South of France long ago. I continue very lame and weak, and deſpair of ever recovering any ſtrength in my legs. I care very little about it. At my age, every man muſt have his ſhare of phyſical ills of one kind or another; and mine, thank God, are not very painful. God bleſs you!

LETTER CCCCXIX.

London, March the 12th, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THE day after I received your letter of the 21ſt paſt, I wrote to Lord Weymouth, as you deſired; and I ſend you his anſwer encloſed: from which (though I have not heard from him ſince) I take it for granted, and ſo may you, that his ſilence ſignifies his Majeſty's conſent to your requeſt. Your complicated complaints give me great uneaſineſs, and the more, as I am convinced that the Montpellier phyſicians have miſtaken a material part of your caſe; as indeed all the phyſicians here did, except Dr. Maty. In my opinion, you have no gout, but a very ſcorbutic and rheumatic habit of body, which ſhould be treated in a very different manner from the gout; and, as I pretend to be a very good quack, at leaſt, I would preſcribe to you a ſtrict milk diet, with the ſeeds, ſuch as rice, ſago, barley, millet,

&c. for the three ſummer months at leaſt, and without ever taſting wine. If climate ſignifies any thing (in which, by the way, I have very little faith), you are, in my mind, in the fineſt climate in the world; neither too hot nor too cold, and always clear: you are with the gayeſt people living; be gay with them, and do not wear out your eyes with reading at home. *L'ennui* is the Engliſh diſtemper; and a very bad one it is, as I find by every day's experience; for my deafneſs deprives me of the only rational pleaſure that I can have at my age, which is ſociety; ſo that I read my eyes out every day, that I may not hang myſelf.

You will not be in this Parliament, at leaſt not in the beginning of it. I relied too much upon Lord C——'s promiſe above a year ago, at Bath. He deſired that I would leave it to him; that he would make it his own affair, and give it in charge to the Duke of G——, whoſe province it was to make the parliamentary arrangement. This I depended upon, and I think with reaſon; but, ſince that, Lord C—— has neither ſeen nor ſpoken to any body, and has been in the oddeſt way in the world. I ſent to the D—— of G——, to know if L—— C—— had either ſpoken or ſent to him about it; but he aſſured me that he had done neither: that all was full, or rather running over, at preſent: but that, if he could crowd you in upon a vacancy, he would do it with great pleaſure. I am extremely ſorry for this accident; for I am of a very different opinion from you, about being in Parliament, as no man can be

of

of conſequence in this country, who is not in it; and, though one may not ſpeak like a Lord Manſfield, or a Lord Chatham, one may make a very good figure in a ſecond rank, *Locus eſt et pluribus umbris.* I do not pretend to give you any account of the preſent ſtate of this country, or Miniſtry, not knowing nor gueſſing it myſelf.

God bleſs you, and ſend you health, which is the firſt and greateſt of all bleſſings!

LETTER CCCCXX.

London, March the 15th, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

THIS letter is ſupplemental to my laſt. This morning Lord Weymouth very civilly ſent Mr. Wood, his firſt *commis*, to tell me, that the King very willingly gave you leave of abſence from your poſt for a year, for the recovery of your health; but then added, that as the Court of Vienna was tampering with that of Saxony, which it ſeems our court is deſirous to *contrequarrer*, it might be neceſſary to have in the interim a *Chargé d'Affaires* at Dreſden, with a defalcation out of your appointments of forty ſhillings a day, till your return, if I would agree to it. I told him, that I conſented to both the propoſals, upon condition that at your return

you ſhould have the character and the pay of Plenipotentiary added to your preſent character and pay; and that I would completely make up to you the defalcation of the forty ſhillings a day. He poſitively engaged for it, and added, that he knew that it would be willingly agreed to. Thus I think I have made a good bargain for you, though but an indifferent one for myſelf; but that is what I never minded in my life. You may, therefore, depend upon receiving from me the full of this defalcation, when and how you pleaſe, independently of your uſual annual refreſhment, which I will pay to Monſieur l'Argent, whenever you deſire it. In the mean time, *Cura ut valeas.*

The perſon whom Mr. Wood intimated to me would be the *Chargé d'Affaires* during your abſence, is one Mr. Keith, the ſon of that Mr. Keith who was formerly Miniſter in Ruſſia.

LETTER CCCCXXI.

London, April the 12th, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

I RECEIVED, yeſterday, your letter of the 1ſt; in which you do not mention the ſtate of your health, which I deſire you will do for the future.

I be-

I believe you have gueſſed the true reaſon of Mr. Keith's miſſion; but, by a whiſper that I have ſince heard, Keith is rather inclined to go to Turin, as *Chargé d'Affaires*. I forgot to tell you, in my laſt, that I was moſt poſitively aſſured, that the inſtant you return to Dreſden, Keith ſhould decamp. I am perſuaded they will keep their words with me, as there is no one reaſon in the world why they ſhould not. I will ſend your annual to Mr. L'Arpent, in a fortnight, and pay the forty ſhillings a day quarterly, if there ſhould be occaſion; for, in my own private opinion, there will be no *Chargé d'Affaires* ſent. I agree with you, that *point d'Argent point d'Allemand*, as was uſed to be ſaid, and not without more reaſon, of the Swiſs; but, as we have neither the inclination nor (I fear) the power to give ſubſidies, the Court of Vienna can give good things that coſt them nothing, as Archbiſhoprics, Biſhoprics, beſides corrupting their Miniſters and Favourites with places.

Elections, here, have been carried to a degree of frenzy hitherto unheard of; that for the town of Northampton has coſt the contending parties at leaſt thirty thouſand pounds a ſide; and ——— ——— has ſold his borough of ———, to two Members, for nine thouſand pounds. As ſoon as Wilkes had loſt his election for the City, he ſet up for the County of Middleſex, and carried it hollow, as the jockeys ſay. Here were great mobs and riots upon that occaſion, and moſt of the windows in town broke, that had no lights *for Wilkes and Liberty*, who were thought to be inſeparable. He will appear, the

the 20th of this month, in the Court of King's Bench, to receive his ſentence; and then great riots are again expected, and probably will happen. God bleſs you!

LETTER CCCCXXII.

Bath, October the 17th, 1768.

MY DEAR FRIEND,

YOUR two laſt letters, to myſelf and Grevenkop, have alarmed me extremely; but I comfort myſelf a little, by hoping, that you, like all people who ſuffer, think yourſelf worſe than you are. A dropſy never comes ſo ſuddenly; and I flatter myſelf, that it is only that gouty or rheumatic humour, which has plagued you ſo long, that has occaſioned the temporary ſwelling of your legs. Above forty years ago, after a violent fever, my legs were ſwelled as much as you deſcribe yours to be; I immediately thought that I had a dropſy; but the Faculty aſſured me, that my complaint was only the effect of my fever, and would ſoon be cured; and they ſaid true. Pray let your amanuenſis, whoever he may be, write an account regularly, once a week, either to Grevenkop or myſelf, for that is the ſame thing, of the ſtate of your health.

I ſent

I ſent you, in four ſucceſſive letters, as much of the Dutcheſs of Somerſet's ſnuff as a letter could well convey to you. Have you received all or any of them? and have they done you any good? Though, in your preſent condition, you cannot go into company, I hope you have ſome acquaintances that come and ſit with you; for, if originally it was not good for man to be alone, it is much worſe for a ſick man to be ſo: he thinks too much of his diſtemper, and magnifies it. Some men of learning amongſt the Eccleſiaſtics, I dare ſay, would be glad to ſit with you; and you could give them as good as they brought.

Poor Harte, who is here ſtill, is in a moſt miſerable condition; he has entirely loſt the uſe of his left ſide, and can hardly ſpeak intelligibly. I was with him yeſterday. He inquired after you with great affection, and was in the utmoſt concern when I ſhowed him your letter.

My own health is as it has been ever ſince I was here laſt year. I am neither well nor ill, but *unwell*. I have in a manner loſt the uſe of my legs; for, though I can make a ſhift to crawl upon even ground for a quarter of an hour, I cannot go up or down ſtairs, unleſs ſupported by a ſervant.

God bleſs, and grant you a ſpeedy recovery!

Here end the letters to Mr. Stanhope, as he died the 16th of November following.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXIII.

To Mrs. Stanhope, then at Paris.

London, March the 16th, 1769.

MADAM,

A TROUBLESOME and painful inflammation in my eyes obliges me to uſe another hand than my own, to acknowledge the receipt of your letter from Avignon, of the 27th paſt.

I am extremely ſurpriſed that Mrs. du-Bouchet ſhould have any objection to the manner in which your late huſband deſired to be buried, and which you, very properly, complied with. All I deſire, for my own burial, is not to be buried alive; but how or where, I think, muſt be intirely indifferent to every rational creature.

I have no commiſſion to trouble you with, during your ſtay at Paris; from whence, I wiſh you and the boys a good journey home; where I ſhall be very glad to ſee you all; and aſſure you of my being, with great truth,

Your faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXIV.

To the ſame, at London.

MADAM,

THE laſt time I had the pleaſure of ſeeing you, I was ſo taken up in playing with the boys, that I forgot their more important affairs. How ſoon would you have them placed at ſchool? When I know your pleaſure as to that, I will ſend to Monſieur Perny, to prepare every thing for their reception. In the mean time, I beg that you will equip them thoroughly with clothes, linen, *&c.* all good, but plain; and give me the account, which I will pay; for I do not intend, that, from this time forwards, the two boys ſhould coſt you one ſhilling.

I am, with great truth, Madam,
Your faithful, humble ſervant,
CHESTERFIELD.

Wedneſday.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXV.

MADAM,

AS ſome day muſt be fixed for ſending the boys to ſchool, do you approve of the 8th of next month? by which time the weather will probably be warm and ſettled, and you will be able to equip them completely.

I will, upon that day, ſend my coach to you, to carry you and the boys to Loughborough Houſe, with all their immenſe baggage. I muſt recommend to you, when you leave them there, to ſuppreſs, as well as you can, the overflowings of maternal tenderneſs; which would grieve the poor boys the more, and give them a terror of their new eſtabliſhment.

I am, with great truth, Madam,
Your faithful, humble ſervant,
CHESTERFIELD.

Tueſday Morning.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXVI.

Bath, October the 11th, 1769.

MADAM,

NOBODY can be more willing or ready to obey orders than I am; but then I muſt like the orders and the orderer. Your orders and yourſelf come under this deſcription; and therefore I muſt give you an account of my arrival and exiſtence, ſuch as it is, here. I got hither laſt Sunday, the day after I left London, leſs fatigued than I expected to have been; and now crawl about this place upon my three legs, but am kept in countenance by many of my fellow-crawlers: the laſt part of the Sphynx's riddle approaches, and I ſhall ſoon end, as I began, upon all fours.

When you happen to ſee either Monſieur or Madame Perny, I beg you will give them this *melancholick* proof of my caducity, and tell them, that the laſt time I went to ſee the boys, I carried the Michaelmas quarterage in my pocket, and when I was there I totally forgot it; but aſſure them, that I have not the leaſt intention to bilk them, and will pay them faithfully the two quarters together, at Chriſtmas.

I hope our two boys are well; for then I am ſure you are ſo.

I am, with great truth and eſteem,
Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXVII.

Bath, October the 28th, 1769.

MADAM,

YOUR kind anxiety for my health and life, is more than, in my opinion, they are both worth: without the former, the latter is a burthen; and, indeed, I am very weary of it. I think I have got ſome benefit by drinking theſe waters, and by bathing, for my old, ſtiff, rheumatic limbs; for I believe I could now outcrawl a ſnail, or perhaps even a tortoiſe.

I hope the boys are well. Phil, I dare ſay, has been in ſome ſcrapes; but he will get triumphantly out of them, by dint of ſtrength and reſolution.

I am, with great truth and eſteem,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXVIII.

Bath, November the 5th, 1769.

MADAM,

I REMEMBER very well the paragraph which you quote from a letter of mine to Mrs. Du-Bouchet, and I ſee no reaſon yet to retract that opinion, *in general*, which at leaſt nineteen widows in twenty had authoriſed. I had not then the pleaſure of your acquaintance: I had ſeen you but twice or thrice; and I had no reaſon to think that you would deviate, as you have done, from other widows, ſo much, as to put perpetual ſhackles upon yourſelf, for the ſake of your children: but (if I may uſe a vulgariſm) one ſwallow makes no ſummer: five righteous were formerly neceſſary to ſave a city, and they could not be found; ſo, till I find four more ſuch righteous widows as yourſelf, I ſhall entertain my former notions of widowhood in general.

I can aſſure you that I drink here very ſoberly and cautiouſly, and at the ſame time keep ſo cool a diet, that I do not find the leaſt ſymptom of heat, much leſs of inflammation. By the way, I never had that complaint, in conſequence of having drank theſe waters; for I have had it but four times, and always in the middle of ſummer. Mr. Hawkins is timorous, even to *minutiæ*, and my ſiſter delights in them.

Charles will be a ſcholar, if you pleaſe; but our little Philip, without being one, will be ſomething or other as good, though I do not yet gueſs what. I am not of the opinion generally entertained in this country, that man lives by Greek and Latin alone; that is, by knowing a great many words of two dead languages, which no body living knows perfectly, and which are of no uſe in the common intercourſe of life. Uſeful knowledge, in my opinion, conſiſts of modern languages, hiſtory, and geography; ſome Latin may be thrown into the bargain, in compliance with cuſtom and for cloſet amuſement.

You are, by this time, certainly tired with this long letter, which I could prove to you from Horace's own words (for I am a *ſcholar*) to be a bad one; he ſays, that water-drinkers can write nothing good; ſo I am, with real truth and eſteem,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER CCCCXXIX.

Bath, October the 9th, 1770.

MADAM,

I AM extremely obliged to you for the kind par which you take in my health and life: as to the latter,

I am.

I am as indifferent myſelf, as any other body can be; but as to the former I confeſs care and anxiety; for while I am to crawl upon this Planet, I would willingly enjoy the health at leaſt of an inſect. How far theſe waters will reſtore me to that moderate degree of health, which alone I aſpire at, I have not yet given them a fair trial, having drank them but one week; the only difference I hitherto find is, that I ſleep better than I did.

I beg that you will neither give yourſelf, nor Mr. Fitzhugh, much trouble about the Pine plants; for, as it is three years before they fruit, I might as well, at my age, plant Oaks, and hope to have the advantage of their timber: however, ſomebody or other, God knows who, will eat them, as ſomebody or other will fell and ſell the Oaks I planted five-and-forty years ago.

I hope our boys are well; *my reſpects* to them both.

I am, with the greateſt truth,

Your faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER CCCCXXX.

Bath, November the 4th, 1770.

MADAM,

THE poſt has been more favourable to you than I intended it ſhould; for, upon my word, I anſwered your former letter the poſt after I had received it. However you have *got a loſs*, as we ſay ſometimes in Ireland.

My friends, from time to time, require bills of health from me in theſe ſuſpicious times, when the Plague is buſy in ſome parts of Europe. All I can ſay, in anſwer to their kind inquiries, is, that I have not the diſtemper properly called the plague; but that I have all the plagues of old age, and of a ſhattered carcaſe. Theſe waters have done me what little good I expected from them; though by no means what I could have wiſhed, for I wiſhed them to be *les eaux de Jouvence*.

I had a letter, the other day, from our two boys; Charles's was very finely written, and Philip's very prettily: they are perfectly well, and ſay that they want nothing. What grown-up people will or can ſay as much?

I am, with the trueſt eſteem, Madam,

Your moſt faithful ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER

LETTER CCCCXXXI.

Bath, October the 27th, 1771.

MADAM,

UPON my word, you intereſt yourſelf, in the ſtate of my exiſtence, more than I do myſelf; for it is worth the care of neither of us. I ordered my *valet de chambre*, according to your orders, to inform you of my ſafe arrival here; to which I can add nothing, being neither better nor worſe than I was then.

I am very glad that our boys are well. Pray give them the encloſed.

I am not at all ſurpriſed at Mr. ——'s converſion; for he was, at ſeventeen, the idol of old women, for his gravity, devotion, and dulneſs.

I am, Madam,

Your moſt faithful, humble ſervant,

CHESTERFIELD.

LETTER CCCCXXXII.

To Charles and Philip Stanhope.

Bath, October the 27th, 1771.

I RECEIVED, a few days ago, two the beſt written letters that ever I ſaw in my life: the one ſigned Charles Stanhope, the other Philip Stanhope. As for you, Charles, I did not wonder at it; for you will take pains, and are a lover of letters: but you idle rogue, you Phil, how came you to write ſo well, that one can almoſt ſay of you two, *et cantare pares et reſpondere parati?* Charles will explain this Latin to you.

I am told, Phil, that you have got a nick-name at ſchool, from your intimacy with Maſter Strangeways; and that they call you Maſter *Strangerways*; for, to be ſure, you are a ſtrange boy. Is this true?

Tell me what you would have me bring you both from hence, and I will bring it you, when I come to town. In the mean time, God bleſs you both!

CHESTERFIELD.

THE END OF THE LETTERS.

MISCELLANEOUS PIECES.

CCCCXXXIII.

Some Account of the Government of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces.

THE Government of the Republic of the Seven United Provinces is thought by many to be Democratical; but it is merely Ariſtocratical *; the people not having the leaſt ſhare in it, either themſelves, or by repreſentatives of their own chuſing: they have nothing to do but to pay and grumble.

The Sovereign Power is commonly thought to be in the States General, *as they are called*, reſiding at the Hague. It is no ſuch thing; they are only limited Deputies, obliged to conſult their Conſtituents upon every point of any importance that occurs. It

* The members of the Senate, or *Vroetſchaps*, were originally elected by the Burghers, in a general, and often a tumultous aſſembly: but now, for near two hundred years, the *Vroetſchaps* found means to perſuade the people that theſe elections were troubleſome and dangerous; and kindly took upon themſelves to elect their own Members, upon vacancies; and to keep their own body full, without troubling the people with an election: it was then that the Ariſtocracy was eſtabliſhed.

is very true, that the Sovereign Power is lodged in the States General; but who are thoſe States General? Not thoſe who are commonly called ſo; but the Senate, Council, or *Vrootſchaps*, call it what you will, of every town in every Province that ſends Deputies to the Provincial States of the ſaid Province. Theſe *Vrootſchaps* are in truth the States General; but, were they to aſſemble, they would amount, for aught I know, to two or three thouſand: it is, therefore, for conveniency and diſpatch of buſineſs, that every Province ſends Deputies to the Hague, who are conſtantly aſſembled there, who are commonly called the States General, and in whom many people falſely imagine that the Sovereign Power is lodged. Theſe Deputies are choſen by the *Vrootſchaps*; but their powers are extremely circumſcribed; and they can conſent to * nothing, without writing, or returning themſelves, to their ſeveral conſtituent towns, for inſtructions in that particular caſe. They are authoriſed to concur in matters of order; that is, to continue things in the common, current, ordinary train; but, for the leaſt innovation, the leaſt ſtep out

* When the Deputies of the States ſigned the Triple Alliance with Sir William Temple, in two or three days time, and without conſulting their Principals (however Sir William Temple values himſelf upon it) in reality, they only ſigned *Sub Spe Rati*. The act was not valid; and, had it not been ratified by the ſeveral Conſtituents of the ſeveral Provinces, it had been as *non avenu*. The Deputies who ſigned that treaty *Sub Spe Rati* knew well enough that, conſidering the nature of the treaty, and the then ſituation of affairs, they ſhould not only be avowed, but approved of by their Maſters the States.

of

of the ordinary courſe, new inſtructions muſt be given, either to deliberate or to conclude.

Many people are ignorant enough to take the Province of Holland, ſingly, for the Republic of the Seven United Provinces; and, when they mean to ſpeak of the Republic, they ſay, * *Holland* will, or will

* When the Province of Holland has once taken an important reſolution, of Peace, or War, or Acceſſion to any treaty, it is very probable that the other Provinces will come into that meaſure, but by no means certain: it is often a great while firſt; and, when the little Provinces know that the Province of Holland has their concurrence much at heart, they will often annex conditions to it; as the little towns in Holland frequently do when the great ones want their concurrence. As for inſtance, when I was ſoliciting the Acceſſion of the Republic to the treaty of Vienna, in 1731; which the Penſionary, Comte Sinzendorf, and I, had made ſecretly at the Hague; all the towns in Holland came pretty readily into it, except the little town of Briel, whoſe Deputies frankly declared, that they would not give their conſent, till *Major ſuch-a-one*, a very honeſt gentleman of their town, was promoted to the rank of Lieutenant-Colonel; and that, as ſoon as that was done, they would agree, for they approved of the treaty. This was accordingly done in two or three days, and then they agreed. This is a ſtrong inſtance of the abſurdity of the unanimity required, and of the uſe that is often made of it.

However, ſhould one, or even two, of the leſſer Provinces, who contribute little, and often pay leſs, to the public charge, obſtinately and frivolouſly, or perhaps corruptly, perſiſt in oppoſing a meaſure which Holland and the other more conſiderable Provinces thought neceſſary, and had agreed to, they would ſend a Deputation to thoſe oppoſing Provinces, to reaſon with and perſuade them to concur; but, if this would not do, they would, as they have done in many inſtances, conclude without them.

will not, do ſuch a thing: but moſt people are ignorant enough to imagine, that the Province of Holland has a legal, a conſtitutional power over the other ſix; whereas, by the Act of Union, the little Province of *Groningen* is as much Sovereign as the Province of Holland. The Seven Provinces are Seven diſtinct Sovereignties, confederated together in one Republic; no one having any ſuperiority over, or dependence upon, any other: nay, in point of precedence, Holland is but the ſecond, *Gueldres* being the firſt. It is very natural to ſuppoſe, and it is very true in fact, that Holland, from its ſuperiority of ſtrength and riches, and paying 58 *per cent.* ſhould have great weight and influence in the other ſix Provinces; but power it has none.

The unanimity which is conſtitutionally requiſite for every act of each town, and each Province ſeparately; and then for every act of the Seven collectively; is ſomething ſo abſurd, and ſo impracticable in government, that one is aſtoniſhed, that even the form of it has been tolerated ſo long; for the ſubſtance is not ſtrictly obſerved. And five Provinces will often conclude, though two diſſent, provided that Holland and Zeland are two of the five—as

them. The ſame thing is done in the Provincial States of the reſpective Provinces; where if one or two of the leaſt conſiderable towns pertinaciouſly oppoſe a neceſſary meaſure, they conclude without them. But, as this is abſolutely unconſtitutional, it is avoided as much as poſſible, and a complete unanimity procured, if it can be, by ſuch little conceſſions as that which I have mentioned to the Briel Major.

fourteen

fourteen or fifteen of the principal towns of Holland will conclude an affair, notwithſtanding the oppoſition of four or five of the leſſer. I cannot help conjecturing, that William, the firſt Prince of Orange, called the *Taciturne*, the ableſt man, without diſpute, of the age he lived in, not excepting even the Admiral Coligny——*, and who had the modelling of the Republic as he pleaſed: I conjecture, I ſay, that the Prince of Orange would never have ſuffered ſuch an abſurdity to have crippled that government, which he was at the head of, if he had not thought it uſeful to himſelf and his family. He covered the greateſt ambition with the greateſt modeſty, and declined the inſignificant outward ſigns, as much as he deſired the ſolid ſubſtance, of power: might he not therefore think, that this abſurd, though requiſite unanimity made a Stadthouder abſolutely neceſſary to render the government practicable? In which caſe he was very ſure the Stadthouder would always be taken out of his family; and he minded things, not names. The Penſionary † thinks this

* I am perſuaded, that, had the *Taciturne* been in the place of the Admiral Coligny, he would never have been prevailed upon to have come to Paris, and to have put himſelf into the power of thoſe two monſters of perfidy and cruelty, Catharine of Medicis and Charles the Ninth. His prudent eſcape from Flanders is a proof of it; when he rather choſe to be *Prince ſans terre*, than *Prince ſans tête*.

† Monſieur Slingelandt, the ableſt Miniſter, and the honeſteſt man I ever knew. I may juſtly call him my Friend, my Maſter, and my Guide. For I was then quite new in buſineſs; he inſtructed me, he loved, he truſted me.

con-

conjecture probable; and, as we were talking the other day confidentially upon this ſubject, we both agreed that this monſtrous and impracticable unanimity, required by the conſtitution, was alone ſufficient to bring about a Stadthouder, in ſpite of all the meaſures of the Republican party to prevent it. He confeſſed to me, that, upon his being made Penſionary, he entered into ſolemn engagements, not to contribute, directly or indirectly, to any change of the preſent form of government, and that he would ſcrupulouſly obſerve thoſe engagements; but that he foreſaw the defects in their form of government, and the abuſes crept into every part of it, would infallibly produce a * Stadthouder, tumultuouſly impoſed upon the Republic, by an inſurrection of the populace, as in the caſe of King William. I told him, that, in my opinion, if that were to happen a ſecond time, the Stadthouder ſo made would be their King †. He ſaid, he believed ſo too; and that he had

* It has ſince appeared that he judged very rightly.

† And ſo he ought to be now, even for the ſake and preſervation of the Seven Provinces. The neceſſary principle of a Republic, *Virtue*, ſubſiſts no longer there. The great riches of private people (though the public is poor) have long ago extinguiſhed that principle, and deſtroyed the equality neceſſary to a Commonwealth. A Commonwealth is unqueſtionably, upon paper, the moſt rational and equitable form of government; but it is as unqueſtionably impracticable, in all countries where riches have introduced luxury, and a great inequality of conditions. It will only do in thoſe countries that poverty keeps virtuous. In England, it would very ſoon grow a tyrannical Ariſtocracy; ſoon

had urged all this to the moſt conſiderable Members of the Government, and the moſt jealous Republicans. That he had even formed a plan which he had laid before them, as the only poſſible one to prevent this impending danger. That a Stadthouder was originally the chief ſpring upon which their government turned; and that, if they would have no Stadthouder, they muſt ſubſtitute a *ſuccedaneum*. That one part of that *ſuccedaneum* muſt be to aboliſh the unanimity required by the preſent form of government, and which only a Stadthouder could render practicable by his influence. That the abuſes which were crept into the military part of the government muſt be corrected, or that they alone, if they were ſuffered to go on, would make a Stadthouder; in order that the army and navy, which the public paid for, might be of ſome uſe, which at preſent they were not. That he had laid theſe, and many other conſiderations of the like nature, before them; in the hopes of one of theſe two things: either to prevail with them to make a Stadthouder unneceſſary, by a juſt reformation of the abuſes of the government, and ſubſtituting a majority, or, at moſt

ſoon afterwards, an Oligarchy; and, ſoon after that, an abſolute Monarchy: from the ſame cauſe that Denmark, in the laſt century, became ſo; the intolerable oppreſſion of the bulk of the people, from thoſe whom they looked upon as their equals. If the young Stadthouder has abilities, he will, when he grows up, get all the powers of a limited Monarchy, ſuch as England, no matter under what name; and, if he is really wiſe, he will deſire no more: if the people are wiſe, they will give it him.

two-

two-thirds, to the abſurd and impracticable unanimity now requiſite: or, if they would not come into theſe preventive regulations, that they would treat amicably with the Prince of Orange, and give him the *Stadthouderat*, under ſtrict limitations, and with effectual proviſions for their liberty. But they would liſten to neither of theſe expedients. the firſt affected the private intereſts of moſt of the conſiderable people of the Republic, whoſe power and profit aroſe from thoſe abuſes: and the ſecond was too contrary to the violent paſſions and prejudices of Meſſrs. d'Obdam, Booteſlaer, Hallewyn, and other heads of the high Republican party. Upon this, I ſaid to the Penſionary, that he had fully proved to me, not only that there would, but that there ought to be a Stadthouder. He replied, "There will moſt certainly be one, and you are young enough to live "to ſee it. I hope I ſhall be out of the way firſt; "but, if I am not out of the world at that time, I "ſhall be out of my place, and paſs the poor remainder of my life in quiet. I only pray that our "new maſter, whenever we have him, may be "gently given us. My friend the Greffier * thinks "a Stadthouder abſolutely neceſſary to ſave the Re-

* The Greffier Fagel, who had been *Greffier*, that is, Secretary of State, above fifty years. He had the deepeſt knowledge of buſineſs, and the ſoundeſt judgment, of any man I ever knew in my life: but he had not that quick, that intuitive ſagacity, which the Penſionary Slingelandt had. He has often owned to me, that he thought things were gone too far for any other remedy but a Stadthouder.

" public, and ſo do I, as much as he, if they will " not accept of the other expedient: but we are in " very different ſituations: he is under no engage- " ment to the contrary, and I am." He then aſked me in confidence, whether I had any inſtructions to promote the Prince of Orange's views and intereſt. I told him truly, I had not; but that, however, I would do it, as far as ever I could, quietly and privately. That he himſelf had convinced me, that it was for the intereſt of the Republic, which I honoured and wiſhed well to; and alſo, that it would be a much more efficient Ally to England, under that form of government. " I muſt own," replied he, " that at preſent we have neither ſtrength, ſe- " crecy, nor diſpatch." I ſaid, that I knew that but too well, by my own experience; and I added (laughing) that I looked upon him as the Prince of Orange's greateſt enemy; and upon that Prince's violent and impetuous enemies* to be his beſt friends; for that, if

* Theſe hot-headed Republicans puſhed things with the unjuſteſt acrimony againſt the Prince of Orange. They denied him his rank in the army; and they kept him out of the poſſeſſion of the Marquiſat of Tervere and Fleſſingen, which were his own patrimony; and by theſe means gave him the merit with the people, of being unjuſtly oppreſſed.

Had he been an abler man himſelf, or better adviſed by others, he might have availed himſelf much more ſolidly than he did of the affection, or rather the fury, of the people in his favour, when they tumultuouſly made him Stadhouder; but he did not know the value and importance of thoſe warm moments, in which he might have fixed and clinched his power. Dazzled with the ſhow and trappings of power, he did not enough attend to the ſubſtance.

if his (the Penſionary's) plan were to take place, the Prince would have very little hopes. He interrupted me here, with ſaying, *Ne craignez rien, Milord, de ce coté la; mon plan bleſſe trop l'interêt particulier, pour être reçu à preſent que l'amour du public n'éxiſte plus* *. I thought this converſation too remarkable, not to write down the heads of it when I came home.

ſubſtance. He attempted a thing impoſſible, which was, to pleaſe every body: he heard every body, begun every thing, and finiſhed nothing. When the people, in their fury, made him Stadthouder, they deſired nothing better than totally to diſſolve the Republican form of government. He ſhould have let them. The tumultuous love of the populace muſt be ſeized and enjoyed in its firſt tranſports; there is no hoarding of it to uſe upon occaſions; it will not keep. The moſt conſiderable people of the former government would gladly have compounded for their lives, and would have thought themſelves very well off in the caſtle of Louveſtein; where one of the Prince of Orange's predeceſſors ſent ſome of their anceſtors in times much leſs favourable. An affected moderation made him loſe that moment. The government is now in a disjointed, looſe ſtate. Her R. H. the Gouvernante has not power enough to do much good; and yet ſhe has more power than authority. Peace and œconomy, both public and domeſtic, ſhould therefore be the ſole object of her politics, during the minority of her ſon. The public is almoſt a bankrupt; and her ſon's private fortune extremely incumbered. She has ſenſe and ambition; but it is, ſtill, the ſenſe and ambition of a woman; that is, *inconſequential*. What remains to be done requires a firm, manly, and vigorous mind.

* *Never fear, my Lord; a plan ſo prejudicial to private intereſt will not be adopted, where Patriotiſm no longer ſubſiſts.*

The

The Republic has hardly any Navy at all; the ſingle fund for the Marine being the ſmall duties upon exports and imports; which duties are not half collected, by the connivance of the Magiſtrates themſelves, who are intereſted in ſmuggling; ſo that the Republic has now no other title, but courteſy, to the name of a Maritime Power. Their trade decreaſes daily, and their national debt increaſes. I have good reaſon to believe, that it amounts to at leaſt fifty millions ſterling.

The decreaſe of their Herring fiſhery, from what it appears by Monſieur de Witt's Memoirs of Holland in his time, is incredible; and will be much greater, now we are, at laſt, wiſe enough to take our own Herrings upon our own coaſts.

They do not, now, get by freight one quarter of what they uſed to get: they were the general ſea-carriers of all Europe. The Act of navigation paſſed in Cromwell's time, and afterwards confirmed in Charles the Second's, gave the firſt blow to that branch of their profit; and now we carry more than they do. Their only profitable remaining branches of commerce are, their trade to the Eaſt-Indies, where they have engroſſed the ſpices; and their illicit trade in America, from Surinam, St. Euſtatia, Curaçoa, &c.

Their woollen and ſilk manufactures bear not the leaſt compariſon with ours, neither in quantity, quality, nor exportation.

Their *police* is ſtill excellent, and is now the only remains of the prudence, vigilance, and good diſcipline, which formerly made them eſteemed, reſpected, and courted.

CCCCXXXIV.

MAXIMS.

By the Earl of CHESTERFIELD *

A PROPER ſecrecy is the only myſtery of able men; myſtery is the only ſecrecy of weak and cunning ones.

A man who tells nothing, or who tells all, will equally have nothing told him.

If a fool knows a ſecret, he tells it becauſe he is a fool; if a knave knows one, he tells it wherever it is his intereſt to tell it. But women, and young men, are very apt to tell what ſecrets they know, from the vanity of having been truſted. Truſt none of theſe, whenever you can help it.

Inattention to the preſent buſineſs, be it what it will; the doing one thing, and thinking at the ſame time of another, or the attempting to do two things at once; are the never-failing ſigns of a little, frivolous mind.

A man who cannot command his temper, his attention, and his countenance, ſhould not think of being a man of buſineſs. The weakeſt man in the world can avail himſelf of the paſſion of the wiſeſt. The inattentive man cannot know the buſineſs, and conſequently cannot do it. And he, who cannot

* Theſe Maxims are referred to in Letter CCXCVIII. of this Volume.

command

command his countenance, may e'en as well tell his thoughts as ſhow them.

Diſtruſt all thoſe who love you extremely upon a very ſlight acquaintance, and without any viſible reaſon. Be upon your guard, too, againſt thoſe, who confeſs as their weakneſſes, all the Cardinal virtues.

In your friendſhips, and in your enmities, let your confidence and your hoſtilities have certain bounds: make not the former dangerous, nor the latter irreconcileable. There are ſtrange viciſſitudes in buſineſs!

Smooth your way to the head, through the heart. The way of reaſon is a good one; but it is commonly ſomething longer, and perhaps not ſo ſure.

Spirit is now a very faſhionable word; to act with Spirit, to ſpeak with Spirit, means only, to act raſhly, and to talk indiſcreetly. An able man ſhows his Spirit by gentle words and reſolute actions: he is neither hot nor timid.

When a man of ſenſe happens to be in that diſagreeable ſituation, in which he is obliged to aſk himſelf more than once, *What ſhall I do?* he will anſwer, himſelf, Nothing. When his reaſon points out to him no good way, or at leaſt no one way leſs bad than another, he will ſtop ſhort, and wait for light. A little buſy mind runs on at all events, muſt be doing; and, like a blind horſe, fears no dangers, becauſe he ſees none. *Il faut ſçavoir s'ennuïer.*

Patience is a moſt neceſſary qualification for buſineſs: many a man would rather you heard his ſtory, than granted his requeſt. One muſt ſeem to hear the unreaſonable demands of the petulant, unmoved, and the tedious details of the dull, untired. That is the leaſt price that a man muſt pay for a high ſtation.

It is always right to detect a fraud, and to perceive a folly; but it is often very wrong to expoſe either. A man of buſineſs ſhould always have his eyes open; but muſt often ſeem to have them ſhut.

In Courts, nobody ſhould be below your management and attention; the links that form the Court-chain are innumerable and inconceivable. You muſt hear with patience the dull grievances of a Gentleman Uſher, or Page of the Back-ſtairs; who, very probably, lies with ſome near relation of the favourite maid, of the favourite Miſtreſs, of the favourite Miniſter, or perhaps of the King himſelf; and who, conſequently, may do you more dark and indirect good, or harm, than the firſt man of quality.

One good patron at Court may be ſufficient, provided you have no perſonal enemies; and, in order to have none, you muſt ſacrifice (as the Indians do to the Devil) moſt of your paſſions, and much of your time, to the numberleſs evil Beings that infeſt it; in order to prevent and avert the miſchiefs they can do you.

A young

A young man, be his merit what it will, can never raiſe himſelf; but muſt, like the ivy round the oak, twine himſelf round ſome man of great power and intereſt. You muſt belong to a Miniſter ſome time, before any body will belong to you. And an inviolable fidelity to that Miniſter even in his diſgrace, will be meritorious, and recommend you to the next. Miniſters love a perſonal, much more than a party attachment.

As Kings are begotten and born like other men, it is to be preſumed that they are of the human ſpecies; and, perhaps, had they the ſame education, they might prove like other men. But, flattered from their cradles, their hearts are corrupted, and their heads are turned, ſo that they ſeem to be a ſpecies by themſelves. No King ever ſaid to himſelf, *Homo ſum, nihil humani a me alienum puto.*

Flattery cannot be too ſtrong for them; drunk with it from their infancy, like old drinkers, they require drams.

They prefer a perſonal attachment to a public ſervice, and reward it better. They are vain and weak enough to look upon it as a free-will offering to their merit, and not as a burnt-ſacrifice to their power.

If you would be a favourite of your King, addreſs yourſelf to his weakneſſes. An application to his reaſon will ſeldom prove very ſucceſsful.

In Courts, baſhfulneſs and timidity are as prejudicial on one hand, as impudence and raſhneſs are on

the other. A ſteady aſſurance, and a cool intrepidity, with an exterior modeſty, are the true and neceſſary medium.

Never apply for what you ſee very little probability of obtaining; for you will, by aſking improper and unattainable things, accuſtom the Miniſters to refuſe you ſo often, that they will find it eaſy to refuſe you the propereſt and moſt reaſonable ones. It is a common, but a moſt miſtaken rule at Court, to aſk for every thing, in order to get ſomething: you do get ſomething by it, it is true; but that ſomething is refuſals and ridicule.

There is a Court jargon, a chit-chat, a ſmall talk, which turns ſingly upon trifles; and which, in a great many words, ſays little or nothing. It ſtands fools inſtead of what they cannot ſay, and men of ſenſe inſtead of what they ſhould not ſay. It is the proper language of Levees, Drawing-rooms, and Antichambers: it is neceſſary to know it.

Whatever a man is at Court, he muſt be genteel and well-bred; that cloak covers as many follies, as that of charity does ſins. I knew a man of great quality, and in a great ſtation at Court, conſidered and reſpected, whoſe higheſt character was, that he was humbly proud, and genteelly dull.

It is hard to ſay which is the greateſt fool; he who tells the whole truth, or he who tells no truth at all. Character is as neceſſary in buſineſs as in trade. No man can deceive often in either.

At

At Court, people embrace without acquaintance, ſerve one another without friendſhip, and injure one another without hatred. Intereſt, not ſentiment, is the growth of that ſoil.

A difference in opinion, though in the mereſt trifles, alienates little minds, eſpecially of high rank. It is full as eaſy to commend as to blame a great man's cook, or his taylor: it is ſhorter too; and the objects are no more worth diſputing about, than the people are worth diſputing with. It is impoſſible to inform, but very eaſy to diſpleaſe them.

A chearful, eaſy countenance and behaviour are very uſeful at Court: they make fools think you a good-natured man; and they make deſigning men think you an undeſigning one.

There are ſome occaſions in which a man muſt ſell half his ſecret in order to conceal the reſt: but there is ſeldom one in which a man ſhould tell it all. Great ſkill is neceſſary to know how far to go, and where to ſtop.

Ceremony is neceſſary in Courts, as the outwork and defence of manners.

Flattery, though a baſe coin, is the neceſſary pocket-money at Court; where, by cuſtom and conſent, it has obtained ſuch a currency, that it is no longer a fraudulent, but a legal payment.

If a Miniſter refuſes you a reaſonable requeſt, and either ſlights or injures you; if you have not the power to gratify your reſentment, have the wiſdom to conceal and diſſemble it. Seeming good humour

on your part may prevent rancour on his, and perhaps bring things right again: but, if you have the power to hurt, hint modeſtly, that, if provoked, you may poſſibly have the will too. Fear, when real, and well-founded, is perhaps a more prevailing motive at Courts than love.

At Court, many more people can hurt, than can help you: pleaſe the former, but engage the latter.

Awkwardneſs is a more real diſadvantage than it is generally thought to be; it often occaſions ridicule, it always leſſens dignity.

A man's own good-breeding is his beſt ſecurity againſt other people's ill-manners.

Good-breeding carries along with it a dignity, that is reſpected by the moſt petulant. Ill-breeding invites and authorizes the familiarity of the moſt timid. No man ever ſaid a pert thing to the Duke of Marlborough. No man ever ſaid a civil one (though many a flattering one) to Sir Robert Walpole.

When the old clipped money was called in for a new coinage, in King William's time, to prevent the like for the future, they ſtamped on the edges of the crown pieces theſe words, *et Decus et Tutamen*. That is exactly the caſe of good-breeding.

Knowledge may give weight, but accompliſhments only give luſtre; and many more people ſee than weigh.

Moſt arts require long ſtudy and application; but the moſt uſeful art of all, that of pleaſing, requires only the deſire.

It

It is to be preſumed, that a man of common ſenſe, who does not deſire to pleaſe, deſires nothing at all; ſince he muſt know that he cannot obtain any thing without it.

A ſkilful Negotiator will moſt carefully diſtinguiſh between the little and the great objects of his buſineſs, and will be as frank and open in the former as he will be ſecret and pertinacious in the latter.

He will, by his manners and addreſs, endeavour, at leaſt, to make his public adverſaries his perſonal friends. He will flatter and engage the man, while he counterworks the Miniſter; and he will never alienate people's minds from him, by wrangling for points either abſolutely unattainable, or not worth attaining. He will make even a merit of giving up what he could not or would not carry, and ſell a trifle for a thouſand times its value.

A foreign Miniſter, who is concerned in great affairs, muſt neceſſarily have ſpies in his pay; but he muſt not too eaſily credit their informations, which are never exactly true, often very falſe. His beſt ſpies will always be thoſe whom he does not pay, but whom he has engaged in his ſervice by his dexterity and addreſs, and who think themſelves nothing leſs than ſpies.

There is a certain jargon, which, in French, I ſhould call *un Perſiflage d'Affaires*, that a foreign Miniſter ought to be perfectly maſter of, and may uſe very advantageouſly at great entertainments, in mixed companies, and in all occaſions where he muſt ſpeak, and ſhould ſay nothing. Well turned and well

well ſpoken, it ſeems to mean ſomething, though in truth it means nothing. It is a kind of political *badinage*, which prevents or removes a thouſand difficulties, to which a foreign Miniſter is expoſed in mixed converſations.

If ever the *Volto ſciolto* and the *Penſieri ſtretti* are neceſſary, they are ſo in theſe affairs. A grave, dark, reſerved, and myſterious air, has *fœnum in cornu*. An even, eaſy, unembarraſſed one invites confidence, and leaves no room for gueſſes and conjectures.

Both ſimulation and diſſimulation are abſolutely neceſſary for a foreign Miniſter; and yet they muſt ſtop ſhort of falſehood and perfidy, that middle point is the difficult one: there ability conſiſts. He muſt often ſeem pleaſed, when he is vexed; and grave, when he is pleaſed; but he muſt never ſay either: that would be falſehood, an indelible ſtain to character.

A foreign Miniſter ſhould be a moſt exact œconomiſt; an expence proportioned to his appointments and fortune is neceſſary: but, on the other hand, debt is inevitable ruin to him; it ſinks him into diſgrace at the Court where he reſides, and into the moſt ſervile and abject dependence on the Court that ſent him. As he cannot reſent ill uſage, he is ſure to have enough of it.

The Duc de Sully obſerves very juſtly, in his Memoirs, 'that nothing contributed more to his riſe, than that prudent œconomy which he had obſerved from his youth; and by which he had always

ways a ſum of money before-hand, in caſe of emergencies.

It is very difficult to fix the particular point of œconomy; the beſt error of the two is on the parſimonious ſide: that may be corrected; the other cannot.

The reputation of generoſity is to be purchaſed pretty cheap; it does not depend ſo much upon a man's general expence, as it does upon his giving handſomely where it is proper to give at all. A man, for inſtance, who ſhould give a ſervant four ſhillings, would paſs for covetous, while he who gave him a crown would be reckoned generous: ſo that the difference of thoſe two oppoſite characters turns upon one ſhilling. A man's character, in that particular, depends a great deal upon the report of his own ſervants; a mere trifle above common wages makes their report favourable.

Take care always to form your eſtabliſhment ſo much within your income as to leave a ſufficient fund for unexpected contingencies, and a prudent liberality. There is hardly a year in any man's life in which a ſmall ſum of ready money may not be employed to great advantage *

* Upon the back of the original is written, in Mr. Stanhope's hand, "Excellent Maxims, but more calculated for the meridian of France or Spain than of England."

CCCCXXXV.

POLITICAL MAXIMS of the Cardinal DE RETZ, in his Memoirs; and the late Earl of CHESTERFIELD's Remarks.

1. IL y ſouvent de la folie à conjurer; mais il n'y a rien de pareil pour faire les gens ſages dans la ſuite, au moins pour quelque tems. Comme le péril dans ces ſortes d'affaires dure même après les occaſions, l'on eſt prudent et circonſpect dans les momens qui les ſuivent.

2. Un eſprit médiocre, et ſuſceptible par conſéquent d'injuſtes défiances, eſt de tous les caracteres celui qui eſt le plus oppoſé à un bon chef de Parti; dont la qualité la plus ſouvent et la plus indiſpenſablement néceſſaire, eſt de ſupprimer en beaucoup d'occaſions, et de cacher en toutes, les ſoupçons même les plus légitimes.

3. Rien n'anime et n'appuïe plus un mouvement, que le ridicule de celui contre lequel on le fait.

4. Le ſecret n'eſt pas ſi rare qu'on le croit, entre des gens qui ſont accoutumés à ſe mêler des grandes affaires.

5. Deſcendre juſqu'aux petits, eſt le plus ſur moïen de s'égaler aux grands.

6. La mode, qui a du pouvoir en toutes choſes, ne l'a ſi ſenſiblement en aucune, qu'à être bien ou mal à la Cour: il y a des tems ou la diſgrace eſt une maniere

maniere de feu qui purifie toutes les mauvaiſes qualités, et qui illumine toutes les bonnes; il y a des tems ou il ne fied pas bien à un honnête homme d'être diſgracié.

7. La ſouffrance, aux perſonnes d'un grand rang, tient lieu d'une grande vertu.

8. Il a une eſpéce de galimatias, que la pratique fait connoître quelquefois; mais que la ſpéculation ne fait jamais entendre.

9. Toutes les Puiſſances ne peuvent rien contre la réputation d'un homme qui ſe la conſerve dans ſon Corps.

10. On eſt auſſi ſouvent dupe par la défiance que par la confiance.

11. L'extrêmité du mal n'eſt jamais à ſon période, que quand ceux qui commandent ont perdu la honte; parce que c'eſt juſtement le moment dans lequel ceux qui obéiſſent perdent le reſpect; et c'eſt dans ce même moment que l'on revient de la léthargie: mais par des convulſions.

12. Il y a un voile qui doit toujours couvrir tout ce que l'on peut dire, et tout ce que l'on peut croire du Droit des Peuples, et de celui des Rois, qui ne s'accordent jamais ſi bien enſemble que dans le ſilence.

13. Il y a des conjonctures dans leſquelles on ne peut plus faire que des fautes; mais la fortune ne met jamais les hommes dans cet état, qui eſt de tous le plus malheureux, et perſonne n'y tombe que ceux qui s'y précipitent par leur faute.

14. Il

14. Il ſiéd plus mal à un Miniſtre de dire ſes ſottiſes, que d'en faire.

15. Les avis que l'on donne à un Miniſtre paſſent pour des crimes, toutes les fois qu'on ne lui eſt point agréable.

16. Aupres des Princes, il eſt auſſi dangereux, et preſqu' auſſi criminel, de pouvoir le bien, que de vouloir le mal.

17. Il eſt bien plus naturel à là peur de conſulter que de décider.

18. Cette circonſtance paroit ridicule; mais elle eſt fondée. A Paris, dans les émotions populaires, les plus échauffés ne veulent pas, ce qu'ils apellent, *ſe deſheurer.*

19. La fléxibilité eſt de toutes les qualités la plus néceſſaire pour le maniement des grandes affaires.

20. On a plus de peine dans les Partis, de vivre avec ceux qui en ſont, que d'agir contre ceux qui y ſont oppoſés.

21. Les plus grands dangers ont leurs charmes, pour peu que l'on apperçoive de gloire dans la perſpective des mauvais ſuccès. Les médiocres dangers n'ont que des horreurs, quand la perte de la réputation eſt attachée à la mauvaiſe fortune.

22. Les extrêmes ſont toujours fâcheux. Mais ce ſont des moïens ſages quand ils ſont néceſſaires: ce qu'ils ont de conſolant c'eſt qu'ils ne ſont jamais médiocres, et qu'ils ſont déciſifs quand ils ſont bons.

23. Il y a des conjonctures où la prudence même ordonne de ne conſulter que le chapître des accidens.

24. Il

24. Il n'y a rien dans le monde qui n'ait ſon moment déciſif; et le chef d'œuvre de la bonne conduite, eſt de connoître et de prendre ce moment.

25. L'abomination joint au ridicule fait le plus dangereux et le plus irrémédiable de tous les compoſés.

26. Les gens foibles ne plient jamais quand ils le doivent.

27. Rien ne touche et n'émeut tant les peuples, et même les Compagnies, qui tiennent beaucoup du peuple, que la varieté des ſpectacles.

28. Les exemples du paſſé touchent ſans comparaiſon plus les hommes, que ceux de leur ſiécle: nous nous accoutumons à tout ce que nous voïons; et peutêtre que le Conſulat du Cheval de Caligula ne nous auroit pas tant ſurpris que nous nous l'imaginons.

29. Les hommes foibles ſe laiſſent aller ordinairement au plus grand bruit.

30. Il ne faut jamais conteſter ce qu'on ne croit pas pouvoir obtenir.

31. Le moment où l'on reçoit les plus heureuſes nouvelles, eſt juſtement celui où il faut redoubler ſon attention pour les petites.

32. Le pouvoir dans les peuples eſt fâcheux, en ce qu'il nous rend reſponſables de ce qu'ils font malgré nous.

33. L'une des plus grands incommodités des guerres civiles, eſt, qu'il faut encore plus d'application à ce que l'on ne doit pas dire à ſes amis, qu'à ce que l'on doit faire contre ſes ennemis.

34. Il n'y a point de qualité qui dépare tant un grand homme, que de n'être pas juſte à prendre le moment déciſif de la reputation. L'on ne le manque preſque jamais que pour mieux prendre celui de la fortune; c'eſt en quoi l'on ſe trompe, pour l'ordinaire doublement.

35. La vue la plus commune dans les imprudences, c'eſt celle que l'on a de la poſſibilité des reſſources.

36. Toute Compagnie eſt peuple; ainſi tout y dépend des inſtans.

37. Tout ce qui paroit hazardeux, et qui pourtant ne l'eſt pas, eſt preſque toujours ſage.

38. Les gens irréſolus prennent toujours, avec facilité, les ouvertures qui les ménent à deux chemins, et qui par conſéquent ne les preſſent pas d'opter.

39. Il n'y a point de petits pas dans les grandes affaires.

40. Il y a des tems où certaines gens ont toujours raiſon.

41. Rien ne perſuade tant les gens qui ont peu de ſens que ce qu'ils n'entendent pas.

42. Il n'eſt pas ſage de faire, dans le factions, où l'on n'eſt que ſur la défenſive, ce qui n'eſt pas preſſé. Mais l'inquiétude des ſubalternes, eſt la choſe la plus incommode dans ces rencontres; ils croient que, dès qu'on n'agit pas, on eſt perdu.

43. Les chefs dans les factions n'en ſont les maîtres, qu'autant qu'ils ſçavent prévenir ou appaiſer les murmures.

44. Quand la fraïeur eſt venue à un certain point, elle produit les mêmes effets que le témérité.

45. Il

45. Il eſt auſſi néceſſaire de choiſir les mots dans les grandes affaires, qu'il eſt ſuperflu de les choiſir dans les petites.

46. Rien n'eſt plus rare ni plus difficile aux Miniſtres qu'un certain ménagement dans le calme qui ſuit immédiatement les grandes tempêtes, parce que la flatterie y redouble, et que la défiance n'y eſt pas éteinte.

47. Il ne faut pas nous choquer ſi fort des fautes de ceux qui ſont nos amis, que nous en donnions de l'avantage à ceux contre leſquels nous agiſſons.

48. Le talent d'inſinuer eſt plus utile que celui de perſuader, parce que l'on peut inſinuer à tout le monde, et que l'on ne perſuade preſque jamais perſonne.

49. Dans les matiéres qui ne ſont pas favorables par elles-mêmes, tout changement qui n'eſt pas néceſſaire eſt pernicieux parce qu'il eſt odieux.

50. Il faut faire voir à ceux qui ſont naturellement foibles toutes ſortes d'abîmes : parce que c'eſt le vrai moïen de les obliger de ſe jetter dans le premier chemin qu'on leur ouvre.

51. L'on doit hazarder le poſſible toutes les fois que l'on ſe ſent en état de profiter même du manquement de ſuccès.

52. Les hommes irréſolus ſe déterminent difficilement pour les moïens, quoique même ils ſoïent déterminés pour la fin.

53. C'eſt preſque jeu ſur, avec les hommes fourbes, de leu faire croire que l'on veut tromper ceux que l'on veut ſervir.

54. L'un des plus grands embarras que l'on ait avec les Princes, c'eſt que l'on eſt ſouvent obligé, par la conſidération de leur propre ſervice, de leur donner des conſeils dont on ne peut pas leur dire les véritables raiſons.

55. Quand on ſe trouve obligé de faire un diſcours que l'on prévoit ne devoir pas agréer, l'on ne peut lui donner trop d'apparence de ſincerité : parce que c'eſt l'unique moïen de l'adoucir.

56. On ne doit jamais ſe jouer avec la faveur : on ne la peut trop embraſſer quand elle eſt véritable ; on ne la peut trop éloigner quand elle eſt fauſſe.

57. Il y a de l'inconvenient à s'engager ſur des ſuppoſitions de ce que l'on croit impoſſible ; et pourtant il n'y a rien de ſi commun.

58. La plûpart des hommes examinent moins les raiſons de ce qu'on leur propoſe contre leur ſentiment, que celles qui peuvent obliger celui qui les propoſe de s'en ſervir.

59. Tout ce qui eſt vuide, dans les tems de faction et d'intrigue, paſſe pour myſtérieux dans les eſprits de ceux qui ne ſont pas accoutumés aux grandes affaires.

60. Il n'eſt jamais permis à un inférieur de s'egaler en paroles à celui à qui il doit du reſpect, quoi qu'il s'y égale dans l'action.

61. Tout homme que la fortune ſeule, par quelque accident, a fait homme public, devient preſque toujours avec un peu de tems un particulier ridicule.

62. La plus grande imperfection des hommes eſt, la complaiſance qu'ils trouvent à ſe perſuader que les

les autres ne ſont point éxemts des défauts qu'ils, ſe reconnoiſſent à eux mêmes.

63. Il n'y a que l'expérience qui puiſſe apprendre aux hommes à ne pas préférer ce qui les pique dans le preſent, à ce qui les doit toucher bien plus eſſentiellement dans l'avenir.

64. Il faut s'appliquer, avec ſoin, dans les grandes affaires encore plus que dans les autres, à ſe défendre du goût qu'on trouve pour la plaiſanterie.

65. On ne peut aſſez preſer les moindres mots, dans les grandes affaires.

66. Il n'y a que la contination du bonheur qui fixe la plûpart des amitiés.

67. Quiconque aſſemble le peuple, l'émeut.

TRANSLATION OF CARDINAL DE RETZ'S POLITICAL MAXIMS.

1. IT is often madneſs to engage in a conſpiracy; but nothing is ſo effectual to bring people afterwards to their ſenſes, at leaſt for a time. As in ſuch undertakings, the danger ſubſiſts, even after the buſineſs is over; this obliges to be prudent and circumſpect in the ſucceeding moments.

2. A middling underſtanding, being ſuſceptible of unjuſt ſuſpicions, is conſequently, of all characters, the leaſt fit to head a faction;—as the moſt indiſpenſable qualification in ſuch a Chief is, to ſup-

preſs, in many occaſions, and to conceal in all, even the beſt-grounded ſuſpicions.

3. Nothing animates and gives ſtrength to a commotion, ſo much as the ridicule of him againſt whom it is raiſed.

4. Among people uſed to affairs of moment, ſecrecy is much leſs uncommon than is generally believed.

5. Deſcending to the Little; is the ſureſt way of attaining to an equality with the Great.

6. Faſhion, though powerful in all things, is not more ſo in any, than in being well or ill at Court. There are times, when diſgrace is a kind of fire, that purifies all bad qualities, and illuminates every good one. There are others, in which the being out of favour is unbecoming a man of character.

7. Sufferings, in people of the firſt rank, ſupply the want of virtue.

8. There is a confuſed kind of jumble, which practice ſometimes teaches; but is never to be underſtood by ſpeculation.

9. The greateſt Powers cannot injure a man's character, whoſe reputation is unblemiſhed among his party.

10. We are as often duped by diffidence as by confidence.

11. The greateſt evils are not arrived at their utmoſt period, until thoſe who are in power have loſt all ſenſe of ſhame. At ſuch a time, thoſe who ſhould obey ſhake off all reſpect and ſubordination. Then

is lethargic indolence rouſed; but rouſed by convulſions.

12. A veil ought always to be drawn over whatever may be ſaid or thought concerning the rights of the people, or of Kings; which agree beſt when leaſt mentioned *.

13. There are, at times, ſituations ſo very unfortunate, that whatever is undertaken muſt be wrong. Chance alone never throws people into ſuch dilemmas; and they happen only to thoſe who bring them upon themſelves.

14. It is more unbecoming a Miniſter to ſay, than to do ſilly things.

15. The advice given to a Miniſter, by an obnoxious perſon, is always thought bad.

16. It is as dangerous, and almoſt as criminal, with Princes, to have the power of doing good, as the will of doing evil.

17. Timorous minds are much more inclined to deliberate than to reſolve.

18. It appears ridiculous to aſſert, but it is not the leſs true, that at Paris, during popular commotions, the moſt violent will not quit their homes paſt a ſtated hour.

19. Flexibility is the moſt requiſite qualification for the management of great affairs.

20. It is more difficult for the member of a fac-

*. This Maxim, as well as ſeveral others, evidently prove they were written by a man ſubject to deſpotic government.

tion to live with thoſe of his own party, than to act againſt thoſe who oppoſe it.

21. The greateſt dangers have their allurements, if the want of ſucceſs is likely to be attended with a degree of glory. Middling dangers are horrid, when the loſs of reputation is the inevitable conſequence of ill ſucceſs.

22. Violent meaſures are always dangerous, but, when neceſſary, may then be looked upon as wiſe. They have, however, the advantage of never being matter of indifferency; and, when well concerted, muſt be deciſive.

23. There may be circumſtances, in which even prudence directs us to truſt intirely to chance.

24. Every thing in this world has its critical moment; and the height of good conduct conſiſts in knowing and ſeizing it.

25. Profligacy, joined to ridicule, form the moſt abominable and moſt dangerous of all characters.

26. Weak minds never yield when they ought.

27. Variety of ſights have the greateſt effect upon the mob, and alſo upon numerous aſſemblies, who, in many reſpects, reſemble mob.

28. Examples taken from paſt times have infinitely more power over the minds of men, than any of the age in which they live. Whatever we ſee, grows familiar; and, perhaps, the Conſulſhip of Caligula's Horſe might not have aſtoniſhed us ſo much as we are apt to imagine.

29 Weak minds are commonly overpowered by clamour.

30. We

30. We ought never to contend for what we are not likely to obtain.

31. The inſtant in which we receive the moſt favourable accounts is juſt that wherein we ought to redouble our vigilance, even in regard to the moſt trifling circumſtances.

32. It is dangerous to have a known influence over the people; as thereby we become reſponſible even for what is done againſt our will.

33. One of the greateſt difficulties in civil war is, that more art is required to know what ſhould be concealed from our friends, than what ought to be done againſt our enemies.

34. Nothing lowers a great man ſo much, as not ſeizing the deciſive moment of raiſing his reputation. This is ſeldom neglected, but with a view to fortune; by which miſtake, it is not unuſual to miſs both.

35. The poſſibility of remedying imprudent actions, is commonly an inducement to commit them.

36. Every numerous aſſembly is mob; conſequently every thing there depends upon inſtantaneous turns.

37. Whatever meaſure ſeems hazardous, and is in reality not ſo, is generally a wiſe one.

38. Irreſolute minds always adopt with facility whatever meaſures can admit of different iſſues, and conſequently do not require an abſolute deciſion.

39. In momentous affairs, no ſtep is indifferent.

40. There are times in which certain people are always in the right.

41. Nothing convinces perſons of a weak underſtanding ſo effectually, as what they do not comprehend.

42. When Factions are only upon the defenſive, they ought never to do that which may be delayed. Upon ſuch occaſions, nothing is ſo troubleſome as the reſtleſſneſs of ſubalterns, who think a ſtate of inaction total deſtruction.

43. Thoſe who head Factions have no way of maintaining their authority, but by preventing or quieting diſcontent.

44. A certain degree of fear produces the ſame effects as raſhneſs.

45. In affairs of importance, the choice of words is of as much conſequence, as it would be ſuperfluous in thoſe of little moment.

46. During thoſe calms which immediately ſucceed violent ſtorms, nothing is more difficult for Miniſters than to act properly; becauſe, while flattery increaſes, ſuſpicions are not yet ſubſided.

47. The faults of our friends ought never to anger us ſo far, as to give an advantage to our enemies.

48. The talent of inſinuation is more uſeful than that of perſuaſion; as every body is open to inſinuation, but ſcarce any to perſuaſion.

49. In matters of a delicate nature, all unneceſſary alterations are dangerous; becauſe odious.

50. The beſt way to compel weak-minded people to adopt our opinion, is to frighten them from all others, by magnifying their danger.

51. We

51. We muſt run all hazards, where we think ourſelves in a ſituation to reap ſome advantage, even from the want of ſucceſs.

52. Irreſolute men are diffident in reſolving upon the Means, even when they are determined upon the End.

53. It is almoſt a ſure game, with crafty men, to make them believe we intend to deceive thoſe whom we mean to ſerve.

54. One of the greateſt difficulties with Princes is the being often obliged, in order to ſerve them, to give advice the true reaſons of which we dare not mention.

55. The ſaying things which we foreſee will not be pleaſing, can only be ſoftened by the greateſt appearance of ſincerity.

56. We ought never to trifle with favour. If real, we ſhould haſtily ſeize the advantage; if pretended, avoid the allurement.

57. It is very inconſequent to enter into engagements upon ſuppoſitions we think impoſſible; and yet it is very uſual.

58. The generality of mankind pay leſs attention to arguments urged againſt their opinion, than to ſuch as may engage the diſputant to adopt their own.

59. In times of faction and intrigue, whatever appears inert is reckoned myſterious by thoſe who are not accuſtomed to affairs of moment.

60. It is never allowable, in an inferior, to equal himſelf in words to a ſuperior, although he may rival him in actions.

61. Every

61. Every man whom chance alone has, by ſome accident, made a public character, hardly ever fails of becoming, in a ſhort time, a ridiculous private one.

62. The greateſt imperfection of men is, the complacency with which they are willing to think others not free from faults of which they are themſelves conſcious.

63. Experience only can teach men not to prefer what ſtrikes them for the preſent moment to what will have much greater weight with them hereafter.

64. In the management of important buſineſs, all turn to raillery muſt be more carefully avoided than in any other.

65. In momentous tranſactions, words cannot be ſufficiently weighed.

66. The permanency of moſt friendſhips depends upon the continuity of good fortune.

67. Whoever aſſembles the multitude, will raiſe commotions.

CCCCXXXVI.

LORD CHESTERFIELD'S REMARKS UPON THE FOREGOING MAXIMS.

I HAVE taken the trouble of extracting and collecting, for your uſe, the foregoing Political Maxims of the Cardinal de Retz, in his Memoirs. They are not aphoriſms of his invention, but the true and juſt obſervations of his own experience in the courſe of great buſineſs. My own experience atteſts the truth of them all. Read them over with attention, as here above; and then read with the ſame attention, and *tout de ſuite*, the Memoirs; where you will find the facts and characters from whence thoſe obſervations are drawn, or to which they are applied; and they will reciprocally help to fix each other in your mind. I hardly know any book ſo neceſſary for a young man to read and remember. You will there find how great buſineſs is really carried on; very differently from what people, who have never been concerned in it, imagine. You will there ſee what Courts and Courtiers really are, and obſerve that they are neither ſo good as they ſhould be, nor ſo bad as they are thought by moſt people. The Court Poet, and the ſullen, cloiſtered Pedant, are equally miſtaken in their notions, or at leaſt in the accounts they give us of them. You will obſerve the coolneſs

in

in general, the perfidy in ſome caſes, and the truth in a very few, of Court friendſhips. This will teach you the prudence of a general diſtruſt; and the imprudence of making no exception to that rule, upon good and tried grounds. You will ſee the utility of good-breeding towards one's greateſt enemies; and the high imprudence and folly of either inſulting or injurious expreſſions. You will find, in the Cardinal's own character, a ſtrange, but by no means an uncommon mixture, of high and low, good and bad, parts and indiſcretion. In the character of Monſieur le Duc d'Orleans, you may obſerve the model of weakneſs, irreſolution, and fear, though with very good parts. In ſhort, you will, in every page of that book, ſee that ſtrange, inconſiſtent, creature, Man, juſt as he is. If you would know that period of hiſtory (and it is well worth knowing) correctly, after you have read the Cardinal's Memoirs, you ſhould read thoſe of Joly, and of Madame de Motteville; both which throw great light upon the firſt. By all thoſe accounts put together it appears, that Anne of Auſtria (with great ſubmiſſion to a Crowned Head do I ſay it) was a B—. She had ſpirit and courage without parts, devotion without common morality, and lewdneſs without tenderneſs either to juſtify or to dignify it. Her two ſons were no more Lewis the Thirteenth's than they were mine; and, if Buckingham had ſtaid a little longer, ſhe would probably have had another by him.

Cardinal

Cardinal Mazarin was a great knave, but no great man; much more cunning than able; ſcandalouſly falſe, and dirtily greedy. As for his enemy, Cardinal de Retz, I can truly call him a man of great parts, but I cannot call him a great man. He never was ſo much ſo as in his retirement. The ladies had then a great, and have always had ſome ſhare in State affairs in France: the ſpring and the ſtreams of their politics have always been, and always will be, the intereſt of their preſent Lover, or their reſentment againſt a diſcarded and perfidious one. Money is their great object; of which they are extremely greedy, if it coincides with their arrangement with the Lover for the time being: but true glory, and public good, never enter into their heads. They are always governed by the man they love, and they always govern the man who loves them. He or ſhe, who loves the moſt, is always governed by him or her who loves the leaſt. Madame de Montbazon governed Monſieur de Beaufort, who was fond of her; whereas ſhe was only proud of his rank and popularity. The *Druid* for the time being always governed Madame and Mademoiſelle de Chevreuſe, and ſteered their politics. Madame de Longueville governed her brother the Prince de Conti, who was in love with her; but Marſillac, with whom ſhe was in love, governed her. In all female politics, the head is certainly not the part that takes the lead; the true and ſecret ſpring lies lower and deeper. La Palatine, whom the Cardinal celebrates as the ableſt and moſt

moſt ſenſible woman he ever met with, and who ſeems to have acted more ſyſtematically and conſequentially than any of them, ſtarts aſide however, and deviates from her plan, whenever the intereſts or the inclinations of La Vieuville, her Lover, require it. I will add (though with great ſubmiſſion to a late friend of yours at Paris) that no woman ever yet either reaſoned or acted long together conſequentially; but ſome little thing, ſome love, ſome reſentment, ſome preſent momentary intereſt, ſome ſuppoſed ſlight, or ſome humour, always breaks in upon and overſets their moſt prudent reſolutions and ſchemes.

CCCCXXXVII.

CONSIDERATIONS upon the Repeal of the Limitation, relative to Foreigners, in the Act of Settlement.

THE particular Limitation, relative to Foreigners, in the Act of Settlement, and now to be repealed, was marked out as peculiarly ſacred by the firſt Parliament, and that no uncomplaiſant one, of the late King, by enacting, that that Limitation ſhould be inſerted in all future acts of Naturalization; and it was ſo, even in the act for

for naturalizing the Prince of Orange, the King's ſon-in-law.

But, it ſeems, Meſſieurs Prevot, Bouquet, and others, are now to receive a mark of diſtinction which the King's ſon-in-law could not then obtain. But, can the ſame indulgence, hereafter, ever be refuſed to foreign Proteſtant Princes, of the higheſt birth, and greateſt merit, and, many of them, nearly related to his Majeſty and the Royal Family; who may, very probably, prefer the Britiſh ſervice to any other?

The poor military arguments, urged in juſtification of the Repeal of this moſt ſacred Law, are too trifling to be the true ones, and too wretched to be ſeriouſly anſwered, unleſs by the unfortunate Britiſh Officers; who are hereby, in a manner, declared and enacted to be incapable of doing the duty of Captains, Majors, *&c.*

Some other reaſon, therefore, muſt be ſought for; and, perhaps, it is but too eaſily found.

May it not be *periculum faciamus in anima vili?* If this goes down, it ſhall be followed; ſome foreign Prince, of allowed merit, ſhall make the firſt application to the Crown, and to the Parliament, for the ſame favour which was ſhown to Meſſieurs Prevot, Bouquet, and Company. Can either of them, in common decency, refuſe it? Beſides that, perhaps a time may come, when Generals, and ſuperior Officers, may be as much wanted in England, as great Captains and Majors are now wanted in America.

Great

Great evils have always ſuch trifling beginnings, to ſmooth the way for them inſenſibly; as Cardinal de Retz moſt juſtly obſerves, when he ſays, that he is perſuaded, that the Romans were carried on by ſuch ſhades and gradations of miſchief and extravagancy, as not to have been much ſurpriſed or alarmed, when Caligula declared his intention of making his horſe Conſul. So that, by the natural progreſſion of precedents, the next generation may probably ſee, and even without ſurpriſe or abhorrence, Foreigners commanding your troops, and voting the ſupplies for them in both Houſes of Parliament.

As to the pretended utility of theſe foreign Heroes, it is impoſſible to anſwer ſuch arguments ſeriouſly. What experience evinces the neceſſity? Cape Breton, the ſtrongeſt place in America, was very irregularly taken, in the laſt war, by our irregular American troops. Sir William Johnſon lately beat, and took moſt irregularly, the regular General Dieſkau, at the head of his regular forces: and General Braddock, who was moſt judiciouſly ſelected out of the whole Britiſh army to be our *Scipio Americanus*, was very irregularly deſtroyed by unſeen, and to this day unknown, enemies.

How will theſe foreign Heroes agree with the Engliſh Officers of the ſame corps, who are, in a manner, by Act of Parliament, declared unfit for their buſineſs, till inſtructed in it by the great foreign maſters of Homicide? Will they not even

be more inclined to adviſe than to obey their Colonel; to interpret, than to execute his orders? Will they co-operate properly with our American troops and Officers, whom they will certainly look upon, and treat, as an inexperienced and undiſciplined rabble? Can it poſſibly be otherwiſe? or, can't it be wondered at, when thoſe Gentlemen know, that they are appointed Officers by one Act of Parliament, and at the expence of another, the moſt ſacred of the ſtatute-book?

O! but there is to be but one half of the Officers of this thundering Legion, who are to be Foreigners: ſo much the worſe; for then, according to the principle laid down, it can be but half diſciplined. Beſides, the leſs the object, to which a very great object is ſacrificed, the more abſurd, and the more ſuſpicious ſuch a ſacrifice becomes. At firſt, this whole legion was to conſiſt of all Foreigners, Field-officers and all; which, upon the principle of the abſolute utility and neceſſity of foreign Officers, was much more rational; but, thus mitigated, as it is called, is a thouſand times more abſurd. And how does it ſtand now? Why truly, the ſacred Act of Settlement is to be repealed, and in the tendereſt part, for the ſake of ſome foreign Captains and Majors, who are to be commanded by Britiſh ſuperior officers, who, by this Act of Parliament, are ſuppoſed not to know their trade.

One has heard (but one hears a thouſand falſe reports), that this abſurd ſcheme was, ſome time ago, quaſhed by his Majeſty's own prudence and good-

neſs; and, from the rightneſs of the thing, I am inclined to believe that it is true: and I am ſure I will not ſuppoſe, that ever that might be among the reaſons for reſuming it in this ſhape, and forcing it down the throats of the reluctant nation: but this is certain, that it was once dropped, and at ſome expence too. The foreign Heroes were contented with Money inſtead of Laurels, and were going away about their own buſineſs; but, perhaps, a condeſcenſion to the unanimous wiſhes of the whole *people of England, at leaſt*, was looked upon as a dangerous precedent, and the repeal of the Act of Settlement as an uſeful one. But, however, I will have candour enough to believe, that this was merely an abſurd, wrong-headed meaſure; for, if I did not, I muſt think it the wickedeſt that ever was puſhed.

CCCCXXXVIII.

AXIOMS IN TRADE.

To ſell, upon the whole, more than you buy.

To buy your materials as cheap, and to ſell your manufactures as dear, as you can.

To eaſe the manufacturers, as much as poſſible, of all taxes and burthens.

To lay ſmall or no duties upon your own manufactures exported, and to lay high duties upon all foreign manufactures imported.

To

To lay ſmall or no duties upon foreign materials, that are neceſſary for your own manufactures; but to lay very high duties upon, or rather totally prohibit, the exportation of ſuch of your own materials as are neceſſary for the manufactures of other countries; as Wool, Fuller's-earth, &c.

To keep the intereſt of money, low, that people may place their money in trade.

Not to imagine (as people commonly do) that it is either prudent or poſſible to prohibit the exportation of your gold and ſilver, whether coined or uncoined. For, if the balance of trade be againſt you, that is, if you buy more than you ſell, you muſt neceſſarily make up that difference in money; and your Bullion or your Coin, which are in effect the ſame thing, muſt and will be exported, in ſpite of all laws. But if you ſell more than you buy, then foreigners muſt do the ſame by you, and make up their deficiency in Bullion or Coin. Gold and ſilver are but merchandize, as well as Cloth or Linen; and that nation that buys the leaſt, and ſells the moſt, muſt always have the moſt money.

A free trade is always carried on with more advantage to the public, than an excluſive one by a company. But the particular circumſtances of ſome trades may ſometimes require a joint ſtock and excluſive privileges.

All monopolies are deſtructive to trade.

To get, as much as poſſible, the advantages of manufacturing and freight.

To contrive to underſell other nations, in foreign markets.

CCCCXXXIX.

To the KING's moſt Excellent MAJESTY,
The humble PETITION of PHILIP Earl of CHESTERFIELD, Knight of the moſt noble Order of the Garter,

SHEWETH,

THAT your Petitioner, being rendered, by deafneſs, as uſeleſs and inſignificant as moſt of his equals and cotemporaries are by nature, hopes, in common with them, to ſhare your Majeſty's royal favour and bounty; whereby he may be enabled either to ſave, or ſpend, as he ſhall think proper, more than he can do at preſent.

That your Petitioner, having had the honour of ſerving your Majeſty in ſeveral very lucrative employments, ſeems thereby entitled to a lucrative retreat from buſineſs, and to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*, that is, leiſure and a large penſion.

Your Petitioner humbly preſumes, that he has, at leaſt, a common claim to ſuch a penſion: he has a vote in the moſt auguſt aſſembly in the world; he has, at the ſame time (though he ſays it) an elevation of ſentiment, that makes him not only deſire, but (pardon, dread Sir, an expreſſion you are uſed to) *inſiſt* upon it.

That your Petitioner is little apt, and always unwilling, to ſpeak advantageouſly of himſelf; but as, after

after all, ſome juſtice is due to one's-ſelf, as well as to others, he begs leave ro repreſent, That his loyalty to your Majeſty has always been unſhaken, even in the worſt of times; That, particularly, in the late unnatural rebellion, when the Pretender advanced as far as Derby, at the head of, at leaſt, three thouſand undiſciplined men, the flower of the Scottiſh Nobility and Gentry, your petitioner did not join him, as unqueſtionably he might have done, had he been ſo inclined: but, on the contrary, raiſed ſixteen companies, of one hundred men each, at the public expence, in ſupport of your Majeſty's undoubted right to the Imperial Crown of theſe Realms; which diſtinguiſhed proof of his loyalty is, to this hour, unrewarded.

Your Majeſty's Petitioner is well aware, that your Civil Liſt muſt neceſſarily be in a low and languid ſtate, after the various, frequent, and profuſe evacuations which it has of late years undergone; but, at the ſame time, he preſumes to hope that this argument, which ſeems not to have been made uſe of againſt any other perſon whatſoever, ſhall not, in this ſingle caſe, be urged againſt him; and the leſs ſo, as he has good reaſon to believe, that the deficiencies of the Penſion-fund are by no means the laſt that will be made good by Parliament.

Your Petitioner begs leave to obſerve, That a ſmall penſion is diſgraceful and opprobrious, as it intimates a ſhameful neceſſity on one part, and a degrading ſort of charity on the other; but that a great one implies dignity and affluence on one ſide; on the other, re-

gard and eſteem, which, doubtleſs, your Majeſty muſt entertain, in the higheſt degree, for thoſe great perſonages whoſe reſpectable names ſtand upon your Eleemoſynary liſt. Your Petitioner, therefore, humbly perſuades himſelf, upon this principle, that leſs than three thouſand pounds a year will not be propoſed to him; if made up gold, the more agreeable; if for life, the more marketable.

Your Petitioner perſuades himſelf, that your Majeſty will not ſuſpect this his humble application to proceed from any mean, intereſted motive, of which he has always had the utmoſt abhorrence. No, Sir, he confeſſes his own weakneſs; Honour alone is his object; Honour is his paſſion; Honour is dearer to him than life. To Honour he has always ſacrificed all other conſiderations; and upon this generous principle, ſingly, he now ſolicits that Honour, which, in the moſt ſhining times, diſtinguiſhed the greateſt men of Greece, who were fed at the expence of the public.

Upon this Honour, ſo ſacred to him as a Peer, ſo tender to him as a Man, he moſt ſolemnly aſſures your Majeſty, that, in caſe you ſhould be pleaſed to grant him this his humble requeſt, he will gratefully and honourably ſupport, and promote with zeal and vigour, the worſt meaſure that the worſt Miniſter can ever ſuggeſt to your Majeſty: but, on the other hand, ſhould he be ſingled out, marked, and branded by a refuſal, he thinks himſelf obliged in Honour to declare, that he will, to the utmoſt of his power, oppoſe

oppoſe the beſt and wiſeſt meaſures that your Majeſty yourſelf can ever dictate.

And your Majeſty's Petitioner ſhall ever pray.

CCCCXL.

A FRAGMENT.

A CHAPTER of the Garter is to be held at St. James's next Friday; in which Prince Edward, the Prince of Orange, the Earls of Lincoln, Winchelſea, and Cardigan, are to be elected Knights Companions of the Order of the Garter. Though ſolely nominated by the Crown, they are ſaid to be elected; becauſe there is a pretended election. All the Knights are ſummoned to attend the Sovereign at a Chapter, to be held on ſuch a day, in order to elect ſo many new Knights into the vacant Stalls of the deceaſed ones; accordingly they meet in the Council Chamber, where they all ſit down, according to their ſeniority, at a long table, where the Sovereign preſides. There every Knight pretends to write a liſt of thoſe for whom he intends to vote; and, in effect, writes down nine names, ſuch as he thinks proper, taking care, however, to inſert the names of thoſe who are really to be elected; then the Biſhop of Saliſbury, who is always the Chancellor of the Order,

goes round the table, and takes the paper of each Knight, pretends to look into them, and then declares the majority of votes to be for thoſe perſons who were nominated by the Crown. Upon this declaration, two of the old Knights go into the outward room, where the new ones are attending, and introduce them, one after another, according to their ranks. The new Knight kneels down before the King, who puts the ribband about his neck; then he turns to the Prince of Wales, or, in his abſence, to the oldeſt Knight, who puts the Garter about his leg. This is the ceremony of the Chapter. That of the Inſtallation, which is always performed in St. George's Chapel at Windſor, completes the whole thing: for till then the new Knights cannot wear the Star, unleſs by a particular diſpenſation from the Sovereign, which is very ſeldom granted. All ceremonies are in themſelves very ſilly things; but yet a man of the world ſhould know them. They are the outworks of Manners and Decency, which would be too often broken in upon, if it were not for that defence, which keeps the enemy at a proper diſtance. It is for that reaſon that I always treat fools and coxcombs with great ceremony; true good-breeding not being a ſufficient barrier againſt them. The knowledge of the world teaches one to deal with different people differently, and according as characters and ſituations require. The *verſatile ingenium* is a moſt eſſential point; and a man muſt be broke to it while he is young. Have it in your thoughts, as I have you in mine. Adieu.

P. S.

P. S. This moment I receive your letter of the 15th, N. S. with which I am very well pleaſed; it informs me, and, what I like ſtill better, it ſhows me that you are informed.

CCCCXLI.

A FRAGMENT.

YOUR riding, fencing, and dancing, conſtantly at the Academy, will, I hope, lengthen you out a little: therefore, pray take a great deal of thoſe exerciſes: for I would very fain have you be at leaſt five feet eight inches high, as Mr. Harte once wrote me word that he hoped you would. Mr. Pelham likewiſe told me, that you ſpeak German and French as fluently and correctly as a Saxon or a Pariſian. I am very glad of both: take care not to forget the former; there is no danger of your forgetting the latter. As I both thank and applaud you for having, hitherto, employed yourſelf ſo well abroad, I muſt again repeat to you, that the manner in which you ſhall now employ it at Paris will be finally deciſive of your fortune, figure, and character in the world, and conſequently of my eſteem and kindneſs. Eight or nine months determine the whole; which whole is very near complete. It conſiſts of this only: to retain and increaſe the learning you have already acquired; to add to it the ſtill more uſeful knowledge of

of the World; and to adorn both, with the Manners, the Addreſs, the Air, and the Graces, of a Man of Faſhion. Without the laſt, I will ſay of your youth and your knowledge, what Horace ſays to Venus;

Parum comis ſine te Juventas,
Mercuriuſque.

The two great ſubjects of converſation now at Paris are, the diſpute between the Crown and the Clergy, and between the Crown and the States of Brittany: inform yourſelf thoroughly of both; which will let you into the moſt material parts of the French hiſtory and conſtitution. There are four Letters printed, and very well written, againſt the pretended rights and *immunities* of the Clergy; to which there is an Anſwer, very well written too, in defence of thoſe *immunities*. Read them both with attention; and alſo all repreſentations, memorials, and whatever ſhall appear for or againſt the claims of the States of Brittany. I dare ſay, that ninety-nine in a hundred, of the Engliſh at Paris, do not give themſelves the trouble of enquiring into thoſe diſputes; but content themſelves with ſaying, "that there is a "confounded buſtle and rout between the King and "the Prieſts, and between the King and the States "of Brittany; but that, for their parts, they do "not trouble their heads about them; fight Dog, "fight Bear." But, with ſubmiſſion to them, theſe are objects worthy the attention and enquiries of a man of ſenſe and buſineſs.

Adieu, my dear child! Yours tenderly.