mention the harmony of the verse, in which Voltaire undoubtedly exceeds all the French poets: should you insist upon an exception in favour of Racine, I must insist, on my part, that he at least equals him. What Hero ever interested more than Henry the Fourth, who, according to the rules of Epic poetry, carries on one great and long action, and succeeds in it last? What description ever excited more horror than those, first of the Massacre, and then of the Famine, at Paris? Was love ever painted with more truth and *morbidez-za* than in the ninth book! Not better, in my mind, even in the fourth of Virgil. Upon the whole, with all your classical rigour, if you will but suppose

suppose *St. Louis* a God, a Devil, or a Witch, and that he appears in person, and not in a dream, the *Henriade* will be an Epic poem, according to the strictest statute laws of the *Epopée*; but in my court of equity it is one as it is.

I could expatiate as much upon all his different works, but that I should exceed the bounds of a letter, and run into a dissertation. How delightful is his History of that northern Brute, the King of Sweden! for I cannot call him a man; and I should be sorry to have him pass for a Hero, out of regard to those true Heroes, such as Julius Cæsar, Titus, Trajan, and the present King of Prussia; who cultivated and encouraged arts and sciences; whose animal courage was accompanied by the tender and social sentiments of humanity; and who had more pleasure in improving, than in destroying their fellow-creatures. What can be more touching, or more interesting; what more nobly thought, or more happily expressed, than all his dramatic pieces? What can be more clear and rational than all his philosophical letters? and what ever was so graceful, and genteel, as all his little poetical trifles? You are fortunately *à portée* of verifying, by your knowledge of the man, all that I have said of his works.

Monfieur de Maupertuis (whom I hope you will get acquainted with) is, what one rarely meets with, deep in philosophy and mathematics, and yet *bonnête et aimable homme*; Algarotti is young Fontenelle. Such men must necessarily give you the desire of pleasing them; and if you can frequent them, their  
acquain-

acquaintance will furnish you the means of pleasing every body else.

*A propos* of pleasing; your pleasing Mrs. F——d is expected here in two or three days; I will do all that I can for you with her: I think you carried on the romance to the third or fourth volume; I will continue it to the eleventh; but as for the twelfth and last, you must come and conclude it yourself. *Non sum qualis eram.*

Good night to you, child; for I am going to bed, just at the hour at which I suppose you are beginning to live, at Berlin.

## L E T T E R CCXCIII.

Bath, November the 11th, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

IT is a very old and very true maxim, that those Kings reign the most secure, and the most absolute, who reign in the hearts of their people. Their popularity is a better guard than their army, and the affections of their subjects, a better pledge of their obedience, than their fears. This rule is, in proportion, full as true, though upon a different scale, with regard to private people. A man who possesses that great art of pleasing universally, and of



gaining the affections of those with whom he converses, possesses a strength which nothing else can give him; a strength, which facilitates and helps his rise; and which, in case of accidents, breaks his fall. Few people of your age sufficiently consider this great point of popularity; and, when they grow older and wiser, strive in vain to recover what they lost by their negligence. There are three principal causes that hinder them from acquiring this useful strength; pride, inattention, and *mauvaise honte*. The first, I will not, I cannot suspect you of; it is too much below your understanding. You cannot, and I am sure you do not, think yourself superior by nature to the Savoyard who cleans your room, or footman who cleans your shoes; but you may rejoice, and with reason, at the difference that fortune has made in your favour. Enjoy all those advantages; but without insulting those who are unfortunate enough to want them, or even doing any thing unnecessarily that may remind them of that want. For my own part, I am more upon my guard as to my behaviour to my servants, and others who are called my inferiors, than I am towards my equals; for fear of being suspected of that mean and ungenerous sentiment, of desiring to make others feel that difference which fortune has, and perhaps, too, undeservedly, made between us. Young people do not enough attend to this; but falsely imagine that the imperative mood, and a rough tone of authority and decision, are indications of spirit and courage. Inattention is always looked upon, though sometimes unjustly,



unjustly, as the effect of pride and contempt; and where it is thought so, is never forgiven. In this article, young people are generally exceedingly to blame, and offend extremely. Their whole attention is engrossed by their particular set of acquaintance: and by some few glaring and exalted objects, of rank, beauty, or parts: all the rest they think so little worth their care, that they neglect even common civility towards them. I will frankly confess to you, that this was one of my great faults when I was of your age. Very attentive to please that narrow Court circle in which I stood enchanted, I considered every thing else as *bourgeois*, and unworthy of common civility; I paid my court assiduously and skillfully enough to shining and distinguished figures, such as ministers, wits, and beauties; but then I most absurdly and imprudently neglected, and consequently offended, all others. By this folly I made myself a thousand enemies of both sexes; who, though I thought them very insignificant, found means to hurt me essentially, where I wanted to recommend myself the most. I was thought proud, though I was only imprudent. A general easy civility and attention to the common run of ugly women, and of middling men, both which I sillily thought, called, and treated as odd people, would have made me as many friends, as by the contrary conduct I made myself enemies. All this too was *à pure perte*; for I might equally, and even more successfully, have made my court, where I had particular views to gratify. I will allow that this talk is often very

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unpleasant, and that one pays, with some unwillingness, that tribute of attention to dull and tedious men, and to old and ugly women; but it is the lowest price of popularity and general applause, which are very well worth purchasing, were they much dearer. I conclude this head with this advice to you: Gain, by particular assiduity and address, the men and women you want; and, by an universal civility and attention, please every body so far, as to have their good word, if not their good will; or, at least, as to secure a partial neutrality.

*Mauvaise honte* not only hinders young people from making a great many friends, but makes them a great many enemies. They are ashamed of doing the thing that they know to be right, and would otherwise do, for fear of the momentary laugh of some fine gentleman or lady, or of some *mauvais plaisant*. I have been in this case; and have often wished an obscure acquaintance at the devil, for meeting and taking notice of me, when I was in what I thought and called fine company. I have returned their notice shily, awkwardly, and consequently offensively, for fear of a momentary joke; not considering, as I ought to have done, that the very people who would have joked upon me at first, would have esteemed me the more for it afterwards. An example explains a rule best: Suppose you were walking in the Tuilleries with some fine folks, and that you should unexpectedly meet your old acquaintance, little crooked Grierson; what would  
you

you do? I will tell you what you should do, by telling you what I would now do in that case myself. I would run up to him, and embrace him; say some kind things to him, and then return to my company. There I should be immediately asked :

*Mais qu'est ce que c'est donc que ce petit Sapajou que vous avez embrassé si tendrement ? Pour cè'a l'accolade a été charmante ;* with a great deal more festivity of that sort. To this I should answer, without being the least ashamed, but *en badinant* : *O je ne vous dirai pas qui c'est ; c'est un petit ami que je tiens incognito, qui a son mérite, et qui, à force d'être connu, fait oublier sa figure. Que me donnerez-vous, et je vous le présenterai ?* And then, with a little more seriousness, I would add ; *Mais d'ailleurs c'est que je ne désavoue jamais mes connoissances, à cause de leur état ou de leur figure. Il faut avoir bien peu de sentiments pour le faire.* ) This would at once put an end to that momentary pleasantry, and give them all a better opinion of me than they had before. Suppose another case ; and that some of the finest ladies *du bon ton* should come into a room, and find you sitting by, and talking politely to, la vieille Marquise de Bellefonds, the joke would, for a moment, turn upon that tête à tête. *He bien ! avez-vous à la fin fixé la belle Marquise ? La partie est-elle faite pour la petite maison ? la souper sera galant sans doute. Mais ne fais-tu donc point scrupule de séduire une jeune et aimable personne comme celle-là ?* To this I should answer :

*La partie n'étoit pas encore tout-à-fait liée, vous nous avez interrompu ; mais avec le tems que sait-on ? D'ail-*

*leurs marquez-vous de mes amours tant qu'il vous plaira, je vous dirai que je respecte tant les jeunes dames, que je respecte même les vieilles, pour l'avoir été. Après cela il y a souvent des liaisons entre les vieilles et les jeunes.*

This would at once turn the pleasantry into an esteem for your good sense and your good-breeding. Pursue steadily, and without fear or shame, whatever your reason tells you is right, and what you see is practised by people of more experience than yourself, and of established characters of good sense and good-breeding.

After all this, perhaps you will say, that it is impossible to please every body. I grant it: but it does not follow that one should not therefore endeavour to please as many as one can. Nay; I will go farther, and admit that it is impossible for any man not to have some enemies. But this truth, from long experience, I assert, that he who has the most friends, and the fewest enemies, is the strongest; will rise the highest with the least envy; and fall, if he does fall, the gentlest, and the most pitied. This is surely an object worth pursuing. Pursue it according to the rules I have here given you. I will add one observation more, and two examples to enforce it; and then, as the parsons say, conclude.

There is no one creature so obscure, so low, or so poor, who may not, by the strange and unaccountable changes and vicissitudes of human affairs, somehow or other, or some time or other, become an useful friend, or a troublesome enemy, to the great-  
est;

est and the richest.—The late Duke of Ormond was almost the weakest, but, at the same time, the best bred, and most popular man in this kingdom. His education in courts and camps, joined to an easy, gentle nature, had given him that habitual affability, those engaging manners, and those mechanical attentions, that almost supplied the place of every talent he wanted; and he wanted almost every one. They procured him the love of all men, without the esteem of any. He was impeached after the death of Queen Anne, only because that, having been engaged in the same measures with those who were necessarily to be impeached, his impeachment, for form's sake, became necessary. But he was impeached without acrimony, and without the least intention that he should suffer, notwithstanding the party violence of those times. The question for his impeachment, in the House of Commons, was carried by many fewer votes, than any other question of impeachment; and Earl Stanhope, then Mr. Stanhope, and Secretary of State, who impeached him, very soon after negotiated and concluded his accommodation with the late King; to whom he was to have been presented the next day. But the late Bishop of Rochester, Atterbury, who thought that the Jacobite cause might suffer by losing the Duke of Ormond, went in all haste, and prevailed with the poor weak man to run away; assuring him, that he was only to be gulled into a disgraceful submission, and not to be pardoned in consequence of it.

When his subsequent attainder passed, it excited mobs and disturbances in town. He had not a personal enemy in the world, and had a thousand friends. All this was singly owing to his natural desire of pleasing; and to the mechanical means that his education, not his parts, had given him of doing it.— The other instance is the late Duke of Marlborough, who studied the art of pleasing, because he well knew the importance of it; he enjoyed and used it more than ever man did. He gained whomsoever he had a mind to gain; and he had a mind to gain every body, because he knew that every body was more or less worth gaining. Though his power, as Minister and General, made him many political and party enemies, they did not make him one personal one; and the very people who would gladly have displaced, disgraced, and perhaps attainted, the Duke of Marlborough, at the same time personally loved Mr. Churchill, even though his private character was blemished by sordid avarice, the most unamiable of all vices. He had wound up and turned his whole machine to please and engage. He had an inimitable sweetness and gentleness in his countenance, a tenderness in his manner of speaking, a graceful dignity in every motion, and an universal and minute attention to the least things that could possibly please the least person. This was all art in him; art, of which he well knew and enjoyed the advantages; for no man ever had more interior ambition, pride, and avarice, than he had.

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Though you have more than most people of your age, you have yet very little experience and knowledge of the world; now I wish to inoculate mine upon you, and thereby prevent both the dangers and the marks of youth and inexperience. If you receive the matter kindly, and observe my prescriptions scrupulously, you will secure the future advantages of time, and join them to the present inestimable ones of one-and-twenty.

I most earnestly recommend one thing more to you, during your present stay at Paris: I own it is not the most agreeable; but I affirm it to be the most useful thing in the world to one of your age; and therefore I do hope that you will force and constrain yourself to do it. I mean to converse frequently, or rather to be in company frequently, with both men and women much your superiors in age and rank. I am very sensible that, at your age, *vous y entrez pour peu de chose, et même souvent pour rien, et que vous y passerez même quelques mauvais quart-d'heures*; but no matter; you will be a solid gainer by it: you will see, hear, and learn, the turn and manners of those people; you will gain premature experience by it; and it will give you a habit of engaging and respectful attentions: Versailles, as much as possible, though probably unentertaining; the Palais Royal often, however dull; foreign ministers of the first rank, frequently; and women, though old, who are respectable and respected for their rank or parts, such as Madame de Puffieux, Madame de Nivernois,

Madame

Madame d'Aiguillon, Madame Geoffrain, &c. This *sujettion*, if it be one to you, will cost you but very little these three or four months that you are to pass at Paris, and will bring you in a great deal; nor will it, nor ought it, to hinder you from being in more entertaining company great part of the day. *Vous pouvez, si vous le voulez, tirer un grand parti de ces quatre mois.* May God make you do so, and bless you! Adieu,

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# LETTER CCXCIV.

Bath, November the 16th, 1752.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

VANITY, or, to call it by a gentler name, the desire of admiration and applause, is, perhaps, the most universal principle of human actions; I do not say, that it is the best; and I will own, that it is sometimes the cause of both foolish and criminal effects. But it is so much oftener the principle of right things, that, though they ought to have a better, yet, considering human nature, that principle is to be encouraged and cherished, in consideration of its effects. Where that desire is wanting, we are apt to be indifferent, listless, indolent, and inert;

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we do not exert our powers ; and we appear to be as much below ourselves, as the vainest man living can desire to appear above what he really is.

As I have made you my confessor, and do not scruple to confess even my weaknesses to you, I will fairly own, that I had that vanity, that weakness, if it be one, to a prodigious degree ; and, what is more, I confess it without repentance ; nay, I am glad I had it ; since, if I have had the good fortune to please in the world, it is to that powerful and active principle that I owe it. I began the world, not with a bare desire, but with an insatiable thirst, a rage of popularity, applause, and admiration. If this made me do some silly things, on one hand ; it made me, on the other hand, do almost all the right things that I did : it made me attentive and civil to the women I disliked, and to the men I despised, in hopes of the applause of both : though I neither desired, nor would I have accepted the favours of the one, nor the friendship of the other. I always dressed, looked, and talked my best ; and, I own, was overjoyed whenever I perceived that by all three, or by any one of them, the company was pleased with me. To men, I talked whatever I thought would give them the best opinion of my parts and learning ; and, to women, what I was sure would please them ; flattery, gallantry, and love. And moreover I will own to you, under the secrecy of confession, that my vanity has very often made me take great pains to make many a woman in love with me.

me, if I could, for whose person I would not have given a pinch of snuff. In company with men, I always endeavoured to out-shine, or, at least, if possible, to equal the most shining men in it. This desire elicited whatever powers I had to gratify it; and where I could not perhaps shine in the first, enabled me, at least, to shine in a second or third sphere. By these means I soon grew in fashion; and when a man is once in fashion, all he does is right. It was an infinite pleasure to me, to find my own fashion and popularity. I was sent for to all parties of pleasure, both of men or women; where, in some measure, I gave the *ton*. This gave me the reputation of having had some women of condition: and that reputation, whether true or false, really got me others. With the men I was a Proteus, and assumed every shape, in order to please them all: among the gay, I was the gayest; among the grave, the gravest; and I never omitted the least attentions of good-breeding, or the least offices of friendship, that could either please or attach them to me: and accordingly I was soon connected with all the men of any fashion or figure in town.

To this principle of vanity, which Philosophers call a mean one, and which I do not, I owe great part of the figure which I have made in life. I wish you had as much, but I fear you have too little of it: and you seem to have a degree of laziness and listlessness about you, that makes you indifferent as to general applause. This is not in character at your age, and

would

It would be easily found out in an elo-  
cution philosophical manner. It is a vulgar, or  
ordinary saying, but it is a very true one, that  
you should always put the best foot foremost. You  
should please, shine, and sparkle wherever  
it is possible. At Paris, I am sure you must ob-  
serve que c'est un se faire Valoir autant qu'il est  
possible; and la Bruyere observes, very justly  
vous ne vous mettez pas en mode, que ce que on veut  
avoir; whenever applause is in question, you  
will never see a French man, not Woman,  
and not negligent. Observe the eternal at-  
tentions and politeness that all people have  
there for one another. Ce n'est pas pour leurs  
beaux yeux, leur amour. No, but for their  
vanities, for commendations and applause,  
it is then recommended this principle of vanity  
to you; act upon it with prudence; I promise  
you it will turn to your account. Practice  
all the arts that ever Cyprien did, to please.  
Be alert and indefatigable in making every  
man admire, and every woman in love with  
you. I can tell you too, that nothing will  
carry you higher in the World.