#### 340 LETTERS FROM THE HON, HORACE WALPOLE

I know nothing of the war, but that we catch little French ships like crawsish. They have taken one of ours with governor — going to ——. He is a very worthy young man, but so stiffened with fir ——'s old fustian, that I am persuaded he is at this minute in the citadel of Nantes comparing himself to Regulus.

Gray has lately been here. He has begun an ode, which if he finishes equally, will, I think, inspirit all your drawing again. It is founded on an old tradition of Edward I. putting to death the Welsh bards. Nothing but you, or Salvator Rofa, and Nicolo Pouffin, can paint up to the expressive. horror and dignity of it. Don't think I mean to flatter you; all I would fay is, that now the two latter are dead, you must of necessity be Gray's painter. In order to keep your talent alive, I shall next week send you flake white, brushes, oil, and the inclosed directions from Mr. Müntz, who is still at the Vine, and whom, for want of you, we labour hard to form. I shall put up in the parcel two or three prints of my eagle, which, as you never would draw it, is very moderately performed; and yet the drawing was much better than the engraving. I shall send you too a trifling snuffbox, only as a fample of the new manufacture at Battersea, which is done with copper-plates. Mr. Chute is at the Vine, where I cannot fay any works go on in proportion to my impatience. I have left him an inventionary of all I want to have done there; but I believe it may be bound up with the century of projects of that foolish marquis of Worcester, who printed a catalogue of titles of things, which he gave no directions to execute, nor I believe could. Adieu! . Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

#### LETTER XXX.

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The state of the s

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Arlington-ftreet, September 30, 1755.

SOLOMON fays, fomewhere or other, I think it is in Castelvetro's, or Castelnuovo's, edition—is not there such a one?—that the infatuation of a nation for a soolish minister is like that of a lover for an ugly woman: when once he opens his eyes, he wonders what the devil bewitched him.

This

This is the text to the present sermon in politics, which I shall not divide under three heads, but tell you at once, that no minister was ever nearer the precipice than ours has been. I did tell you, I believe, that Legge had refused to fign the warrant for the Hessian subsidy: in short, he heartily refented the quick coldness that followed his exaltation, waited for an opportunity of revenge, found this; and to be fure no vengeance ever took speedier strides. All the world revolted against subsidiary treaties; nobody was left to defend them but Murray, and he did not care to venture. Offers of graciousness, of cabinet counsellor, of chancellor of the exchequer, were made to right and left. Dr. Lee was conscientious; Mr. Pitt might be brought in compliment to his M. to digeft one -But a fystem of subfidies!-Impossible! In short, the very first ministership was offered to be made over to my lord Granville—He begged to be excused—he was not fit for it.—Well! you laugh: all this is fact. At last we were forced to strike fail to Mr. Fox: he is named for feeretary of state, with not only the lead, but the power of the house of commons. You ask, in the room of which fecretary? What fignifies of which? Why, I think of fir Thomas Robinfon, who returns to his wardrobe, and lord Barrington comes into the waroffice. This is the prefent state of things in this grave reasonable island: the union hug like two cats over a string; the rest are arming for opposition-But I will not promise you any more warlike winters; I remember how foon the campaign of the last was addled.

In Ireland, Mr. Conway has pacified all things: the Irish are to get as drunk as even to the glorious and immortal memory of king George, and the prerogative is to be exalted as high as ever, by being obliged to give up the primate.—There! I think I have told you volumes: yet I know you will not be content; you will want to know something of the war and of America: but I assure you it is not the bon-ton to talk of either this week. We think not of the former, and of the latter we should think to very little purpose, for we have not heard a syllable more; Braddock's defeat still remains in the situation of the longest battle that ever was sought with nobody. Content your English spirit with knowing that there are very near three thousand French prisoners in England, taken out of several ships.

Yours ever,

#### LETTER XXXI.

Arlington-street, October 19, 1755.

DO you love royal quarrels? You may be ferved—I know you don't love an invation—nay, that even passes my taste; it will make too much party. In thort, the lady dowager Prudence begins to step a little over the threshold of that discretion which she has always hitherto so fanctimoniously ob-She is suspected of strange whims; so strange, as neither to like more German fubfidies or more German matches. A strong faction, professedly against the treaties, openly against Mr. Fox, and covertly under the banners of the aforesaid lady Prudence, arm from all quarters against the opening of the fession. Her ladyship's eldest boy declares violently against being bewolfenbuttled—a word which I don't pretend to understand, as it is not in Mr. Johnson's new dictionary. There! now I have been as enigmatic as ever I have accused you of being; and hoping you will not be able to expound my German hieroglyphics, I proceed to tell you in plain English that we are going to be invaded. I have within this day or two feen grandees of ten, twenty, and thirty thousand pounds a year, who are in a mortal fright: confequently, it would be impertinent in much less folk to tremble—and accordingly they don't. At court there is no doubt but an attempt will be made before Christmas .- I find valour is like virtue: impregnable as they boast themselves, it is discovered that on the first attack both lie strangely open ! They are raising more paen, camps are to be formed in Kent and Suffex, the duke of Newcastle is frightened out of his wits, which though he has loft fo often you know he always recovers, and as fresh as ever. Lord E. despairs of the commonwealth; and I am going to fortify my caffle of Strawberry, according to an old charter I should have had, for embattling and making a deep ditch-But here am I laughing, when I really ought to cry both with my public eye and my private one. I have told you what I think ought to fluice my public eye: and your private eye too will moisten, when I tell you that poor miss Harriet Montagu' is

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

<sup>2</sup> Sifter to Mr. George Montagu.

dead. She died about a fortnight ago; but having nothing else to tell you, I would not fend a letter fo far with only fuch melancholy news-and fo, you will fay, I staid till I could tell still more bad news. The truth is, I have for fome time had two letters of yours to answer: it is three weeks fince I wrote to you, and one begins to doubt whether one shall ever be to write again. I will hope all my best hopes, for I have no fort of intention at this time of day of finishing either as a martyr or a hero. - I rather intend to live and record both those professions, if need be-and I have no inclination to fcuttle barefoot after a duke of Wolfenbuttle's army, as Philip de Comines fays he faw their graces of Exeter and Somerfet trudge after the duke of Burgundy's. The invation, though not much in fathion yet, begins like Moses's rod to swallow other news, both political and fuicidical. Our politics I have sketched out to you, and can only add, that Mr. Fox's ministry does not as yet promife to be of long duration. When it was first thought that he had got the better of the duke of Newcastle, Charles Townshend faid admirably, that he was fure the duchefs, like the old cavaliers, would make a vow not to shave her beard till the restoration.

I can't recollect the least morfel of a fess or chevron of the Boynets: they did not happen to enter into any extinct genealogy for whose welfare I interest myself. I sent your letter to Mr. Chute, who is still under his own vine: Mr. Müntz is still with him, recovering of a violent sever.—Adieu! If memoirs don't grow too memorable, I think this season will produce a large crop.

Yours ever

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. I believe I scarce ever mentioned to you last winter the follies of the opera: the impertinences of a great singer were too old and too common a topic. I must mention them now, when they rise to any improvement in the character of national folly. The Mingotti, a noble sigure, a great mistress of music, and a most incomparable actress, surpassed any thing I ever saw for the extravagance of her humours. She never sung above one night in three, from a sever upon her temper; and never would act at all when Ricciarelli, the first man, was to be in dialogue with her. Her severs grew so high, that the audience caught them, and hissed her more than once: the herself once turned and hissed again—Tit pro tat geminat τον δαπαμειδομενη.—Well.

### 344 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

—Well, among the treaties which a fecretary of state has negotiated this fummer, he has contracted for a *fuccedaneum* to the Mingotti. In short, there is a woman hired to sing when the other shall be out of humour!

Here is a World by lord Chestersield : the first part is very pretty, till it runs into witticism. I have marked the passages I particularly like.

You would not draw Henry IV. at a fiege for me: pray don't draw Louis XV.

#### LETTER XXXII.

Strawberry-hill, October 31, 1755.

AS the invalion is not ready, we are forced to take up with a victory. An account came yesterday, that general Johnson had defeated the French near the lake St. Sacrement, had killed one thousand, and taken the lieutenant-general who commanded them prisoner; his name is Dieskau, a Saxon, an esteemed eleve of marshal Saxe. By the printed account, which I inclose, Johnson showed great generalship and bravery. As the whole business was done by irregulars, it does not lessen the faults of Braddock, and the panic of his troops. If I were fo disposed, I could conceive that there are heroes in the world who are not quite pleafed with this extra-martinette success'-but we won't blame those Alexanders, tiss they have beaten the French in Kent! You know it will be time enough to abuse them, when they have done all the service they can? The other inclosed paper is another World, by my lord Chelterfield; not so pretty, I think, as the last; yet it has merit. While England and France are at war, and Mr. Fox and Mr. Pitt going to war, his lordship is coolly amusing himself at picquet at Bath with a Moravian baron, who would be in prison. if his creditors did not occasionally release him to play with and cheat my lord Chefterfield, as the only chance they have for recovering their money!

We expect the parliament to be thronged, and great animofities. I will

England by Louis XV.

Number 146, of the fifth volume.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> Alluding to the subject Mr. Walpole had proposed to him for a picture, in Letter XXVII. and to the then expected invasion of

<sup>3</sup> Alluding to William duke of Cumberland.

<sup>4</sup> Number 148, of the fifth volume.

not fend you one of the eggs that are laid; for fo many political ones have been addled of late years, that I believe all the state game-cocks in the world are impotent.

I did not doubt but you would be ftruck with the death of poor B. t'other night, at White's, found a very remarkable entry in our very-very remarkable wager-book: "Lord - bets fir - twenty guineas that Nash outlives Cibber!" How odd that these two old creatures, selected for their antiquities, should live to see both their wagerers put an end to their own lives! Cibber is within a few days of eighty-four, still hearty, and clear, and well. I told him I was glad to fee him look fo well: "'Faith," faid he, "it is very well that I look at all!"-I' fhall thank you for the Ormer shells and roots; and shall defire your permission to finish my letter already. As the parliament is to meet fo foon, you are likely to be overpowered with my dispatches.—I have been thinning my wood of trees, and planting them out more into the field: I am fitting up the old kitchen for a china-room: I am building a bed-chamber for myfelf over the old blue-room, in which I intend to die, though not yet; and some trifles of this kind, which I do not specify to you, because I intend to reserve a little to be quite new to you. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR, WALPOLE.

#### LETTER XXXIII.

The state of the s

Arlington-street, November 16, 1755.

NEVER was poor invulnerable immortality fo foon brought to shame! Alack! I have had the gout! I would fain have persuaded myself that it was a sprain; and, then, that it was only the gout come to look for Mr. Chute at Strawberry-hill: but none of my evasions will do! I was, certainly, lame for two days; and though I repelled it—first, by getting wetshod, and then by spirits of camphire; and though I have since tamed it more rationally by leaving off the little wine I drank, I still know where to look for it whenever I have an occasion for a political illness.—Come, my

Vol. V. constitution

### 346 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

constitution is not very much broken, when in four days after such a mortifying attack, I could fit in the house of commons, full as possible, from two at noon till past five in the morning, as we did but last Thursday. new opposition attacked the address.-Who are the new opposition?-Why, the old opposition: Pitt and the Grenvilles; indeed, with Legge inflead of fir George Lyttelton. Judge how entertaining it was to me, to hear Lyttelton answer Grenville, and Pitt Lyttelton! The debate, long and uninterrupted as it was, was a great deal of it extremely fine: the numbers did not answer to the merit: the new friends, the duke of Newcastle and Mr. Fox, had 311 to 105. The bon-mot in fashion is, that the flaff was very good, but they wanted private men. Pitt furpaffed himfelf, and then I need not tell you that he furpaffed Cicero and Demosthenes. What a figure would they, with their formal, laboured, cabinet orations, make vis-à-vis his manly vivacity and dashing eloquence at one o'clock in the morning, after fitting in that heat for eleven hours! He spoke above an hour and a half, with scarce a bad sentence: the most admired part was a comparison he drew of the two parts of the new administration, to the conflux of the Rhone and the Saone; "the latter a gentle, feeble, languid stream, languid but not deep; the other a boisterous and overbearing torrent: but they join at last; and long may they continue united, tothe comfort of each other, and to the glory, honour and happiness of this nation?" I hope you are not mean-spirited enough to dread an invasion, when the fenatorial contests are reviving in the temple of Concord.—But will it make a party? Yes, truly; I never faw fo promiting a prospect. Would not it be cruel, at fuch a period, to be laid up?

I have only had a note from you to promife me a letter; but it is not arrived:—but the partridges are, and well; and I thank you.

England feems returning': for those who are not in parliament, there are nightly riots at Drury-lane, where there is an anti-Gallican party against some French dancers. The young men of quality have protected them till last night, when, being opera night, the galleries were victorious.

Montagu writes me many kind things for you: he is in Cheshire, but

<sup>\*</sup> He means the disposition towards mobs and rioting at public places, which was then common among young men, and had been a sort of fashion in his early youth. E.

comes to town this winter. Adieu! I have so much to say, that I have time to say but very little.

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

P. S. G. Selwyn hearing much talk of a fea-war or a continent, faid, "I am for a fea-war and a continent admiral."

#### LETTER XXXIV.

Arlington-street, December 17, 1755.

AFTER an immense interval, I have at last received a long letter from you, of a very old date (November 5th), which amply indemnifies my patience; nay, almost makes me amends for your blindness; for I think, unless you had totally lost your eyes, you would not refuse me a pleasure so eafy to yourfelf, as now and then fending me a drawing.- I can't call it laziness-one may be too idle to amuse one's self; but sure one is never so fond of idleness as to prefer it to the power of obliging a person one loves! And yet I own your letter has made me amends; the wit of your pen recompenses, the stupidity of your pencil; the castus you have taken up supplies a little the artem you have relinquished. I could quote twenty passages that have charmed me: the picture of lady Prudence and her family; your idol that gave you hail when you prayed for funshine; misfortune the teacher of superstition; unmarried people being the fashion in heaven; the Speciator-hacked phrases; Mr. Spence's blindness to Pope's mortality; and above all, the criticism on the queen in Hamlet is most delightful. There never was fo good a ridicule of all the formal commentators on Shakespear, nor fo artful a banter on him himself for so improperly making her majesty deal in doubles entendres at a funeral! In short, I never heard as much wit except in a speech with which Mr. Pitt concluded the debate t'other day on the treaties. His antagonists endeavour to disarm him; but as fast as they deprive him of one weapon, he finds a better-I never suspected him of . fuch an universal armoury—I knew he had a Gorgon's head composed of bayonets and piffols, but little thought that he could tickle to death with a feather. On the first debate on these famous treaties, last Wednesday,

Y y 2

Hume

## 348 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

Hume Campbell, whom the duke of N. had retained as the most abusive counsel he could find against Pitt (and hereaster perhaps against Fox), attacked the former for eternal invectives. Oh! since the last Philippic of Billingsgate memory, you never heard such an invective as Pitt returned—Hume Campbell was annihilated! Pitt like an angry wasp seems to have lest his sting in the wound—and has since assumed a style of delicate ridicule and repartee—But think how charming a ridicule must that be that lasts and rises, slash after slash, for an hour and a half! Some day or other perhaps you will see some of the glittering splinters that I gathered up. I have written under his print these lines, which are not only sull as just as the original, but have not the tautology of lostiness and majesty:

Three orators in distant ages born, Greece, Italy, and England did adorn: The first in lostiness of thought surpass'd, The next in language, but in both the last: The pow'r of nature could no farther go; To make a third, she join'd the former two.

Indeed we have wanted such an entertainment to enliven and make the fatigue supportable. We sat on Wednesday till ten at night; on Friday till past three in the morning; on Monday till between nine and ten. We have profusion of orators, and many very great, which is surprise to soon after the leaden age of the late right honourable Henry Saturnus'! The majorities are as great as in Saturnus's golden age.

Our changes are begun; but not being made at once, our very changes change! Lord Duplin and lord Darlington are made joint pay-masters: George Selwyn says, that no act ever showed so much the duke of New-castle's absolute power, as his being able to make lord Darlington a pay-master. That so ofen repatrioted and reprosituted prostitute Doddington is again to be treasurer of the navy: and he again drags out Harry Furnese into the treasury. The duke of Leeds is to be cofferer, and lord Sandwich emerges so far as to be chief justice in Eyre.—The other parts by the comedians—I don't repeat their names, because perhaps the fellow that to-day is designed to act Guildenstern, may to-morrow be destined to play

half the part of the second grave-digger. However, they are all to kiss hands on Saturday. Mr. Pitt told me to-day that he should not go to Bath till next week. I fancy, said I, you scarce stay to kiss hands.

With regard to the invation, which you are fo glad to be allowed to fear, I must tell you that it is quite gone out of fashion again, and I really believe was dressed up for a vehicle (as the apothecaries call it) to make us swallow the treaties. All along the coast of France they are much more afraid of an invasion than we are!

As obliging as you are in fending me plants, I am determined to thank you for nothing but drawings. I am not to be bribed to filence, when you really difoblige me. Mr. Müntz has ordered more cloths for you. I even shall fend you books unwillingly; and indeed why should I? As you are stone blind, what can you do with them? The few I shall fend you, for there are scarce any new, will be a pretty dialogue by Crebillon; a strange imperfect poem, written by Voltaire when he was very young, which with some charming strokes has a great deal of humour manqué and of impiety estropiée; and an historical romance, by him too, of the last war, in which is so outrageous a lying anecdote of old Marlborough, as would have convinced her, that when poets write history they stick as little to truth in prose as in verse. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

#### LETTER XXXV.

Strawberry-hill, January 6, 1756.

I AM quite angry with you; you write me letters so entertaining, that they make me almost forgive your not drawing: now, you know, next to being disagreeable there is nothing so shocking as being too agreeable. However, as I am a true philosopher, and can resist any thing I like, when it is to obtain any thing I like better, I declare, that if you don't coin the vast ingot of colours and cloth that I have sent you, I will burn your letters unopened.

Thank

#### 350 LETTERS FROM THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE.

Thank you for all your concern about my gout—but I shall not mind you; it shall appear in my stomach, before I attempt to keep it out of it by a fortification of wine; I only drank a little two days after being very much fatigued in the house, and the worthy pioneer began to cry fwear from my foot the next day. However, though I am determined to feel young still, I grow to take the hints age gives me—I come hither oftener, I leave the town to the young; and though the bufy turn that the world has taken draws me back into it, I excuse it to myself, and call it retiring into politics. From hence I must retire, or I shall be drowned; my cellars are four feet under water, the Thames gives itself Rhone airs, and the meadows are more flooded than when you first faw this place and thought it so dreary. We feem to have taken out our earthquake in rain: fince the third week in June, there have not been five days together of dry weather. They tell us that at Colnbrook and Staines they are forced to live in the first floor. Mr. Chute is at the Vine, but I don't expect to hear from him; no post but a dove can get from thence. Every post brings new earthquakes; they have felt them in France, Sweden, and Germany:—what a convultion there has been in nature! Sir Isaac Newton, somewhere in his works, has this beautiful expression, The globe will want manum emendatricem.

I have been here this week with only Mr. Müntz; from whence you may conclude I have been employed—Memoires thrive apace. He feems to wonder (for he has not a little of your indolence, I am not furpriffed you took to him) that I am continually occupied every minute of the day, reading, writing, forming plans: in short, you know me. He is an inoffensive good creature, but had rather ponder over a foreign gazette than a pallet.

I expect to find George Montagu in town to-morrow: his brother has at last got a regiment. Not content with having deserved it, before he got it, by distinguished bravery and indefatigable duty, he persists in meriting it still. He immediately, unasked, gave the chaplainship (which others always sell advantageously) to his brother's parson at Greatworth. I am almost afraid it will make my commendation of this really handsome action look interested, when I add, that he has obliged me in the same way, by making Mr. Mann his clothier, before I had time to apply for it. Adieu! I find no news in town.

Yours ever,

## LETTERS

FROM

### THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

TO

## THOMAS GRAY,

From the Year 1753 to the Year 1768:

WITH

SOME LETTERS IN ANSWER

FROM MR. GRAY.



Ecourde pine!

Heath Sculp.

Thomas Gray.

Publas the Act directs May 18 1798 by GG & A. Robinson Paternoster Row London.

#### LETTE RS

BETWEEN

## THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

AND

### THOMAS GRAY,

From the Year 1753 to the Year 1768.

LETTER I.

To THOMAS GRAY.

Arlington-street, Feb. 20, 1753-

AM very forry that the hafte I made to deliver you from your uneafiness the first moment after I received your letter, should have made me express myself in a manner to have the quite contrary effect from what I intended. You well know how rapidly and carelessly I always write my letters: the note you mention was written in a still greater hurry than ordinary, and merely to put you out of pain. I had not feen Dodfley, confequently could only tell you that I did not doubt but he would have no objection to fatisfy you, as you was willing to prevent his being a lofer by the plate'. Now, from this declaration, how is it possible for you to have for

trait of him by Eckardt, at Strawberry-hill, from figns; but Mr. Gray's extreme repugnance to the which the print prefixed to these letters is taken. proposal obliged his friends to drop it. E. It was intended to have been prefixed to Dodfley's

This was a print of Mr. Gray, after the por- 4to edition of his Odes, with Mr. Dentley's de-

VOL. V.

one

one moment put such a construction upon my words, as would have been a downright stupid brutality, unprovoked? It is impossible for me to recollect my very expression, but I am consident that I have repeated the whole substance.

How the bookseller would be less a loser by being at more expence, I can easily explain to you. He feared the price of half-a-guinea would seem too high to most purchasers. If by the expence of ten guineas more he could make the book appear so much more rich and showy as to induce people to think it cheap, the profits from selling many more copies would amply recompense him for his additional disbursement.

The thought of having the head engraved was entirely Dodfley's own, and against my opinion, as I concluded it would be against yours; which made me determine to acquaint you with it before its appearance.

When you reflect on what I have faid now, you will fee very clearly, that I had and could have no other possible meaning in what I wrote last. You might justly have accused me of neglect, if I had deferred giving you all the satisfaction in my power, as soon as ever I knew your uneasiness.

The head I give up. The title I think will be wrong, and not infwer your purpose; for, as the drawings are evidently calculated for the poems, why will the improper disposition of the word designs before poems make the edition less yours? I am as little convinced that there is any affectation in leaving out the Mr. before your names: it is a barbarous addition: the other is simple and classic; a rank I cannot help thinking due to both the poet and painter. Without ranging myself among classics, I assure you, were I to print any thing with my name, it should be plain Horace Walpole: Mr. is one of the Gothicisms I abominate. The explanation was certainly added for people who have not eyes:—such are almost all who have seen Mr. Bentley's drawings, and think to compliment him by mistaking them for prints. Alas! the generality want as much to have the words a man,

By Mr. Walpole's having prefixed this is to be supposed that Mr. Gray's opinion on this "Gothicism" to his name in several works published subsequent to the date of this letter, it "Of Mr. Bentley's design."

a cock, written under his drawings, as under the most execrable hieroglyphics of Egypt, or of fign-post painters!

I will fay no more now, but that you must not wonder if I am partial to you and yours, when you can write as you do and yet feel so little vanity. I have used freedoms enough with your writings to convince you I speak truth: I praise and scold Mr. Bentley immoderately, as I think he draws well or ill: I never think it worth my while to do either, especially to blame, where there are not generally vast excellencies.—Go'od-night!—Don't suspect me when I have no fault but impatience to make you easy.

Yours ever.

HOR. WALPOLE.

#### LETTER IL

Arlington-street, Feb. 15, 1759.

THE enclosed, which I have this minute received from Mr. Bentley, explains much that I had to fay to you—yet I have a question or two more.

Who and what fort of man is a Mr. Sharp of Benet! I have received a most obliging and genteel letter from him, with the very letter of Edward VI. which you was so good as to send me. I have answered his, but should like to know a little more about him. Pray thank the dean of Lincoln too for me: I am much obliged to him for his offer, but had rather draw upon his Lincolnship than his Cambridgehood. In the library of the former are some original letters of Tiptost, as you will find in my catalogue. When Dr. Greene is there, I shall be glad if he will let me have them copied.

I will thank you if you will look in some provincial history of Ireland for Odo (Hugh) Oneil king of Ulster. When did he live? I have got a most curious feal of his, and know no more of him than of Ouacraw king of the Pawwaws.

. He was master of Benet-college, Cambridge.

Z z 2

I wanted.

I wanted to ask you, whether you, or any body that you believe in, believe in the queen of Scots' letter to queen Elizabeth '.- If it is genuine, I don't wonder the cut her head off-but I think it must be fome forgery that was not made use of.

book the story less.

Now to my diffres.—You must have seen an advertisement, perhaps the book itself, the villainous book itself, that has been published to defend me against the Critical Review 2. I have been childishly unhappy about it, and had drawn up a protestation or affidavit of my knowing nothing of it; but my friends would not let me publish it. I fent to the printer, who would not discover the author-nor could I guess. They tell me nobody can suspect my being privy to it: but there is an intimacy affected that I think will deceive many—and yet I must be the most arrogant fool living, if I could know and fuffer any body to speak of me in that style. For God's sake, do all you can for me, and publish my abhorrence. To-day I am told that it is that puppy doctor Hill, who has chofen to make war with the magazines through my fides. I could pardon him any abuse, but I never can forgive this friendship. Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOL

#### LETTER III.

Paris, Nov. 19, 1765.

YOU are very kind to enquire fo particularly after my gout. I wish I may not be too circumstantial in my answer: but you have tapped a dangerous topic; I can talk gout by the hour. It is my great mortification, and has disappointed all the hopes that I had built on temperance and hardiness. I have refifted like a hermit, and exposed myself to all weathers and seasons like a fmuggler; and in vain. I have however still so much of the obsti-

this curious letter. E.

<sup>2</sup> It was called "Observations on the account given of the Catalogue of Royal and Noble Authors of England, &c. &c. in article vi. of the

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>1</sup> See Murden's State Papers, page 58, for Critical Review, N° 25, for December 1758, where the unwarrantable liberties taken with that work and the honourable author of it are examined and exposed."

nacy of both professions left, that I think I shall continue, and cannot obey you in keeping myfelf warm. I have gone through my fecond fit under one blanket, and already go about in a filk waiftcoat with my bosom unbuttoned. In short, I am as prejudiced to my regimen, though so ineffectual. as I could have been to all I expected from it. The truth is, I am almost as willing to have the gout as to be liable to catch cold; and must run up stairs and down, in and out of doors, when I will, or I cannot have the least fatisfaction. This will convince you how readily I comply with another of your precepts, walking as foon as I am able.—For receipts, you may trust me for making use of none: I would not see a physician at the worst, but have quacked myself as boldly as quacks treat others. I laughed at your idea of quality-receipts, it came so à-propos. There is not a man or woman here that is not a perfect old nurse, and who does not talk gruel and anatomy with equal fluency and ignorance. • One inflance shall serve: madame de Bouzols, marshal Berwick's daughter, affured me there was nothing so good for the gout, as to preferve the parings of my nails in a bottle close stopped. When I try any illustrious nostrum, I shall give the preference to this.

So much for the gout! I told you what was coming. As to the ministry, I know and care very little about them. I told you and told them long ago, that if ever a change happened I would bid adieu to politics for ever. Do me the justice to allow that I have not altered with the times. I was fo imparient to put this refolution in execution, that I hurried out of England before I was fufficiently recovered. I shall not run the same hazard again in hafte; but will ftay here till I am perfectly well, and the feafon of warm weather coming on or arrived; though the charms of Paris have not the least attraction for me, nor would keep me here an hour on their own account. For the city itself, I cannot conceive where my eyes were: it is the ugliest, beaftly town in the universe. I have not seen a mouthful of verdure out of it, nor have they any thing green but their treillage and windowshutters. Trees cut into fire-shovels, and stuck into pedestals of chaik, compose their country. Their boasted knowledge of society is reduced to talking of their suppers, and every malady they have about them, or know of. The dauphin is at the point of death: every morning the physicians frame an account of him; and happy is he or she who can produce a copy of this lie, called a bulletin. The night before last, one of these was produced at supper where I was: it was read, and faid he had had une evacuation fætide. I beg

I beg your pardon, though you are not at supper. The old lady of the house (who by the way is quite blind, was the regent's mistress for a fortnight, and is very agreeable) called out, Oh! they have forgot to mention that he threw down his chamber-pot, and was forced to change his bed. There were present several women of the first rank; as madame de la Valiere, whom you remember duchesse de Vaujour, and who is still miraculously pretty though sifty-three; a very handsome madame de Forcalquier, and others—nor was this conversation at all particular to that evening.

Their gaiety is not greater than their delicacy—but I will not expatiate. In short, they are another people from what they were. They may be growing wife, but the intermediate passage is dulness. Several of the women are agreeable, and some of the men; but the latter are in general vain and ignorant. The sevants—I beg their pardons, the philosophes—are insupportable, superficial, overbearing and fanatic: they preach incessantly, and their avowed doctrine is atheism; you would not believe how openly—Don't wonder therefore if I should return a Jesuit. Voltaire himself does not satisfy them. One of their lady-devotes said of him, Il est bigot, c'st un deiste.

I am as little pleased with their taste in trisses. Crebillon is entirely out of fashion, and Marivaux a proverb: marivauder and marivaudage are established terms for being prolix and tiresome.—I thought that we were fallen, but they are ten times lower.

Notwithstanding all I have said, I have sound two or three societies that please me; am amused with the novelty of the whole, and should be forry not to have come. The Dumenil is, if possible, superior to what you remember. I am forry not to see the Clairon; but several persons whose judgments seem the soundest prefer the former. Preville is admirable in low comedy. The mixture of Italian comedy and comic operas prettily written, and set to Italian music, at the same theatre, is charming, and gets the better both of their operas and French comedy; the latter of which is seldom full, with all its merit. Pent-maîtres are obsolete, like our lords Foppington—Tout le monde est philosophe—When I grow very sick of this last nonsense, I go and compose myself at the Chartreuse, where I am almost tempted to prefer Le Sœur to every painter I know—Yet what new old treasures

treasures are come to light, routed out of the Louvre, and thrown into new lumber-rooms at Verfailles !--- But I have not room to tell tou what I have feen! I will keep this and other chapters for Strawberry. Adieu! and thank you.

Yours ever.

HOR. WALPOLE.

Old Mariette has shown me a print by Diepenbecke of the duke and duchefs of Newcastle at dinner with their family. You would oblige me, if you would look into all their graces' folios, and fee if it is not a frontifpiece to some one of them. Then he has such a Petitot of madame d'Olonne! The Pompadour offered him fifty louis for it-Alack, fo would I!

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Cambridge, December 13, 1765.

I AM very much obliged to you for the detail you enter into on the subject of your own health: in this you cannot be too circumitantial for me, who had received no account of you, but at fecond hand-fuch as, that you were dangerously ill, and therefore went to France; that you meant to try a better climate, and therefore staid at Paris; that you had relapsed, and were confined to your bed, and extremely in vogue, and supped in the best company, and were at all public diversions. I rejoice to find (improbable as it feemed) that all the wonderful part of this is strictly true, and that the ferious part has been a little exaggerated. This latter I conclude not fo much from your own account of yourfelf, as from the spirits in which I fee you write; and long may they continue to support you! I mean in a reasonable degree of elevation: but if (take notice) they are so volatile, fo flippant, as to fuggest any of those doctrines of health, which you preach with all the zeal of a French atheift; at least, if they really do influence your practice; I utterly renounce them and all their works. They are evil spirits, and will lead you to destruction .- You have long built your hopes on temperance, you fay, and hardiness. On the first point we are agreed. The fecond has totally disappointed you, and therefore

I must tell you, that upon cleaning an old picture here at St. John's Lodge, which I always took for a Holbein; on a ring, which the figure wears, they have found H. H. It has been always called B. V. Fifher: but is plainly a layman, and probably fir Anthony Denny, who was a benefactor to the college.

What is come of your Sevigné-curiofity? I should be glad of a line now and then, when you have leifure. I wish you well, and am ever

Yours,

T. GRAY. to we the probability of the pro

#### LETTER V.

Paris, January 25, 1766.

I AM much indebted to you for your kind letter and advice; and though it is late to thank you for it, it is at least a stronger proof that I do not forget it. However, I am a little obstinate, as you know, on the chapter of health, and have perfifted through this Siberian winter in not adding a grain to my clothes, and in going open-breafted without an under-waiftcoat. In short, though I like extremely to live, it must be in my own way, as long as I can: it is not youth I court, but liberty; and I think making one's felf tender, is iffuing a general warrant against one's own person. I Suppose I shall submit to confinement, when I cannot help it; but I am indifferent enough to life not to care if it ends soon after my prison begins:

I have not delayed fo long to answer your letter, from not thinking of it, or from want of matter, but from want of time. I am constantly occupied, engaged, amused, till I cannot bring a hundredth part of what I have to fay into the compass of a letter. You will lose nothing by this: you know my volubility, when I am full of new fubjects; and I have at least many hours of conversation for you at my return. One does not learn a whole nation in four or five months; but, for the time, few, I believe, have feen, studied, or got so much acquainted with the French as I have.

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By what I aid of their religious or rather irreligious opinions, you must not conclude their people of quality, atheists—at least not the men—Happily for them, poor souls! they are not capable of going so far into thinking. They assent to a great deal, because it is the fashion, and because they don't know how to contradict. They are assamed to defend the Roman catholic religion, because it is quite exploded; but I am convinced they believe it in their hearts. They hate the parliaments and the philosophers, and are rejoiced that they may still idolize royalty. At present too they are a little triumphant: the court has shown a little spirit, and the parliaments much less: but as the duc de Cheiseul, who is very sluttering, unsettled, and inclined to the philosophers, has made a compromise with the parliament of Bretagne, the parliaments might venture out again, if, as I sancy will be the case, they are not glad to drop a cause, of which they began to be a little weary of the inconveniencies.

The generality of the men, and more than the generality, are dull and empty. They have taken up gravity, thinking it was philosophy and English, and so have acquired nothing in the room of their natural levity and cheerfulness. However, as their high opinion of their own country remains, for which they can no longer assign any reason, they are contemptuous and reserved, instead of being ridiculously, consequently pardonably, impertinent. I have wondered, knowing my own countrymen, that we had attained such a superiority.—I wonder no longer, and have a little more respect for English heads than I had.

The women do not feem of the same country: if they are less gay than they were, they are more informed, enough to make them very conversable. I know six or seven with very superior understandings; some of them with wit, or with softness, or very good sense.

Madame Geoffrin, of whom you have heard much, is an extraordinary woman, with more common fense than I almost ever met with. Great quickness in discovering characters, penetration in going to the bottom of them, and a pencil that never fails in a likeness—seldom a favourable one. She exacts and preserves, spite of her birth and their nonsensical prejudices about nobility, great court and attention. This she acquires by a thousand little arts and offices of friendship; and by a freedom and severity,

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which feems to be her fole end of drawing a concourfe to her; for the infifts on foolding those she inveigles to her. She has little taste and less knowledge, but protects artifans and authors, and courts a few people to have the credit of ferving her dependents. She was bred under the famous madame Tencin, who advised her never to refuse any man; for, faid her miftrefs, though nine in ten should not care a farthing for you, the tenth may live to be an useful friend. She did not adopt or reject the whole plan, but fully retained the purport of the maxim. In short, she is an epitome of empire, subfishing by rewards and punishments. Her great enemy, madame du Deffand, was for a short time mistress of the regent, is now very old and from blind, but retains all her vivacity, wit, memory, judgment, passions and agreeableness. She goes to operas, plays, suppers, and Verfailles; gives suppers twice a week; has every thing new read to her; makes new fongs and epigrams, ave, admirably, and remembers every one that has been made these fourscore years. She corresponds with Voltaire, dictates charming letters to him, contradicts him, is no bigot to him or any body, and laughs both at the clergy and the philosophers. In a difpute, into which the eafily falls, the is very warm, and yet fcarce ever in the wrong: her judgment on every fubject is as just as possible; on every. point of conduct as wrong as possible: for she is all love and hatred, passionate for her friends to enthufiasm, still anxious to be loved, I don't mean by lovers, and a vehement enemy, but openly. As the can have no amufement but conversation, the least solitude and ennui are insupportable to her, and put her into the power of feveral worthless people, who eat her fuppers when they can eat nobody's of higher rank; wink to one another and laugh at her; hate her because she has forty times more parts and venture to hate her because she is not rich. She has an old friend whom I must mention, a monfieur Pondevelle, author of the Fat puni, and the Complaifant, and of those pretty novels, the Comte de Cominge, the Siege of Calais, and les Malheurs de l'Amour. Would not you expect this old man to be very agreeable? He can be so, but seldom is: yet he has another very different and very amufing talent, the art of parody, and is unique in his kind. He composes tales to the tunes of long dances: for instance, he has adapted the Regent's Daphnis and Chloe to one, and made it ten times more indecent; but is so old and fings it so well, that it is. permitted in all companies. He has succeeded still better in les characteres de, la danse, to which he has adapted words that express all the characters A a a 2

of love. With all this, he has not the least idea of cheerfulness in converfation; feldom speaks but on grave subjects, and not often on them; is a humourist, very supercilious, and wrapt up in admiration of his own country, as the only judge of his merit. His air and look are cold and forbidding; but ask him to sing, or praise his works, his eyes and smiles open and brighten up. In short, I can show him to you; the self-applauding poet in Hogarth's Rake's Progress, the second print, is so like his very features and very wig, that you would know him by it, if you came hither—for he certainly will not go to you.

Madame de Mirepoix's understanding is excellent of the useful kind, and can be fo when the pleases of the agreeable kind. She has read, but feldom shows it, and has perfect taste. Her manner is cold, but very civil; and the conceals even the blood of Lorrain, without ever forgetting it. Nobody in France knows the world better, and nobody is personally so well with the king. She is false, artful, and infinuating beyond measure when it is her interest, but indolent and a coward. She never had any paffion but gaming, and always lofes. For ever paying court, the fole produce of a life of art is to get money from the king to carry on a course of parition debts or contracting new ones, which the discharges as fast as the is able. She advertised devotion to get made dame du palais to the queen; and the very next day this princefs of Lorrain was feen riding backwards with madame Pompadour in the latter's coach. When the king was stabbed and heartily frightened, the mistress took a panic too, and confulted d'Argenson, whether she had not best make off in time. He hated her, and faid, By all means. Madame de Mirepoix advised her to stay. The king recovered his spirits, d'Argenson was banished, and la marechale inherited part of the miftress's credit. I must interrupt my history of illustrious women with an anecdote of monsieur de Maurepas, with whom I am much acquainted, and who has one of the few heads that approach to good ones, and who luckily for us was difgraced, and the marine dropped, because it was his favourite object and province. He employed Pondevelle to make a fong on the Pompadour: it was clever and bitter, and did not spare even majesty. This was Maurepas absurd enough to sing at supper at Versailles. Banishment enfued; and lest he should ever be restored, the mistress persuaded the king that he had poisoned her predecessor madame de Chateauroux. Maurepas is very agreeable, and exceedinglycheerful :

cheerful; yet I have seen a transient silent cloud when politics are talked of.

Madame de Boufflers, who was in England, is a sçavante, mistress of the prince of Conti, and very desirous of being his wife. She is two women, the upper and the lower. I need not tell you that the lower is galant, and still has pretensions. The upper is very sensible too, and has a measured eloquence that is just and pleasing—but all is spoiled by an unrelaxed attention to applause. You would think she was always sitting for her picture to her biographer.

Madame de Rochfort is different from all the rest. Her understanding is just and delicate; with a finesse of wit that is the result of reflection. Her manner is foft and feminine, and, though a fcavante, without any declared pretentions. She is the decent friend of monfieur de Nivernois, for you must not believe a fyllable of what you read in their novels. It requires the greatest curiofity, or the greatest habitude, to discover the smallest connection between the fexes here. No familiarity, but under the veil of friendship, is permitted, and love's dictionary is as much prohibited, as at first fight one should think his ritual was. All you hear, and that pronounced with nonchalance, is, that monfieur un tel has had madame une telle. The duc de Nivernois has parts, and writes at the top of the mediocre, but, as madame Geoffrin fays, is manqué par tout; guerrier manqué, ambassadeur manqué, honme d'affaires manqué, and auteur manqué-no, he is not homme de naiffance manque. He would think freely, but has fome ambition of being governor to the dauphin, and is more afraid of his wife and daughter, who are ecclefiaftic fagots. The former out-chatters the duke of Newcastle; and the latter, madame de Gisors, exhausts Mr. Pitt's eloquence in defence of the archbishop of Paris. Monsieur de Nivernois lives in a small eircle of dependent admirers, and madame de Rochfort is high priestess for a small falary of credit.

The duchefs of Choifeul, the only young one of these heroines, is not very pretty, but has fine eyes, and is a little model in wax-work, which not being allowed to speak for some time as incapable, has a hesitation and modesty, the latter of which the court has not cured, and the former of which is atoned for by the most interesting sound of voice, and forgotten

in the most elegant turn and propriety of expression. Oh! it is the gentlest, amiable, civil, little creature that ever came out of a fairy egg! So just in its phrases and thoughts, so attentive and good-natured! Every body loves it, but its husband, who prefers his own sister the duchesse de Grammont, an amazonian, sierce, haughty dame, who loves and hates arbitrarily, and is detested. Madame de Choiseul, passionately fond of her husband, was the martyr of this union, but at last submitted with a good grace; has gained a little credit with him, and is still believed to idolize him—But I doubt it—she takes too much pains to profess it.

I cannot finish my list without adding a much more common character—but more complete in its kind than any of the foregoing, the marechale de Luxembourg. She has been very handsome, very abandoned, and very mischievous. Her beauty is gone, her lovers are gone, and she thinks the devil is coming. This dejection has softened her into being rather agreeable, for she has wit and good-breeding; but you would swear, by the rest-lessness of her person and the horrors she cannot conceal, that she had signed the compact, and expected to be called upon in a week for the personance.

I could add many pictures, but none so remarkable. In those I send you, there is not a feature bestowed gratis or exaggerated. For the beauties, of which there are a sew considerable, as mesdames de Brionne, de Monaco, et d'Egmont, they have not yet lost their characters, nor got any

You must not attribute my intimacy with Paris to curiosity alone. An accident unlocked the doors for me. That passe-par-tout, called the fashion, has made them sly open—and what do you think was that fashion?—I my-self—Yes, like queen Elinor in the ballad, I sunk at Charing-cross, and have risen in the fauxbourg St. Germain. A plaisanterie on Rousseau, whose arrival here in his way to you brought me acquainted with many anecdotes conformable to the idea I had conceived of him, got about, was liked much more than it deserved, spread like wild-sire, and made me the subject of conversation. Rousseau's devotees were offended. Madame de Bousslers, with a tone of sentiment, and the accents of lamenting humanity, abused me heartily, and then complained to myself with the utmost softness. I acted contrition, but had like to have spoiled all, by growing dreadfully tired of a second

fecond lecture from the prince of Conti, who took up the Vall, and made himself the hero of a history wherein he had nothing to do. I listened, did not understand half he said (nor he neither), forgot the rest, said Yes when I should have faid No, yawned when I should have smiled, and was very penitent when I should have rejoiced at my pardon. Madame de Boufflers was more distressed, for he owned twenty times more than I had faid : she frowned, and made him figns; but the had wound up his clack, and there was no fropping it. The moment fhe grew angry, the house of the lord grew charmed, and it has been my fault if I am not at the head of a numerous fect:—but when I left a triumphant party in England, I did not come hither to be at the head of a fashion. However, I have been sent for about like an African prince or a learned canary-bird, and was, in particular, carried by force to the princess of Talmond, the queen's cousin, who lives in a charitable apartment in the Luxembourg, and was fitting on a small bed hung with faints and Sobieskis, in a corner of one of those vast chambers, by two blinking tapers. I stumbled over a cat, a foot-stool, and a chamber-pot in my journey to her presence. She could not find a syllable to say to me, and the vifit ended with her begging a lap-dog., Thank the Lord! though this is the first month, it is the last week, of my reign; and I shall refign my crown with great fatisfaction to a bouillie of chefnuts, which is just invented, and whose annals will be illustrated by so many indigestions, that Paris will not want any thing else these three weeks. I will enclose the fatal letter ' after I have finished this enormous one; to which I will only add, that nothing has interrupted my Sevigné-refearches but the frost. The abbé de Malesherbes has given me full power to ranfack Livry. I did not tell you, that by great accident, when I thought on nothing less, I stumbled on an original picture of the comte de Grammont. Adieu! You are generally in London in March: I shall be there by the end of it.

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The letter from the king of Paulia to Rouffeau. of a letter from the same and t

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#### LETTER VI.

Feb. 14, 1768. Pembroke College.

I RECEIVED the book you were so good to send me, and have read it again (indeed I could hardly be faid to have read it before) with attention and with pleasure. Your second edition is so rapid in its progress, that it will now hardly answer any purpose to tell you either my own objections, or those of other people. Certain it is, that you are universally read here; but what we think, is not fo eafy to come at. We flay as usual to fee the fuccefs, to learn the judgment of the town, to be directed in our opinions by those of more competent judges. If they like you, we shall; if any one of name write against you, we give you up: for we are modest and diffident of ourselves, and not without reason. History in particular is not our fort; for (the truth is) we read only modern books and the pamphlets of the day. I have heard it objected, that you raife doubts and difficulties, and do not fatisfy them by telling us what was really the case. I have heard you charged with difrespect to the king of Prussia; and above all to king William, and the revolution. These are seriously the most sensible things I have heard said, and all that I can recollect. If you please to justify yourself, you may.

My own objections are little more effential: they relate chiefly to inaccuracies of ftyle, which either debase the expression or obscure the meaning. I could point out several small particulars of this kind, and will do so, if you think it can serve any purpose after publication. When I hear you read, they often escape me, partly because I am attending to the subject, and partly because from habit I maderstand you where a stranger might often be at a loss.

As to your arguments, most of the principal points are made out with a clearness and evidence that no one would expect where materials are so scarce. Yet I still suspect Richard of the murder of Henry VI. The chronicler of Croyland charges is full on him, though without a name or any mention of circumstances. The interests of Edward were the interests of Richard too, though the throne were not then in view; and that Henry still stood in their way, they might well imagine, because, though deposed

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and imprisoned once before, he had regained his liberty, and his crown; and was still adored by the people. I should think, from the word tyranni, the passage was written after Richard had assumed the crown: but, if it was earlier, does not the bare imputation imply very early suspicions at least of Richard's bloody nature, especially in the mouth of a person that was no enemy to the house of York, nor friend to that of Beaufort?

That the duchess of Burgundy, to try the temper of the nation, should fet up a false pretender to the throne (when she had the true duke of York in her hands), and that the queen mother (knowing her son was alive) should countenance that design, is a piece of policy utterly incomprehensible; being the most likely means to ruin their own scheme, and throw a just suspicion of fraud and salsehood on the cause of truth, which Henry could not fail to seize, and turn to his own advantage.

Mr. Hume's first query, as far as relates to the queen-mother, will still have some weight. Is it probable, she should give her eldest daughter to Henry, and invite him to claim the crown, unless she had been sure that her sons were then dead? As to her seeming consent to the match between Elizabeth and Richard, she and her daughters were in his power, which appeared now well fixed, his enemies' designs within the kingdom being every where deseated, and Henry unable to raise any considerable force abroad. She was timorous and hopeless; or she might dissemble, in order to cover her secret dealings with Richmond; and if this were the case, she hazarded little, supposing Richard to dissemble too, and never to have thought seriously of marrying his niece.

Another unaccountable thing is, that Richard, a prince of the house of York, undoubtedly brave, clear-sighted, artful, attentive to business; of boundless generosity, as appears from his grants; just and merciful, as his laws and his pardons seem to testify; having subdued the queen and her hated faction, and been called first to the protectorship and then to the crown by the body of the nobility and by the parliament; with the common people to friend (as Carte often asserts), and having nothing against him but the illegitimate family of his brother Edward, and the attainted house of Clarence (both of them within his power);—that such a man should see within a few months Buckingham, his best friend, and almost all the southern and Vol. V.

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western counties on one day in arms against him; that, having seen all these insurrections come to nothing, he should march with a gallant army against a handful of needy adventurers, led by a sugitive, who had not the shadow of a title, nor any virtues to recommend him, nor any foreign strength to depend on; that he should be betrayed by almost all his troops, and fall a sacrifice;—all this is to me utterly improbable, and I do not ever expect to see it accounted for.

I take this opportunity to tell you, that Algarotti (as I fee in the new edition of his works printed at Leghorn) being employed to buy pictures for the king of Poland, purchased among others the samous Holbein, that was at Venice. It don't appear that he knew any thing of your book: yet he calls it the conful Meyer and his family, as if it were then known to be so in that city.

A young man here, who is a diligent reader of your books, an antiquary, and a painter, informs me, that at the Red-lion inn at Newmarket is a piece of tapeftry containing the very defign of your marriage of Henry the fixth, only with feveral more figures in it, both men and women; that he would have bought it of the people, but they refused to part with it.

Mr. Mason, who is here, desires to present his respects to you. He says, that to essace from our annals the history of any tyrant is to do an essential injury to mankind: but he forgives it, because you have shown Henry the seventh to be a greater devil than Richard.

Pray do not be out of humour. When you first commenced an author, you exposed yourself to pit, box and gallery. Any coxcomb in the world may come in and hiss, if he pleases; aye, and (what is almost as bad) clap too, and you cannot hinder him. I saw a little squib fired at you in a newspaper by some of the house of York, for speaking lightly of chancellors. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

## LETTER VII.

Arlington-freet, February 18, 1768.

YOU have fent me a long and very obliging letter, and yet I am extremely out of humour with you. I faw poems by Mr. Gray advertised: I called directly at Dodsley's to know if this was to be more than a new edition? He was not at home himself, but his foreman told me he thought there were some new pieces, and notes to the whole. It was very unkind, not only to go out of town without mentioning them to me, without showing them to me, but not to fay a word of them in this letter. Do you think I am indifferent, or not curious, about what you write? I have ceafed to ask you, because you have so long refused to show me any thing. You could not suppose I thought that you never write. No; but I concluded you did not intend, at least yet, to publish what you had written. As you did intend it, I might have expected a month's preference. You will do me the justice to own that I had always rather have feen your writings than have shown you mine; which you know are the most hasty trifles in the world, and which, though I may be fond of the fubject when fresh, I constantly forget in a very short time after they are published. This would found like affectation to others, but will not to you. It would be affected, even to you, to fay I am indifferent to fame-I certainly am not, but I am indifferent to almost any thing I have done to acquire it. The greater part are mere compilations; and no wonder they are, as you fay, incorrect, when they are commonly written with people in the room, as Richard and the Noble Authors were. But I doubt there is a more intrinsic fault in them; which is, that I cannot correct them. If I write tolerably, it must be at once: I can neither mend nor add. The articles of lord Capel and lord Peterborough, in the fecond edition of the Noble Authors, cost me more trouble than all the rest together: and you may perceive that the worst part of Richard, in point of ease and style, is what relates to the papers you gave me on Jane Shore, because it was cacked on so long afterwards, and when my impetus was chilled. If fome time or other you will take the trouble of pointing out the inaccuracies of it, I shall be much obliged to you: at prefent I shall meddle no more with it. It has taken its fate; nor did I mean to complain. I found it was condemned indeed before hand, Bbb 2 THITEL

hand, which was what I alluded to. Since publication (as has happened to me before) the fuccess has gone beyond my expectation.

Not only at Cambridge, but here, there have been people wise enough to think me too free with the king of Prussia! A newspaper has talked of my known inveteracy to him.—Truly, I love him as well as I do most kings. The greater offence is my reflection on lord Clarendon. It is forgotten that I had overpraised him before. Pray turn to the new State Papers, from which, it is faid, he composed his history. You will find they are the papers from which he did not compose his history. And yet I admire my lord Clarendon more than these pretended admirers do. But I do not intend to justify myself. I can as little satisfy those who complain that I do not let them know what really did happen. If this inquiry can ferret out any truth, I shall be glad. I have picked up a few more circumstances. I now want to know what Perkin Warbeck's proclamation was, which Speed in his history says is preserved by bishop Leslie. If you look in Speed, perhaps you will be able to assist me.

The duke of Richmond and lord Lyttelton agree with you, that I have not disculpated Richard of the murder of Henry VI. I own to you, it is the crime of which in my own mind I believe him most guiltless. Had I thought he committed it, I should never have taken the trouble to apologize for the rest. I am not at all positive or obstinate on your other objections, nor know exactly what I believe on many points of this story. And I am so sincere, that, except a few notes hereafter, I shall leave the matter to be settled or discussed by others. As you have written much too little, I have written a great deal too much, and think only of finishing the two or three other things I have begun—and of those, nothing but the last volume of painters is designed for the present public. What has one to do when turned sifty, but really think of finishing?

I am much obliged and fla tered by Mr. Mason's approbation, and particularly by having had almost the same thought with him. I said, "People need not be angry at my excusing Richard; I have not diminished their fund of hatred, I have only transferred it from Richard to Henry."—Well, but I have found you close with Mason—No doubt, cry prating I, something

thing will come out '.- Oh! no-leave us, both of you, to Annabellas and Epiffles to Ferney, that give Voltaire an account of his own tragedies, to Macarony fables that are more unintelligible than Pilpay's are in the original, to Mr. Thornton's hurdy-gurdy poetry, and to Mr. ---, who has imitated himself worse than any sop in a magazine would have done. In truth, if you should abandon us, I could not wonder-When Garrick's prologues and epilogues, his own Cymons and farces, and the comedies of the fools that pay court to him, are the delight of the age, it does not doferve any thing better.

Pray read the new account of Corfica. What relates to Paoli will amuse you much. There is a deal about the island and its divisions that one does not care a straw for. The author, Boswell, is a strange being, and, like -, has a rage of knowing any body that ever was talked of. He forced himself upon me at Paris in spite of my teeth and my doors, and I fee has given a foolish account of all he could pick up from me about king Theodore. He then took an antipathy to me on Rousseau's account, abused me in the newspapers, and exhorted Rousseau to do so too: but as he came to fee me no more, I forgave all the rest. I fee he now is a little fick of Rouffeau himfelf, but I hope it will not cure him of his anger to However, his book will I am fure entertain you.

I will alld but a word or two more. I am criticized for the expression tinker up in the preface. Is this one of those that you object to? I own I think fuch a low expression, placed to ridicule an absurd instance of wife folly, very forcible. Replace it with an elevated word or phrase, and to my conception it becomes as flat as possible. .

George Selwyn fays I may, if I please, write historic doubts on the prefent duke of G \_\_\_\_\_ too. Indeed they would be doubts, for I know nothing certainly.

" I found him close with Swift - Indeed? -No doubt,

(Cries prating Balbus) fomething will come Pope's Epiftle to Arbuthnot.

"The want of records, of letters, of print-

ing, of critics; wars, revolutions, factions, and other causes occasioned these defects in ancient history. Chronology and astronomy are forced to tink up and reconcile as well as they can those vacertainties."

Preface to Historic Doubts, vol. ii. p. 106.

Will you be so kind as to look into Leslie de rebus Scotorum, and see if Perkin's proclamation is there, and if there, how authenticated. You will find in Speed my reason for asking this.

I have written in such a hurry, I believe you will scarce be able to read my letter—and as I have just been writing French, perhaps the sense may not be clearer than the writing. Adieu!

Yours ever,

RETURN WHITE SELECTION AND FOR THE 25 YEAR OF WHITE SE

HOR. WALPOLE.

# LETTE R VIII:

Pembroke-college, Feb. 25, 1768.

TO your friendly accusation, I am glad I can plead not guilty with a safe conscience. Dodsley told me in the spring that the plates from Mr. Bentley's defigns were worn out, and he wanted to have them copied and reduced to a finaller scale for a new edition. I disfluaded him from so filly an expence, and defired he would put in no ornaments at all. The Long Story was to be totally omitted, as its only use (that of explaining the prints) was gone: but to supply the place of it in bulk, left my works should be miftaken for the works of a flea, or a pismire, I promised to send him an equal weight of poetry or profe: fo, fince my return hither, I put up about two ounces of stuff; viz. The Fatal Sisters, The Descent of Odin (of both which you have copies), a bit of fomething from the Welch, and certain little notes, partly from juffice (to acknowledge the debt, where I had borrowed any thing), partly from ill temper, just to tell the gentle reader, that Edward I. was not Oliver Cromwell, nor queen Elizabeth the witch of Endor. This is literally all; and with all this I shall be but a shrimp of an author. I gave leave also to print the same thing at Glasgow; but I doubt my packet has miscarried, for thear nothing of its arrival as yet. To what you fay to me fo civilly, that I ought to write more, I reply in your own words (like the pamphleteer, who is going to confute you out of your own mouth), What has one to do, when turned of fifty, but really to think of finishing? However, I will be candid (for you feem to be fo with me), and avow to you, that till fourfcore-and-ten, whenever the humour takes me, I will write,

write, because I like it; and because I like myself better when I do so. If I do not write much, it is because I cannot. As you have not this last plea, I fee no reason why you should not continue as long as it is agreeable to yourfelf, and to all fuch as have any curiofity or judgment in the fubjects you choose to treat. By the way let me tell you (while it is fresh) that lord Sandwich, who was lately dining at Cambridge, speaking (as I am told) handsomely of your book, said, it was pity you did not know that his cousin Manchester had a genealogy of the kings, which came down no lower than to Richard III. and at the end of it were two portraits of Richard and his fon, in which that king appeared to be a handsome man. I tell you it as I heard it: perhaps you may think it worth enquiring into.

I have looked into Speed and Leflie. It appears very odd, that Speed in the speech he makes for P. Warbeck, addressed to James IV. of Scotland, should three times cite the manuscript proclamation of Perkin, then in the hands of fir Robert Cotton; and yet when he gives us the proclamation afterwards (on occasion of the infurrection in Cornwall) he does not cite any fuch manuscript. In Casley's Catalogue of the Cotton Library you may fee whether this manuscript proclamation still exists or not; if it does, it may be found at the Musæum. Leslie will give you no satisfaction at all: though no fubject of England, he could not write freely on this matter, as the title of Mary his miftress to the crown of England was derived from that of Henry VII. Accordingly, he every where treats Perkin as an impostor; yet drops several little expressions inconsistent with that supposition. He has preferved no proclamation: he only puts a fhort speech into Perkin's mouth, the fubitance of which is taken by Speed, and translated in the end of his, which is a good deal longer: the whole matter is treated by Leflie very concifely and fuperficially. I can eafily transcribe it, if you please; but I do not see that it could answer any purpose.

Mr. Bofwell's book I was going to recommend to you, when I received your letter: it has pleased and moved me Mangely, all (I mean) that relates to Paoli. He is a man born two thoy and years after his time! The pamphlet proves what I have always maintained, that any fool may write a most valuable book by chance, if he will only tell us what he heard and faw with veracity. Of Mr. Bofwell's truth I have not the least suspicion, because Pam fure he could invent nothing of this kind. The true title of this part of his work is, A Dialogue between a Green-goofe and a Hero. I had

## 376 LETTERS BETWEEN THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

I had been told of a manuscript in Benet-library: the inscription of it is Itinerarium Frațris Simonis Simeonis et Hugonis Illuminatoris, 1322. Would not one think this should promise something? They were two Franciscan friars that came from Ireland, and passed through Wales to London, to Canterbury, to Dover, and so to France in their way to Jerusalem. All that relates to our own country has been transcribed for me, and (forry am I to say) signifies not a halfpenny: only this little bit might be inserted in your next edition of the Painters: Ad aliud caput civitatis (Londoniæ) est monasterium inigrorum monachorum nomine. Westmonasterium, in quo constanter et communiter omnes reges Angliæ sepeliuntur—et cidem monasterio quasi immediate conjungitur illud samosissimum palatium regis, in quo est illa vulgata camera, in cujus parietibus sunt omnes historiæ bellicæ totius Bibliæ inessabiliter depictæ, atque in Gallico completissime et persectissime conscriptæ, in non modica intuentium admiratione et maxima regali magnisicentia.

I have had certain observations on your Royal and Noble Authors given me to send you perhaps about three years ago: last week I found them in a —drawer, and (my conscience being troubled) now enclose them to you. I have even forgot whose they are.

I have been also told of a passage in Ph. de Comines, which (if you know) ought not to have been passed over. The book is not at hand at present, and I must conclude my letter. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

### LETTER IX.

Arlington-Ilreet, Friday night, Feburary 26.

I PLAGUE you to death, but I must reply a few more words. I shall be very glad to see in print, and to have those that are worthy see your ancient odes; but I was in hopes there were some pieces too that I had not seen. I am forry there are not.

I troubled you about Perkin's proclamation, because Mr. Hume lays great

strees upon it, and insists, that if Perkin affirmed his brother was killed, it must have been true, if he was true duke of York. Mr. Home would have persuaded me that the proclamation is in Stowe, but I can find no such thing there; nor, what is more, in Casley's catalogue, which I have twice looked over carefully. I wrote to fir David Dalrymple in Scotland, to enquire after it, because I would produce it if I could, though it should make against me: but he, I believe, thinking I enquired with the contrary view, replied very drily, that it was published at York, and was not to be found in Scotland. Whether he is displeased that I have plucked a hair from the tresses of their great historian; or whether, as I suspect, he is offended for king William; this reply was all the notice he took of my letter and book. I only smiled, as I must do when I find one party is angry with me on king William's, and the other on lord Clarendon's account.

The answer advertised is Guthrie's, who is furious that I have taken no notice of his History. I shall take as little of his pamphlet; but his end will be answered, if he fells that and one or two copies of his History. Mr. Hume, I am told, has drawn up an answer too, which I shall see, and, if I can, will get him to publish; for, if I should ever choose to say any thing more on this subject, I had rather reply to him than to hackney-writers:—to the latter, indeed, I never will reply. A few notes I have to add that will be very material; and I wish to get some account of a book that was once sold at Osborn's, that exists perhaps at Cambridge, and of which I sound a memorandum t'other day in my note-book. It is called A paradox, or apology for Richard III. by sir William Cornwallis. If you could discover it, I should be much obliged to you.

Lord Sandwich, with whom I have not exchanged a fyllable fince the general warrants, very obligingly fent me an account of the roll at Kimbolton; and has fince, at my defire, borrowed it for me and fent it to town. It is as long as my lord Lyttelton's Hiftory; but by what Lican read of it (for it is both ill written and much decayed), it is not a roll of kings, but of all that have been possessed of, or been earls of Warwick: or have not—for one of the first earls is Æneas. How, or wherefore, I do not know, but amongst the first is Richard III. in whose reign it was finished, and with whom it

VOL. V.

From this roll were taken the two plates of portraits in the Historic Doubts, now first published in this edition. E.

## 378 LETTERS BETWEEN THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE

concludes. He is there again with his wife and fon, and Edward IV. and Clarence and his wife, and Edward their fon (who unluckily is a little old man), and Margaret counters of Salifbury, their daughter-But why do I fay with these? There is every body else too-and what is most meritorious, the habits of all the times are admirably well observed from the most favage ages. Each figure is tricked with a pen, well drawn, but neither coloured nor shaded. Richard is straight, but thinner than my print; his hair short, and exactly curled in the same manner; not so handsome as mine, but what one might really believe intended for the same countenance, as drawn by a different painter, especially when so small; for the figures in general are not fo long as one's finger. His queen is ugly, and with just fuch a square forehead as in my print, but I cannot fay like it. Nor, indeed, where forty-five figures out of fifty (I have not counted the number) must have been imaginary, can one lay great stress on the five. I shall, however, have these figures copied, especially as I know of no other image of the fon. Mr. Aftle is to come to me to-morrow morning to explain the writing.

I wish you had told me in what age your Franciscan friars lived; and what the passage in Comines is. I am very ready to make amende honorable.

Thank you for the notes on the Noble Authors. They shall be inserted when I make a new edition, for the sake of the trouble the person has taken, though they are of little consequence. Dodsley has asked me for a new edition; but I have little heart to undertake such work, no more than to mend my old linen. It is pity one cannot be born an ancient, and have commentators to do such jobs for one! Adieu!

Yours ever,

HOR. WALPOLE.

Saturday morning.

On reading over your letter again this morning, I do find the age in which the friars lived—I read and write in such a hurry, that I think I neither know what I read or fay.

Pembroke-hall, March 6, 1768.

HERE is fir William Cornwallis, entitled Essayes of certaine Paradoxes. 2d Edit. 1617, Lond.

> King Richard III. The French Pockes Nothing Good to be in debt Sadneffe Julian the Apostate's vertues

2. 14 TATE

praised.

The title-page will probably fuffice you; but if you would know any more of him, he has read nothing but the common chronicles, and those without attention: for example, speaking of Anne the queen, he says, she was barren, of which Richard had often complained to Rotheram. He extenuates the murder of Henry VI. and his fon: the first, he fays, might be a malicious accusation, for that many did suppose he died of mere melaucholy and grief: the latter cannot be proved to be the action of Richard (though executed in his presence); and if it were, he did it out of love to his brother Edward. He justifies the death of the lords at Pomfret, from reasons of state, for his own preservation, the safety of the commonwealth, and the ancient nobility. The execution of Hastings he excuses from neceffity, from the dishonesty and sensuality of the man: what was his crime with respect to Richard, he does not fay. . Dr. Shaw's sermon was not by the king's command, but to be imputed to the preacher's own ambition: but if it was by order, to charge his mother with adultery was a matter of no fuch great moment, fince it is no wonder in that fex. Of the murder in the Tower he doubts; but if it were by his order, the offence was to God, not to his people; and how could he d'monstrate his love more amply, than to venture his foul for their quiet? Have you enough, pray? You fee it is an idle declamation, the exercise of a school-boy that is to be bred a stateman.

I have looked in Stowe: to be fure there is no proclamation there. Mr. Hume, I fuppose, means Speed, where it is given, how truly I know not; but \* Ccc2

but that he had feen the original is fure, and feems to quote the very words of it in the beginning of that speech which Perkin makes to James IV. and also just afterwards, where he treats of the Cornish rebellion.

Guthrie, you see, has vented himself in the Critical Review. His History I never saw, nor is it here, nor do I know any one that ever saw it. He is a rascal, but rascals may chance to meet with curious records; and that commission to sir J. Tyrrell (if it be not a lye) is such: so is the order for Henry the sixth's suneral. I would by no means take notice of him, write what he would. I am glad you have seen the Manchester-roll.

It is not I that talk of Phil. de Comines; it was mentioned to me as a thing that looked like a voluntary omission: but I see you have taken notice of it in the note to page 71, though rather too slightly. You have not observed that the same writer says, c. 55, Richard tua de sa main, ou sit tuer en sa presence, quelque lieu apart, ce bon homme le roi Henry. Another oversight I think there is at p. 43, where you speak of the roll of parliament and the contract with lady Eleanor Boteler, as things newly come to light; whereas Speed has given at large the same roll in his History. Actieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

## LETTERS

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·FROM

# THOMAS GRAY

TO

THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE.

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## LETTER.S

FROM

### THOMAS GRAY

TO

## THE HON. HORACE WALPOLE.

### LETTER I.

Cambridge, February 3, 1746.

DEAR SIR.

YOU are so good to enquire after my usual time of coming to town: it is at a season when even you, the perpetual friend of London, will, I foar, hardly be in it—the middle of June: and I commonly return hither in September; a month when I may more probably find you at home.

Our defeat to be fure is a rueful affair for the honour of the troops; but the Duke is gone it feems with the rapidity of a cannon-bullet to undefeat us again. The common people in town at least know how to be afraid; but we are such uncommon people here as to have no more sense of danger, than if the battle had been fought when and where the battle of Cannæ was. The perception of these calamities and of vieir consequences, that we are supposed to get from books, is so faintly impressed, that we talk of war, famine and pestilence with no more apprehension than of a broken head, or of a coach overturned between York and Edinburgh. I heard three people, sensible middle-aged men (when the Scotch were said to be at Stamford, and actually were at Derby), talking of hiring a chaise to go to Caxton (a place in the high road) to see the pretender and the highlanders as they passed.

I can

I can fay no more for Mr. Pope (for what you keep in referve may be worse than all the rest). It is natural to wish the sinest writer, one of them, we ever had, should be an honest man. It is for the interest even of that virtue, whose friend he professed himself, and whose beauties he sung, that he should not be found a dirty animal. But however, this is Mr. Warburton's business, not mine, who may scribble his pen to the stumps and all in vain, if these facts are so. It is not from what he told me about himself that I thought well of him, but from a humanity and goodness of heart, aye, and greatness of mind, that runs through his private correspondence, not less apparent than are a thousand little vanities and weaknesses mixed with those good qualities, for nobody ever took him for a philosopher.

If you know any thing of Mr. Mann's state of health and happiness, or the motions of Mr. Chute homewards, it will be a particular favour to inform me of them, as I have not heard this half-year from them.

I am fincerely yours,

T. GRAY.

### LETTER II.

January, 1747.

IT is doubtless an encouragement to continue writing to you, when you tell me you answer me with pleasure: I have another reason which would make me very copious, had I any thing to say; it is, that I write to you with equal pleasure, though not with equal spirits, nor with like plenty of materials: please to substract then so much for spirit, and so much for matter; and you will find me, I hope, neither so slow, nor so short, as I might otherwise seem. Besides, I had a mind to send you the remainder of Agrippina, that was soft in a wilderness of papers. Certainly you do her too much honour: she seemed to me to talk like an Oldboy, all in sigures and mere poetry, instead of nature and the language of real passion. Do you remember Approchez-vous, Neron Who would not rather have thought of that half line than all Mr. Rowe's slowers of eloquence? However, you will find the remainder here at the end in an outrageous long speech: it was begun above four years ago (it is a missortune you know my age, else I

Agrippina, in Racine's tragedy of Britannicus.

might

might have added), when I was very young. Poor West put a stop to that tragic torrent he faw breaking in upon him :- have a care, I warn you, not to fet open the flood-gate again, left it drown you and me and the bishop and all.

I am very forry to hear you treat philosophy and her followers like a parcel of monks and hermits, and think myfelf obliged to vindicate a profession I honour, bien que je n'en tienne pas boutique (as mad. Sevigné fays). The first man that ever bore the name, if you remember, used to say, that life was like the Olympic games (the greatest public assembly of his age and country), where some came to show their strength and agility of body, as the champions; others, as the muficians, orators, poets and historians, to show their excellence in those arts; the traders, to get money; and the better fort, to enjoy the spectacle, and judge of all these. They did not then run away from fociety for fear of its remptations: they passed their days in the midft of it: conversation was their business: they cultivated the arts of perfuafion, on purpose to show men it was their interest, as well as their duty, not to be foolish, and false, and unjust; and that too in many instances with success: which is not very strange; for they showed by their life that their lessons were not impracticable; and that pleasures were no temptations, but to fuch as wanted a clear perception of the pains annexed to them '. But I have done preaching à la Grecque. Mr. Ratcliffe ' made a shift to behave very rationally without their instructions, at a season which they took a great deal of pains to fortify themselves and others against: one would not defire to lofe one's head with a better grace. I am particularly fatisfied with the humanity of that last embrace to all the people about him. Sure it must be somewhat embarrassing to die before so much good company!

You need not fear but posterity will be ever glad to know the absurdity of their ancestors: the foolish will be glad to know they were as foolish as they, and the wife will be glad to find themselves wifer. You will please all the world then; and if you recount miracles you will be believed for

Never perhaps was a more admirable pic- chimerical basis of a system, but on the immu-

<sup>2</sup> Brother to the earl of Derwentwater. He

much Ddd d VOL. V.

ture drawn of true philosophy and its real and table foundations of truth and virtue. E. important fervices; fervices not confined to the speculative opinions of the studious, but adapted was executed at Tyburn, December 1746, for to the common purposes of life, and promoting having been concerned in the rebellion in the general happiness of mankind; not upon the Scotland. \E.

much the fooner. We are pleafed when we wonder; and we believe because we are pleafed. Folly and wisdom, and wonder and pleasure, join with me in desiring you would continue to entertain them: refuse us, if you can. Adieu, dear sir!

T. GRAY.

LETTER'III.

, Stoke, June 12, 1750.

DEAR SIR,

AS I live in a place, where even the ordinary tattle of the town arrives not till it is stale, and which produces no events of its own, you will not desire any excuse from me for writing so seldom, especially as of all people living I know you are the least a friend to letters spun out of one's own brains, with all the toil and constraint that accompanies sentimental productions. I have been here at Stoke a sew days (where I shall continue good part of the summer); and having put an end to a thing, whose beginning you have seen long ago, I immediately send it you'. You will, I hope, look upon it in the light of a thing with an end to it; a merit that most of my writings have wanted, and are like to want, but which this epistle I am determined shall not want, when it tells you that I am ever.

Yours,

T. GRAY.

Not that I have done yet; but who could avoid the temptation of finishing so roundly and so cleverly in the manner of good queen Anne's days? Now I have talked of writings; I have seen a book, which is by this time in the press, against Middleton (though without naming him), by Asheton. As far as I can judge from a very hasty reading, there are things in it new and ingenious, but rather too prolix, and the style here and there savouring too strongly of sermon. I imagine it will do him credit. So much for other people, now to self again. You are desired to tell me your opinion, if you can take the pains, of these lines. I am once more

Ever yours.

. This was the Elegy in the church-yard.

LETTER

Approximation for the probability of the state of the sta ere this receipt to the large to LETTER IV.

MY DEAR SIR, Ash-Wednesday, Cambridge, 1751.

YOU have indeed conducted with great decency my little misfortune : you have taken a paternal care of it, and expressed much more kindness than could have been expected from to near a relation. But we are all frail; and I hope to do as much for you another time. Nurse Dodsley has given it a pinch or two in the cradle, that (I doubt) it will bear the marks of as long as it lives. But no matter: we have ourfelves fuffered under her hands before now; and befides, it will only look the more careless, and by accident as it were. I thank you for your advertisement, which saves my honour, and in a manner bien flatteufe pour moi, who should be put to it even to make myself a compliment in good English. .

You will take me for a mere poet, and a fetcher and carrier of finglong, if I tell you that I intend to fend you the beginning of a drama', not mine, thank God, as you'll believe, when you hear it is finished, but wrote by a person whom I have a very good opinion of. It is (unfortunately) in the manner of the ancient drama, with choruses, which I am, to my shame, the occasion of; for, as great part of it was at first written in that form, I would not fuffer him to change it to a play fit for the stage, as he intended, because the lyric parts are the best of it, and they must have been lost. The story is Saxon, and the language has a tang of Shakespear, that fuits an oldfashioned fable very well. In short, I don't do it merely to amuse you, but for the fake of the author, who wants a judge, and fo I would lend him mine: yet not without your leave, left you should have us up to dirty our flockings at the bar of your house for wasting the time and politics of the nation. Adieu, fir !

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

LETTER V.

1102 4 14 6114 61

Cambridge, March 3, 1751.

ELFRIDA (for that is the fair one's name) and her author are now in town together. He has promifed me, that he will fend a part of it to you

\* This was the Elfrida of Mr. Mason.

Dddz

fome

fome morning while he is there; and (if you shall think it worth while to descend to particulars) I should be glad you would tell me very freely your opinion about it; for he shall know nothing of the matter, that is not sit for the ears of a tender parent—though, by the way, he has ingenuity and merit enough (whatever his drama may have) to bear hearing his faults very patiently. I must only beg you not to show it, much less let it be copied; for it will be published, though not as yet.

I do not expect any more editions', as I have appeared in more magazines than one. The chief errata were facred bower for fecret; hidden for kindred (in spite of dukes and classicks); and frowning as in scorn for smiling. I humbly propose, for the benefit of Mr. Dodsley and his matrons, that take awake for a verb, that they should read asleep, and all will be right'. Gil Blas is the Lying Valet in five acts. The sine lady has half-a-dozen good lines dispersed in it. Pompey is the hasty production of a Mr. Coventry (cousin to him you knew), a young clergyman: I found it out by three characters, which once made part of a comedy that he showed me of his own writing. Has that miracle of tenderness and sensibility (as she calls it) lady Vane given you any amusement? Peregrine, whom she uses as a vehicle, is very poor indeed with a few exceptions. In the last volume is a character of Mr. Lyttelton, under the name of Gosling Scrag, and a parody of part of his Monody, under the notion of a pastoral on the death of his grandmother.

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

#### LETTER VI.

Nov. Tuesday, Cambridge.

IT is a misfortune to me to be at a distance from both of you at present. A letter can give one so little idea of such matters! \* \* \* \* I always believed well of his heart and temper, and would gladly do so still. If they are as they should be, I should have expected every thing from such an ex-

<sup>&#</sup>x27; Of the Elegy in the church-yard.

The verse to which he alludes is this:

<sup>&</sup>quot;Ev'n from the tomb the voice of nature cries; Ev'n in our ashes live their wonted/fires."

The last line of which he had at first written thus:

<sup>&</sup>quot; Awake and faithful to her wonted firer." E.

planation; for it is a tenet with me (a simple one, you'll perhaps say), that if ever two people, who love one another, come to breaking, it is for want of a timely eclaircissement, a full and precise one, without witnesses or mediators, and without reserving any one disagreeable circumstance for the mind to brood upon in silence.

I am not totally of your mind as to Mr. Lyttelton's Elegy, though I love kids and fawns as little as you, do. If it were all like the fourth stanza, I should be excessively pleased. Nature and forrow, and tenderness, are the true genius of fuch things; and fomething of thefe I find in feveral parts of it (not in the orange-tree); poetical ornaments are foreign to the purpofe, for they only flow a man is not forry;—and devotion worse; for it teaches him, that he ought not to be forry, which is all the pleasure of the thing. I beg leave to turn your weathercock the contrary way. Your Epiftle ' I have not feen a great while, and doctor M. is not in the way to give me a fight of it: but I remember enough to be fure all the world will be pleafed with it, even with all its faults upon its head, if you don't care to mend them. I would try to do it myself (however hazardous), rather than it should remain unpublished. As to my Eton Ode, Mr. Dodsley is hadrone ? The fecond you had, I suppose you do not think worth giving him: otherwife, to me it feems not worse than the former. He might have Selimas too, unless she be of too little importance for his patriot-collection; or perhaps the connections you had with her may interfere. Che fo io? Adieu!

I am yours ever,

T. G.

### LETTER VII.

Cambridge, Dec. Monday.

THIS comes du fond de ma cellule to falute Mr. H. W. not so much him that visits and votes, and goes to White's and to court; as the H. W.

From Florence to Thomas Asheton.

To publish in his collection of poems.

<sup>3</sup> The Ode to Spring.

<sup>4</sup> The Ode on Mr. Walpole's cat drowned in the tub of gold-fish.

in his rural capacity, finug in his tub on Windfor-hill, and brooding over folios of his own creation: him that can flip away, like a pregnant beauty (but a little oftener), into the country, be brought to bed perhaps of twins, and whifk to town again the week after with a face as if nothing had happened. Among all the little folks, my godfons and daughters, I can not choose but enquire more particularly after the health of one; I mean (without a figure) the Memoires': Do they grow? Do they unite, and hold up their heads, and drefs themselves? Do they begin to think of making their appearance in the world, that is to fay, fifty years hence, to make posterity stare, and all good people cross themselves? Has Asheton (who will be then lord bishop of Killaloe, and is to publish them) thought of an aviso al lettore to prefix to them yet, importing, that if the words church, king, religion, ministry, &c. be found often repeated in this book, they are not to be taken literally, but poetically, and as may be most strictly reconcileable to the faith then established;—that he knew the author well when he was a young man; and can testify upon the honour of his function, that he faid his prayers regularly and devoutly, had a profound reverence for the clergy, and firmly believed every thing that was the fashion in those days?

When you have done impeaching my lord Lovat, I hope to hear de vos nouvelles, and profeeover, whether you have got colonel Conway yet? Whether fir C. Williams is to go to Berlin? What fort of a prince Mitridate may be?—and whatever other tidings you choose to refresh an anchoret with. Frattanto I send you a scene in a tragedy?: if it don't make you cry, it will make you laugh; and so it moves some passion, that I take to be enough. Adieu, dear sir! Lam

Sincerely yours,

T. GRAY.

#### LETTER VIII.

Cambridge, October 8, 1751.

I SEND you this ' (as you defire) merely to make up half-a-dozen; though it will hardly answer your end in furnishing out either a head or

2 The first scene in Mr. Gray's unfinished

3 The Hymn to Advertity.

Memoires of his own time, which Mr. Waltragedy of Agrippina, published in Mr. Mason's pole was then writing.

tail-piece. But your own fable ' may much better supply the place. You have altered it to its advantage; but there is still something, a little embarraffed here and there in the expression. I rejoice to find you apply (pardon the use of so odious a word) to the history of your own times. Speak, and spare not. Be as impartial as you can; and after all, the world will not believe you are fo, though you should make as many protestations as bishop They will feel in their own breaft, and find it very possible to hate fourscore persons, yea, ninety and nine: so you must rest satisfied with the tellimony of your own confcience. Somebody has laughed at Mr. Dodfley, or at me, when they talked of the bat: I have nothing more, either nocturnal or diurnal, to deck his miscellany with. We have a man here that writes a good hand; but he has little failings that hinder my recommending him to you. He is loufy, and he is mad: he fets out this week for Bedlam; but if you infift upon it, I don't doubt he will pay his respects to you. I have feen two of Dr. Middleton's unpublished works. One is about 44 pages in 4to against Dr. Waterland, who wrote a very orthodox book on the Importance of the Doctrine of the Trinity, and infifted, that chriftians ought to have no communion with fuch as differ from them in fundamentals. Middleton enters no farther into the doctrine itself than to show that a mere speculative point can never be called a fundamental; and that the earlier fathers, on whose concurrent tradition Waterland would build, are fo far, when they speak of the three persons, from agreeing with the prefent notion of our church, that they declare for the inferiority of the fon, and feem to have no clear and distinct idea of the holy ghost at all. The rest is employed in exposing the folly and cruelty of stiffness and zealotism in religion, and in showing that the primitive ages of the church, in which tradition had its rife, were (even by confession of the best scholars and most orthodox writers) the ara of nonfense and absurdity. It is finished, and very well wrote; but has been mostly incorporated into his other works, particularly the Enquiry: and for this reason I suppose he has writ upon it, This wholly laid afide. The second is in Latin, on Miracles; to show, that of the two methods of defending christianity, one from its intrinsic evidence, the holiness and purity of its doctrines, the other from its external, the miracles faid to be wrought to confirm it; the first has been little attended to by. reason of its difficulty; the second much insisted upon, because it appeared an eafier task; but that it can in reality prove nothing at all. "Nobilis illaquidem defensio (the first) quam si obtinere potuissent, rem simul omnem expediisse, causamque penitus vicisse viderentur. At cause hujus desendende labor cum tanta argumentandi cavillandique molessia conjunctus ad alteram, quam dixi, desensionis viam, ut commodiorem longe et faciliorem, plerosque adegit—ego verò issiusmodi desensione religionem nostram non modo non confirmari, sed dubiam potius suspectamque reddi existimo." He then proceeds to consider miracles in general, and afterwards those of the Pagans, compared with those of Christ. I only tell you the plan, for I have not read it out (though it is short); but you will not doubt to what conclusion it tends. There is another thing, I know, not what, I am to see. As to the Treatise on Prayer; they say it is burnt indeed. Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

### LETTER IX.

YOUR pen was too rapid to mind the common form of a direction, and fo, by omitting the words near Windfor, your letter has been diverting itself at another Stoke near Ailesbury, and came not to my hands till to-day. The true original chairs were all fold, when the Huntingdons broke; there are nothing now but Halfey-chairs, not adapted to the fquareness of a Gothic dowager's rump. And by the way I do not fee how the uneafiness and uncomfortableness of a coronation-chair can be any objection with you: every chair that is eafy is modern, and unknown to our ancestors. As I remember, there were certain low chairs, that looked like ebony, at Esher, and were old and pretty. Why should not Mr. Bentley improve upon them?—I do not wonder at Dodfley. You have talked to him of fix odes, for fo you are pleased to call every thing I write, though it be but a receipt to make apple-dumplings. He has reason to gulp when he finds one of them only along flory. I don't know but I may fend him very foon (by your hands) an ode to his own tooth, a high Pindarick upon stilts, which one must be a better scholar than he is to understand a line of, and the very best scholars will understand but a little matter here and there. It wants but seventeen lines of having an end, I don't say of being finished. As it is fo unfortunate to come too late for Mr. Bentley, it may appear in the fourth volume of the Miscellanies, provided you don't think it execrable, and supprefs

press it. Pray, when the fine book is to be printed ', let me revise the press, for you know you can't; and there are a few trifles I could wish altered.

. I know not what you mean by hours of love, and cherries, and pine-apples. I neither fee nor hear any thing here, and am of opinion that is the best way. My compliments to Mr. Bentley, if he be with you. .

I am yours ever,

T. GRAY.

I defire you would not show that epigram I repeated to you', as mine. I have heard of it twice already as coming from you.

#### LETTER X.

I AM obliged to you for Mr. Dodsley's book 4, and, having pretty well looked it over, will (as you defire) tell you my opinion of it. He might, methinks, have spared the Graces in his frontispiece, if he chose to be. economical, and dreffed his authors in a little more decent raiment—not in whited-brown paper and differted characters, like an old ballad. I am ashamed to see myself; but the company keeps me in countenance: so to begin with Mr. Tickell. This is not only a state-poem (my ancient averfion), but a flate-poem on the peace of Utrecht. If Mr. Pope had wrote a panegyric on it, one tould hardly have read him with patience: but this is only a poor short-winded imitator of Addison, who had himself not above three or four notes in poetry, fweet enough indeed, like those of a German flute, but fuch as foon tire and fatiate the ear with their frequent return. Tickell has added to this a great poverty of fense, and a string of transitions that hardly become a school-boy. However, I forgive him for the sake of his ballad 4, which I always thought the prettieff in the world. All there is of M. Green here has been printed before: there is a profusion of wit every where; reading would have formed his judgment, and harmonized

The edition of his Odes printed at Straw- the epigram alluded to. E. berry-hill.

<sup>2</sup> The Editor much wishes he could repeat it to the public, but, has not been able to discover "Of Leinster fam'd for maidens fair."

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>5</sup> His collection of Poems.

<sup>\*</sup> Colin and Lucy; beginning

his verse, for even his wood-notes often break out into strains of real poetry and music. The School-mistress is excellent in its kind, and masterly; and (I am forty to differ from you, but) London is to me one of those few imitations, that have all the ease and all the spirit of an original. The fame man's verses at the opening of Garrick's theatre are far from bad. Mr. Dver (here you will despise me highly) has more of poetry in his imagination, than almost any of our number; but rough and injudicious. I should range Mr. Bramston only a step or two above Dr. King, who is as low in my estimation as in yours. Dr. Evans is a furious madman; and Preexistence is nonsense in all her altitudes. Mr. Lyttelton is a gentle elegiac person: Mr. Nugent' fure did not write his own ode 3. I like Mr. Whitehead's little poems, I mean the Ode on a tent, the Verses to Garrick, and particularly those to Charles Townshend, better than any thing I had seen before of him. I gladly pass over H. Brown, and the rest, to come at you. You know I was of the publishing side, and thought your reasons against it none; for though, as Mr. Chute faid extremely well, the fill fmall voice of Poetry was not made to be heard in a crowd; yet Satire will be heard, for all the audience are by nature her friends; especially when she appears in the spirit of Dryden, with his strength, and often with his versification; such as you have caught in those lines on the royal unction, on the papal dominion, and converts of both fexes, on Henry VIII. and Charles II. for these are to me the shifting parts of your Epistle 4. There are many lines I could with corrected, and fome blotted out, but beauties enough to atone for a thousand worse faults than these. The opinion of such as can at all judge, who faw it before in Dr. Middleton's hands, concurs nearly with mine. As to what any one fays, fince it came out; our people (you must know) are flow of judgement: they wait till fome bold body faves them the trouble, and then follow his opinion; or flay till they hear what is faid in town, that is, at fome bishop's table, or some coffee-house about the Temple. When they are determined, I will tell you faithfully their verdict. - As for the Beautiess, I am their most humble servant. What shall I say to Mr. Lowth, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Rolle, the reverend Mr. Brown, Seward, &c.? If I fay, Messieurs! this is not the thing; write prose, write sermons, write nothing at all; they will disdain me, and my advice. What then would

Doctor Samuel Johnson.

a Afterwards earl Nugent.

<sup>3</sup> That addressed to Mr. Pulteney.

<sup>\*</sup> Epistle from Florence to Thomas Asheton, tutor to the earl of Plymouth.

<sup>5</sup> The epiftle to Mr. Eckardt the painter.

the fickly peer ' have done, that spends so much time in admiring every thing that has sour legs, and fretting at his own missortune in having but two; and cursing his own politic head and seeble constitution, that won't let him be such a beast as he would wish? Mr. S. Jenyns now and then can write a good line or two—such as these—

Snatch us from all our little forrows here, Calm every grief, and dry each childish tear, &c.

I like Mr. Afton Hervey's fable; and an ode (the last of all) by Mr. Mason, a new acquaintance of mine, whose Museus too seems to carry with it the promise at least of something good to come. I was glad to see you distinguished who poor West was, before his charming ode, and called it any thing rather than a Pindaric. The town is an owl, if it don't like lady Mary, and I am surprised at it: we here are owls enough to think her eclogues very bad; but that I did not wonder at. Our present taste is sir T. Fitz-Osborne's Letters. I send you a bit of a thing for two reasons: sirst, because it is of one of your favourites, Mr. M. Green; and next, because I would do justice. The thought on which my second ode turns, is manifestly stole from hence —not that I knew it at the time, but, having seen this many years before, to be sure it imprinted itself on my memory, and, forgetting the author, I took it for my own. The subject was the Queen's Hermitage.

Though yet no palace grace the shore
To lodge the pair you' should adore;
Nor abbeys great in ruins rife,
Royal equivalents for vice:
Behold a grot in Delphic grove
The Graces and the Muses love,
A temple from vain-glory free;
Whose goddess is Philosophy;
Whose sides such licens'd idols crown,
As Superstition would pull down:

<sup>\*</sup> Lord Hervey. \* Monody on the death of queen Caroline.

Lady Mary W. Montagu's Poems.

<sup>4</sup> The Ode to Spring.
5 Speaking to the Thames.

<sup>&</sup>quot; The four bufts.

The only pilgrimage I know,
That men of sense would choose to go.
Which sweet abode, her wisest choice,
Urania cheers with heavenly voice:
While all the Virtues gather round
To see her consecrate the ground.

If thou, the god with winged feet,
In council talk of this retreat;
And jealous gods resentment show
At alters rais'd to men below:
Tell those proud lords of heaven, 'tis fit
Their house our heroes should admit.
While each exists (as poets sing)
A lazy, lewd, immortal, thing;
They must, or grow in disrepute,
With earth's first commoners recruit.

Needless it is in terms unskill'd To praise, whatever Boyle shall build. Needless it is the bufts to name Of men, monopolists of fame; Four chiefs adorn the modest stone For virtue, as for learning, known. The thinking fculpture helps to raife Deep thoughts, the genii of the place: To the mind's ear, and inward fight, There filence speaks, and shade gives light: While infects from the threshold preach, And minds dispos'd to musing teach; Proud of strong limbs and painted hues, They perish by the slightest bruise, Or maladies begun within Destroy more flow life's frail machine: From maggot-youth thro' change of flate They feel like us the turns of fate: Some born to creep have lived to fly, And changed earth's cells for dwellings high:

And fome, that did their fix wings keep, Before they died, been forced to creep. They politics, like ours, profess:
The greater prey upon the less.
Some strain on foot huge loads to bring, Some toil incessant on the wing:
Nor from their vigorous schemes desist Till death; and then are never mist.
Some frolick, toil, marry, increase, Are sick and well, have war and peace, And broke with age in half a day Yield to successors, and away.

Adieu! I am yours ever,

T. GRAY.

#### LETTER XI.

Stoke, July 11, 1757.

I WILL not give you the trouble of sending your chaise for me. I intend to be with you on Wednesday in the evening. If the press stands still all this time for me, to be sure it is dead in child-bed.

I do not love notes, though you see I had resolved to put two or three '. They are signs of weakness and obscurity.' If a thing cannot be understood without them, it had better be not understood at all. If you will be vulgar, and pronounce it Lunnun, instead of London's, I can't help it. Caradoc I have private reasons against; and besides it is in reality Caradoc, and will not stand in the verse.

I rejoice you can fill all your vuides: the Maintenon could not, and that was her great misfortune. Seriously though, I congratulate you on your

<sup>1</sup> To the Bard.

<sup>&</sup>quot; Ye tow'rs of Julius! London's lafting fhame." Bard, verfe 87.

happiness, and seem to understand it. The receipt is obvious: it is only, Have something to do; but how sew can apply it!—Adieu!

I am ever yours,

T. GRAY.

### LETTER XII

I AM so charmed with the two specimens of Erse poetry, that I cannot help giving you the trouble to enquire a little farther about them, and should wish to see a sew lines of the original, that I may form some slight idea of the language, the measures, and the rhythm.

Is there any thing known of the author or authors, and of what antiquity are they supposed to be?

Is there any more to be had of equal beauty, or at all approaching to it?

I have been often told that the poem called Hardicnute (which I always admired, and still admire) was the work of somebody that lived a few years ago. This I do not at all believe, though it has evidently been retouched in places by some modern hand: but, however, I am authorised by this report to ask, whether the two poems in question are certainly antique and genuine. I make this enquiry in quality of an antiquary, and am not otherwise concerned about it: for, if I were sure that any one now living in Scotland had written them to divert himself and laugh at the credulity of the world, I would undertake a journey into the Highlands only for the pleasure of seeing him.

It has been supposed the work of a lady of the name of Wardlaw, who died in Scotland not many years ago, but upon no better evidence, that I could ever learn, than that a copy of the poem with some erasures was found among her papers after her death.—No proof furely of its original composition, as few but persons of business, which women seldom are, take the precaution of docketing, or writing "Copy" upon every thing they may transcribe. E.

#### LETTE'R XIII.

I HAVE been very ill this week with a great cold and a fever, and though now in a way to be well, am like to be confined fome days longer: whatever you will fend me that is new, or old, and long, will be received as a charity. Rousseau's people do not interest me; there is but one character and one style in them all, I do not know their faces afunder. I have no esteem for their persons or conduct, am not touched with their passions; and as to their story, I do not believe a word of it -not because it is improbable, but because it is absurd. If I had any little propensity, it was to Julie; but now the has gone and (fo hand over head) married that monfieur de Wolmar, I take her for a vraie Suiffeffe, and do not doubt but she had taken a cup too much, like her lover'. All this does not imply that I will not read it out, when you can spare the rest of it.

#### LETTER XIV.

Sunday, February 28, 1762.

I RETURN you my best thanks for the copy of your book ', which you fent me, and have not at all leffened my opinion of it fince I read it in print, though the press has in general a bad effect on the complection of one's works. The engravings look, as you fay, better than I had expected, yet not altogether fo well as I could wish. I, rejoice in the good dispositions of our court, and in the propriety of their application to you: the work is a thing fo much to be wished; has so near a connection with the turn of your studies and of your curiofity; and might shad such ample materials among your hoards and in your head; that it will be a fin if you let it drop

MITTALL

Mr. Gray's opinion of the Nouvelle Heloife, in odes of the one author, and the extraordinary and his letters published by Mr. Mason-how would (with all its faults) inimitable romance of the fuch a criticism, from such a critic, astonish all those more happily constituted readers, who, capable of appreciating varied excellence, have

Were not the public already in possession of perhaps read with equal delight the exquisite other! E.

<sup>&</sup>lt;sup>2</sup> The Anecdotes of Painting.