

THE

Letters of horace Malpole

VOLUME I.



HORACE WALPOLE,

AT THE AGE OF TEN.

FROM THE ORIGINAL OIL-PLOTURE IN THE POSSESSION OF MASHEDFORD.



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FRANCES COUNTESS OF WALDEGRAVE,

THE RESTORED OF

STRAWBERRY HILL,

This Edition of the Letters of

HORACE WALPOLE

IS WITH PERMISSION INSCRIBED

BY HEB OBLIGED AND OBEDIENT SERVANT,

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

YOL I.

MR. CUNNINGHAM'S PREFACE.

THE leading features of this edition may be briefly stated :--

- I. The publication for the first time of the Entire Correspondence of Walpole (2665 Letters) in a chronological and uniform order.
- II. The reprinting greatly within the compass of nine volumes the fourteen, far from uniform, volumes, hitherto commonly known as the *only* edition of Walpole's Letters.
- III. The publication for the first time of 117 Letters written by Horace Walpole; many in his best mood, all illustrative of Walpole's period; while others reveal matter of moment connected with the man himself.
- IV. The introduction for the first time into any collection of Walpole's Letters, of 35 letters hitherto scattered over many printed books and papers.
- The letters hitherto unprinted are addressed to the following persons :---

DURE OF GLOUGESTEE. MR. PELHAM. ME. FOX (LORD HOLLAND). HORAGE WALFOLE, SEN. SIE EDWARD WALFOLE. LORD GRFORD. LORD HARGOURT. LORD HERTFORD. LORD BUGHAM. GEORGE MONTAGU. SIE HORACE MANN, JUN. FIEH CRAWFURD. JOSEPH WARTON. Edwund Malone. Robert Dodsley. Isaac Reed. Grosvenoe Bedford. Chables Bedford. Henderson the Actor. Edmund Lodge. Duohess of Gloucester. Lady Lyttelton. Lady Cecilia Johnston. Lady Browne. ETC. ETC. The letters now first collected are addressed to the following persons :---

GEORGE GRENVILLE.	DR. PERCY.
THOMAS PITT.	MR. PINKERTON.
LORD LYTTELTON.	MR. BUNBURY.
LADY SUFFOLK.	THE MAYOR OF LYNN.
DAVID HUME.	MRS. CARTER.
DR. ROBERTSON.	MISS BURNET.
JOSEPH WARTON.	BTC. ETC.
THOMAS WARTON.	

I have received new and very important assistance in this long and anxious task :---

- I. To his Grace the Duke of Manchester, I am indebted for unrestricted access to the original letters addressed by Walpole to George Montagu, as well as to the original letters addressed to Walpole by Montagu. A collation of Walpole's letters with the printed letters, has corrected many blunders, and supplied many omissions. It will be found that Montagu's letters, hitherto unseen by any editor, have furnished valuable illustrative notes to his correspondent's letters.
- II. To Frances Countess of Waldegrave, "the restorer of Strawberry Hill," I owe the opportunity of printing for the first time the correspondence, preserved at Nuneham, of Walpole with Lord Harcourt. This good service to literature has been, if possible, enhanced by the kindness of George Granville Harcourt, Esq., M. P.
- III. To the late Right Honourable John Wilson Croker I am under many obligations; but my friend, unhappily for me, did not live to receive my printed thanks, or render any assistance to me beyond my third volume. Through Mr. Croker I had access to Lord Hertford's unpublished correspondence with Horace Walpole. Nor was this all; Mr. Croker kindly placed at my service his own annotated

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copies of Walpole's Works, and of Mr. Wright's edition of Walpole's Letters.

- IV. Through John Forster, Esq., author, among other works, of the "Life and Times of Oliver Goldsmith," I obtained equally unrestricted access to the unpublished correspondence, now in his possession, of Cole with Walpole.
 - V. To Henry Charles Grosvenor Bedford, Esq., of the Admiralty, I am under deep obligation, for permission to make full use of Walpole's unpublished correspondence with his greatgrandfather and grandfather, Walpole's faithful Deputies in the Exchequer. To Mr. Bedford I am equally indebted for the two portraits of Walpole when young, first engraved for this edition of his Letters.

For other services as kindly rendered, though of lesser importance, I beg to express my thanks to the following persons :---

To the Honourable Mary Boyle, to Colonel Frederick Johnston (grandson of Walpole's favourite Lady Cecilia Johnston), John Riddell, Esq., J. Heneage Jesse, Esq., Mrs. Bedford, of Kensington, P. B. Ainslie, Esq., of the Mount, Guildford, Thomas P. Fernie, Esq., of Kimbolton, and Algernon Brent, Esq., of Canterbury.

With respect to the notes to this edition, I have to observe that I have (I hope) turned the services of preceding editors to the best account. To each note is affixed the name of the writer. Some notes I have silently corrected, others I have enlarged with information between brackets. With respect to my own notes I have sought to make them appropriate, and above all things accurate.

In the year 1700, and on the 30th of July, Robert Walpole the younger, of Houghton, in the county of Norfolk, Esq., eldest son and heir of Robert Walpole, Esq., of the same place, was married at Knightsbridge Chapel, in the parish of St. Margaret's, Westminster, to Catherine Shorter, eldest daughter of John Shorter, of Bybrook, in the county of Kent, Esquire, and grand-daughter of Sir John Shorter, arbitrarily appointed Lord Mayor of London by King James II. in the revolutionary year of 1688. Mr. Walpole was then in his twenty-fourth year :--Miss Shorter a few years younger.

The Walpoles, when this marriage took place, were a family of name, possessions, and position, in the county of Norfolk. They were among the leading commoners of the county, returning themselves to Parliament for Lynn and Castle Rising, and sharing with the Townshends and the Cokes the landed wealth of Northern Norfolk.

The Shorters were originally from Staines in Middlesex, but nothing is known of them before the grandfather of the bride, the Lord Mayor I have had occasion to mention. By his will, he left the sum of 400*l*, on her marriage, or on her coming of age, to Catherine Shorter, the future wife of Sir Robert Walpole.

Bybrook, near Ashford, in Kent, when Catherine Shorter was a girl, was a small Elizabethan house of red brick and stone dressings, built in the year 1577 by Richard Best, whose name, with a punning inscription in Latin and the date ("Omnia in Bonum R. Best, 1577,") is still to be seen over the door of all that remains of Bybrook in its best days. It was pleasantly seated in a dip or valley near a small, clear, quick running stream, in a good soil, with some well-covered hills to add to its shelter and beauty. John (the bride's father) was a Norway timber-merchant, with his wharf and counting-house on the Southwark side of the Thames at London, and his town house in Norfolk Street in the Strand, then, and long after, a fashionable locality in London. "My grandfather (my mother's father)." writes Horace to Mason, "was a Danish timber merchant, an honest sensible Whig, and I am very proud of him." '

¹ Letters to Mason, 25 Sept., 1771, and 13 April, 1782. Sir John Shorter in his will speaks of his son John as a Norway merchant. Sir John was buried in the church of St. Saviour's, Southwark—but the inscription on his gravestone (imperfectly given in Strype's Stow) is not there now.

He had three sons, who survived their sister, Lady Walpole, and a second daughter, called Charlotte, the third wife (1718) of Francis, first Lord Conway of the Seymour family, by whom she was mother of the first Earl of Hertford of the last creation, and of Walpole's correspondent and constant friend, Field Marshal Conway. Lady Conway survived her husband, and died 12th Feb. 1733-4.

Lady Walpole's three brothers were John, Arthur, and Erasmus. John, a placeman and a pensioner : was a Commissioner of Stamps, and his pension was 400% a-year. Of Arthur I have not obtained any intelligence. Erasmus was made by his ministerial brotherin-law one of the two Under Searchers at Gravesend, survived his sisters and brothers, and dying in 1753 without a will, left 30,000% to be divided among Walpoles and Seymour-Conways.

The issue of the marriage of Sir Robert Walpole with Catherine Shorter was three sons and two daughters.

- 1. Robert, second Earl of Orford, (father of the third earl, who sold the far-famed Houghton gallery).
- 2. Edward, afterwards knighted, father of the lovely Laura, Countess of Waldegrave and Duchess of Gloucester.
- 3. HORACE, the great Letter-writer, afterwards fourth Earl of Orford, and the last male representative of Sir Robert Walpole.
- 4. Catherine, who died unmarried, at Bath, of consumption, aged nineteen.
- 5. Mary, who died in her mother's lifetime, having married (14 Sept. 1723,) George, third Earl of Cholmondeley, through whom Houghton descended to the present family.

There was a fourth son, William, who died young.

It is said that latterly Sir Robert Walpole and his wife did not live happily together, and that Horace, the youngest, was not the son of the great Prime Minister of England, but of Carr Lord Hervey, elder brother of Pope's antagonist, and reckoned, as Walpole records, of superior parts to his celebrated brother, John. The story rests on the authority of Lady Louisa Stuart, daughter of the minister Earl of Bute, and grand-daughter of Lady Mary Wortley Montagu. She has related it in print in the Introductory Anecdotes to Lady Mary's Works ; and there is too much reason to believe that what she tells is true. Horace was born eleven years after the birth of any other child that Sir Robert had by his wife; in every respect he was unlike a Walpole, and in every respect, figure and formation of mind, very like a Hervey. Lady Mary Wortley divided mankind into men, women, and Herveys, and the division has been generally accepted. Walpole was certainly of the Hervey class. Lord Hervey's Memoirs and Horace Walpole's Memoires are most remarkably alike, yet Walpole never saw them.

We have no evidence whatever that a suspicion of spurious parentage ever crossed the mind of Horace Walpole. His writings, from youth to age, breathe the most affectionate love for his mother, and the most unbounded filial regard for Sir Robert Walpole. In the exquisite chapel of Henry VIIth, where, beneath nameless stones, our Stuart kings and queens lie with William of Orange, the piety of Horace Walpole erected a marble statue of his mother. The inscription, of his own writing, perpetuates her virtue, and when he collected his writings, he took care to record a saying of Pope's, that the mother of Horace Walpole was "untainted by a court."

Horace hated Norfolk, the native county of his father, and delighted in Kent, the native county of his mother. He did not care for Norfolk ale, Norfolk turnips, Norfolk dumplings, or Norfolk turkeys. Its flat, sandy, aguish scenery was not to his taste. He dearly liked what he calls most happily "the rich blue prospects of Kent." While his father was alive, he loved Houghton for the glory that surrounded it; after his father's death, he cared little about it, for the glory departed with his father. "I saw Houghton," writes his friend Lady Hervey, "the most triste, melancholy place I ever beheld : 'tis a heavy ugly black building, with an ugly black stone."

Horace's two brothers were as little to his liking; the eldest, heir to the peerage and to Houghton, was silly, dissolute, and careless; Sir Edward, the second, was inactive, liking Art a little and his mistress more. With two such brothers Horace the youngest had nothing in common. His family caused him many a bitter pang. The widow of his eldest brother gave him an infinity of annoyance. Rich, and heiress to a peerage in her own right (to which she succeeded), she scattered her favours on the continent, then surrendered herself to a low Italian adventurer, and became as dissolute as Lady Mary Wortley, without one particle of her wit. Her son, the third earl, 'my lunatic precursor' as he calls him (ix. 435), was profligate with women, a sot, and a madman. His own three beautiful nieces, natural children of Sir Edward Walpole, were Walpoles after his own heart. They had in a high degree the beauty which Pepys assures us a Walpole carried into the Pepys family.' He liked his half-sister, Lady Mary Churchill, and had been content to have settled Strawberry Hill on the descendants of the Cheshire Cholmondeleys by his sister Lady Malpas. "What vicissitudes," he exclaims, "have I seen in my family." He saw ministerial Houghton in its glory and its fall; and learning a lesson from its fate, left Strawberry Hill to the daughter of his maternal cousin Mr. Conway,-foretelling (what he still tried to avoid) its destiny not far off-the hammer of the auctioneer. "Poor little Strawberry," as he loved to call it, has

¹ "I am afraid I am again too late for you, but I find this morning a portfolio containing a dozen and a half of original letters and notes of Horace Walpole's, of various dates from 1746 to 1787. They are mostly to George Selwyn, and some of them little more than invitations to dinner; but half a dozen are of more importance, and one of the 6th of September, 1757, is peculiarly curious, as it contains an admission of his consciousness of being hereditarily mad."—Mr. Croker to the Editor, 5 Aug. 1857.

"29 July, 1667. It hath been the very had fortune of the Pepyses that ever I knew, never to marry an handsome woman, except Ned Pepys."

Ned Pepys's wife was Elizabeth Walpole, daughter and co-heir of John Walpole of Bransthorp, Norfolk.

^e "15 Dec. 1663. My brother's man come to tell me that my cousin Edward Pepys was dead, for which my wife and I are very sorry, and the more that his wife was the only handsome woman of our name."

heard the hammer of George Robins, and Norfolk Houghton, once the envy of England,—now bare but massive, is the property of the *Cheshire* Cholmondeleys.

The character of this delightful letter-writer and accomplished author-this pleasant companion and faithful friend-who possessed the art of giving proper importance and enduring interest to everything he touched, has been drawn by two distinguished writers in the leading Reviews of the last half century, by men who mixed with some of his latest friends, and who lived sufficiently near his time to have heard much about him from reliable sources of information. The great Tory writer' in the Tory Review, has sought with indisputable art to fix on the delightful historian and more delightful letter-writer, many of the mean artifices of the Whigs; with a love of sinecures and an affectation of liberty. The noble Whig writer' in the Whig review has, with art equally indisputable, endeavoured to revenge the dislike which Walpole bore to the Bedford faction, the followers of Fox and the Shelburne school. Both exaggerate. While the art and force with which the Whig essayist points and delivers his envenomed weapon are everywhere apparent, it is easy to see that a conscious smile pervades his face that what he writes will be read with a glow of satisfaction at Woburn, at Kensington, and in Berkeley Square.

Of a man who flourished for sixty years in political circles and in the world of fashion—of one who has written so variedly and so well —who has spoken of himself and his doings so freely—and of others and their doings so approvingly, and at times so contemptuously it is unwise to expect that, perhaps, any six men should agree respecting his personal character. While all unite in praising the perpetual charm of his letters, men differ about the man. Too frequently he assumes a character very unlike his own. It is his humour at times to think oddly, though always sensibly: to fall into a short track of observation worthy of a philosopher or divine; to drop that for a vein after the manner of Montaigne: or an outburst of egotism worthy of Mr. Pepys. He laughs, no one heartier, at the small things chronicled by Ashmole or Antony Wood—yet his

¹ The late Mr. Croker.

* Lord Macaulay.

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own little doings are often as insignificant as those so duly set down by the friend of Tradescant or the Oxford antiquary.

It is evident, we are told by the noble author of the Reform Bill, that Horace Walpole never was in the confidence of his father. This is an assertion which Lord John Russell seeks to confirm by the letters of father and son. No one supposes that Sir Robert entrusted his views of the Excise scheme to a lad of twenty, for no Prime Minister relied more upon himself than Sir Robert Walpole. When his father was dispossessed of power, Horace was still young, but he was of age and in Parliament; and when his father retired to Houghton, never dreaming of a return to power, Horace retired with him and passed three years in the full confidence of the exminister. It was then that Sir Robert Walpole answered the inquiries of his son (no common enquirer) and revealed those passages of state which are to be found in his Correspondence, Reminiscences, and more largely and importantly in his Memoires. "I came into the world," he says, "at five years old." When Walpole died, his son Horace was twenty-eight years old.

A letter (Vol. i. p. 356), now for the first time printed, gives us a peep into the private life at Houghton when Walpole was a boy, and of little incidents connected with his father, his brother, and himself, that are especially touching. His elder brother, Edward, was jealous of the notice which Sir Robert took of Horace, and carried his jealousy so far as to induce Horace to beg and beseech his father never to take notice of him in his brother's presence. This is certain, that Sir Robert foresaw with pride the fame that his son Horace was to achieve, and looked upon him with eyes of greater affection than on his other children. "What touches me most," Walpole writes to Mason, then busy upon Gray, "are your kind words favourite son. Alas! if I ever was so, I was not so thus early [1741], nor, were I so, would I for the world have such a word dropped; it would stab my living brother [Sir Edward] to the soul, who, I have often said, adored his father, and of all his children loved him the best."*

¹ Walpole to Mason, March 2, 1773. Compare Letter, vol. i., p. 558.

³ Lord John Russell, Preface to Bedford Correspondence, p. xxxviii.

If this delightful letter-writer had not thought proper to forsake the Senate for literature and antiquities, it is easy to see that he would have attained a high position in Parliament, and in at least one administration. He studied oratory and spoke well. Yorke (whom he hated) records that one of his specches in the House while his father was still alive, was admired by the many who heard it. But he lost heart with his father's death—with the folly of his elder brother and sought in society, in literature and antiquities, those unceasing delights that have given a celebrity to his name which the Senate alone never could have obtained for him.

The accuracy of Walpole's information of the state of parties in England, from his first appearance in Parliament until the fall of his father, is curiously and importantly confirmed by Lord Hervey's Memoirs. On one point alone he seems to have been a little misinformed. It was not Sir Robert Walpole who forced Mr. Pulteney into the House of Lords, but Lord Carteret and Lord Hervey.' Sir Robert doubtless approved of such a step, but his son has given a colour to the occurrence which the actual circumstances of the case fail to justify. It is not often that Walpole is misinformed, and I am thus particular in calling attention to the circumstance, that I may bear a general testimony to the painstaking accuracy of his statements.

The Correspondence of Walpole from first to last reveals most delightfully his intense admiration of his father and the love he continued to cherish for his mother. In his quarrels with his uncle, he never fails to remind him that he owes everything to his illustrious brother. "That great man to whom you and I, Sir, owe all we have, and without whom I fear we had all remained in obscurity." (To his Uncle, April 13, 1756.) All his father's foes were his foes. He may have had a temporary liking for a few who disliked his father, but the old hatred returned, and may be read unmistakeably in his Memoires and his Letters. His highest ambition to the last was to be described as he described himself beneath M'Ardell's mezzotint, from his portrait by Sir Joshua

¹ See Lord Hervey's Memoirs, vol. ii., p. 582.

-- 'Horace Walpole, youngest son of Sir Robert Walpole, Earl of Orford.' and this he would have liked to have had upon his grave at Houghton.

Of the letters to his several correspondents, those to Montagu are, I think, the best. They have more heart, and are evidently written to a man who had a fine sense of humour, much curious information, and who held his correspondent's powers of writing in high esteem.

And this esteem was shared by many of the Cues. At George's death, his brother Frederick asked Walpole's permission to retain his letters. Walpole consented, transmitting at the same time Montagu's letters addressed to himself: "Thinking," he observes in a memorandum still with them, "that they will serve to explain passages in each other." To this good account I have been enabled to turn them, for the first time, by the liberality of the head of the 'Cues,' the Duke of Manchester.

His correspondents (West and Gray excepted) were dull masters in the art of letter-writing. Mann's letters are absolutely unreadable. Montagu he has himself called an abominable correspondent, who only wrote to beg letters (iii. 480). Bentley's letters to Walpole were destroyed by Walpole, and such specimens as I have seen of his writing are poor in manner and in matter. Cole, though his letters were preserved by Walpole, was little more than a dull antiquary.

Mason is a marked exception to the rule that good poets write good prose. What little Lord Hertford had to tell he told without vivacity or taste. His brother Conway was of the same race of heavy correspondents. Madame du Deffand was not Madame de Sévigné, nor Lady Ossory Lady Mary Montagu.

His matter varies with the predilection of his correspondents. At times he is as good a News-Letter Gossip as Garrard or Rowland Whyte. Of Walpole's letters it cannot be said that, meant for everybody, they were written to anybody.

The bulk, as well as the best of his letters, are addressed to people at a distance—to Mann in Florence, to Montagu on the skirts of a Northamptonshire forest, to Bentley in exile for debt, to Cole in the fens of Cambridgeshire, to Mason in his Yorkshire parsonage, to blind Madame du Deffand in the gilded saloons of Paris, and to Lady Ossory seeking solitude after her divorce in the woods of Ampthill.

His letters (his best works) are absolute jests and story books, and the exact standard of easy engaging writing. They preserve the dark jostlings for place of the many Administrations which governed England from his father's fall to the accession of the younger Pitt. He knew the members of the Broad Bottom and Coalition ministries; had seen or known (certainly knew a great deal about) the many mistresses of the four Georges, from the Duchess of Kendal to the Countess of Suffolk, from Miss Vane to Mrs. Fitzherbert. He was known to two kings and to their children. He lived throughout a long life in the best society, and in the best clubs. His means were ample, and every reasonable desire he seems to have gratified. As a boy he had kissed the hand of King George I., and as a man in years had conversed with two young men, who long after his own death succeeded King George III. on the throne of England. He had seen in the flesh two of the heroines of De Grammont and the Restoration, La Belle Jennings, and Arabella Churchill, and lived long enough to offer his coronet to two ladies (Mary and Agnes Berry), who lived far into the reign of Queen Victoria.

He has the art to interest us in very little matters, and to enliven subjects seemingly the most barren. His allusions, his applications, are the happiest possible. As his pen never lay fallow, so his goosequill never grew grey. We take an interest in his gout and his bootikins, in Philip and Margaret (his Swiss valet and housekeeper), and in his dogs Patapan, Tonton, and Rosette. We know every room in Strawberry Hill, and every miniature and full-length portrait in the Tribune and Gallery. We are admitted to the Holbein chamber and the Beauclerk closet, and as we wander in print over the stripped rooms and now newly furnished walls, we can pass a night in his favourite Blue Room, restore the Roman Eagle, replace the bust of Vespasian and the armour of Francis I.; bring back from Knowsley the blue and white china bowl, commemorated in the Odes of Gray, and call up Kirgate, the printer, carrying a proof of the 'Anecdotes of Painting' to Conway's 'Elzevir Horace' in the Gothic Library. As we become better acquainted with his letters, we can summon before us the skilful antiquary and Virtuoso midwife, and see Strawberry in lilac-tide that period of the year in which its owner thought Strawberry in perfection.

He himself tells us that his letters are to be looked upon "in their proper character of newspapers," and that if they possess any excellence in point of style, it is from his having studied with care the letters of Madame de Sévigné and his friend Gray. "I generally write in a hurry," he exclaims at another time, "and say anything that comes into my head." . . . "I cannot compose letters like Pliny and Pope." Nor did he. "Nothing is so pleasant in a letter," he writes to Lady Ossory, "as the occurrences of society. I am always regretting in my correspondence with Madame du Deffand and Sir Horace Mann, that I must not make use of them, as the one has never lived in England, and the other not these fifty years, and so, my private stories would want notes as much as Petronius."

He was what he calls himself, an indefatigable correspondent. "Mine," he says to Montagu, "is a life of letter-writing." He had made letter-writing a study, and was fond of showing his skill in his favourite art. This was so well known:—that Lady Ossory is said to have observed that when they were near neighbours in town, if Walpole had anything to say that he thought might be worked into an agreeable letter, Walpole would omit to pay her his customary visit.

We must remember in reading these nine volumes of Correspondence, that their writer was willing to be thought a Frenchman, and that he affected to despise authors. It has been said of him that he was the best Frenchman ever born in England of an English race. When Madame de Boufflers saw Strawberry Hill, she described it, much to its owner's merriment, though not untruly, as

^{*} To Ossory, Christmas night, 1773. ² Ib., 24 Aug. 1777. ³ Ib., 16 Nov. 1785.

not "digne de la solidité Anglaise." His dislike to authors by profession is never concealed. Yet his highest ambition hereafter was that of an author. He successfully concealed his secret longing. Though the pen was constantly in his hand, there is not a speck of ink on his ruffles to the last.

He wrote with the greatest ease, with company in the room, and even talking to people at the time. This Bentley assured Cole was the case. That, however, he made brief memoranda for many of his letters there cannot be a doubt. On the back of a letter to him from Lord Hertford I have seen the heads of his letter to Montagu (No. 660), describing the trial of Lord Ferrers. The points used are scored through by Walpole's pen. Apparent ease is often the result of well-concealed labour.

He has strange partialities and distastes. He laughs at Falkland, made a hero, he says, by the friendship and happy solemnity of Lord Clarendon's diction; but forgets that his own partiality (and I think a weaker one) endeavoured to exalt Conway, a virtuous, well-meaning man, with a moderate understanding, to a position scarcely less exalted. He disliked Johnson, detested his style, and depreciated his talents. Little did Walpole dream that the portrait of Johnson by Sir Joshua would fill the place of honour in the dining-room of the great successor of his father as a financial minister, and that Boswell's Life of the great moralist would take its place permanently high in the standard literature of his country.

His brief correspondence with Chatterton has been the occasion of as much idle writing as our language, rich in such materials, will be found to supply. With the largest sympathy for struggling genius, and the most earnest desire to assist the willing and the able—who will say that he would have done more, under the circumstances, than Walpole did? A boy, marvellously ripe in genius, and in the eccentricities of genius, seeks the assistance of a scholar and a gentleman—but in what way does he seek it? By a clever but ill-disguised schoolboy attempt to palm a record of former ages on the understanding of a scholar. Walpole, as he admits himself, had given but little attention to palæography, but he saw through the forgery, and though undeceived, replied like any sensible mau

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in his situation would have done. Chatterton while yet a boy died by his own hand. His dismal catastrophe, and the promise of excellence which his acknowledged writings evince, raised a childish controversy respecting the reality of the monk created, as we now know, by the genius of Chatterton. Sympathy not undeserved with one so marvellously ripe, took a turn—easily understood—against the son of a prime minister ('Bob the poet's foe') with more than one sinecure, himself an author, though affecting not to be one, with a house in town and a villa in the country crammed with antiquities of a monkish period. Here was the very man who should have assisted Chatterton, have dashed the poison-bowl from his lip, and carried his early manhood into a riper age for death.

As the Chatterton controversy waxed stronger, so did the controversy about Walpole's conduct in the transaction. The result was foreseen by the wiser few. Rowley has vanished before the Ithuriel touch of many scholars ;—and poets, always sympathetic, while they regret that Chatterton died so young—acquit, amply and unmistakeably, the author of the "Anecdotes of Painting" from conduct in the least degree culpable in his correspondence with a boy he had never seen. Walpole himself regretted that it was not given to him to foresee and perhaps prevent: and this, and this alone, is now the sole wish of every scnsible thinker on the subject.

For fifty years, over which his correspondence extends, the days and nights of Horace Walpole were very much the same. After an evening of scandal, fifty years back, spent at Marble Hill with the Countess of Suffolk, and old Lady Blandford (Windham's widow as well), or 'taking a card' at little Strawberry Hill with Kitty Clive, he would return to his Gothic Castle, and in the Library or Blue Room write letters of news to Mann or Montagu, acknowledge cards of invitation from peers and peeresses, give life to the antiquarian notes of Vertue the engraver, paste Faithornes and Hollars into his volumes of English heads, annotate a favourite author, and retire to rest about two in the morning. He rose late, sauntered about his villa and grounds, played with his dogs Patapan or Tonton, gave directions to the workmen employed in repairing battlements, repainting walls, or gilding his favourite Gallery. At twelve his light bodied chariot was at the door with his English coachman and his Swiss valet. He was now on his daily drive to or from his villa of Strawberry Hill to his town house on the non-ministerial side of Arlington Street, Piccadilly. In a few minutes he left Lord Radnor's villa to the right, rolled over the grotto of Pope, saw on his left Whitton, rich with recollections of Kneller and Argyll, passed Gumley House, one of the country seats of his father's opponent and his own friend Pulteney, Earl of Bath, and Kendal House, the retreat of the mistress of George I., Ermengard de Schulenburg, Duchess of Kendal. At Sion, the princely seat of the Percys, the Seymours, and the Smithsons, he turned into the Hounslow Road, left Sion on his right, and Osterley, not unlike Houghton, on his left, and rolled through Brentford—

" Brentford, the Bishopric of Parson Horne,"

then, as now, infamous for its dirty streets, and famous for its Quitting Brentford, he approached the white-legged chickens. woods that concealed the stately mansion of Gunnersbury, built by Inigo Jones and Webb, and then inhabited by the Princess Amelia. the last surviving child of King George II. Here he was often a visitor, and seldom returned without being a winner at silver loo. At the Pack Horse on Turnham Green he would, when the roads were heavy, draw up for a brief bait. Starting anew, he would pass a few red brick houses on both sides, then the suburban villas of men well to do in the Strand and Charing Cross. At Hammersmith, he would leave the church on his right, call on Mr. Fox at Holland House, look at Campden House with recollections of Sir Baptist Hickes, and not without an ill-suppressed wish to transfer some little part of it to his beloved Strawberry. He was now at Kensington church, then, as it still is, an ungraceful structure, but rife with associations which he would at times relate to the friend he had with him. On his left he would leave the gates of Kensington Palace, rich with reminiscences connected with his father and the first Hanoverian kings of this country. On his right he would quit

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the red brick house in which the Duchess of Portsmouth lived, and after a drive of half a mile (skirting a heavy brick wall), reach Kingston House, replete with stories of Elizabeth Chudleigh, the Bigamist Maid of Honour, and Duchess-Countess of Kingston and Bristol. At Knightsbridge (even then the haunt of highwaymen less gallant than Maclean) he passed on his left the little chapel in which his father was married. At Hyde Park Corner he saw the Hercules Pillars ale-house of Fielding and Tom Jones, and at one door from Park Lane would occasionally call on old "Q." for the sake of Selwyn, who was often there. The trees which now grace Piccadilly were in the Green Park in Walpole's day; they can recollect Walpole, and that is something. On his left, the sight of Coventry House would remind him of the Gunnings, and he would tell his friend the story of the "beauties," with which (short story-teller as he was) he had not completed when the chariot turned into Arlington Street on the right, or down Berkeley Street into Berkeley Square, on the left. He was born in Arlington Street, lived uninterruptedly there for thirty-six years, and died in Berkeley Square.

The person of Horace Walpole was short and slender, but compact and neatly formed. When viewed from behind, he had, from the simplicity of his dress, somewhat of a boyish appearance: "fifty years ago," he says, "Mr. Winnington told me I ran along like a pewet." (ix. 337.) His forehead was high and pale. His eyes were remarkably bright and penetrating. His laugh was forced and uncouth, and his smile not the most pleasing.

His walk, for more than half his life, was enfeebled by the gout; which not only affected his feet, but attacked his hands. Latterly his fingers were swelled and deformed, having, as he would say, more chalk-stones than joints in them, and adding, with a smile, that he must set up an inn, for he could chalk a score with more ease and rapidity than any man in England. His companions at Eton and at Cambridge were lads unfitted like himself for athletic exercises: Gray and West, George Montagu and Cole. "I was" (says Montagu in a MS. memoir now before me) "of a tender

¹ Drawn from Pinkerton, Miss Hawkins, Cole's MSS. and his own Letters.

delicate constitution and turn of mind, and more adapted to reading than exercises, to sedentary amusements than robust play. I had an early passion for poetry: at Eton, when in the fifth form, I presumed to make English verses for my exercise, a thing not practised then."

His entrance into a room was in that style of affected delicacy, which fashion had made almost natural, *chapeau bras* between his hands as if he wished to compress it, or under his arm; knees bent, and feet on tiptoe, as if afraid of a wet floor. His summer dress of ceremony was usually a lavender suit, the waistcoat embroidered with a little silver, or of white silk worked in the tambour, partridge silk stockings, gold buckles, ruffles and lace frill. In winter he wore powder. He disliked hats, and in his grounds at Strawberry would even in winter walk without one. The same antipathy, Cole tells us, extended to a great coat.

His appearance at the breakfast-table was proclaimed, and attended, by a fat and favourite little dog, the legacy of Madame du Deffand; the dog and a favourite squirrel partook of his breakfast.

He dined generally at four. "I am," he writes in 1789 (ix. 171), "so antiquated as still to dine at four, though frequently prevented, as many are so good as to call on me at that hour, because it is too soon for them to go home and dress so early in the morning." His dinner when at home was of chicken, pheasant, or any light tood, of which he eat sparingly. Pastry he disliked, as difficult of digestion, though he would taste a morsel of venison pie. Iced water, then a London dislike, was his favourite drink. The scent of the dinner was removed by a censer or pot of frankincense.

The wine that was drunk was drunk during dinner. After his coffee he would take a pinch of snuff, and nothing more that night.

His visitors to see Strawberry he called his customers.

Of his habits of composition we have some account :----"I wrote," he said, "the 'Castle of Otranto' in eight days, or rather nights : for my general hours of composition are from ten o'clock at night till two in the morning, when I am sure not to be disturbed by visitants. While I am writing I take several cups of coffee." That

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he was always ready, when writing, to take a hint from his friends, is the testimony which Bentley bore to Cole, not only of his skill but of his many amiable virtues and qualities; though Bentley added that he thought whim, caprice and pride, were too predominant in him.

One of the most remarkable features in his life is the uninterrupted nature of his correspondence with his relative Sir Horace Mann. They saw much of one another at Florence in the year 1741, and never met again. Yet a correspondence was maintained between them from that period until the death of Mann. For four and forty years he was what he calls himself, Mann's "faithful intelligencer." "Shall we not," he says, "be very venerable in the annals of friendship? What Orestes and Pylades ever wrote to each other for four and forty years without meeting. A correspondence of near half a century is not to be paralleled in the annals of the Post Office." In the year 1784 the letters from Walpole to Mann, and then in Walpole's hand, were about eight hundred. The two series as printed amount to eight hundred and nine.

Though Walpole certainly wrote more letters than are at present in print, or, with all my exertions, will be included in this edition of his letters, there is little prospect that any additions of moment can now be made to his correspondence. His letters to Mrs. Damer were destroyed by her own desire with the rest of her papers, and those to Mrs. Clive, (of little moment I suspect,—they were such near neighbours) were returned to him by her brother at her death, and are not now known to exist. Walpole foresaw the value of his letters, and, on the death of a friend, constantly asked for his correspondence back. As a request, in every way so proper, has preserved many of his letters, so it has led to the destruction of others, and those there is reason to believe not the least important. West and Gray, as he observed to Mason, were good-natured enough to destroy his letters.

He died rich, with, we are told, over and above his leases, and notwithstanding his losses, ninety-one thousand pounds in the threeper-cents. Yet he had lived liberally, and indulged a taste for many years in what he calls expensive baubles, loving what money would purchase, not money itself. As to his will, writes Mason, it

MR. CUNNINGHAM'S PREFACE.

is full as rational a one as anybody had reason to expect. There were people of course who were disappointed, and Pinkerton was one.

His pet creation of Strawberry Hill, with its patches of correct Gothic, and its bastard half-castle-half-cloister character throughout, was a romance in lath-and-plaster, very much in advance of Batty Langley and James Wyatt, and most thoroughly illustrative -Abbotsford not more so---of the tastes of its owner. This child's baby-house, as he himself calls it, though a *betweenity* in its way, led to the revival of Gothic architecture. It is much to be regretted that it was ever stripped of the treasures it contained. The spoils of Strawberry are the leading attractions of many first-rate collections. No article of intrinsic value that has been resold, but has sold for a much larger sum. Though sixteen years only have passed since its dispersion, it would sell now for double the amount for which it went. And yet it sold high. To have seen it in Walpole's day with Walpole in it, must indeed have been a treat. To have seen it unstripped, as I am pleased to remember that I have seen it, was a treat only of a lesser kind. To see Strawberry as it now stands, (renewed in great good taste by Lady Waldegrave,) is what many travel from far distances to see, and will continue to visit from distances still further, so long as a battlement remains, literature is loved, these letters last, or the Thames runs before it, as the Thames will continue to run on.

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

CHERTSEY, SURREY, 18 Sept., 1858.

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THE leading features of this edition consist in the publication for the first time of the Entire Correspondence of Walpole in a chronological and uniform order, and in the publication equally for the first time of many letters either now first collected or first made public. The unprinted letters will be found to reveal much curious matter illustrative of the family quarrels of Horace with his brother Sir Edward, and with his uncle, old Horace, whom he hated so heartily; while the letters first collected in this edition, and addressed to men like Hume, Robertson, and Joseph Warton, will be found to contain the best qualities of his style on other subjects than masquerades and marriages.

His correspondence with his deputies in the Exchequer, Mr. Grosvenor Bedford, and Mr. Charles Bedford, kindly placed at my service, in consequence of an arrangement with Mr. Bentley, by Mrs. Bedford of Kensington, runs over many years, and though often on matters of official detail, and therefore of no public moment, is not unfrequently highly characteristic of the writer. It reveals to us (as the reader will find) what Walpole revealed to no other person, his unostentatious charity and his active sympathy with persons incarcerated for debt. The same correspondence

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supplies other and frequent glimpses of his working behind the scenes as an anonymous correspondent of newspapers, and fully supports what indeed his own "Short Notes" of his life have sufficiently told us, that he was not "Junius."

The notes to this edition are by the editors of previous editions, and bear the names of the writers. Some I have silently corrected, others I have enlarged with information between brackets. With respect to my own notes 1 have sought to make them appropriate to the text, and above all things—accurate.

PETER CUNNINGHAM.

KENSINGTON. 26th November, 1856.

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