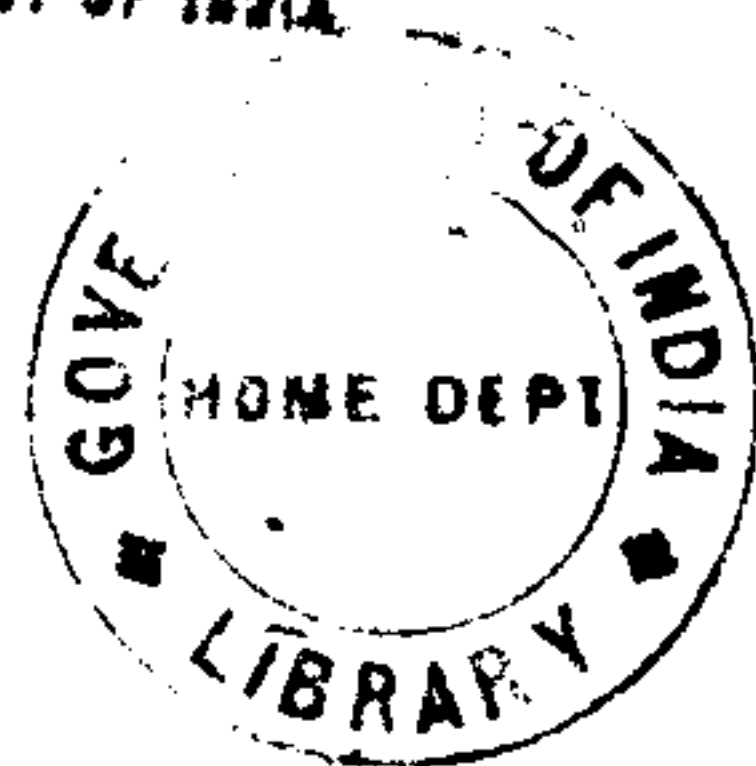


PROPERTY OF THE  
HOME DEPT.  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA.



THE  
POETICAL WORKS  
OF  
ALEXANDER POPE.

A NEW EDITION.

---

*ADORNED WITH PLATES.*

---

VOLUME III.

---

London:

PRINTED FOR F. J. DU ROVERAY,

*By T. Bensley, Bolt Court;*

AND SOLD BY J. AND A. ARCH, CORNHILL; AND  
E. LLOYD, HARLEY STREET.

FOR THE  
HOME DEPT.  
OF THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA

C O N T E N T S

OF

V O L. III.

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| Essay on Criticism .....   | 1     |
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AN  
ESSAY ON CRITICISM.

*Written in the year 1700.*

VOL. III.



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## ESSAY ON CRITICISM.

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### PART I.

'Tis hard to say if greater want of skill  
Appear in writing or in judging ill;  
But of the two less dang'rous is th' offence  
To tire our patience than mislead our sense:  
Some few in that, but numbers err in this,  
Ten censure wrong for one who writes amiss;  
A fool might once himself alone expose,  
•Now one in verse makes many more in prose.

'Tis with our judgments as our watches, none  
Go just alike, yet each believes his own.  
In poets as true genius is but rare,  
True taste as seldom is the critic's share;  
Both must alike from heav'n derive their light,  
These born to judge as well as those to write.  
Let such teach others who themselves excel,  
And censure freely who have written well.



Authors are partial to their wit, 'tis true,  
But are not critics to their judgment too?

Yet if we look more closely, we shall find  
Most have the seeds of judgment in their mind:  
Nature affords at least a glimm'ring light;  
The lines, tho' touch'd but faintly, are drawn right:  
But as the slightest sketch, if justly trac'd,  
Is by ill-colouring but the more disgrac'd,  
So by false learning is good sense defac'd:  
Some are bewilder'd in the maze of schools,  
And some made coxcombs nature meant but fools:  
In search of wit these lose their common sense,  
And then turn critics in their own defence:  
Each burns alike, who can or cannot write,  
Or with a rival's or an eunuch's spite.  
All fools have still an itching to deride,  
And fain would be upon the laughing side.  
If Mævius scribble in Apollo's spite,  
There are who judge still worse than he can write.

Some have at first for wits, then poets, past,  
Turn'd critics next, and prov'd plain fools at last.  
Some neither can for wits nor critics pass,  
As heavy mules are neither horse nor ass.

Those half-learn'd witlings, num'rous in our isle,  
 As half-form'd insects on the banks of Nile;  
 Unfinish'd things, one knows not what to call,  
 Their generation's so equivocal;  
 To tell 'em would an hundred tongues require,  
 Or one vain wit's, that might an hundred tire.

But you who seek to give and merit fame,  
 And justly bear a critic's noble name,  
 Be sure yourself and your own reach to know,  
 How far your genius, taste, and learning, go;  
 Launch not beyond your depth, but be discreet,  
 And mark that point where sense and dulness meet.

Nature to all things fix'd the limits fit,  
 And wisely curb'd proud man's pretending wit.  
 As on the land while here the ocean gains,  
 In other parts it leaves wide sandy plains;  
 Thus in the soul while memory prevails,  
 The solid pow'r of understanding fails;  
 Where beams of warm imagination play,  
 The memory's soft figures melt away.  
 One science only will one genius fit;  
 So vast is art, so narrow human wit:  
 Not only bounded to peculiar arts,  
 But oft in those confin'd to single parts.

Like kings we lose the conquests gain'd before,  
 By vain ambition still to make them more:  
 Each might his sev'ral province well command,  
 Would all but stoop to what they understand.

First follow nature, and your judgment frame  
 By her just standard, which is still the same:  
 Unerring nature, still divinely bright,  
 One clear, unchang'd, and universal light,  
 Life, force, and beauty, must to all impart,  
 At once the source, and end, and test, of art.  
 Art from that fund each just supply provides,  
 Works without show,\* and without pomp presides:  
 In some fair body thus th' informing soul  
 With spirits feeds, with vigour fills, the whole;  
 Each motion guides, and ev'ry nerve sustains,  
 Itself unseen, but in th' effects remains.  
 Some, to whom heav'n in wit has been profuse,  
 Want as much more to turn it to its use;  
 For wit and judgment often are at strife,  
 Though meant each other's aid, like man and wife.  
 'Tis more to guide than spur the muses' steed,  
 Restrain his fury than provoke his speed:  
 The winged courser, like a gen'rous horse,  
 Shows most true mettle when you check his course.

Those rules of old, discover'd not devis'd,  
 Are nature still, but nature methodiz'd:  
 Nature, like liberty, is but restrain'd  
 By the same laws which first herself ordain'd.

Hear how learn'd Greece her useful rules indites,  
 When to repress and when indulge our flights:  
 High on Parnassus' top her sons she show'd,  
 And pointed out those arduous paths they trod;  
 Held from afar, aloft, th' immortal prize,  
 And urg'd the rest by equal steps to rise.  
 Just precepts thus from great examples giv'n,  
 She drew from them what they deriv'd from heav'n.  
 The gen'rous critic fann'd the poet's fire,  
 And taught the world with reason to admire.  
 Then criticism the muse's handmaid prov'd,  
 To dress her charms, and make her more belov'd:  
 But following wits from that intention stray'd;  
 Who could not win the mistress woo'd the maid;  
 Against the poets their own arms they turn'd,  
 Sure to hate most the men from whom they learn'd.  
 So modern 'pothecaries taught the art  
 By doctors' bills to play the doctor's part,  
 Bold in the practice of mistaken rules,  
 Prescribe, apply, and call their masters fools.

Some on the leaves of ancient authors prey;  
 Nor time nor moths e'er spoil so much as they:  
 Some dryly plain, without invention's aid,  
 Write dull receipts how poems may be made;  
 These leave the sense their learning to display,  
 And those explain the meaning quite away.

You then whose judgment the right course would  
 steer,

Know well each ancient's proper character;  
 His fable, subject, scope in ev'ry page;  
 Religion, country, genius of his age:  
 Without all these at once before your eyes,  
 Cavil you may, but never criticise.  
 Be Homer's works your study and delight,  
 Read them by day, and meditate by night;  
 Thence form your judgment, thence your maxims  
 bring,

And trace the muses upward to their spring.  
 Still with itself compar'd, his text peruse;  
 And let your comment be the Mantuan muse.

When first young Maro in his boundless mind  
 A work t' outlast immortal Rome design'd,  
 Perhaps he seem'd above the critic's law,  
 And but from nature's fountains scorn'd to draw:

But when t' examine ev'ry part he came,  
 Nature and Homer were, he found, the same.  
 Convinc'd, amaz'd, he checks the bold design,  
 And rules as strict his labour'd work confine  
 As if the Stagirite o'erlook'd each line.  
 Learn hence for ancient rules a just esteem;  
 To copy nature is to copy them.

Some beauties yet no precepts can declare,  
 For there's a happiness as well as care.  
 Music resembles poetry; in each  
 Are nameless graces which no methods teach,  
 And which a master-hand alone can reach.  
 If, where the rules not far enough extend,  
 (Since rules were made but to promote their end)  
 Some lucky license answer to the full  
 Th' intent propos'd, that license is a rule.  
 Thus Pegasus, a nearer way to take,  
 May boldly deviate from the common track.  
 Great wits sometimes may gloriously offend,  
 And rise to faults true critics dare not mend;  
 From vulgar bounds with brave disorder part,  
 And snatch a grace beyond the reach of art,  
 Which, without passing thro' the judgment, gains  
 The heart, and all its end at once attains.

In prospects thus some objects please our eyes,  
 Which out of nature's common order rise,  
 The shapeless rock, or hanging precipice.  
 But though the ancients thus their rules invade,  
 (As kings dispense with laws themselves have made)  
 Moderns, beware! or if you must offend  
 Against the precept, ne'er transgress its end;  
 Let it be seldom, and compell'd by need;  
 And have at least their precedent to plead;  
 The critic else proceeds without remorse,  
 Seizes your fame, and puts his laws in force.

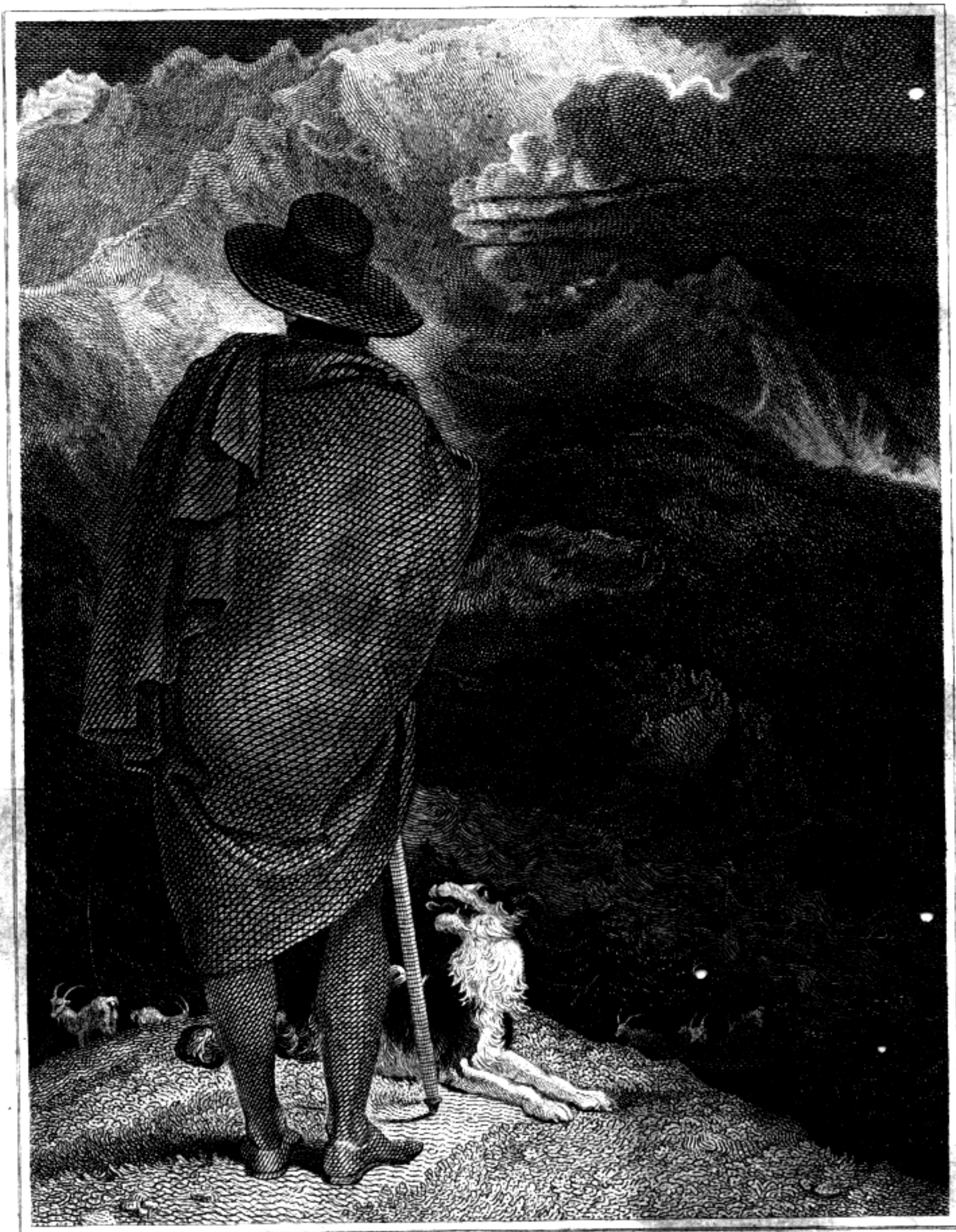
I know there are to whose presumptuous thoughts  
 Those freer beauties, e'en in them, seem faults.  
 Some figures monstrous and mis-shap'd appear,  
 Consider'd singly, or beheld too near,  
 Which, but proportion'd to their light or place,  
 Due distance reconciles to form and grace.  
 A prudent chief not always must display  
 His pow'rs in equal ranks and fair array,  
 But with th' occasion and the place comply,  
 Conceal his force, nay seem sometimes to fly.  
 Those oft are stratagems which errors seem,  
 Nor is it Homer nods, but we that dream.

Still green with bays each ancient altar stands  
 Above the reach of sacrilegious hands,  
 Secure from flames, from envy's fiercer rage,  
 Destructive war, and all-involving age.  
 See from each clime the learn'd their incense bring!  
 Hear in all tongues consenting pæans ring!  
 In praise so just let ev'ry voice be join'd,  
 And fill the gen'ral chorus of mankind.  
 Hail, bards triumphant! born in happier days,  
 Immortal heirs of universal praise!  
 Whose honours with increase of ages grow,  
 As streams roll down, enlarging as they flow;  
 Nations unborn your mighty names shall sound,  
 And worlds applaud that must not yet be found!  
 O may some spark of your celestial fire  
 The last, the meanest, of your sons inspire,  
 (That on weak wings, from far, pursues your flights,  
 Glows while he reads, but trembles as he writes)  
 To teach vain wits a science little known,  
 T' admire superior sense, and doubt their own!



## PART II.

OF all the causes which conspire to blind  
 Man's erring judgment, and misguide the mind,  
 What the weak head with strongest bias rules,  
 Is pride, the never-failing vice of fools.  
 Whatever nature has in worth deny'd  
 She gives in large recruits of needful pride :  
 For as in bodies, thus in souls, we find  
 What wants in blood and spirits swell'd with wind :  
 Pride, where wit fails, steps in to our defence,  
 And fills up all the mighty void of sense :  
 If once right reason drives that cloud away,  
 Truth breaks upon us with resistless day.  
 Trust not yourself; but your defects t<sup>o</sup> know,  
 Make use of ev'ry friend—and ev'ry foe.  
 A little learning is a dang'rous thing;  
 Drink deep, or taste not the Pierian spring:  
 There shallow drafts intoxicate the brain,  
 And drinking largely sobers us again.  
 Fir'd at first sight with what the muse imparts,  
 In fearless youth we tempt the heights of arts,



*Painted by T. Stothard R.A.*

*Engraved by J. A. Fidler.*

*Published 1<sup>st</sup> October 1804 by F. J. Ha Riveray, London.*

While from the bounded level of our mind  
 Short views we take, nor see the lengths behind;  
 But more advanc'd, behold with strange surprise  
 New distant scenes of endless science rise!  
 So pleas'd at first the tow'ring Alps we try,  
 Mount o'er the vales, and seem to tread the sky!  
 Th' eternal snows appear already past,  
 And the first clouds and mountains seem the last:  
 But those attain'd, we tremble to survey  
 The growing labours of the lengthen'd way;  
 Th' increasing prospect tires our wand'ring eyes,  
 Hills peep o'er hills, and Alps on Alps arise!

A perfect judge will read each work of wit  
 With the same spirit that its author writ;  
 Survey the whole, nor seek slight faults to find  
 Where nature moves, and rapture warms the mind;  
 Nor lose, for that malignant dull delight,  
 The gen'rous pleasure to be charm'd with wit.  
 But in such lays as neither ebb nor flow,  
 Correctly cold, and regularly low,  
 That shunning faults one quiet tenor keep,  
 We cannot blame indeed—but we may sleep.  
 In wit, as nature, what affects our hearts  
 Is not th' exactness of peculiar parts;

'Tis not a lip, or eye, we beauty call,  
 But the joint force and full result of all.  
 Thus when we view some well-proportion'd dome,  
 (The world's just wonder, and e'en thine, O Rome!)  
 No single parts unequally surprise,  
 All comes united to th' admiring eyes;  
 No monstrous height, or breadth, or length, appear;  
 The whole at once is bold and regular.

Whoever thinks a faultless piece to see,  
 Thinks what ne'er was, nor is, nor e'er shall be.  
 In ev'ry work regard the writer's end,  
 Since none can compass more than they intend;  
 And if the means be just, the conduct true,  
 Applause, in spite of trivial faults, is due.  
 As men of breeding, sometimes men of wit,  
 T' avoid great errors must the less commit;  
 Neglect the rules each verbal critic lays,  
 For not to know some trifles is a praise.  
 Most critics, fond of some subservient art,  
 Still make the whole depend upon a part:  
 They talk of principles, but notions prize,  
 And all to one lov'd folly sacrifice.

Once on a time La Mancha's Knight, they say,  
 A certain bard encount'ring on the way,

Discours'd in terms as just, with looks as sage,  
 As e'er could Dennis of the Grecian stage,  
 Concluding all were desp'rate sots and fools  
 Who durst depart from Aristotle's rules.  
 Our author, happy in a judge so nice,  
 Produc'd his play, and begg'd the knight's advice;  
 Made him observe the subject and the plot,  
 The manners, passions, unities; what not?  
 All which exact to rule were brought about,  
 Were but a combat in the lists left out.  
 'What! leave the combat out?' exclaims the knight.  
 'Yes, or we must renounce the Stagirite.'  
 'Not so, by heav'n! (he answers in a rage)  
 'Knights, squires, and steeds, must enter on the  
 stage.'

• 'So vast a throng the stage can ne'er contain.'  
 'Then build a new, or act it on a plain.'

Thus critics of less judgment than caprice,  
 Curious, not knowing, not exact, but nice,  
 Form short ideas, and offend in arts  
 (As most in manners) by a love to parts.

Some to conceit alone their taste confine,  
 And glitt'ring thoughts struck out at ev'ry line;



Pleas'd with a work where nothing's just or fit,  
 One glaring chaos and wild heap of wit.  
 Poets, like painters, thus unskill'd to trace  
 The naked nature and the living grace,  
 With gold and jewels cover ev'ry part,  
 And hide with ornaments their want of art.  
 True wit is nature to advantage dress'd,  
 What oft was thought, but ne'er so well express'd;  
 Something whose truth convinc'd at sight we find,  
 That gives us back the image of our mind.  
 As shades more sweetly recommend the light,  
 So modest plainness sets off sprightly wit:  
 For works may have more wit than does 'em good,  
 As bodies perish through excess of blood.

Others for language all their care express,  
 And value books, as women men, for dress:  
 Their praise is still—the style is excellent;  
 The sense they humbly take upon content.  
 Words are like leaves; and where they most abound,  
 Much fruit of sense beneath is rarely found.  
 False eloquence, like the prismatic glass,  
 Its gaudy colours spreads on ev'ry place;  
 The face of nature we no more survey,  
 All glares alike, without distinction gay;

But true expression, like th' unchanging sun,  
 Clears and improves whate'er it shines upon;  
 It gilds all objects, but it alters none.  
 Expression is the dress of thought, and still  
 Appears more decent as more suitable.  
 A vile conceit in pompous words express'd  
 Is like a clown in regal purple dress'd:  
 For diff'rent styles with diff'rent subjects sort,  
 As sev'ral garbs with country, town, and court.  
 Some by old words to fame have made pretence,  
 Ancients in phrase, mere moderns in their sense;  
 Such labour'd nothings, in so strange a style,  
 Amaze th' unlearn'd, and make the learned smile.  
 Unlucky as Fungoso in the play,  
 These sparks with awkward vanity display  
 What the fine gentleman wore yesterday;  
 And but so mimic ancient wits at best,  
 As apes our grandsires in their doublets drest.  
 In words as fashions the same rule will hold,  
 Alike fantastic if too new or old:  
 Be not the first by whom the new are try'd,  
 Nor yet the last to lay the old aside.

But most by numbers judge a poet's song,  
 And smooth or rough with them is right or wrong:

In the bright muse tho' thousand charms conspire,  
 Her voice is all these tuneful fools admire;  
 Who haunt Parnassus but to please their ear,  
 Not mend their minds, as some to church repair  
 Not for the doctrine but the music there.  
 These equal syllables alone require,  
 Though oft the ear the open vowels tire,  
 While expletives their feeble aid do join,  
 And ten low words oft creep in one dull line:  
 While they ring round the same unvaried chimes,  
 With sure returns of still expected rhymes;  
 Where'er you find ' the cooling western breeze,'  
 In the next line, it ' whispers through the trees;'  
 If crystal streams ' with pleasing murmurs creep,'  
 The reader's threaten'd (not in vain) with ' sleep;'  
 Then, at the last and only couplet fraught  
 With some unmeaning thing they call a thought,  
 A needless Alexandrine ends the song,  
 That, like a wounded snake, drags its slow length  
 along.

Leave such to tune their own dull rhymes, and know  
 What's roundly smooth, or languishingly slow,  
 And praise the easy vigour of a line  
 Where Denham's strength and Waller's sweetness join.



True ease in writing comes from art, not chance,  
 As those move easiest who have learn'd to dance.  
 'Tis not enough no harshness gives offence;  
 The sound must seem an echo to the sense.  
 Soft is the strain when zephyr gently blows,  
 And the smooth stream in smoother numbers flows;  
 But when loud surges lash the sounding shore,  
 The hoarse rough verse should like the torrent roar.  
 When Ajax strives some rock's vast weight to throw,  
 The line too labours, and the words move slow:  
 Not so when swift Camilla scours the plain,  
 Flies o'er th' unbending corn, and skims along the  
     main.

Hear how 'Timotheus' vary'd lays surprise,  
 And bid alternate passions fall and rise!  
 •While at each change the son of Lybian Jove  
 Now burns with glory, and then melts with love;  
 Now his fierce eyes with sparkling fury glow,  
 Now sighs steal out, and tears begin to flow:  
 Persians and Greeks like turns of nature found,  
 And the world's victor stood subdu'd by sound!  
 The pow'r of music all our hearts allow,  
 And what Timotheus was is Dryden now.

Avoid extremes, and shun the fault of such  
 Who still are pleas'd too little or too much.  
 At ev'ry trifle scorn to take offence;  
 That always shews great pride or little sense:  
 Those heads, as stomachs, are not sure the best  
 Which nauseate all, and nothing can digest.  
 Yet let not each gay turn thy rapture move;  
 For fools admire, but men of sense approve:  
 As things seem large which we thro' mists descry,  
 Dulness is ever apt to magnify.

Some foreign writers, some our own despise;  
 The ancients only, or the moderns prize.  
 Thus wit, like faith, by each man is apply'd  
 To one small sect, and all are damn'd beside.  
 Meanly they seek the blessing to confine,  
 And force that sun but on a part to shine,  
 Which not alone the southern wit sublimed,  
 But ripens spirits in cold northern climes;  
 Which from the first has shone on ages past,  
 Enlightens the present, and shall warm the last;  
 Though each may feel increases and decays,  
 And see now clearer and now darker days.  
 Regard not then if wit be old or new,  
 But blame the false, and value still the true.

Some ne'er advance a judgment of their own,  
 But catch the spreading notion of the town;  
 They reason and conclude by precedent,  
 And own stale nonsense which they ne'er invent.  
 Some judge of authors' names, not works, and then  
 Nor praise nor blame the writings, but the men.  
 Of all this servile herd, the worst is he  
 That in proud dulness joins with quality;  
 A constant critic at the great man's board,  
 To fetch and carry nonsense for my lord.  
 What woeful stuff this madrigal would be  
 In some starv'd hackney sonneteer or me!  
 But let a lord once own the happy lines,  
 How the wit brightens! how the style refines!  
 Before his sacred name flies ev'ry fault,  
 And each exalted stanza teems with thought!

The vulgar thus through imitation err;  
 As oft the learn'd by being singular;  
 So much they scorn the crowd, that if the throng  
 By chance go right, they purposely go wrong.  
 So schismatics the plain believers quit,  
 And are but damn'd for having too much wit.  
 Some praise at morning what they blame at night,  
 But always think the last opinion right.

A muse by these is like a mistress us'd,  
 This hour she's idoliz'd, the next abus'd;  
 While their weak heads, like towns unfortify'd,  
 'Twixt sense and nonsense daily change their side.  
 Ask them the cause; they're wiser still they say;  
 And still to-morrow's wiser than to-day.  
 We think our fathers fools, so wise we grow;  
 Our wiser sons no doubt will think us so.  
 Once school-divines this zealous isle o'erspread;  
 Who knew most sentences was deepest read:  
 Faith, gospel, all seem'd made to be disputed,  
 And none had sense enough to be confuted.  
 Scotists and Thomists now in peace remain  
 Amidst their kindred cobwebs in Duck-lane.  
 If faith itself has diff'rent dresses worn,  
 What wonder modes in wit should take their turn?  
 Oft leaving what is natural and fit,  
 The current folly proves the ready wit;  
 And authors think their reputation safe,  
 Which lives as long as fools are pleas'd to laugh.

Some, valuing those of their own side or mind,  
 Still make themselves the measure of mankind:  
 Fondly we think we honour merit then,  
 When we but praise ourselves in other men.

Parties in wit attend on those of state,  
 And public faction doubles private hate.  
 Pride, malice, folly, against Dryden rose,  
 In various shapes of parsons, critics, beaux;  
 But sense surviv'd when merry jests were past;  
 For rising merit will buoy up at last.  
 Might he return and bless once more our eyes,  
 New Blackmores and new Milbourns must arise:  
 Nay, should great Homer lift his awful head,  
 Zoilus again would start up from the dead.  
 Envy will merit as its shade pursue,  
 But like a shadow proves the substance true;  
 For envy'd wit, like Sol eclips'd, makes known  
 Th' opposing body's grossness, not its own.  
 When first that sun too pow'rful beams displays,  
 • It draws up vapours which obscure its rays;  
 But e'en those clouds at last adorn its way,  
 Reflect new glories, and augment the day.

Be thou the first true merit to befriend;  
 His praise is lost who stays till all commend.  
 Short is the date, alas! of modern rhymes,  
 And 'tis but just to let them live betimes.  
 No longer now that golden age appears,  
 When patriarch-wits surviv'd a thousand years:

Now length of fame (our second life) is lost,  
 And bare threescore is all e'en that can boast:  
 Our sons their fathers' failing language see,  
 And such as Chaucer is shall Dryden be.  
 So when the faithful pencil has design'd  
 Some bright idea of the master's mind,  
 Where a new world leaps out at his command,  
 And ready nature waits upon his hand;  
 When the ripe colours soften and unite,  
 And sweetly melt into just shade and light;  
 When mellowing years their full perfection give,  
 And each bold figure just begins to live,  
 The treach'rous colours the fair art betray,  
 And all the bright creation fades away!

Unhappy wit, like most mistaken things,  
 Atones not for that envy which it brings:  
 In youth alone its empty praise we boast,  
 But soon the short-liv'd vanity is lost;  
 Like some fair flow'r the early spring supplies,  
 That gaily blooms, but e'en in blooming dies.  
 What is this wit, which must our cares employ?  
 The owner's wife that other men enjoy;  
 Then most our trouble still when most admir'd,  
 And still the more we give the more requir'd;

Whose fame with pains we guard, but lose with ease,  
 Sure some to vex, but never all to please;  
 'Tis what the vicious fear, the virtuous shun;  
 By fools 'tis hated, and by knaves undone!

If wit so much from ign'rance undergo,  
 Ah let not learning too commence its foe!  
 Of old those met rewards who could excel,  
 And such were prais'd who but endeavour'd well:  
 Though triumphs were to gen'als only due,  
 Crowns were reserv'd to grace the soldiers too.  
 Now they who reach Parnassus' lofty crown  
 Employ their pains to spurn some others down;  
 And while self-love each jealous writer rules,  
 Contending wits become the sport of fools;  
 But still the worst with most regret commend,  
 • For each ill author is as bad a friend.

To what base ends, and by what abject ways,  
 Are mortals urg'd through sacred lust of praise!  
 Ah! ne'er so dire a thirst of glory boast,  
 Nor in the critic let the man be lost.  
 Good nature and good sense must ever join;  
 To err is human, to forgive divine.

But if in noble minds some dregs remain,  
 Not yet purg'd off, of spleen and sour disdain,

Discharge that rage on more provoking crimes,  
 Nor fear a dearth in these flagitious times.  
 No pardon vile obscenity should find,  
 Though wit and art conspire to move your mind;  
 But dulness with obscenity must prove  
 As shameful sure as impotence in love.  
 In the fat age of pleasure, wealth, and ease,  
 Sprang the rank weed, and thriv'd with large increase:  
 When love was all an easy monarch's care;  
 Seldom at council, never in a war;  
 Jilts rul'd the state, and statesmen farces writ;  
 Nay wits had pensions, and young lords had wit;  
 The fair sat panting at a courtier's play,  
 And not a mask went unimprov'd away;  
 The modest fan was lifted up no more,  
 And virgins smil'd at what they blush'd before.  
 The foll'wing license of a foreign reign  
 Did all the dregs of bold Socinus drain;  
 Then unbelieving priests reform'd the nation,  
 And taught more pleasant methods of salvation;  
 Where heav'n's free subjects might their rights  
     dispute,  
 Lest God himself should seem too absolute:



Pulpits their sacred satire learn'd to spare,  
And vice admir'd to find a flatt'rer there!  
Encourag'd thus, wit's Titans brav'd the skies,  
And the press groan'd with licens'd blasphemies.  
These monsters, critics! with your darts engage,  
Here point your thunder, and exhaust your rage!  
Yet shun their fault, who, scandalously nice,  
Will needs mistake an author into vice:  
All seems infected that th'infected spy,  
As all looks yellow to the jaundic'd eye.

## PART III.

LEARN then what morals critics ought to show,  
For 'tis but half a judge's task to know.

'Tis not enough taste, judgment, learning, join;  
In all you speak let truth and candour shine;  
That not alone what to your sense is due  
All may allow, but seek your friendship too.

Be silent always when you doubt your sense,  
And speak, though sure, with seeming diffidence;  
Some positive persisting fops we know,  
Who if once wrong will needs be always so;  
But you with pleasure own your errors past,  
And make each day a critique on the last.

'Tis not enough your counsel still be true;  
Blunt truths more mischief than nice falsehoods do:  
Men must be taught as if you taught them not,  
And things unknown propos'd as things forgot.  
Without good breeding truth is disapprov'd;  
That only makes superior sense belov'd.

Be niggards of advice on no pretence,  
For the worst avarice is that of sense.

With mean complacence ne'er betray your trust,  
Nor be so civil as to prove unjust.

Fear not the anger of the wise to raise;  
Those best can bear reproof who merit praise.

'Twere well might critics still this freedom take,  
But Appius reddens at each word you speak,  
And stares tremendous, with a threat'ning eye,  
Like some fierce tyrant in old tapestry.

Fear most to tax an honourable fool,  
Whose right it is, uncensur'd, to be dull:  
Such, without wit, are poets when they please,  
As without learning they can take degrees.  
Leave dang'rous truths to unsuccessful satires,  
And flattery to fulsome dedicators;  
Whom, when they praise, the world believes no more  
Than when they promise to give scribbling o'er.  
'Tis best sometimes your censure to restrain,  
And charitably let the dull be vain;  
Your silence there is better than your spite,  
For who can rail so long as they can write?  
Still humming on their drowsy course they keep,  
And lash'd so long, like tops, are lash'd asleep.  
False steps but help them to renew the race,

As often stumbling in the way, they fall.

What crowds of these, impenitently bold,  
 In sounds and jingling syllables grown old,  
 Still run on poets, in a raging vein,  
 E'en to the dregs and squeezings of the brain,  
 Strain out the last dull droppings of their sense,  
 And rhyme with all the rage of impotence!

Such shameless bards we have; and yet 'tis true  
 There are as mad abandon'd critics too.  
 The bookful blockhead, ignorantly read,  
 With loads of learned lumber in his head,  
 With his own tongue still edifies his ears,  
 And always list'ning to himself appears.  
 All books he reads, and all he reads assails,  
 From Dryden's fables down to Durfey's tales.  
 With him most authors steal their works, or buy;  
 Garth did not write his own Dispensary.  
 Name a new play, and he's the poet's friend;  
 Nay, show'd his faults—but when would poets mend?  
 No place so sacred from such fops is barr'd,  
 Nor is Paul's church more safe than Paul's church-  
 yard:

Nay, fly to altars; there they'll talk-you dead;  
 For fools rush in where angels fear to tread.

Distrustful sense with modest caution speaks,  
 It still looks home, and short excursions makes;  
 But rattling nonsense in full vollies breaks,  
 And never shock'd, and never turn'd aside,  
 Bursts out, resistless, with a thund'ring tide.

But where's the man who counsel can bestow,  
 Still pleas'd to teach, and yet not proud to know?  
 Unbiass'd or by favour or by spite,  
 Not dully prepossess'd nor blindly right;  
 Tho' learn'd well-bred, and tho' well-bred sincere;  
 Modestly bold, and humanely severe;  
 Who to a friend his faults can freely show,  
 And gladly praise the merit of a foe?  
 Bless'd with a taste exact, yet unconfin'd,  
 A knowledge both of books and human kind;  
 Gen'rous converse; a soul exempt from pride;  
 And love to praise, with reason on his side?

Such once were critics; such the happy few  
 Athens and Rome in better ages knew.  
 The mighty Stagirite first left the shore,  
 Spread all his sails, and durst the deeps explore;  
 He steer'd securely, and discover'd far,  
 Led by the light of the Mæonian star.

Poets, a race long unconfin'd and free,  
 Still fond and proud of savage liberty,  
 Receiv'd his laws, and stood convinc'd 'twas fit  
 Who conquer'd nature should preside o'er wit.

Horace still charms with graceful negligence,  
 And without method talks us into sense;  
 Will, like a friend, familiarly convey  
 The truest notions in the easiest way.  
 He who, supreme in judgment as in wit,  
 Might boldly censure as he boldly writ,  
 Yet judg'd with coolness, though he sung with fire;  
 His precepts teach but what his works inspire.  
 Our critics take a contrary extreme,  
 They judge with fury, but they write with phlegm:  
 Nor suffers Horace more in wrong translations  
 By wits, than critics in as wrong quotations.

See Dionysius Homer's thoughts refine,  
 And call new beauties forth from ev'ry line!

Fancy and art in gay Petronius please,  
 The scholar's learning with the courtier's ease.

In grave Quintilian's copious work we find  
 The justest rules and clearest method join'd.  
 Thus useful arms in magazines we place,  
 All rang'd in order, and dispos'd with grace;

But less to please the eye than arm the hand,  
Still fit for use, and ready at command.

Thee, bold Longinus! all the nine inspire,  
And bless their critic with a poet's fire :  
An ardent judge, who, zealous in his trust,  
With warmth gives sentence, yet is always just ;  
Whose own example strengthens all his laws,  
And is himself that great sublime he draws.

Thus long succeeding critics justly reign'd,  
License repress'd, and useful laws ordain'd :  
Learning and Rome alike in empire grew,  
And arts still follow'd where her eagles flew ;  
From the same foes at last both felt their doom,  
And the same age saw learning fall and Rome.  
With tyranny then superstition join'd,  
-As that the body, this enslav'd the mind ;  
Much was believ'd, but little understood,  
And to be dull was constru'd to be good :  
A second deluge learning thus o'er-ran,  
And the monks finish'd what the Goths began.

At length Erasmus, that great injur'd name,  
(The glory of the priesthood, and the shame!)  
Stemm'd the wild torrent of a barb'rous age,  
And drove those holy Vandals off the stage.

But see! each muse in Leo's golden days  
 Starts from her trance, and trims her wither'd bays;  
 Rome's ancient genius, o'er its ruins spread,  
 Shakes off the dust, and rears his rev'rend head.  
 Then sculpture and her sister arts revive;  
 Stones leap'd to form, and rocks began to live;  
 With sweeter notes each rising temple rung;  
 A Raphael painted, and a Vida sung:  
 Immortal Vida! on whose honour'd brow  
 The poet's bays and critic's ivy grow!  
 Cremona now shall ever boast thy name,  
 As next in place to Mantua, next in fame!

But soon by impious arms from Latium chac'd,  
 Their ancient bounds the banish'd muses pass'd:  
 Thence arts o'er all the northern world advance,  
 But critic learning flourish'd most in France;  
 The rules a nation born to serve obeys,  
 And Boileau still in right of Horace sways.  
 But we, brave Britons, foreign laws despis'd,  
 And kept unconquer'd and unciviliz'd;  
 Fierce for the liberties of wit, and bold,  
 We still defy'd the Romans, as of old.  
 Yet some there were, among the sounder few  
 Of those who less presum'd and better knew,



Who durst assert the juster ancient cause,

And here restor'd wit's fundamental laws.

Such was the muse, whose rules and practice tell

'Nature's chief masterpiece is writing well.'

Such was Roscommon, not more learn'd than good,

With manners gen'rous as his noble blood;

To him the wit of Greece and Rome was known,

And ev'ry author's merit but his own.

Such late was Walsh—the muse's judge and friend,

Who justly knew to blame or to commend;

To failings mild, but zealous for desert,

The clearest head, and the sincerest heart.

This humble praise, lamented shade! receive;

This praise at least a grateful muse may give:

The muse whose early voice you taught to sing,

Prescrib'd her heights, and prun'd her tender wing,

(Her guide now lost) no more attempts to rise,

But in low numbers short excursions tries;

Content if hence th' unlearn'd their wants may view,

The learn'd reflect on what before they knew:

Careless of censure, nor too fond of fame;

Still pleas'd to praise, yet not afraid to blame;

Averse alike to flatter or offend;

Not free from faults, nor yet too vain to mend.



AN  
ESSAY ON MAN,

IN FOUR EPISTLES.

TO H. ST. JOHN, LORD BOLINGBROKE.



## THE DESIGN.

HAVING proposed to write some pieces on human life and manners, such as (to use my lord Bacon's expression) 'come home to men's business and bosoms,' I thought it more satisfactory to begin with considering man in the abstract, his nature and his state; since to prove any moral duty, to enforce any moral precept, or to examine the perfection or imperfection of any creature whatsoever, it is necessary first to know what condition and relation it is placed in, and what is the proper end and purpose of its being.

The science of human nature is, like all other sciences, reduced to a few clear points: there are not many certain truths in this world. It is therefore in the anatomy of the mind, as in that of the body; more good will accrue to mankind by attending to the large, open, and perceptible parts, than by studying too much such finer nerves and vessels, the conformations and uses

of which will for ever escape our observation. The disputes are all upon these last; and, I will venture to say, they have less sharpened the wits than the hearts of men against each other, and have diminished the practice more than advanced the theory of morality. If I could flatter myself that this essay has any merit, it is in steering betwixt the extremes of doctrines seemingly opposite, in passing over terms utterly unintelligible, and in forming a temperate, yet not inconsistent, and a short, yet not imperfect, system of ethics.

This I might have done in prose; but I chose verse, and even rhyme, for two reasons. The one will appear obvious; that principles, maxims, or precepts, so written, both strike the reader more strongly at first, and are more easily retained by him afterwards: the other may seem odd, but it is true: I found I could express them more shortly this way than in prose itself; and nothing is more certain, than that much of the force as well as grace of arguments or instructions depends on their conciseness. I was un-

able to treat this part of my subject more in detail without becoming dry and tedious, or more poetically without sacrificing perspicuity to ornament, without wandering from the precision, or breaking the chain of reasoning. If any man can unite all these without diminution of any of them, I freely confess he will compass a thing above my capacity.

What is now published is only to be considered as a general map of man, marking out no more than the greater parts, their extent, their limits, and their connexion, but leaving the particular to be more fully delineated in the charts which are to follow: consequently these epistles in their progress (if I have health and leisure to make any progress) will be less dry, and more susceptible of poetical ornament. I am here only opening the fountains, and clearing the passage: to deduce the rivers, to follow them in their course, and to observe their effects, may be a task more agreeable.





# EPISTLE I.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN, WITH  
RESPECT TO THE UNIVERSE.

## THE ARGUMENT.

**Of Man in the abstract.** I. That we can judge only with regard to our own system, being ignorant of the relations of systems and things, v. 17, &c. II. That man is not to be deemed imperfect, but a being suited to his place and rank in the creation, agreeable to the general order of things, and conformable to ends and relations to him unknown, v. 35, &c. III. That it is partly upon his ignorance of future events, and partly upon the hope of a future state, that all his happiness in the present depends, v. 77, &c. IV. The pride of aiming at more knowledge, and pretending to more perfection, the cause of man's error and misery. The impiety of putting himself in the place of God, and judging of the fitness or unfitness, perfection or imperfection, justice or injustice, of his dispensations, v. 113, &c. V. The absurdity of conceiving himself the final cause of the creation, or expecting that perfection in the moral world which is not in the natural, v. 131, &c. VI. The unreasonableness of his complaints against Providence, while, on the one hand, he demands the perfections of the angels, and, on the other, the bodily qualifications of the brutes; though to possess any of the sensitive faculties in a higher degree would render him miserable, v. 173, &c. VII. That throughout the whole visible world an universal order and gradation in the sensual and mental faculties is observed, which causes a subordination of creature to creature, and of all creatures to man. The gradations of sense, instinct, thought, reflection, reason: that reason alone countervails all the other faculties, v. 207. VIII. How much further this order and subordination of living creatures may extend above and below us; were any part of which broken, not that part only, but the whole connected creation, must be destroyed, v. 233. IX. The extravagance, madness, and pride, of such a desire, v. 259. X. The consequence of all, the absolute submission due to Providence, both as to our present and future state, v. 281, to the end.

## EPISTLE I.

AWAKE, my St. John! leave all meaner things  
To low ambition and the pride of kings.  
Let us (since life can little more supply  
Than just to look about us and to die)  
Expatiate free o'er all this scene of man;  
A mighty maze! but not without a plan;  
A wild where weeds and flow'rs promiscuous shoot,  
Or garden tempting with forbidden fruit.  
Together let us beat this ample field,  
Try what the open, what the covert yield;  
The latent tracts, the giddy heights, explore  
Of all who blindly creep or sightless soar;  
Eye nature's walks, shoot folly as it flies,  
And catch the manners living as they rise;  
Laugh where we must, be candid where we can,  
But vindicate the ways of God to man.

I. Say first, of God above or man below  
What can we reason but from what we know?

Of man what see we but his station here,  
 From which to reason or to which refer?  
 Thro' worlds unnumber'd tho' the God be known,  
 'Tis ours to trace him only in our own.  
 He who through vast immensity can pierce,  
 See worlds on worlds compose one universe,  
 Observe how system into system runs,  
 What other planets circle other suns,  
 What vary'd being peoples ev'ry star,  
 May tell why heav'n has made us as we are:  
 But of this frame, the bearings and the ties,  
 The strong connexions, nice dependencies,  
 Gradations just, has thy pervading soul  
 Look'd through; or can a part contain the whole?

Is the great chain that draws all to agree,  
 And drawn supports, upheld by God or thee?

II. Presumptuous man! the reason wouldst  
 thou find

Why form'd so weak, so little, and so blind?

First, if thou canst, the harder reason guess

Why form'd no weaker, blinder, and no less?

Ask of thy mother earth why oaks are made

Taller or stronger than the weeds they shade!

Or ask of yonder argent fields above  
Why Jove's satellites are less than Jove!

Of systems possible, if 'tis confest  
That wisdom infinite must form the best,  
Where all must full or not coherent be,  
And all that rises rise in due degree;  
Then in the scale of reas'ning life 'tis plain  
There must be, somewhere, such a rank as man;  
And all the question (wrangle e'er so long)  
Is only this, If God has plac'd him wrong?

Respecting man, whatever wrong we call,  
May, must be right, as relative to all.  
In human works, though labour'd on with pain,  
A thousand movements scarce one purpose gain;  
In God's one single can its end produce,  
Yet serves to second too some other use:  
So man, who here seems principal alone,  
Perhaps acts second to some sphere unknown,  
Touches some wheel, or verges to some goal:  
'Tis but a part we see, and not a whole.

When the proud steed shall know why man re-  
strains  
His fiery course, or drives him o'er the plains;

When the dull ox why now he breaks the clod,  
 Is now a victim, and now Egypt's god;  
 Then shall man's pride and dulness comprehend  
 His actions', passions', being's, use and end;  
 Why doing, suff'ring, check'd, impell'd; and why  
 This hour a slave, the next a deity.

Then say not man's imperfect, heav'n in fault;  
 Say rather man's as perfect as he ought;  
 His knowledge measur'd to his state and place,  
 His time a moment, and a point his space.  
 If to be perfect in a certain sphere,  
 What matter soon or late, or here or there?  
 The blest to-day is as completely so  
 As who began a thousand years ago.

III. Heav'n from all creatures hides the book  
 of fate,

All but the page prescrib'd, their present state:  
 From brutes what men, from men what spirits know;  
 Or who could suffer being here below?  
 The lamb thy riot dooms to bleed to-day,  
 Had he thy reason would he skip and play?  
 Pleas'd to the last he crops the flow'ry food,  
 And licks the hand just rais'd to shed his blood

O blindness to the future! kindly giv'n,  
 That each may fill the circle mark'd by heav'n;  
 Who sees with equal eye, as God of all,  
 A hero perish or a sparrow fall,  
 Atom or systems into ruin hurl'd,  
 And now a bubble burst, and now a world.

Hope humbly then; with trembling pinions soar;  
 Wait the great teacher death; and God adore.  
 What future bliss he gives not thee to know,  
 But gives that hope to be thy blessing now.  
 Hope springs eternal in the human breast:  
 Man never is but always to be blest.  
 The soul, uneasy and confin'd from home,  
 Rests and expatiates in a life to come.

Lo, the poor Indian! whose untutor'd mind  
 Sees God in clouds, or hears him in the wind;  
 His soul proud science never taught to stray  
 Far as the solar walk or milky way;  
 Yet simple nature to his hope has giv'n,  
 Behind the cloud-topp'd hill, an humbler heav'n;  
 Some safer world in depth of woods embrac'd,  
 Some happier island in the wat'ry waste,  
 Where slaves once more their native land behold,  
 No fiends torment, no Christians thirst for gold.

To be contents his natural desire;  
 He asks no angel's wing, no seraph's fire;  
 But thinks, admitted to that equal sky,  
 His faithful dog shall bear him company.

IV. Go, wiser thou! and in thy scale of sense  
 Weigh thy opinion against Providence;  
 Call imperfection what thou fancy'st such;  
 Say here he gives too little, there too much;  
 Destroy all creatures for thy sport or gust,  
 Yet cry, if man's unhappy, God's unjust;  
 If man alone engross not heav'n's high care,  
 Alone made perfect here, immortal there;  
 Snatch from his hand the balance and the rod,  
 Rejudge his justice, be the god of God.  
 In pride, in reas'ning pride, our error lies;  
 All quit their sphere, and rush into the skies.  
 Pride still is aiming at the bless'd abodes,  
 Men would be angels, angels would be gods.  
 Aspiring to be gods if angels fell,  
 Aspiring to be angels men rebel:  
 And who but wishes to invert the laws  
 Of order, sins against th' Eternal Cause.

V. Ask for what end the heav'nly bodies shine,  
 Earth for whose use? Pride answers, 'Tis for mine:



For me kind nature wakes her genial pow'r,  
 Suckles each herb and spreads out ev'ry flow'r;  
 Annual for me the grape, the rose, renew  
 The juice nectareous and the balmy dew;  
 For me the mine a thousand treasures brings;  
 For me health gushes from a thousand springs;  
 Seas roll to waft me, suns to light me rise;  
 My footstool earth, my canopy the skies.'

But errs not nature from this gracious end,  
 From burning suns when livid deaths descend,  
 When earthquakes swallow, or when tempests sweep  
 Towns to one grave, whole nations to the deep?  
 'No ('tis reply'd) the first Almighty Cause  
 Acts not by partial but by gen'ral laws;  
 Th' exceptions few; some change since all began;  
 And what created perfect?'—Why then man?  
 If the great end be human happiness,  
 Then nature deviates; and can man do less?  
 As much that end a constant course requires  
 Of show'rs and sunshine as of man's desires;  
 As much eternal springs and cloudless skies,  
 As men for ever temp'rate, calm, and wise.  
 If plagues or earthquakes break not heav'n's design,  
 Why then a Borgia or a Catiline?

Who knows but he, whose hand the lightning forms,  
 Who heaves old ocean, and who wings the storms,  
 Pours fierce ambition in a Cæsar's mind,  
 Or turns young Ammon loose to scourge mankind?  
 From pride, from pride, our very reas'ning springs;  
 Account for moral as for nat'ral things:  
 Why charge we heav'n in those, in these acquit?  
 In both to reason right is to submit.

Better for us, perhaps, it might appear,  
 Were there all harmony, all virtue here;  
 That never air or ocean felt the wind,  
 That never passion discompos'd the mind:  
 But all subsists by elemental strife;  
 And passions are the elements of life.  
 The gen'ral order, since the whole began  
 Is kept in nature, and is kept in man.

VI. What would this man? Now upward will  
 he soar,

And little less than angel, would be more;  
 Now looking downwards, just as griev'd appears  
 To want the strength of bulls, the fur of bears,  
 Made for his use all creatures if he call,  
 Say what their use had he the pow'rs of all?

Nature to these without profusion kind,  
 The proper organs, proper pow'rs assign'd;  
 Each seeming want compensated of course,  
 Here with degrees of swiftness, there of force;  
 All in exact proportion to the state;  
 Nothing to add, and nothing to abate.  
 Each beast, each insect, happy in its own:  
 Is heav'n unkind to man, and man alone?  
 Shall he alone, whom rational we call,  
 Be pleas'd with nothing if not bless'd with all?

The bliss of man (could pride that blessing find)  
 Is not to act or think beyond mankind;  
 No pow'rs of body or of soul to share,  
 But what his nature and his state can bear.  
 Why has not man a microscopic eye?  
 For this plain reason, man is not a fly.  
 Say what the use were finer optics giv'n,  
 T' inspect a mite, not comprehend the heav'n?  
 Or touch, if tremblingly alive all o'er,  
 To smart and agonize at ev'ry pore?  
 Or quick effluvia darting through the brain,  
 Die of a rose in aromatic pain?  
 If nature thunder'd in his op'ning ears,  
 And stunn'd him with the music of the spheres,

How would he wish that heav'n had left him still!  
 The whisp'ring zephyr and the purling rill?  
 Who finds not Providence all good and wise,  
 Alike in what it gives and what denies?

VII. Far as creation's ample range extends  
 The scale of sensual, mental, pow'rs ascends:  
 Mark how it mounts to man's imperial race  
 From the green myriads in the peopled grass:  
 What modes of sight betwixt each wide extreme,  
 The mole's dim curtain and the lynx's beam?  
 Of smell, the headlong lioness between  
 And hound sagacious on the tainted green?  
 Of hearing, from the life that fills the flood  
 To that which warbles through the vernal wood?  
 The spider's touch how exquisitely fine!  
 Feels at each thread, and lives along the line:  
 In the nice bee what sense so subtly true,  
 From pois'nous herbs extracts the healing dew!  
 How instinct varies in the grov'ling swine,  
 Compar'd, half-reas'ning elephant, with thine!  
 'Twixt that and reason what a nice barrier!  
 For ever sep'rate, yet for ever near!  
 Remembrance and reflection how ally'd!  
 What thin partitions sense from thought divide!

And middle natures how they long to join,  
Yet never pass th' insuperable line!

Without this just gradation could they be  
Subjected these to those, or all to thee?  
The pow'rs of all subdu'd by thee alone,  
Is not thy reason all these pow'rs in one?

VIII. See thro' this air, this ocean, and this earth,  
All matter quick, and bursting into birth!  
Above, how high progressive life may go!  
Around, how wide! how deep extend below!  
Vast chain of being! which from God began;  
Natures ethereal, human, angel, man,  
Beast, bird, fish, insect, what no eye can see,  
No glass can reach; from infinite to thee;  
From thee to nothing—On superior pow'rs  
Were we to press, inferior might on ours;  
Or in the full creation leave a void,  
Where, one step broken, the great scale's destroy'd:  
From nature's chain whatever link you strike,  
Tenth, or ten thousandth, breaks the chain alike.

And if each system in gradation roll,  
Alike essential to th' amazing whole,  
The least confusion but in one, not all

Let earth unbalanc'd from her orbit fly,  
 Planets and suns run lawless through the sky;  
 Let ruling angels from their spheres be hurl'd,  
 Being on being wreck'd, and world on world;  
 Heav'n's whole foundations to their centre nod,  
 And nature tremble to the throne of God.  
 All this dread order break—for whom? for thee?  
 Vile worm!—O madness! pride! impiety!

IX. What if the foot, ordain'd the dust to tread,  
 Or hand to toil, aspir'd to be the head?  
 What if the head, the eye, or ear, repin'd  
 To serve mere engines to the ruling mind?  
 Just as absurd for any part to claim  
 To be another in this gen'ral frame;  
 Just as absurd to mourn the tasks or pains  
 The great directing Mind of All ordains.

All are but parts of one stupendous whole,  
 Whose body nature is, and God the soul;  
 That chang'd through all, and yet in all the same,  
 Great in the earth as in th' ethereal frame,  
 Warms in the sun, refreshes in the breeze,  
 Glows in the stars, and blossoms in the trees;  
 Lives through all life, extends through all extent,  
 Spreads undivided, operates unspent;

Breathes in our soul, informs our mortal part,  
 As full, as perfect, in a hair as heart;  
 As full, as perfect, in vile man that mourns  
 As the wrapt seraph that adores and burns:  
 To him no high, no low, no great, no small;  
 He fills, he bounds, connects, and equals all!

X. Cease then, nor order imperfection name;  
 Our proper bliss depends on what we blame.  
 Know thy own point: this kind, this due degree  
 Of blindness, weakness, heav'n bestows on thee.  
 Submit—In this or any other sphere,  
 Secure to be as bless'd as thou canst bear;  
 Safe in the hand of one disposing pow'r,  
 Or in the natal or the mortal hour.  
 All nature is but art unknown to thee;  
 All chance direction, which thou canst not see;  
 All discord<sup>d</sup> harmony not understood;  
 All partial evil universal good:  
 And spite of pride, in erring reason's spite,  
 One truth is clear, *Whatever is is right.*





## EPISTLE II.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN WITH  
RESPECT TO HIMSELF AS AN  
INDIVIDUAL.

## THE ARGUMENT.

I. The business of man not to pry into God, but to study himself. His middle nature; his powers and frailties, v. 1 to 19. The limits of his capacity, v. 19, &c. II. The two principles of man, self-love and reason, both necessary, v. 53, &c. Self-love the stronger, and why, v. 67, &c. Their end the same, v. 81, &c. III. The passions, and their use, v. 93 to 130. The predominant passion, and its force, v. 132 to 160. Its necessity, in directing men to different purposes, v. 165, &c. Its providential use, in fixing our principle, and ascertaining our virtue, v. 177. Virtue and vice joined in our mixed nature; the limits near, yet the things separate and evident: what is the office of reason, v. 203 to 216. V. How odious vice in itself, and how we deceive ourselves into it, v. 217. VI. That, however, the ends of Providence and general good are answered in our passions and imperfections, v. 238, &c. How usefully these are distributed to all orders of men, v. 241: how useful they are to society, v. 251; and to individuals, v. 263; in every state, and every age of life, v. 273, &c.

## EPISTLE II.

I. **KNOW** then thyself, presume not God to scan;  
The proper study of mankind is man.  
Plac'd on this isthmus of a middle state,  
A being darkly wise and rudely great;  
With too much knowledge for the sceptic side,  
With too much weakness for the stoic's pride,  
He hangs between, in doubt to act or rest;  
In doubt to deem himself a god or beast;  
In doubt his mind or body to prefer;  
Born but to die, and reas'ning but to err;  
Alike in ignorance, his reason such,  
Whether he thinks too little or too much:  
Chaos of thought and passion, all confus'd;  
Still by himself abus'd or disabus'd;  
Created half to rise and half to fall;  
Great lord of all things, yet a prey to all;  
Sole judge of truth, in endless error hurl'd;  
The glory, jest, and riddle of the world!

Go, wondrous creature! mount where science  
guides;

Go, measure earth, weigh air, and state the tides;  
Instruct the planets in what orbs to run,  
Correct old time, and regulate the sun;  
Go, soar with Plato to th' empyreal sphere,  
To the first good, first perfect, and first fair;  
Or tread the mazy round his foll'wers trod,  
And quitting sense call imitating God;  
As eastern priests in giddy circles run,  
And turn their heads to imitate the sun,  
Go, teach Eternal Wisdom how to rule—  
Then drop into thyself, and be a fool!

Superior beings, when of late they saw  
A mortal man unfold all nature's law,  
Admir'd such wisdom in an earthly shape,  
And shew'd a Newton as we shew an ape.

Could he, whose rules the rapid comet bind,  
Describe or fix one movement of his mind?  
Who saw its fires here rise, and there descend,  
Explain his own beginning or his end?  
Alas! what wonder! man's superior part  
Uncheck'd may rise, and climb from art to art;

But when his own great work is but begun,  
What reason weaves by passion is undone.

Trace science then, with modesty thy guide:  
First strip off all her equipage of pride;  
Deduct what is but vanity or dress,  
Or learning's luxury, or idleness;  
Or tricks to shew the stretch of human brain,  
Mere curious pleasure, or ingenious pain;  
Expunge the whole, or lop th' excrescent parts  
Of all our vices have created arts;  
Then see how little the remaining sum,  
Which serv'd the past, and must the times to come!

II. Two principles in human nature reign,  
Self-love to urge, and reason to restrain;  
Nor this a good, nor that a bad we call,  
Each works its end, to move or govern all;  
And to their proper operation still  
Ascribe all good, to their improper ill.

Self-love, the spring of motion, acts the soul;  
Reason's comparing balance rules the whole.  
Man but for that no action could attend,  
And but for this were active to no end;  
Fix'd like a plant on his peculiar spot,  
To draw nutrition, propagate, and rot;

Or, meteor-like, flame lawless through the void,  
 Destroying others, by himself destroy'd.

Most strength the moving principle requires;  
 Active its task, it prompts, impels, inspires.  
 Sedate and quiet the comparing lies,  
 Form'd but to check, delib'rate, and advise.  
 Self-love, still stronger, as its objects nigh;  
 Reason's at distance, and in prospect lie:  
 That sees immediate good by present sense;  
 Reason the future and the consequence.  
 Thicker than arguments temptations throng;  
 At best more watchful this, but that more strong.  
 The action of the stronger to suspend,  
 Reason still use, to reason still attend.  
 Attention habit and experience gains;  
 Each strengthens reason, and self-love restrains.  
 Let subtle schoolmen teach these friends to fight,  
 More studious to divide than to unite;  
 And grace and virtue, sense and reason split,  
 With all the rash dexterity of wit.  
 Wits, just like fools, at war about a name,  
 Have full as oft no meaning, or the same.  
 Self-love and reason to one end aspire,  
 Pain their aversion, pleasure their desire;

But greedy that, its object would devour;  
 This taste the honey, and not wound the flow'r:  
 Pleasure, or wrong or rightly understood,  
 Our greatest evil or our greatest good.

III. Modes of self-love the passions we may  
 call;

'Tis real good or seeming moves them all:  
 But since not ev'ry good we can divide,  
 And reason bids us for our own provide,  
 Passions, though selfish, if their means be fair,  
 List under reason, and deserve her care;  
 Those that imparted court a nobler aim,  
 Exalt their kind, and take some virtue's name.

In lazy apathy let stoics boast  
 Their virtue fix'd; 'tis fix'd as in a frost;  
 Contracted all, retiring to the breast;  
 But strength of mind is exercise, not rest;  
 The rising tempest puts in act the soul,  
 Parts it may ravage, but preserves the whole.  
 On life's vast ocean diversely we sail,  
 Reason the card, but passion is the gale;  
 Nor God alone in the still calm we find,  
 He mounts the storm, and walks upon the wind.

Passions, like elements, though born to fight,  
 Yet, mix'd and soften'd, in his work unite :  
 These 'tis enough to temper and employ ;  
 But what composes man can man destroy ?  
 Suffice that reason keep to nature's road ;  
 Subject, compound them, follow her and God.  
 Love, hope, and joy, fair pleasure's smiling train,  
 Hate, fear, and grief, the family of pain,  
 These mix'd with art, and to due bounds confin'd,  
 Make and maintain the balance of the mind ;  
 The lights and shades, whose well-accorded strife  
 Gives all the strength and colour of our life.

Pleasures are ever in our hands or eyes,  
 And when in act they cease, in prospect rise ;  
 Present to grasp, and future still to find,  
 The whole employ of body and of mind.  
 All spread their charms, but charm not all alike ;  
 On diff'rent senses diff'rent objects strike ;  
 Hence diff'rent passions more or less inflame,  
 As strong or weak, the organs of the frame ;  
 And hence one master-passion in the breast,  
 Like Aaron's serpent, swallows up the rest.

As man, perhaps, the moment of his breath



The young disease, that must subdue at length,  
Grows with his growth, and strengthens with his  
strength :

So, cast and mingled with his very frame,  
The mind's disease, its ruling passion came ;  
Each vital humour, which should feed the whole,  
Soon flows to this in body and in soul :  
Whatever warms the heart or fills the head,  
As the mind opens and its functions spread,  
Imagination plies her dang'rous art,  
And pours it all upon the peccant part.

Nature its mother, habit is its nurse ;  
Wit, spirit, faculties, but make it worse ;  
Reason itself but gives it edge and pow'r,  
As heav'n's bless'd beam turns vinegar more sour.

We, wretched subjects, though to lawful sway,  
In this weak queen some fav'rite still obey :  
Ah ! if she lend not arms as well as rules,  
What can she more than tell us we are fools ?  
Teach us to mourn our nature, not to mend,  
A sharp accuser, but a helpless friend !  
Or from a judge turn pleader, to persuade  
The choice we make, or justify it made ;

Proud of an easy conquest all along,  
 She but removes weak passions for the strong:  
 So when small humours gather to a gout,  
 The doctor fancies he has driv'n them out.

Yes, nature's road must ever be preferr'd;  
 Reason is here no guide, but still a guard;  
 'Tis her's to rectify, not overthrow,  
 And treat this passion more as friend than foe:  
 A mightier pow'r the strong direction sends,  
 And sev'ral men impels to sev'ral ends:  
 Like varying winds, by other passions tost,  
 This drives them constant to a certain coast.  
 Let pow'r or knowledge, gold or glory, please,  
 Or (oft more strong than all) the love of ease;  
 Through life 'tis follow'd, e'en at life's expence;  
 The merchant's toil, the sage's indolence,  
 The monk's humility, the hero's pride,  
 All, all alike, find reason on their side.

Th' eternal art educing good from ill,  
 Grafts on this passion our best principle:  
 'Tis thus the mercury of man is fix'd,  
 Strong grows the virtue with his nature mix'd;  
 The dross cements what else were too refin'd,  
 And in one int'rest body casts with mind

As fruits ungrateful to the planter's care,  
 On savage stocks inserted, learn to bear;  
 The surest virtues thus from passions shoot,  
 Wild nature's vigour working at the root.  
 What crops of wit and honesty appear  
 From spleen, from obstinacy, hate, or fear!  
 See anger zeal and fortitude supply;  
 E'en av'rice prudence, sloth philosophy;  
 Lust, through some certain strainers well refin'd,  
 Is gentle love, and charms all womankind;  
 Envy, to which th' ignoblè mind's a slave,  
 Is emulation in the learn'd or brave;  
 Nor virtue male or female can we name,  
 But what will grow on pride or grow on shame.

Thus nature gives us (let it check our pride)  
 The virtue nearest to our vice ally'd:  
 Reason the bias turns to good from ill,  
 And Nero reigns a Titus if he will.  
 The fiery soul abhorr'd in Catiline,  
 In Decius charms, in Curtius is divine:  
 The same ambition can destroy or save,  
 And makes a patriot as it makes a knave.

IV. This light and darkness in our chaos join'd,  
 What shall divide? the God within the mind.

Extremes in nature equal ends produce;  
 In man they join to some mysterious use;  
 Though each by turns the other's bounds invade,  
 As in some well-wrought picture light and shade,  
 And oft so mix, the diff'rence is too nice  
 Where ends the virtue or begins the vice.

Fools! who from hence into the notion fall  
 That vice or virtue there is none at all.  
 If white and black blend, soften, and unite  
 A thousand ways, is there no black or white?  
 Ask your own heart, and nothing is so plain;  
 'Tis to mistake them costs the time and pain.

V. Vice is a monster of so frightful mien,  
 As to be hated needs but to be seen;  
 Yet seen too oft, familiar with her face,  
 We first endure, then pity, then embrace.  
 But where th' extreme of vice was ne'er agreed:  
 Ask where's the north? at York 'tis on the Tweed;  
 In Scotland at the Orcades; and there  
 At Greenland, Zembla, or the Lord knows where.  
 No creature owns it in the first degree,  
 But thinks his neighbour further gone than he;  
 E'en those who dwell beneath its very zone,  
 Or never feel the rage or never own;

What happier natures shrink at with affright,  
The hard inhabitant contends is right.

Virtuous and vicious ev'ry man must be,  
Few in th' extreme, but all in the degree:  
The rogue and fool by fits is fair and wise,  
And e'en the best by fits what they despise.  
'Tis but by parts we follow good or ill;  
For vice or virtue self directs it still;  
Each individual seeks a sev'ral goal;  
But heav'n's great view is one, and that the whole:  
That counterworks each folly and caprice;  
That disappoints th' effect of ev'ry vice;  
That happy frailties to all ranks apply'd,  
Shame to the virgin, to the matron pride,  
Fear to the statesman, rashness to the chief,  
To kings presumption, and to crowds belief:  
That virtue's ends from vanity can raise,  
Which seeks no int'rest, no reward but praise;  
And build on wants, and on defects of mind,  
The joy, the peace, the glory of mankind.

Heav'n forming each on other to depend,  
A master, or a servant, or a friend,  
Bids each on other for assistance call,

Till one man's weakness grows the strength of all.

Wants, frailties, passions, closer still ally  
 The common int'rest, or endear the tie.  
 To these we owe true friendship, love sincere,  
 Each home-felt joy that life inherits here;  
 Yet from the same we learn, in its decline,  
 Those joys, those loves, those int'rests, to resign;  
 Taught, half by reason, half by mere decay,  
 To welcome death, and calmly pass away.

Whate'er the passion, knowledge, fame, or pelf,  
 Not one will change his neighbour with himself.  
 The learn'd is happy nature to explore,  
 The fool is happy that he knows no more;  
 The rich is happy in the plenty giv'n,  
 The poor contents him with the care of heav'n.  
 See the blind beggar dance, the cripple sing,  
 The sot a hero, lunatic a king;  
 The starving chymist in his golden views  
 Supremely bless'd, the poet in his muse.

See some strange comfort ev'ry state attend,  
 And pride bestow'd on all, a common friend:  
 See some fit passion ev'ry age supply;  
 Hope travels through, nor quits us when we die.

Behold the child, by nature's kindly law,  
 Pleas'd with a rattle, tickled with a straw:

Some livelier plaything gives his youth delight,  
 A little louder, but as empty quite:  
 Scarfs, garters, gold, amuse his riper stage,  
 And beads and pray'r-books are the toys of age:  
 Pleas'd with this bauble still, as that before,  
 Till tir'd he sleeps, and life's poor play is o'er.

Meanwhile opinion gilds with varying rays,  
 Those painted clouds that beautify our days;  
 Each want of happiness by hope supply'd,  
 And each vacuity of sense by pride:  
 These build as fast as knowledge can destroy;  
 In folly's cup still laughs the bubble joy;  
 One prospect lost, another still we gain,  
 And not a vanity is giv'n in vain:  
 E'en mean self-love becomes, by force divine,  
 The scale to measure others' wants by thine.  
 See! and confess one comfort still must rise;  
 'Tis this, Though man's a fool, yet God is wise.



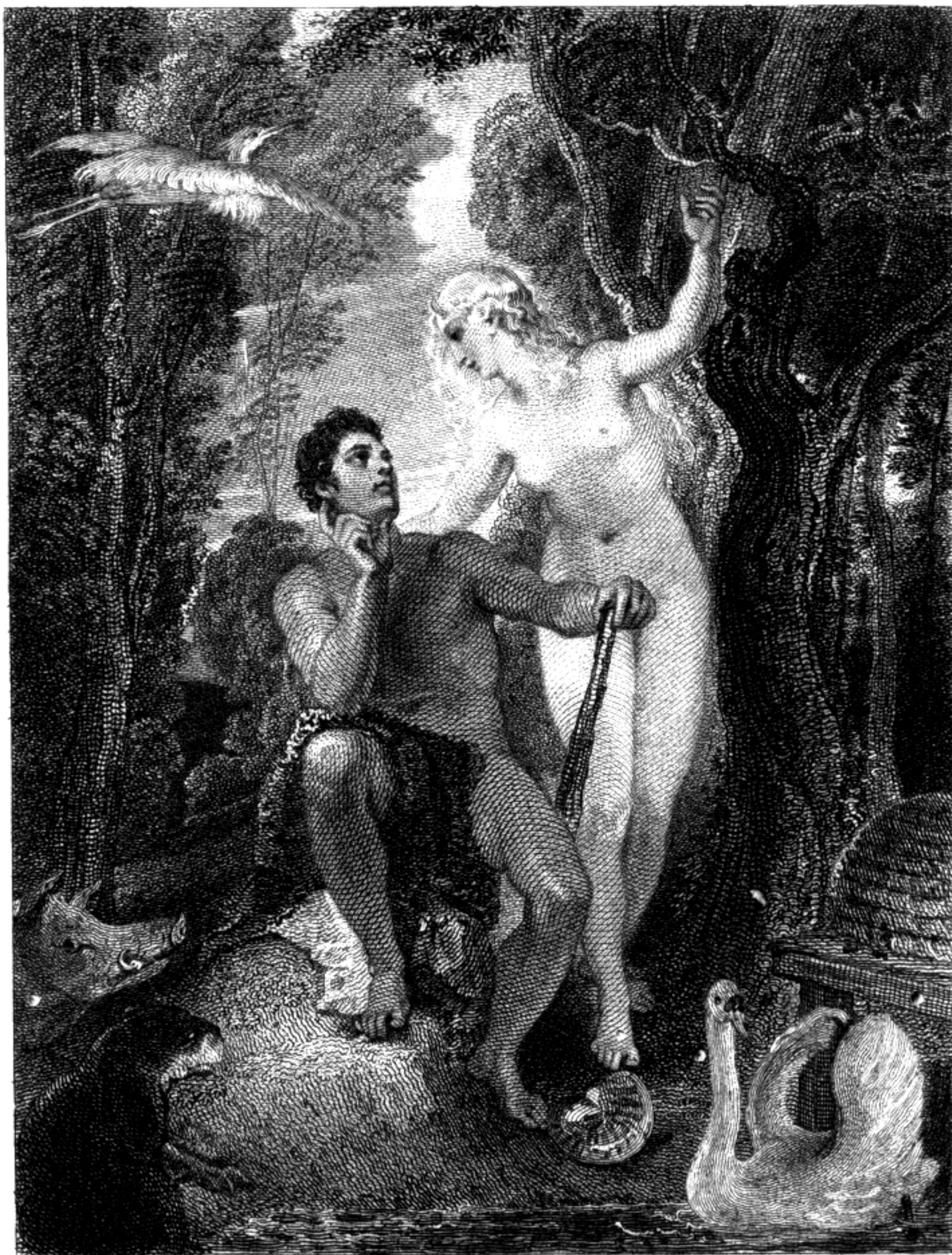


## **EPISTLE III.**

**OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN, WITH  
RESPECT TO SOCIETY.**

## THE ARGUMENT.

- I. The whole universe one system of society, v. 7, &c. Nothing made wholly for itself, nor yet wholly for another, v. 27. The happiness of animals mutual, v. 49. II. Reason or instinct operate alike to the good of each individual, v. 79. Reason or instinct operate also to society in all animals, v. 99. III. How far society carried by instinct, v. 109; how much farther by reason, v. 128. IV. Of that which is called the state of nature, v. 147. Reason instructed by instinct in the invention of arts, v. 166; and in the forms of society, v. 176. V. Origin of political societies, v. 199; origin of monarchy, v. 207; patriarchal government, v. 212. VI. Origin of true religion and government, from the same principle of love, v. 215, &c.; origin of superstition and tyranny, from the same principle of fear, v. 237, &c. The influence of self-love operating to the social and public good, v. 266. Restoration of true religion and government on their first principle, v. 285. Mixed government, v. 288. Various forms of each, and the true end of all, v. 300, &c.



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### EPISTLE III.

HERE then we rest: ' the Universal Cause  
Acts to one end, but acts by various laws.'  
In all the madness of superfluous health,  
The trim of pride, the impudence of wealth,  
Let this great truth be present night and day,  
But most be present, if we preach or pray.

I. Look round our world; behold the chain of  
love

Combining all below and all above.  
See plastic nature working to this end,  
The single atoms each to other tend,  
Attract, attracted to, the next in place  
Form'd and impell'd its neighbour to embrace.  
See matter next, with various life endu'd,  
Press to one centre still, the gen'ral good:  
See dying vegetables life sustain,  
See life dissolving vegetate again :  
All forms that perish other forms supply,  
(By turns we catch the vital breath, and die)

Like bubbles on the sea of matter borne,  
 They rise, they break, and to that sea return.  
 Nothing is foreign; parts relate to whole;  
 One all-extending, all-preserving, soul  
 Connects each being, greatest with the least,  
 Made beast in aid of man, and man of beast;  
 All serv'd, all serving; nothing stands alone;  
 The chain holds on, and where it ends unknown.

Has God, thou fool! work'd solely for thy good,  
 Thy joy, thy pastime, thy attire, thy food?  
 Who for thy table feeds the wanton fawn,  
 For him as kindly spread the flow'ry lawn:  
 Is it for thee the lark ascends and sings?  
 Joy tunes his voice, joy elevates his wings.  
 Is it for thee the linnet pours his throat?  
 Loves of his own and raptures swell the note.  
 The bounding steed you pompously bestride,  
 Shares with his lord the pleasure and the pride.  
 Is thine alone the seed that strews the plain?  
 The birds of heav'n shall vindicate their grain.  
 Thine the full harvest of the golden year?  
 Part pays, and justly, the deserving steer.  
 The hog, that ploughs not, nor obeys thy call,  
 Lives on the labours of this lord of all.



Know nature's children all divide her care;  
 The fur that warms a monarch warm'd a bear.  
 While man exclaims, 'See all things for my use!'  
 'See man for mine!' replies a pamper'd goose:  
 And just as short of reason he must fall,  
 Who thinks all made for one, not one for all.

Grant that the pow'ful still the weak control;  
 Be man the wit and tyrant of the whole:  
 Nature that tyrant checks; he only knows,  
 And helps, another creature's wants and woes.  
 Say, will the falcon, stooping from above,  
 Smit with her varying plumage, spare the dove?  
 Admires the jay the insect's gilded wings?  
 Or hears the hawk when philomela sings?  
 Man cares for all: to birds he gives his woods,  
 To beasts his pastures, and to fish his floods;  
 For some his int'rest prompts him to provide,  
 For more his pleasure, yet for more his pride:  
 All feed on one vain patron, and enjoy  
 Th' extensive blessing of his luxury.  
 That very life his learned hunger craves,  
 He saves from famine, from the savage saves;  
 Nay, feasts the animal he dooms his feast,  
 And till he ends the being makes it blest;

Which sees no more the stroke, or feels the pain,  
 Than favour'd man by touch ethereal slain.  
 The creature had his feast of life before;  
 Thou too must perish when thy feast is o'er!

To each unthinking being, heav'n, a friend,  
 Gives not the useless knowledge of its end:  
 To man imparts it, but with such a view  
 As, while he dreads it, makes him hope it too:  
 The hour conceal'd, and so remote the fear,  
 Death still draws nearer, never seeming near.  
 Great standing miracle! that heav'n assign'd  
 Its only thinking thing this turn of mind.

II. Whether with reason or with instinct blest,  
 Know all enjoy that pow'r which suits them best;  
 To bliss alike by that direction tend,  
 And find the means proportion'd to their end.  
 Say, where full instinct is th' unerring guide,  
 What pope or council can they need beside?  
 Reason, however able, cool at best,  
 Cares not for service, or but serves when prest,  
 Stays till we call, and then not often near;  
 But honest instinct comes a volunteer,  
 Sure never to o'ershoot, but just to hit,  
 While still too wide or short is human wit;

Sure by quick nature happiness to gain,  
 Which heavier reason labours at in vain.  
 This, too, serves always; reason never long;  
 One must go right, the other may go wrong.  
 See then the acting and comparing pow'rs  
 One in their nature, which are two in ours;  
 And reason raise o'er instinct as you can,  
 In this 'tis God directs, in that 'tis man.

Who taught the nations of the field and wood  
 To shun their poison, and to choose their food?  
 Prescient, the tides or tempests to withstand,  
 Build on the wave, or arch beneath the sand?  
 Who made the spider parallels design,  
 Sure as De Moivre, without rule or line?  
 Who bid the stork, Columbus like, explore  
 Heav'ns not his own, and worlds unknown before?  
 Who calls the council, states the certain day,  
 Who forms the phalanx, and who points the way?

III. God in the nature of each being founds  
 Its proper bliss, and sets its proper bounds;  
 But as he fram'd the whole the whole to bless,  
 On mutual wants built mutual happiness:  
 So from the first eternal order ran,  
 And creature link'd to creature, man to man.



Whate'er of life all-quick'ning ether keeps,  
 Or breathes thro' air, or shoots beneath the deeps,  
 Or pours profuse on earth, one nature feeds  
 The vital flame, and swells the genial seeds.  
 Not man alone, but all that roam the wood,  
 Or wing the sky, or roll along the flood,  
 Each loves itself, but not itself alone,  
 Each sex desires alike, till two are one.  
 Nor ends the pleasure with the fierce embrace:  
 They love themselves a third time in their race.  
 Thus beast and bird their common charge attend,  
 The mothers nurse it, and the sires defend;  
 The young dismiss'd to wander earth or air,  
 There stops the instinct, and there ends the care;  
 The link dissolves, each seeks a fresh embrace,  
 Another love succeeds another race.  
 A longer care man's helpless kind demands;  
 That longer care contracts more lasting bands:  
 Reflection, reason, still the ties improve,  
 At once extend the int'rest and the love;  
 With choice we fix, with sympathy we burn;  
 Each virtue in each passion takes its turn;  
 And still new needs, new helps, new habits, rise,  
 That graft benevolence on charities.

Still as one brood, and as another rose,  
 These nat'ral love maintain'd, habitual those:  
 The last, scarce ripen'd into perfect man,  
 Saw helpless him from whom their life began:  
 Mem'ry and forecast just returns engage,  
 That pointed back to youth, this on to age;  
 While pleasure, gratitude, and hope, combin'd,  
 Still spread the int'rest, and preserv'd the kind.

IV. Nor think in nature's state they blindly trod;  
 The state of nature was the reign of God:  
 Self-love and social at her birth began,  
 Union the bond of all things, and of man.  
 Pride then was not, nor arts that pride to aid;  
 Man walk'd with beast, joint tenant of the shade;  
 The same his table, and the same his bed;  
 No murder cloth'd him, and no murder fed:  
 In the same temple, the resounding wood,  
 All vocal beings hymn'd their equal God:  
 The shrine with gore unstain'd, with gold undrest,  
 Unbrib'd, unbloody, stood the blameless priest:  
 Heav'n's attribute was universal care,  
 And man's prerogative to rule, but spare.  
 Ah! how unlike the man of times to come!  
 Of half that live the butcher and the tomb;

Who, foe to nature, hears the gen'ral groan,  
 Murders their species, and betrays his own.  
 But just disease to luxury succeeds,  
 And ev'ry death its own avenger breeds;  
 The fury-passions from that blood began,  
 And turn'd on man a fiercer savage, man.

See him from nature rising slow to art!  
 To copy instinct then was reason's part:  
 Thus then to man the voice of nature spake—  
 'Go, from the creatures thy instructions take;  
 Learn from the birds what food the thickets yield;  
 Learn from the beasts the physic of the field;  
 Thy arts of building from the bee receive;  
 Learn of the mole to plough, the wo<sup>m</sup>an to weave;  
 Learn of the little nautilus to sail,  
 Spread the thin oar, and catch the driving gale.  
 Here too all forms of social union find,  
 And hence let reason, late, instruct mankind:  
 Here subterranean works and cities see;  
 There towns aërial on the waving tree.  
 Learn each small people's genius, policies,  
 The ants' republic, and the realm of bees;  
 How those in common all their wealth bestow,  
 And anarchy without confusion know;

And these for ever, though a monarch reign,  
Their sep'rate cells and properties maintain.  
Mark what unvary'd laws preserve each state,  
Laws wise as nature, and as fix'd as fate.  
In vain thy reason finer webs shall draw,  
Entangle justice in her net of law,  
And right, too rigid, harden into wrong,  
Still for the strong too weak, the weak too strong.  
Yet go! and thus o'er all the creatures sway,  
Thus let the wiser make the rest obey;  
And for those arts mere instinct could afford,  
Be crown'd as monarchs; or as gods ador'd.'

V. Great nature spoke; observant man obey'd;  
Cities were built, societies were made:  
Here rose one little state; another near  
Grew by like means, and join'd through love or  
fear.

Did here the trees with ruddier burdens bend,  
And there the streams in purer rills descend?  
What war could ravish, commerce could bestow,  
And he return'd a friend who came a foe.  
Converse and love mankind might strongly draw,  
When love was liberty, and nature law.

Thus states were form'd, the name of king unknown,  
 Till common int'rest plac'd the sway in one.  
 'Twas virtue only (or in arts or arms,  
 Diffusing blessings, or averting harms)  
 The same which in a sire the sons obey'd,  
 A prince the father of a people made.

VI. Till then, by nature crown'd, each patriarch  
       sate

King, priest, and parent of his growing state;  
 On him, their second providence, they hung,  
 Their law his eye, their oracle his tongue.  
 He from the wond'ring furrow call'd the food,  
 Taught to command the fire, control the flood,  
 Draw forth the monsters of th' abyss profound,  
 Or fetch th' aërial eagle to the ground;  
 Till drooping, sick'ning, dying, they began  
 Whom they rever'd as God to mourn as man:  
 Then, looking up from sire to sire, explor'd  
 One great first father, and that first ador'd:  
 Or plain tradition that this all begun,  
 Convey'd unbroken faith from sire to son;  
 The worker from the work distinct was known,

Ere wit oblique had broke that steady light,  
 Man, like his Maker, saw that all was right;  
 To virtue in the paths of pleasure trod,  
 And own'd a father when he own'd a God.  
 Love all the faith, and all th' allegiance then,  
 For nature knew no right divine in men;  
 No ill could fear in God, and understood  
 A sov'reign being but a sov'reign good.  
 True faith, true policy, united ran;  
 That was but love of God, and this of man.

Who first taught souls enslav'd, and realms un-  
 done,

Th' enormous faith of many made for one;  
 That pro<sup>d</sup> exception to all nature's laws,  
 T' invert the world, and counterwork its cause?  
 • Force first made conquest, and that conquest law; •  
 Till superstition taught the tyrant awe,  
 Then shar'd the tyranny, then lent it aid,  
 And gods of conqu'rors, slaves of subjects, made:  
 She' midst the lightning's blaze, and thunder's sound,  
 When rock'd the mountains, and when groan'd the  
 ground,  
 She taught the weak to bend, the proud to pray,  
 To pow'r unseen, and mightier far than they;

She, from the rending earth and bursting skies,  
 Saw gods descend, and fiends infernal rise;  
 Here fix'd the dreadful, there the bless'd abodes;  
 Fear made her devils, and weak hope her gods;  
 Gods partial, changeful, passionate, unjust,  
 Whose attributes were rage, revenge, or lust;  
 Such as the souls of cowards might conceive,  
 And, form'd like tyrants, tyrants would believe.  
 Zeal then, not charity, became the guide,  
 And hell was built on spite, and heav'n on pride:  
 Then sacred seem'd th' ethereal vault no more;  
 Altars grew marble then, and reek'd with gore:  
 Then first the flamen tasted living food,  
 Next his grim idol smear'd with human blood;  
 With heav'n's own thunders shook the world below,  
 And play'd the god an engine on his foe.

So drives self-love thro' just and thro' unjust,  
 To one man's pow'r, ambition, lucre, lust:  
 The same self-love in all becomes the cause  
 Of what restrains him, government and laws.  
 For, what one likes if others like as well,  
 What serves one will, when many wills rebel?  
 How shall he keep what, sleeping or awake,  
 A weaker may surprise, a stronger take?

His safety must his liberty restrain :  
 All join to guard what each desires to gain.  
 Forc'd into virtue thus by self-defence,  
 E'en kings learn'd justice and benevolence:  
 Self-love forsook the path it first pursu'd,  
 And found the private in the public good.

'Twas then the studious head, or gen'rous mind,  
 Foll'wer of God, or friend of human-kind,  
 Poet or patriot, rose but to restore  
 The faith and moral nature gave before;  
 Relum'd her ancient light, not kindled new;  
 If not God's image, yet his shadow drew;  
 Taught pow'r's due use to people and to kings,  
 Taught ~~po~~ to slack nor strain its tender strings,  
 The less or greater set so justly true,  
 • That touching one must strike the other too,  
 Till jarring int'rests of themselves create  
 Th' according music of a well-mix'd state.  
 Such is the world's great harmony, that springs  
 From order, union, full consent of things;  
 Where small and great, where weak and mighty,  
     made  
 To serve, not suffer; strengthen, not invade;



More pow'rful each as needful to the rest,  
 And, in proportion as it blesses, blest;  
 Draw to one point, and to one centre bring  
 Beast, man, or angel, servant, lord, or king.  
 For forms of government let fools contest:  
 Whate'er is best administer'd is best:  
 For modes of faith let graceless zealots fight;  
 His can't be wrong whose life is in the right.  
 In faith and hope the world will disagree,  
 But all mankind's concern is charity:  
 All must be false that thwart this one great end;  
 And all of God that bless mankind or mend.

Man, like the gen'rous vine, supported lives;  
 The strength he gains is from th' embrace he gives:  
 On their own axis as the planets run,  
 Yet make at once their circle round the sun;  
 So two consistent motions act the soul,  
 And one regards itself, and one the whole.

Thus God and nature link'd the gen'ral frame,  
 And bade self-love and social be the same.

## EPISTLE IV.

OF THE NATURE AND STATE OF MAN, WITH  
RESPECT TO HAPPINESS.

## THE ARGUMENT.

I. False notions of happiness, philosophical and popular, answered, from v. 19 to 27. II. It is the end of all men, and attainable by all, v. 29. God intends happiness to be equal; and, to be so, it must be social, since all particular happiness depends on general, and since he governs by general, not particular, laws, v. 35. As it is necessary for order, and the peace and welfare of society, that external goods should be unequal, happiness is not made to consist in these, v. 51: but, notwithstanding that inequality, the balance of happiness among mankind is kept even by providence by the two passions of hope and fear, v. 70. III. What the happiness of individuals is, as far as is consistent with the constitution of this world; and that the good man has here the advantage, v. 77. The error of imputing to virtue what are only the calamities of nature, or of fortune, v. 94. IV. The folly of expecting that God should alter his general laws in favour of particulars, v. 121. V. That we are not judges who are good; but that whoever they are, they must be happiest, v. 131, &c. VI. That external goods are not the proper rewards, but often inconsistent with, or destructive of, virtue, v. 167. That even these can make no man happy without virtue: instanced in riches, v. 185. honours, v. 193. nobility, v. 205. greatness, v. 217. fame, v. 237. superior talents, v. 259, &c. with pictures of human infelicity in men possessed of them all, v. 269, &c. VII. That virtue only constitutes a happiness, whose object is universal, and whose prospect eternal, v. 309, &c. That the perfection of virtue and happiness consists in a conformity to the order of Providence here, and a resignation to it here and hereafter, v. 327, &c.

## EPISTLE IV.

O HAPPINESS! our being's end and aim!  
Good, pleasure, ease, content! whate'er thy name:  
That something still which prompts th' eternal sigh,  
For which we bear to live, or dare to die;  
Which still so near us, yet beyond us lies,  
O'erlook'd, seen double, by the fool and wise.  
Plant of celestial seed! if dropp'd below,  
Say in what mortal soil thou deign'st to grow?  
Fair op'ning to some court's propitious shine,  
Or deep with di'monds in the flaming mine?  
Twin'd with the wreaths Parnassian laurels yield,  
Or reap'd in iron harvests of the field?  
Where grows?—where grows it not? If vain our toil,  
We ought to blame the culture, not the soil:  
Fix'd to no spot is happiness sincere;  
'Tis no where to be found, or ev'ry where:  
'Tis never to be bought, but always free,  
And fled from monarchs, St. John! dwells with thee.

Ask of the learn'd the way? the learn'd are blind;  
 This bids to serve, and that to shun mankind;  
 Some place the bliss in action, some in ease,  
 Those call it pleasure, and contentment these;  
 Some sunk to beasts, find pleasure end in pain;  
 Some swell'd to gods confess e'en virtue vain!  
 Or indolent, to each extreme they fall,  
 To trust in ev'ry thing, or doubt of all.

Who thus define it, say they more or less  
 Than this, that happiness is happiness?

Take nature's path and mad opinion's leave;  
 All states can reach it, and all heads conceive;  
 Obvious her goods, in no extreme they dwell;  
 There needs but thinking right and meaning well;  
 And mourn our various portions as we please,  
 Equal is common sense and common ease.

Remember, man, ' the Universal Cause  
 Acts not by partial but by gen'ral laws,'  
 And makes what happiness we justly call  
 Subsist not in the good of one, but all.  
 There's not a blessing individuals find,  
 But some way leans and hearkens to the kind;  
 No bandit fierce, no tyrant mad with pride,  
 No cavern'd hermit, rests self-satisfy'd:

Who most to shun or hate mankind pretend,  
Seek an admirer, or would fix a friend.

Abstract what others feel, what others think,  
All pleasures sicken, and all glories sink :  
Each has his share ; and who would more obtain,  
Shall find the pleasure pays not half the pain .

Order is heav'n's first law ; and, this confest,  
Some are and must be greater than the rest,  
More rich, more wise : but who infers from hence  
That such are happier, shocks all common sense.  
Heav'n to mankind impartial we confess,  
If all are equal in their happiness :  
But mutual ~~wants~~ this happiness increase ;  
All nature's diff'rence keeps all nature's peace.  
Condition, ~~circumstance~~, is not the thing ;  
Bliss is the same in subject or in king,  
In who obtain defence, or who defend,  
In him who is, or him who finds a friend :  
Heav'n breathes through ev'ry member of the whole  
One common blessing, as one common soul.  
But fortune's gifts, if each alike possess,  
And each were equal, must not all contest ?  
If then to all men happiness was meant,  
God in externals could not place content.

Fortune her gifts may variously dispose,  
 And these be happy call'd, unhappy those;  
 But heav'n's just balance equal will appear,  
 While those are plac'd in hope and these in fear:  
 Not present good or ill the joy or curse,  
 But future views of better or of worse.

O sons of earth! attempt ye still to rise  
 By mountains pil'd on mountains to the skies?  
 Heav'n still with laughter the vain toil surveys,  
 And buries madmen in the heaps they raise.

Know all the good that individuals find,  
 Or God and nature meant to mere mankind,  
 Reason's whole pleasure, all the joys of sense,  
 Lie in three words, health, peace, and competence.  
 But health consists with temperance alone;  
 And peace, O virtue! peace is all thy own.  
 The good or bad the gifts of fortune gain;  
 But these less taste them as they worse obtain.  
 Say, in pursuit of profit or delight,  
 Who risk the most, that take wrong means or right?  
 Of vice or virtue, whether bless'd or curst,  
 Which meets contempt, or which compassion first?  
 Count all th' advantage prosp'rous vice attains,  
 'Tis but what virtue flies from and disdains:

And grant the bad what happiness they would,  
One they must want, which is to pass for good.

O blind to truth and God's whole scheme below,  
Who fancy bliss to vice, to virtue woe!  
Who sees and follows that great scheme the best,  
Best knows the blessing, and will most be blest.  
But fools the good alone unhappy call,  
For ills or accidents that chance to all.  
See Falkland dies, the virtuous and the just!  
See godlike Turenne prostrate on the dust!  
See Sidney bleeds amid the martial strife!  
Was this their virtue, or contempt of life?  
Say, was it virtue, more tho' heav'n ne'er gave,  
Lamented Digby! sunk thee to the grave?  
Tell me, if virtue made the son expire,  
Why full of days and honour lives the sire?  
Why drew Marseillies' good bishop purer breath  
When nature sicken'd, and each gale was death?  
Or why so long (in life if long can be)  
Lent heav'n a parent to the poor and me?

What makes all physical or moral ill?  
There deviates nature, and here wanders will.  
God sends not ill, if rightly understood,  
Or partial ill is universal good,



Or change admits, or nature lets it fall  
 Short and but rare till man improv'd it all,  
 We just as wisely might of heav'n complain  
 That righteous Abel was destroy'd by Cain,  
 As that the virtuous son is ill at ease  
 When his lewd father gave the dire disease.  
 Think we, like some weak prince, th' Eternal Cause  
 Prone for his fav'rites to reverse his laws?

Shall burning Ætna, if a sage requires,  
 Forget to thunder, and recall her fires?  
 On air or sea new motions be imprest,  
 O blameless Bethel! to relieve thy breast?  
 When the loose mountain trembles from on high,  
 Shall gravitation cease if you go by?  
 Or some old temple, nodding to its fall,  
 For Chartres' head reserve the hanging wall?

But still this world (so fitted for the knave)  
 Contents us not. A better shall we have?  
 A kingdom of the just then let it be;  
 But first consider how those just agree.  
 The good must merit God's peculiar care;  
 But who but God can tell us who they are?  
 One thinks on Calvin heav'n's own spirit fell;  
 Another deems him instrument of hell:

If Calvin feel heav'n's blessing or its rod,  
This cries there is, and that there is no God.  
What shocks one part will edify the rest;  
Nor with one system can they all be blest.  
The very best will variously incline,  
And what rewards your virtue punish mine.  
Whatever is is right.—This world, 'tis true,  
Was made for Cæsar—but for Titus too:  
And which more bless'd? who chain'd his country,  
say,

Or he whose virtue sigh'd to lose a day?

‘ But sometimes virtue starves while vice is fed.’  
What then? is the reward of virtue bread?  
That vice may merit; ’tis the price of toil;  
The knave deserves it when he tills the soil,  
The knave deserves it when he tempts the main,  
Where folly fights for kings or dives for gain.  
The good man may be weak, be indolent;  
Nor is his claim to plenty but content.  
But grant him riches, your demand is o’er?  
‘ No—shall the good want health, the good want  
pow’r?’

Add health and pow'r, and ev'ry earthly thing.

‘Why bounded pow’r? why private? why no king?’

Nay, why external for internal giv'n?  
 Why is not man a god, and earth a heav'n?  
 Who ask and reason thus will scarce conceive  
 God gives enough while he has more to give:  
 Immense the pow'r, immense were the demand;  
 Say at what part of nature will they stand?

What nothing earthly gives or can destroy,  
 The soul's calm sunshine and the heart-felt joy,  
 Is virtue's prize. A better would you fix?  
 Then give humility a coach and six,  
 Justice a conqu'ror's sword, or truth a gown,  
 Or public spirit its great cure, a crown.  
 Weak, foolish man! will heav'n reward us there  
 With the same trash mad mortals wish for here?  
 The boy and man an individual makes,  
 Yet sigh'st thou now for apples and for cakes?  
 Go, like the Indian, in another life  
 Expect thy dog, thy bottle, and thy wife;  
 As well as dream such trifles are assign'd,  
 As toys and empires, for a godlike mind:  
 Rewards, that either would to virtue bring  
 No joy, or be destructive of the thing.  
 How oft by these at sixty are undone  
 The virtues of a saint at twenty-one!

To whom can riches give repute or trust,  
 Content or pleasure, but the good and just?  
 Judges and senates have been bought for gold:  
 Esteem and love were never to be sold.  
 O fool! to think God hates the worthy mind,  
 The lover and the love of human-kind,  
 Whose life is healthful, and whose conscience clear,  
 Because he wants a thousand pounds a year.

Honour and shame from no condition rise;  
 Act well your part, there all the honour lies.  
 Fortune in men has some small diff'rence made,  
 One flaunts in rags, one flutters in brocade;  
 The cobbler ~~apron'd~~; and the parson gown'd,  
 The friar hooded, and the monarch crown'd.  
 'What ~~differ~~ more (you cry) than crown and cowl?'  
 'I'll tell you, friend, a wise man and a fool.  
 You'll find, if once the monarch acts the monk,  
 Or, cobbler-like, the parson will be drunk,  
 Worth makes the man, and want of it the fellow;  
 The rest is all but leather or prunello.

Stuck o'er with titles, and hung round with strings;  
 That thou mayst be by kings, or whores of kings.  
 Boast the pure blood of an illustrious race.  
 In quiet flow from Lucrece to Lucrece:

But by your fathers' worth if your's you rate,  
 Count me those only who were good and great.  
 Go! if your ancient but ignoble blood  
 Has crept through scoundrels ever since the flood,  
 Go! and pretend your family is young,  
 Nor own your fathers have been fools so long.  
 What can ennoble sots, or slaves, or cowards?  
 Alas! not all the blood of all the Howards.

Look next on greatness; say where greatness lies?  
 'Where but among the heroes and the wise?'  
 Heroes are much the same, the point's agreed,  
 From Macedonia's madman to the Swede;  
 The whole strange purpose of their lives to find  
 Or make an enemy of all mankind!  
 Not one looks backward, onward still he goes,  
 Yet ne'er looks forward further than his nose.  
 No less alike the politic and wise;  
 All sly slow things with circumspective eyes;  
 Men in their loose unguarded hours they take,  
 Not that themselves are wise, but others weak.  
 But grant that those can conquer, these can cheat,  
 'Tis phrase absurd to call a villain great:  
 Who wickedly is wise, or madly brave,  
 Is but the more a fool, the more a knave.

Who noble ends by noble means obtains,  
 Or failing, smiles in exile or in chains,  
 Like good Aurelius let him reign, or bleed  
 Like Socrates; that man is great indeed.

What's fame? a fancy'd life in others' breath;  
 A thing beyond us, e'en before our death:  
 Just what you hear you have; and what's unknown  
 The same (my lord) if Tully's or your own.  
 All that we feel of it begins and ends  
 In the small circle of our foes or friends;  
 To all beside as much an empty shade,  
 An Eugene living as a Cæsar dead;  
 Alike or when, or where, they shone or shine,  
 Or on the Rubicon or on the Rhine.  
 A wit's feather, and a chief a rod;  
 An honest man's the noblest work of God.  
 Fame but from death a villain's name can save,  
 As justice tears his body from the grave;  
 When what t' oblivion better were resign'd  
 Is hung on high, to poison half mankind.  
 All fame is foreign but of true desert,  
 Plays round the head, but comes not to the heart:  
 One self-approving hour whole years outweighs  
 Of stupid starers and of loud huzzas;

And more true joy Marcellus exil'd feels  
Than Cæsar with a senate at his heels.

In parts superior what advantage lies?  
Tell (for you can) what is it to be wise?  
'Tis but to know how little can be known,  
To see all others' faults, and feel our own;  
Condemn'd in bus'ness or in arts to drudge,  
Without a second, or without a judge:  
Truths would you teach, or save a sinking land?  
All fear, none aid you, and few understand.  
Painful pre-eminence! yourself to view  
Above life's weakness, and its comforts too.

Bring then these blessings to a strict account;  
Make fair deductions; see to what they 'mount;  
How much of other each is sure to cost;  
How each for other oft is wholly lost;  
How inconsistent greater goods with these;  
How sometimes life is risk'd, and always ease:  
Think, and if still the things thy envy call,  
Say, wouldst thou be the man to whom they fall?  
To sigh for ribbands if thou art so silly,  
Mark how they grace lord Umbra or sir Billy.  
Is yellow dirt the passion of thy life?  
Look but on Gripus or on Gripus' wife.

If parts allure thee, think how Bacon shin'd,  
 The wisest, brightest, meanest, of mankind!  
 Or ravish'd with the whistling of a name,  
 See Cromwell damn'd to everlasting fame!  
 If all united thy ambition call,  
 From ancient story learn to scorn them all:  
 There in the rich, the honour'd, fam'd, and great,  
 See the false scale of happiness complete!  
 In hearts of kings or arms of queens who lay,  
 How happy! those to ruin, these betray.  
 Mark by what wretched steps their glory grows,  
 From dirt and sea-weed, as proud Venice rose;  
 In each ho<sup>n</sup> guilt and greatness equal ran,  
 And all that rais'd the hero sunk the man;  
 Now Europe's laurels on their brows behold,  
 But stain'd with blood, or ill exchang'd for gold;  
 Then see them broke with toils, or sunk in ease,  
 Or infamous for plunder'd provinces.  
 O wealth ill-fated! which no act of fame  
 E'er taught to shine, or sanctify'd from shame!  
 What greater bliss attends their close of life?  
 Some greedy minion, or imperious wife,  
 The trophy'd arches, story'd halls, invade,  
 And haunt their slumbers in the pompous shade.



Alas! not dazzled with their noontide ray,  
 Compute the morn and ev'ning to the day;  
 The whole amount of that enormous fame,  
 A tale that blends their glory with their shame!

Know then this truth (enough for man to know),  
 'Virtue alone is happiness below;  
 The only point where human bliss stands still,  
 And tastes the good without the fall to ill;  
 Where only merit constant pay receives,  
 Is bless'd in what it takes and what it gives;  
 The joy unequall'd if its end it gain,  
 And if it lose attended with no pain:  
 Without satiety, though e'er so bless'd,  
 And but more relish'd as the more distress'd:  
 The broadest mirth unfeeling folly wears,  
 Less pleasing far than virtue's very tears:  
 Good from each object, from each place, acquir'd,  
 For ever exercis'd, yet never tir'd;  
 Never elated while one man's oppress'd;  
 Never dejected while another's bless'd;  
 And where no wants no wishes can remain,  
 Since but to wish more virtue is to gain.

See the sole bliss heav'n could on all bestow!  
 Which who but feels can taste, but thinks can know:

Yet poor with fortune, and with learning blind,  
 The bad must miss, the good untaught will find;  
 Slave to no sect, who takes no private road,  
 But looks through nature up to nature's God;  
 Pursues that chain which links th' immense design,  
 Joins heav'n and earth, and mortal and divine;  
 Sees that no being any bliss can know,  
 But touches some above and some below;  
 Learns from this union of the rising whole,  
 The first, last, purpose of the human soul;  
 And knows where faith, law, morals, all began,  
 All end, in love of God and love of man.

For him' alone hope leads from goal to goal,  
 And opens still and opens on his soul,  
 Till lengthen'd on to faith, and unconfin'd,  
 It pours the bliss that fills up all the mind.  
 He sees why nature plants in man alone  
 Hope of known bliss, and faith in bliss unknown:  
 (Nature, whose dictates to no other kind  
 Are giv'n in vain, but what they seek they find)  
 Wise is her present; she connects in this  
 His greatest virtue with his greatest bliss;  
 At once his own bright prospect to be blest,

Self-love thus push'd to social, to divine,  
 Gives thee to make thy neighbour's blessing thine.  
 Is this too little for the boundless heart?  
 Extend it, let thy enemies have part:  
 Grasp the whole worlds of reason, life, and sense,  
 In one close system of benevolence:  
 Happier as kinder, in whate'er degree,  
 And height of bliss but height of charity.

God loves from whole to parts: but human soul  
 Must rise from individual to the whole.  
 Self-love but serves the virtuous mind to wake,  
 As the small pebble stirs the peaceful lake;  
 The centre mov'd, a circle straight succeeds,  
 Another still, and still another spreads;  
 Friend, parent, neighbour, first it will embrace;  
 His country next, and next all human race;  
 Wide and more wide, th' o'erflowings of the mind  
 Take ev'ry creature in of ev'ry kind:  
 Earth smiles around, with boundless bounty blest,  
 And heav'n beholds its image in his breast.

Come then, my friend! my genius! come along;  
 O master of the poet and the song!  
 And while the muse now stoops, or now ascends,  
 To man's low passions, or their glorious ends,

Teach me, like thee, in various nature wise,  
 To fall with dignity, with temper rise;  
 Form'd by thy converse, happily to steer  
 From grave to gay, from lively to severe;  
 Correct with spirit, eloquent with ease,  
 Intent to reason, or polite to please.  
 O! while along the stream of time thy name  
 Expanded flies, and gathers all its fame,  
 Say, shall my little bark attendant sail,  
 Pursue the triumph, and partake the gale?  
 When statesmen, heroes, kings, in dust repose,  
 Whose sons shall blush their fathers were thy foes,  
 Shall then this verse to future age pretend  
 Thou wert my guide, philosopher, and friend?  
 That, urg'd by thee, I turn'd the tuneful art  
 From sounds to things, from fancy to the heart;  
 For wit's false-mirror held up nature's light,  
 Shew'd erring pride whatever is is right;  
 That reason, passion, answer one great aim;  
 That true self-love and social are the same;  
 That virtue only makes our bliss below,  
 And all our knowledge is ourselves to know.



THE  
UNIVERSAL PRAYER.

DEO OPT. MAX.

FATHER of all! in ev'ry age,  
In ev'ry clime, ador'd,  
By saint, by savage, and by sage,  
Jehovah, Jove, or Lord!

Thou Great First Cause, least understood;  
Who all my sense confin'd  
To know but this, that thou art good,  
And that myself am blind:

Yet gave me, in this dark estate,  
To see the good from ill;  
And binding nature fast in fate,  
Left free the human will.

What conscience dictates to be done,  
Or warns me not to do,  
This teach me more than hell to shun,  
That more than heav'n pursue.

What blessings thy free bounty gives,  
 Let me not cast away;  
 For God is paid when man receives:  
 T' enjoy is to obey.

Yet not to earth's contracted span  
 Thy goodness let me bound,  
 Or think thee Lord alone of man,  
 When thousand worlds are round.

Let not this weak unknowing hand  
 Presume thy bolts to throw,  
 And deal damnation round the land  
 On each I judge thy foe.

If I am right, thy grace impart,  
 Still in the right to stay;  
 If I am wrong, O teach my heart  
 To find that better way.

Save me alike from foolish pride  
 Or impious discontent,  
 At aught thy wisdom has deny'd,  
 Or aught thy goodness lent.

Teach me to feel another's woe,  
 To hide the fault I see.  
 That mercy I to others show,  
 That mercy show to me.

Mean though I am, not wholly so,  
 Since quicken'd by thy breath.  
 O lead me, wheresoe'er I go,  
 Through this day's life or death!

This day be bread and peace my lot:  
 All else beneath the sun  
 Thou know'st if best bestow'd or not,  
 And let thy will be done.

To Thee, whose temple is all space,  
 Whose altar earth, sea, skies!  
 One chorus let all being raise!  
 All nature's incense rise!





# M O R A L   E S S A Y S ;

IN FOUR EPISTLES,

TO SEVERAL PERSONS.

Est brevitæ opus, ut currat sententia, neu se

Impediat verbis lassæ onerantibus aures :

Et sermone opus est modo tristi, sæpe jocosæ,

Defendente vicem modo rhetoris atque poetæ

Interdum urbani, parentis viribus, atque

Extenuantis eas consultò.

HOR



## A D V E R T I S E M E N T.

*BY DR. WARBURTON.*

THE *Essay on Man* was intended to have been comprised in four books: \*

The first of which the author has given us under that title in four epistles.

The second was to have consisted of the same number: 1. Of the extent and limits of human reason. 2. Of those arts and sciences, and of the parts of them, which are useful, and therefore attainable; together with those which are unuseful, and therefore unattainable. 3. Of the nature, ends, use, and application, of the different capacities of men. 4. Of the use of learning; of the science of the world; and of wit; concluding with a satire against the misapplication of them, illustrated by pictures, characters, and examples.

The third book regarded civil regimen, or the science of politics; in which the several forms of a republic were to be examined and

explained; together with the several modes of religious worship, as far forth as they affect society: between which the author always supposed there was the most interesting relation and closest connection. So that this part would have treated of civil and religious society in their full extent.

The fourth and last book concerned private ethics, or practical morality, considered in all the circumstances, orders, professions, and stations, of human life.

The scheme of all this had been maturely digested, and communicated to Lord Bolingbroke, Dr. Swift, and one or two more; and was intended for the only work of his riper years; but was, partly through ill health, partly through discouragements from the depravity of the times, and partly on prudential and other considerations, interrupted, postponed, and, lastly, in a manner laid aside.

But as this was the author's favourite work, which more exactly reflected the image of his strong capacious mind, and as we can have but a

very imperfect idea of it from the *disjecta membra poetæ* that now remain, it may not be amiss to be a little more particular concerning each of these projected books.

The first, as it treats of man in the abstract, and considers him in general under every one of his relations, becomes the foundation, and furnishes out the subjects of the three following: so that

The second book was to take up again the first and second epistles of the first book, and to treat of man in his intellectual capacity at large, as has been explained above. Of this only a small part of the conclusion (which, as we said, was to have contained a satire against the misapplication of wit and learning) may be found in the fourth book of the *Dunciad*, and up and down, occasionally, in the other three.

The third book, in like manner, was to re-assume the subject of the third epistle of the first, which treats of man in his social, political, and religious capacity. But this part the poet afterwards conceived might be best executed in

an epic poem, as the action would make it more animated, and the fable less invidious; in which all the great principles of true and false governments and religions should be chiefly delivered in feigned examples.

The fourth and last book was to pursue the subject of the fourth epistle of the first, and to treat of ethics, or practical morality; and would have consisted of many members, of which the four following epistles were detached portions: the two first, on the characters of men and women, being the introductory part of this concluding book.

# EPISTLE I.

*TO SIR RICHARD TEMPLE, LORD COBHAM.*

OF THE KNOWLEDGE AND CHARAC-  
TERS OF MEN.



## THE ARGUMENT.

I. That it is not sufficient for this knowledge to consider man in the abstract: books will not serve the purpose, nor yet our own experience singly, v. 1. General maxims, unless they be formed upon both, will be but notional, v. 10. Some peculiarity in every man, characteristic to himself, yet varying from himself, v. 15. Difficulties arising from our own passions, fancies, faculties, &c. v. 31. The shortness of life to observe in, and the uncertainty of the principles of action in men to observe by, v. 37, &c. Our own principle of action often hid from ourselves, v. 41. Some few characters plain, but in general confounded, dissembled, or inconsistent, v. 51. The same man utterly different in different places and seasons, v. 71. Unimaginable weaknesses in the greatest, v. 77, &c. Nothing constant and certain but God and nature, v. 95. No judging of the motives from the actions; the same actions proceeding from contrary motives, and the same motives influencing contrary actions, v. 100. II. Yet to form characters we can only take the strongest actions of a man's life, and try to make them agree: the utter uncertainty of this, from nature itself, and from policy, v. 120. Characters given according to the rank of men of the world, v. 135; and some reason for it, v. 141. Education alters the nature, or at least the character, of many, v. 149. Actions, passions, opinions, manners, humours, or principles, all subject to change. No judging by nature, from v. 158 to 174. III. It only remains to find (if we can) his ruling passion: that will certainly influence all the rest, and can reconcile the seeming or real inconsistency of all his actions, v. 175. Instanced in the extraordinary character of Clodio, v. 179. A caution against mistaking second qualities for first, which will destroy all possibility of the knowledge of mankind, v. 210. Examples of the strength of the ruling passion, and its continuation to the last breath, v. 222, &c.

## EPISTLE I.

### PART I.

YEs, you despise the man to books confin'd,  
Who from his study rails at human-kind;  
Tho' what he learns he speaks, and may advance  
Some gen'ral maxims, or be right by chance.  
The coxcomb bird, so talkative and grave,  
That from his cage cries cuckold, whore, and knave,  
Though many a passenger he rightly call,  
You hold him no philosopher at all.

And yet the fate of all extremes is such,  
Men may be read, as well as books, too much.  
To observations which ourselves we make,  
We grow more partial for th' observer's sake;  
To written wisdom, as another's, less:  
Maxims are drawn from notions, these from guess.  
There's some peculiar in each leaf and grain,  
Some unmark'd fibre, or some varying vein.  
Shall only man be taken in the gross?  
Grant but as many sorts of mind as moss.

That each from other differs, first confess;  
 Next, that he varies from himself no less;  
 Add nature's, custom's, reason's, passion's, strife,  
 And all opinion's colours cast on life.

Our depths who fathoms, or our shallows finds?  
 Quick whirls and shifting eddies of our minds.  
 On human actions reason though you can,  
 It may be reason, but it is not man:  
 His principle of action once explore,  
 That instant 'tis his principle no more.  
 Like following life through creatures you dissect,  
 You lose it in the moment you detect.

Yet more; the diff'rence is as great between  
 The optics seeing as the objects seen.  
 All manners take a tincture from our own,  
 Or come discolour'd through our passions shown;  
 Or fancy's beam enlarges, multiplies,  
 Contracts, inverts, and gives ten thousand dyes.

Nor will life's stream for observation stay,  
 It hurries all too fast to mark their way:  
 In vain sedate reflections we would make,  
 When half our knowledge we must snatch, not take.  
 Oft in the passions' wild rotation tost,  
 Our spring of action to ourselves is lost:

Tir'd, not determin'd, to the last we yield,  
 And what comes then is master of the field.  
 As the last image of that troubled heap,  
 When sense subsides, and fancy sports in sleep,  
 (Though past the recollection of the thought)  
 Becomes the stuff of which our dream is wrought:  
 Something as dim to our internal view  
 Is thus, perhaps, the cause of most we do.

True, some are open, and to all men known;  
 Others so very close they're hid from none;  
 (So darkness strikes the sense no less than light)  
 Thus gracious Chandos is belov'd at sight;  
 And ev'ry child hates Shylock, though his soul  
 Still sits at squat, and peeps not from its hole.  
 At half mankind when gen'rous Manly raves,  
 All know 'tis virtue, for he thinks them knaves:  
 When universal homage Umbra pays,  
 All see 'tis vice, and itch of vulgar praise.  
 When flatt'ry glares, all hate it in a queen,  
 While one there is who charms us with his spleen.

But these plain characters we rarely find;  
 Tho' strong the bent, yet quick the turns of mind:  
 Or puzzling contraries confound the whole;  
 Or affectations quite reverse the soul

The dull flat falsehood serves for policy;  
 And in the cunning truth itself's a lie:  
 Unthought-of frailties cheat us in the wise:  
 The fool lies hid in inconsistencies.

See the same man in vigour, in the gout,  
 Alone, in company, in place, or out,  
 Early at bus'ness, and at hazard late,  
 Mad at a fox-chase, wise at a debate,  
 Drunk at a borough, civil at a ball,  
 Friendly at Hackney, faithless at Whitehall!

Catius is ever moral, ever grave,  
 Thinks who endures a knave is next a knave,  
 Save just at dinner—then prefers, no doubt,  
 A rogue with ven'son to a saint without.

Who would not praise Patricio's high desert,  
 His hand unstain'd, his uncorrupted heart,  
 His comprehensive head, all int'rests weigh'd,  
 All Europe sav'd, yet Britain not betray'd?  
 He thanks you not, his pride is in piquet,  
 Newmarket fame, and judgment at a bet.

What made (say Montaigne, or more sage  
 Charron)

Otho a warrior, Cromwell a buffoon?

A perjur'd prince a leaden saint revere,  
 A goddess regent tremble at a star?  
 The throne a bigot keep, a genius quit,  
 Faithless through piety, and dup'd through wit?  
 Europe a woman, child, or dotard, rule,  
 And just her wisest monarch made a fool?

Know, God and nature only are the same :  
 In man the judgment shoots at flying game ;  
 A bird of passage ! gone as soon as found ;  
 Now in the moon, perhaps now under ground.

## PART II.

IN vain the sage, with retrospective eye,  
 Would from th' apparent what conclude the why,  
 Infer the motive from the deed, and show  
 That what we chanc'd was what we meant to do.  
 Behold! if fortune or a mistress frowns,  
 Some plunge in bus'ness, others shave their crowns:  
 To ease the soul of one oppressive weight,  
 This quits an empire, that embroils a state.  
 The same adust complexion has impell'd  
 Charles to the convent, Philip to the field.

Not always actions shew the man: we find  
 Who does a kindness is not therefore kind;  
 Perhaps prosperity becalm'd his breast;  
 Perhaps the wind just shifted from the east:  
 Not therefore humble he who seeks retreat;  
 Pride guides his steps, and bids him shun the great:  
 Who combats bravely is not therefore brave;  
 He dreads a death-bed like the meanest slave:  
 Who reasons wisely is not therefore wise;  
 His pride in reas'ning, not in acting, lies.

But grant that actions best discover man; .  
 Take the most strong, and sort them as you can:  
 The few that glare each character must mark;  
 You balance not the many in the dark.  
 What will you do with such as disagree?  
 Suppress them, or miscall them policy?  
 Must then at once (the character to save)  
 The plain rough hero turn a crafty knave?  
 Alas! in truth the man but chang'd his mind,  
 Perhaps was sick, in love, or had not din'd.  
 Ask why from Britain Cæsar would retreat?  
 Cæsar himself might whisper he was beat.  
 Why risk the world's great empire for a punk?  
 Cæsar perhaps might answer he was drunk.  
 But, sage historians! 'tis your task to prove  
 One action, conduct, one heroic love.

'Tis from high life high characters are drawn;  
 A saint in crape is twice a saint in lawn:  
 A judge is just, a chanc'llor juster still;  
 A gownman learn'd; a bishop what you will;  
 Wise if a minister; but if a king,  
 More wise, more learn'd, more just, more ev'ry thing.  
 Court-virtues bear, like gems, the highest rate,  
 Born where heav'n's influence scarce can penetrate.



In life's low vale, the soil the virtues like,  
 They please as beauties, here as wonders strike.  
 Though the same sun, with all-diffusive rays,  
 Blush in the rose, and in the di'mond blaze,  
 We prize the stronger effort of his pow'r,  
 And justly set the gem above the flow'r.

'Tis education forms the common mind;  
 Just as the twig is bent the tree's inclin'd.  
 Boastful and rough, your first son is a 'squire;  
 The next a tradesman, meek, and much a liar;  
 Tom struts a soldier, open, bold, and brave;  
 Will sheaks a scriv'ner, an exceeding knave.  
 Is he a churchman? then he's fond of pow'r:  
 A quaker? sly: a presbyterian? sour:  
 A smart free-thinker? all things in an hour.  
 Ask men's opinion: Scoto now shall tell  
 How trade increases, and the world goes well:  
 Strike off his pension by the setting sun,  
 And Britain, if not Europe, is undone.

That gay free-thinker, a fine talker once,  
 What turns him now a stupid silent dunce?  
 Some god or spirit he has lately found,  
 Or chanc'd to meet a minister that frown'd.

Judge we by nature? habit can efface,  
 Interest o'ercome, or policy take place :  
 By actions? those uncertainty divides :  
 By passions? these dissimulation hides :  
 Opinions? they still take a wider range :  
 Find, if you can, in what you cannot change.

Manners with fortunes, humours turn with  
                   climes,  
 Tenets with books, and principles with times.

## PART III.

SEARCH then the ruling passion: there, alone,  
 The wild are constant, and the cunning known;  
 The fool consistent, and the false sincere;  
 Priests, princes, women, no dissemblers here.  
 This clue once found unravels all the rest,  
 The prospect clears, and Wharton stands confest.  
 Wharton! the scorn and wonder of our days,  
 Whose ruling passion was the lust of praise:  
 Born with whate'er could win it from the wise,  
 Women and fools must like him, or he dies:  
 Though wond'ring senates hung on all he spoke,  
 The club must hail him master of the joke.  
 Shall parts so various aim at nothing new?  
 He'll shine a Tully and a Wilmot too:  
 Then turns repentant, and his God adores  
 With the same spirit that he drinks and whores;  
 Enough if all around him but admire,  
 And now the punk applaud, and now the friar.  
 Thus with each gift of nature and of art,  
 And wanting nothing but an honest heart:

Crown all to all, from no one vice exempt,  
 And most contemptible to shun contempt;  
 His passion still to covet gen'ral praise,  
 His life to forfeit it a thousand ways;  
 A constant bounty which no friend has made;  
 An angel tongue which no man can persuade;  
 A fool with more of wit than half mankind,  
 Too rash for thought, for action too refin'd;  
 A tyrant to the wife his heart approves;  
 A rebel to the very king he loves;  
 He dies, sad outcast of each church and state,  
 And, harder still ! flagitious, yet not great !  
 Ask you why Wharton broke through ev'ry rule ?  
 'Twas all for fear the knaves should call him fool.

Nature well known, no prodigies remain;  
 Comets are regular, and Wharton plain.

Yet in this search the wisest may mistake,  
 If second qualities for first they take.  
 When Catiline by rapine swell'd his store,  
 When Cæsar made a noble dame a whore,  
 In this the lust, in that the avarice,  
 Were means, not ends ; ambition was the vice.  
 That very Cæsar, born in Scipio's days,  
 Had aim'd, like him, by chastity at praise.

Lucullus, when frugality could charm,  
 Had roasted turnips in the Sabine farm.  
 In vain th' observer eyes the builder's toil,  
 But quite mistakes the scaffold for the pile.

In this one passion man can strength enjoy,  
 As fits give vigour just when they destroy.  
 Time, that on all things lays his lenient hand,  
 Yet tames not this; it sticks to our last sand.  
 Consistent in our follies and our sins,  
 Here honest nature ends as she begins.

Old politicians chew on wisdom past,  
 And totter on in bus'ness to the last;  
 As weak, as earnest, and as gravely out  
 As sober Lanesb'row dancing in the gout.

Behold a rev'rend sire, whom want of grace  
 Has made the father of a nameless race,  
 Shov'd from the wall perhaps, or rudely press'd  
 By his own son, that passes by unblest;  
 Still to his wench he crawls on knocking knees,  
 And envies ev'ry sparrow that he sees.

A salmon's belly, Helluo, was thy fate;  
 The doctor call'd, declares all help too late.  
 'Mercy!' cries Helluo, 'mercy on my soul!  
 Is there no hope?—Alas!—then bring the jowl.'

The frugal erone, whom praying priests attend,  
 Still strives to save the hallow'd taper's end,  
 Collects her breath, as ebbing life retires,  
 For one puff more, and in that puff expires.

‘Odious! in woollen! ’twould a saint provoke,  
 (Were the last words that poor Narcissa spoke)  
 No, let a charming chintz and Brussels lace  
 Wrap my cold limbs, and shade my lifeless face:  
 One would not, sure, be frightful when one's dead—  
 And—Betty—give this cheek a little red.’

The courtier smooth, who forty years had shin'd  
 An humble servant to all human-kind,  
 Just brought out this, when scarce his tongue could  
 stir,

‘If—where I'm going—I could serve you, sir?’

‘I give and I devise (old Euclio said,  
 And sigh'd) my lands and tenements to Ned.’  
 ‘Your money, sir?’—‘My money, sir, what, all?’  
 ‘Why—if I must—(then wept) I give it Paul.’  
 ‘The manor, sir?’—‘The manor! hold,’ he cry'd,  
 ‘Not that—I cannot part with that—and dy'd.’

And you, brave Cobham! to the latest breath  
 Shall feel your ruling passion strong in death;  
 Such in those moments as in all the past,  
 ‘O save my country, heav'n!’ shall be your last.



EPISTLE II.

*TO A LADY.*

OF THE CHARACTERS OF WOMEN.



## THE ARGUMENT.

That the particular characters of women are not so strongly marked as those of men, seldom so fixed, and still more inconsistent with themselves, v. 1, &c. Instances of contrarieties given, even from such characters as are more strongly marked, and seemingly, therefore, most consistent: as I. in the affected, v. 21, &c. II. In the soft-natured, v. 29 and 37. III. In the cunning and artful, v. 45. IV. In the whimsical, v. 53. V. In the lewd and vicious, v. 69. VI. In the witty and refined, v. 87. VII. In the stupid and simple, v. 101. The former part having shewn that the particular characters of women are more various than those of men, it is nevertheless observed that the general characteristic of the sex, as to the ruling passion, is more uniform, v. 207. This is occasioned partly by their nature, partly by their education, and in some degree by necessity, v. 211. What are the aims and the fate of this sex:—I. As to power, v. 219. II. As to pleasure, v. 231. Advice for their true interest, v. 249. The picture of an estimable woman, with the best kind of contrarieties, v. 257, &c.

## EPISTLE II.

Nothing so true as what you once let fall,  
'Most women have no characters at all:'  
Matter too soft a lasting mark to bear,  
And best distinguish'd by black, brown, or fair.

How many pictures of one nymph we view,  
All how unlike each other, all how true!  
Arcadia's countess here, in ermin'd pride,  
Is there Pastora by a fountain side:  
Here Fannia, leering on her own good man,  
And there a naked Leda with a swan.  
Let then the fair one beautifully cry,  
In Magdalen's loose hair and lifted eye,  
Or dress'd in smiles of sweet Cecilia shine,  
With simp'ring angels, palms, and harps divine;  
Whether the charmer sinner it, or saint it,  
If folly grow romantic, I must paint it.

Come then, the colours and the ground prepare!  
Dip in the rainbow, trick her off in air;

Chuse a firm cloud before it fall, and in it  
Catch, ere she change, the Cynthia of this minute.

Rufa, whose eye quick-glancing o'er the Park,  
Attracts each light gay meteor of a spark,  
Agrees as ill with Rufa studying Locke,  
As Sappho's di'monds with her dirty smock,  
Or Sappho at her toilet's greasy task,  
With Sappho fragrant at an ev'ning mask:  
So morning insects, that in muck begun,  
Shine, buzz, and fly-blow in the setting sun.

How soft is Silia! fearful to offend;  
The frail one's advocate, the weak one's friend.  
To her Calista prov'd her conduct nice,  
And good Simplicius asks of her advice.  
Sudden she storms! she raves! you tip the wink;  
But spare your censure; Silia does not drink.  
All eyes may see from what the change arose;  
All eyes may see—a pimple on her nose.

Papilia, wedded to her am'rous spark,  
Sighs for the shades—'How charming is a park!'  
A park is purchas'd; but the fair he sees  
All bath'd in tears—'Oh, odious, odious trees!'

Ladies, like variegated tulips show;  
'Tis to their changes half their charms we owe:

Fine by defect, and delicately weak,  
 Their happy spots the nice admirer take.  
 'Twas thus Calypso once each heart alarm'd,  
 Aw'd without virtue, without beauty charm'd;  
 Her tongue bewitch'd as oddly as her eyes;  
 Less wit than mimic, more a wit than wise:  
 Strange graces still, and stranger flights, she had;  
 Was just not ugly, and was just not mad;  
 Yet ne'er so sure our passion to create,  
 As when she touch'd the brink of all we hate.

Narcissa's nature, tolerably mild,  
 To make a wash would hardly stew a child,  
 Has e'en been prov'd to grant a lover's pray'r,  
 And paid a tradesman once to make him stare;  
 Gave alms at Easter in a christian trim,  
 And made a widow happy for a whim.  
 Why then declare good-nature is her scorn,  
 When 'tis by that alone she can be borne?  
 Why pique all mortals, yet affect a name?  
 A fool to pleasure, yet a slave to fame:  
 Now deep in Taylor and the Book of Martyrs,  
 Now drinking citron with his grace and Chartres:  
 Now conscience chills her, and now passion burns,  
 And ætheism and religion both in turn

A very heathen in the carnal part,  
Yet still a sad good christian at her heart.

See sin in state, majestically drunk,  
Proud as a peeress, prouder as a punk;  
Chaste to her husband, frank to all beside,  
A teeming mistress, but a barren bride.  
What then? let blood and body bear the fault;  
Her head's untouch'd, that noble seat of thought:  
Such this day's doctrine—in another fit  
She sins with poets through pure love of wit.  
What has not fir'd her bosom or her brain?  
Cæsar and Tallboy, Charles and Charlemagne.  
As Helluo, late dictator of the feast,  
The nose of haut-goût, and the tip of taste,  
Critiqu'd your wine, and analyz'd your meat,  
Yet on plain pudding deign'd at home to eat:  
So Philomédé, lect'ring all mankind  
On the soft passion, and the taste refin'd,  
Th' address, the delicacy—stoops at once,  
And makes her hearty meal upon a dunce.

Flavia's a wit, has too much sense to pray;  
To toast our wants and wishes is her way;  
Nor asks of God, but of her stars, to give  
The mighty blessing 'while we live to live.'

Then all for death, that opiate of the soul!  
 Lucretia's dagger, Rosamonda's bowl.  
 Say, what can cause such impotence of mind?  
 A spark too fickle, or a spouse too kind.  
 Wise wretch! with pleasures too refin'd to please;  
 With too much spirit to be e'er at ease;  
 With too much quickness ever to be taught;  
 With too much thinking to have common thought;  
 You purchase pain with all that joy can give,  
 And die of nothing but a rage to live.

Turn then from wits, and look on Simo's mate;  
 No ass so meek, no ass so obstinate:  
 Or her that owns her faults but never mends,  
 Because she's honest, and the best of friends:  
 Or her whose life the church and scandal share,  
 For ever in a passion or a pray'r:  
 Or her who laughs at hell, but (like her grace)  
 Cries, 'Ah! how charming if there's no such place!'   
 Or who in sweet vicissitude appears  
 Of mirth and opium, ratafie and tears;  
 The daily anodyne and nightly draught,  
 To kill those foes to fair ones, time and thought.  
 Woman and fool are too hard things to hit;  
 For true no-meaning puzzles more than wit.

But what are these to great Atossa's mind?  
 Scarce once herself, by turns all woman-kind!  
 Who with herself, or others, from her birth  
 Finds all her life one warfare upon earth;  
 Shines in exposing knaves and painting fools,  
 Yet is whate'er she hates and ridicules:  
 No thought advances, but her eddy brain  
 Whisks it about, and down it goes again.  
 Full sixty years the world has been her trade;  
 The wisest fool much time has ever made:  
 From loveless youth to unrespected age,  
 No passion gratified except her rage:  
 So much the fury still outran the wit,  
 The pleasure miss'd her, and the scandal hit.  
 Who breaks with her provokes revenge from hell,  
 But he's a bolder man who dares be well.  
 Her ev'ry turn with violence pursu'd,  
 Nor more a storm her hate than gratitude:  
 To that each passion turns or soon or late;  
 Love, if it makes her yield, must make her hate.  
 Superiors? death! and equals? what a curse!  
 But an inferior not dependent? worse.  
 Offend her, and she knows not to forgive;  
 Oblige her, and she'll hate you while you live;

But die, and she'll adore you—then the bust  
 And temple rise—then fall again to dust.  
 Last night her lord was all that's good and great;  
 A knave this morning, and his will a cheat.  
 Strange! by the means defeated of the ends,  
 By spirit robb'd of pow'r, by warmth of friends,  
 By wealth of foll'wers! without one distress,  
 Sick of herself through very selfishness!  
 Atossa, curs'd with ev'ry granted pray'r,  
 Childless with all her children, wants an heir:  
 To heirs unknown descends th' unguarded store,  
 Or wanders, heav'n-directed, to the poor.\*

Pictures like these, dear Madam! to design,  
 Asks no firm hand and no unerring line;  
 Some wand'ring touches, some reflected light,  
 Some flying stroke, alone can hit them right:  
 For how should equal colours do the knack? •  
 Chameleons who can paint in white and black?

‘ Yet Chloe sure was form'd without a spot.’—  
 Nature in her then err'd not, but forgot.  
 ‘ With ev'ry pleasing, ev'ry prudent, part,  
 Say, what can Chloe want?’—She wants a heart.  
 She speaks, behaves, and acts, just as she ought,  
 But never, never, reach'd one gen'rous thought.



Virtue she finds too painful an endeavour,  
 Content to dwell in decencies for ever.  
 So very reasonable, so unmov'd,  
 As never yet to love or to be lov'd.  
 She, while her lover pants upon her breast,  
 Can mark the figures on an Indian chest;  
 And when she sees her friend in deep despair,  
 Observes how much a chintz exceeds mohair.  
 Forbid it, heav'n! a favour or a debt  
 She e'er should cancel!—but she may forget.  
 Safe is your secret still in Chloe's ear;  
 But none of Chloe's shall you ever hear.  
 Of all her dears she never slander'd one,  
 But cares not if a thousand are undone.  
 Would Chloe know if you're alive or dead?  
 She bids her footman put it in her head.  
 Chloe is prudent—Would you too be wise?  
 Then never break your heart when Chloe dies.

One certain portrait may (I grant) be seen,  
 Which heav'n has varnish'd out and made a queen;  
 The same for ever! and describ'd by all  
 With truth and goodness, as with crown and ball.  
 Poets heap virtues, painters gems, at will,  
 And shew their zeal, and hide their want of skill.

'Tis well—but, artists! who can paint or write,  
 To draw the naked is your true delight.  
 That robe of quality so struts and swells,  
 None see what parts of nature it conceals:  
 'Th' exactest traits of body or of mind,  
 We owe to models of an humble kind.  
 If Queensberry to strip there's no compelling,  
 'Tis from a handmaid we must take a Helen.  
 From peer or bishop 'tis no easy thing  
 To draw the man who loves his God or king.  
 Alas! I copy (or my draught would fail)  
 From honest Mah'met or plain parson Hale.

But grant in public men sometimes are shown;  
 A woman's seen in private life alone:  
 Our bolder talents in full light display'd;  
 Your virtues open fairest in the shade.  
 Bred to disguise, in public 'tis you hide;  
 There none distinguish 'twixt your shame or pride,  
 Weakness or delicacy; all so nice,  
 That each may seem a virtue or a vice.

In men we various ruling passions find;  
 In women two almost divide the kind;  
 Those only fix'd, they first or last obey,

That nature gives; and where the lesson taught  
Is but to please, can pleasure seem a fault?  
Experience this: by man's oppression curst,  
They seek the second not to lose the first.

Men some to bus'ness, some to pleasure take;  
But ev'ry woman is at heart a rake:  
Men some to quiet, some to public strife;  
But ev'ry lady would be queen for life.

Yet mark the fate of a whole sex of queens!  
Pow'r all their end, but beauty all the means.  
In youth they conquer with so wild a rage,  
As leaves them scarce a subject in their age:  
For foreign glory, foreign joy, they roam;  
No thought of peace or happiness at home.  
But wisdom's triumph is well-tim'd retreat,  
As hard a science to the fair as great!  
Beauties, like tyrants, old and friendless grown,  
Yet hate repose, and dread to be alone;  
Worn out in public, weary ev'ry eye,  
Nor leave one sigh behind them when they die.

Pleasures the sex, as children birds, pursue,  
Still out of reach, yet never out of view;  
Sure if they catch to spoil the toy at most,  
To covet flying, and regret when lost:

At last to follies youth could scarce defend,  
 It grows their age's prudence to pretend;  
 Asham'd to own they gave delight before,  
 Reduc'd to feign it when they give no more.  
 As hags hold sabbaths less for joy than spight,  
 So these their merry miserable night;  
 Still round and round the ghosts of beauty glide,  
 And haunt the places where their honour died.

See how the world its veterans rewards!  
 A youth of frolics, an old age of cards;  
 Fair to no purpose, artful to no end,  
 Young without lovers, old without a friend;  
 A fop their passion, but their prize a sot,  
 Alive ridiculous, and dead forgot!

Ah! friend! to dazzle let the vain design;  
 To raise the thought and touch the heart be thine!  
 That charm shall grow, while what fatigues the ring  
 Flaunts and goes down an unregarded thing.  
 So when the sun's broad beam has tir'd the sight,  
 All mild ascends the moon's more sober light,  
 Serene in virgin modesty she shines,  
 And unobserv'd the glaring orb declines.

O! bless'd with temper, whose unclouded ray  
 Can make to-morrow cheerful as to-day;

She who can love a sister's charms, or hear  
 Sighs for a daughter with unwounded ear;  
 She who ne'er answers till a husband cools,  
 Or if she rules him never shows she rules;  
 Charms by accepting, by submitting sways,  
 Yet has her humour most when she obeys;  
 Let fops or fortune fly which way they will,  
 Disdains all loss of tickets or codille;  
 Spleen, vapours, or small-pox, above them all,  
 And mistress of herself, though china fall.

And yet believe me, good as well as ill,  
 Woman's at best a contradiction still.  
 Heav'n, when it strives to polish all it can  
 Its last best work, but forms a softer man;  
 Picks from each sex to make the fa'rite blest,  
 Your love of pleasure, our desire of rest;  
 Blends, in exception to all gen'ral rules,  
 Your taste of follies with our scorn of fools;  
 Reserve with frankness, art with truth ally'd,  
 Courage with softness, modesty with pride;  
 Fix'd principles, with fancy ever new:  
 Shakes all together, and produces—you.

Be this a woman's fame; with this unblest  
 Toasts live a scorn, and queens may die a jest.

'This Phœbûs promis'd (I forget the year)  
 When those blue eyes first open'd on the sphere;  
 Ascendant Phœbus watch'd that hour with care,  
 Averted half your parents' simple pray'r,  
 And gave you beauty, but deny'd the pelf  
 That buys your sex a tyrant o'er itself.  
 The gen'rous god, who wit and gold refines,  
 And ripens spirits as he ripens mines,  
 Kept dross for duchesses, the world shall know it,  
 To you gave sense, good humour, and a poet.



# EPISTLE III.

*TO ALLEN LORD BATHURST.*

OF THE USE OF RICHES.



## THE ARGUMENT.

That it is known to few, most falling into one of the extremes, avarice or profusion, v. 1, &c. The point discussed, whether the invention of money has been more commodious or pernicious to mankind, v. 21 to 77. That riches, either to the avaricious or the prodigal, cannot afford happiness, scarcely necessities, v. 89 to 160. That avarice is an absolute frenzy, without an end or purpose, v. 113, &c. Conjectures about the motives of avaricious men, v. 121 to 153. That the conduct of men, with respect to riches, can only be accounted for by the order of providence, which works the general good out of extremes, and brings all to its great end by perpetual revolutions, v. 161 to 178. How a miser acts upon principles which appear to him reasonable, v. 179. How a prodigal does the same, v. 199. The due medium and true use of riches, v. 219. The Man of Ross, v. 250. The fate of the profuse and the covetous, in two examples; both miserable in life and in death, v. 300, &c. The story of sir Balaam, v. 339 to the end.



Designed by J. Stothard R.S.A.

Engraved by R.H. Green.

### EPISTLE III.

*P.* Who shall decide when doctors disagree,  
And soundest casuits doubt, like you and me?  
You hold the word from Jove to Momus giv'n,  
That man was made the standing jest of heav'n,  
And gold but sent to keep the fools in play,  
For some to heap and some to throw away.

But I, who think more highly of our kind,  
(And surely heav'n and I are of a mind)  
Opine that nature, as in duty bound,  
Deep hid the shining mischief under ground:  
But when by man's audacious labour won  
Flam'd forth this rival to its sire the sun,  
Then careful heav'n supply'd two sorts of men,  
To squander these, and those to hide agen.

Like doctors thus, when much dispute has past,  
We find our tenets just the same at last:  
Both fairly owning riches, in effect,  
No grace of heav'n, or token of th' elect;

Giv'n to the fool, the mad, the vain, the evil,  
To Ward, to Waters, Chartres, and the devil.

*B.* What nature wants, commodious gold bestows;  
stows;

'Tis thus we eat the bread another sows.

*P.* But how unequal it bestows observe;

'Tis thus we riot, while who sow it starve:

• What nature wants (a phrase I much distrust)

Extends to luxury, extends to lust:

Useful I grant, it serves what life requires,

But dreadful too, the dark assassin hires.

*B.* Trade it may help, society extend.

*P.* But lures the pirate, and corrupts the friend.

*B.* It raises armies in a nation's aid.

*P.* But bribes a senate, and the land's betray'd.

• In vain may heroes fight and patriots rave,

If secret gold sap on from knave to knave.

Once, we confess, beneath the patriot's cloak

From the crack'd bag the dropping guinea spoke,

And jingling down the back-stairs, told the crew,

'Old Cato is as great a rogue as you.'

Bless'd paper-credit! last and best supply!

That lends corruption lighter wings to fly!



Gold imp'd by thee can compass hardest things,  
 Can pocket states, can fetch or carry kings;  
 A single leaf shall waft an army o'er,  
 Or ship off senates to some distant shore;  
 A leaf, like Sibyl's, scatter to and fro  
 Our fates and fortunes as the winds shall blow;  
 Pregnant with thousands flits the scrap, unseen,  
 And silent sells a king or buys a queen.

—O, that such bulky bribes as all might see  
 Still, as of old, incumber'd villainy!  
 Could France or Rome divert our brave designs  
 With all their brandies or with all their wines?  
 What could they more than knights and 'squires  
     confound,  
 Or water all the quorum ten miles round?  
 A statesman's slumbers how this speech would spoil!  
 ' Sir, Spain has sent a thousand jars of oil;  
 Huge bales of British cloth blockade the door;  
 A hundred oxen at your levee roar.' ~

Poor avarice one torment more would find,  
 Nor could profusion squander all in kind:  
 Astride his cheese sir Morgan might we meet,  
 And Worldly crying coals from street to street,

Whom with a wig so wild and mien so maz'd  
 Pity mistakes for some poor tradesman cra'd.  
 Had Colepepper's whole wealth been ~~hops~~ and hogs,  
 Could he himself have sent it to ~~the~~ dogs?  
 His grace will game: to White's a bull be led,  
 With spurning heels and with a butting head:  
 To White's be carry'd, as to ancient games,  
 Fair coursers, vases, and alluring dames.  
 Shall then Uxorio, if the stakes he sweep,  
 Bear home six whores, and make his lady weep?  
 Or soft Adonis, so perfum'd and fine,  
 Drive to St. James's a whole herd of swine?  
 O filthy check on all industrious skill,  
 To spoil the nation's last great trade, quadrille!  
 Since then, my lord, on such a world we fall,  
 What say you? *B.* Say? Why, take it, gold and all.

*P.* What riches give us let us then inquire:  
 Meat, fire, and clothes. *B.* What more? *P.* Meat,  
 clothes, and fire.

Is this too little? would you more than live?  
 Alas! 'tis more than Turner finds they give.  
 Alas! 'tis more than (all his visions past)  
 Unhappy Wharton, waking, found at last!

What can they give? To dying Hopkins heirs?  
 To Charaxes vigour? Japhet nose and ears?  
 Can they in gems bid pallid Hippias glow?  
 In Fulvia's buckle ease the throbs below?  
 Or heal, old Narses, thy obscurer ail,  
 With all th' embroid'ry plaster'd at thy tail?  
 They might (were Harpax not too wise to spend)  
 Give Harpax' self the blessing of a friend;  
 Or find some doctor that would save the life  
 Of wretched Shylock, spite of Shylock's wife.  
 But thousands die without or this or that,  
 Die, and endow a college or a cat.  
 To some indeed heav'n grants the happier fate  
 T' enrich a bastard, or a son they hate.

Perhaps you think the poor might have their part?  
 Bond damns the poor, and hates them from his heart.  
 The grave sir Gilbert holds it for a rule  
 That ev'ry man in want is knave or fool.  
 'God cannot love (says Blunt, with tearless eyes)  
 The wretch he starves'—and piously denies:  
 But the good bishop, with a meeker air,  
 Admits, and leaves them providence's care.

Yet, to be just to these poor men of pelf,  
 Each does but hate his neighbour as himself.

Dam'd to the mines, an equal fate betides  
The slave that digs it and the slave that ~~hides~~.

*B.* Who suffers thus, mere charity should own,  
Must act on motives pow'ful though unknown.

*P.* Some war, some plague or famine, they fore-  
see,

Some revelation hid from you and me.

Why Shylock wants a meal the cause is found;  
He thinks a loaf will rise to fifty pound.

What made directors cheat in South-sea year?  
To live on ven'son, when it sold so dear.

Ask you why Phryne the whole auction buys?  
Phryne foresees a general excise.

Why she and Sappho raise that monstrous sum?  
Alas! they fear a man will cost a plum.

Wise Peter sees the world's respect for gold,  
And therefore hopes this nation may be sold.  
Glorious ambition! Peter, swell thy store,  
And be what Rome's great Didius was before.

The crown of Poland, venal twice an age,  
To just three millions stinted modest Gage.  
But nobler scenes Maria's dreams unfold,  
Hereditary realms, and worlds of gold.



Congénial souls! whose life one av'rice joins,  
And one fate buries in th' Asturian mines.

o Much-injur'd Blunt! why bears he Britain's hate?

A wizard told him in these words our fate:

' At length corruption, like a gen'ral flood,

(So long by watchful ministers withstood)

Shall deluge all; and av'rice, creeping on,

Spread like a low-born mist and blot the sun;

Statesman and patriot ply alike the stocks,

Peeress and butler share alike the box,

And judges job, and bishops bite the town,

And mighty dukes pack cards for half a crown:

See Britain sunk in lucre's sordid charms,

And France reveng'd of Anne's and Edward's arms!

'Twas no court-badge, great scriv'ner! fir'd thy brain,

Nor lordly luxury, nor city gain:

No, 'twas thy righteous end, asham'd to see

Senates degen'rate, patriots disagree,

And nobly wishing party-rage to cease,

To buy both sides, and give thy country peace.

' All this is madness,' cries a sober sage:

But who, my friend, has reason in his rage?

' The ruling passion, be it what it will,

The ruling passion, conquers reason still.'

Less mad the wildest whimsey we can frame;  
 Than e'en that passion if it has no aim;  
 For though such motives folly you may call,  
 The folly's greater to have none at all.

Hear then the truth: 'Tis heav'n each passion  
 sends,

And diff'rent men directs to diff'rent ends.

Extremes in nature equal good produce;  
 Extremes in man concur to gen'ral use.

Ask we what makes one keep, and one bestow?  
 That pow'r who bids the ocean ebb and flow,  
 Bids seedtime, harvest, equal course maintain,  
 Through reconcil'd extremes of drought and rain;  
 Builds life on death, on change duration founds,  
 And gives th' eternal wheels to know their rounds.

Riches, like insects, when conceal'd they lie,  
 Wait but for wings, and in their season fly.  
 Who sees pale Mammon pine amidst his store,  
 Sees but a backward steward for the poor;  
 This year a reservoir to keep and spare,  
 The next a fountain spouting through his heir,  
 In lavish streams to quench a country's thirst,  
 And men and dogs shall drink him till they burst.

O'd Cotta sham'd his fortune and his birth,  
 Yet was not Cotta void of wit or worth:  
 What thought (the use of barb'rous spits forgot)  
 His kitchen vied in coolness with his grot?  
 His court with nettles, moats with cresses stor'd,  
 With soups unbought, and sallads, bless'd his board?  
 If Cotta liv'd on pulse, it was no more  
 Than bramins, saints, and sages, did before:  
 To cram the rich was prodigal expence;  
 And who would take the poor from providence?  
 Like some lone chartreux stands the good old hall,  
 Silence without, and fasts within the wall;  
 No rafter'd roofs with dance and tabor sound,  
 No noontide bell invites the country round;  
 Tenants with sighs the smokeless tow'rs survey,  
 And turn th' unwilling steeds another way;  
 Benighted wanderers, the forest o'er,  
 Curse the sav'd candle and unop'ning door;  
 While the gaunt mastiff, growling at the gate,  
 Affrights the beggar whom he longs to eat.

Not so his son; he mark'd this oversight,  
 And then mistook reverse of wrong for right:  
 (For what to shun will no great knowledge need,  
 But what to follow is a task indeed!)

Yet sure, of qualities deserving praise,  
 More go to ruin fortunes than to raise.  
 What slaughter'd hecatombs, what floods of wine,  
 Fill the capacious 'squire and deep divine!  
 Yet no mean motive this profusion draws;  
 His oxen perish in his country's cause;  
 'Tis George and liberty that crowns the cup,  
 And zeal for that great house which eats him up.  
 The woods recede around the naked seat,  
 The sylvans groan—no matter—for the fleet:  
 Next goes his wool—to clothe our valiant bands;  
 Last, for his country's love, he sells his lands.  
 To town he comes, completes the nation's hope,  
 And heads the bold trainbands, and burns a pope.  
 And shall not Britain now reward his toils,  
 Britain, that pays her patriots with her spoils?  
 In vain at court the bankrupt pleads his cause;  
 His thankless country leaves him to her laws,

The sense to value riches, with the art  
 'T' enjoy them, and the virtue to impart,  
 Not meanly nor ambitiously pursu'd,  
 Not sunk by sloth, nor rais'd by servitude;  
 To balance fortune by a just expence,  
 Join with economy magnificence;

With splendour charity, with plenty health,  
 O teach us, Bathurst! yet unspoil'd by wealth!  
 That secret rare, between th' extremes to move  
 Of mad good-nature and of mean self-love.

*B.* To worth or want well-weigh'd be bounty  
 giv'n,

And ease or emulate the care of heav'n;  
 (Whose measure full o'erflows on human race)  
 Mend fortune's fault, and justify her grace.  
 Wealth in the gross is death, but life diffus'd,  
 As poison heals in just proportion us'd:  
 In heaps, like ambergris, a stink it lies,  
 But well dispers'd is incense to the skies.

*P.* Who starves by nobles, or with nobles eats?  
 The wretch that trusts them, and the rogue that  
 cheats.

Is there a lord who knows a cheerful noon,  
 Without a fiddler, flatt'rer, or buffoon?  
 Whose table wit or modest merit share,  
 Un-elbow'd by a gamester, pimp, or play'r?  
 Who copies your's or Oxford's better part,  
 To ease th' oppress'd, and raise the sinking heart?  
 Where'er he shines, O fortune! gild the scene,  
 And angels guard him in the golden mean!

There English bounty yet a while may stand  
And honour linger ere it leaves the land.

But all our praises why should lords engross?  
Rise, honest muse! and sing the Man of Ross:  
Pleas'd Vaga echoes through her winding bounds,  
And rapid Severn hoarse applause resounds.  
Who hung with woods yon mountain's sultry brow?  
From the dry rock who bade the waters flow?  
Not to the skies in useless columns tost,  
Or in proud falls magnificently lost,  
But clear and artless, pouring through the plain  
Health to the sick, and solace to the swain.  
Whose causeway parts the vale with shady rows?  
Whose seats the weary traveller repose?  
Who taught that heav'n-directed spire to rise?  
'The Man of Ross,' each lisping babe replies.  
Behold the market-place with poor o'erspread!  
The Man of Ross divides the weekly bread:  
He feeds ~~you~~ almshouse, neat, but void of state,  
Where age and want sit smiling at the gate:  
Him portion'd maids, apprentic'd orphans, blest,  
The young who labour, and the old who rest.  
Is any sick? the Man of Ross relieves,  
Prescribes, attends, the medicine makes and gives.

Is there a variance? enter but his door,  
 Baulk'd are the courts, and contest is no more:  
 Despairing quacks with curses fled the place,  
 And vile attorneys, now a useless race.

*B.* Thrice happy man! enabled to pursue  
 What all so wish, but want the pow'r to do!  
 O, say what sums that gen'rous hand supply?  
 What mines to swell that boundless charity?

*P.* Of debts and taxes, wife and children, clear,  
 This man possess'd—five hundred pounds a-year.  
 Blush, grandeur! blush! proud courts! withdraw  
 your blaze;

Ye little stars! hide your diminish'd rays.

*B.* And what? no monument, inscription, stone,  
 His race, his form, his name, almost unknown?

*P.* Who builds a church to God, and not to fame,  
 Will never mark the marble with his name.  
 Go, search it there, where to be born and die,  
 Of rich and poor makes all the history;  
 Enough that virtue fill'd the space between,  
 Prov'd by the ends of being to have been.  
 When Hopkins dies, a thousand lights attend  
 The wretch who living sav'd a candle's end:

Should'ring God's altar a vile image stands,  
 Belies his features, nay, extends his hands;  
 That live-long wig, which Gorgon's self might own,  
 Eternal buckle takes in Parian stone.  
 Behold what blessings wealth to life can lend!  
 And see what comfort it affords our end.

In the worst inn's worst room, with mat half-  
 hung,  
 The floors of plaster, and the walls of dung,  
 On once a flock-bed, but repair'd with straw,  
 With tape-tied curtains, never meant to draw,  
 The George and Garter dangling from that bed  
 Where tawdry yellow strove with dirty red,  
 Great Villiers lies—alas! how chang'd from him,  
 That life of pleasure and that soul of whim!  
 Gallant and gay, in Cliveden's proud alcove,  
 The bow'r of wanton Shrewsbury and love;  
 Or just as gay at council, in a ring  
 Of mimic statesmen and their merry king.  
 No wit to flatter, left of all his store!  
 No fool to laugh at, which he valu'd more.  
 There, victor of his health, of fortune, friends,  
 And fame, this lord of useless thousands ends!



His grace's fate sage Cutler could foresee,  
 And well (he thought) advis'd him, 'Live like me.'  
 As well his grace reply'd, 'Like you, sir John?  
 That I can do when all I have is gone!'

Resolve me, reason, which of these is worse,  
 Want with a full, or with an empty purse?  
 Thy life more wretched, Cutler! was confess'd;  
 Arise, and tell me, was thy death more bless'd?  
 Cutler saw tenants break and houses fall;  
 For very want he could not build a wall.  
 His only daughter in a stranger's pow'r;  
 For very want he could not pay a dow'r.  
 A few gray hairs his rev'rend temples crown'd;  
 'Twas very want that sold them for two pound.  
 What! e'en deny'd a cordial at his end,  
 Banish'd the doctor, and expell'd the friend?  
 What but a want, which you perhaps think mad,  
 Yet numbers feel, the want of what he had!  
 Cutler and Brutus dying both exclaim,  
 'Virtue! and wealth! what are ye but a name!'

Say, for such worth are other worlds prepar'd?  
 Or are they both in this their own reward?  
 A knotty point! to which we now proceed.  
 But you are tir'd—I'll tell a tale—*B.* Agreed,

*P.* Where London's column, pointing at the skies  
 Like a tall bully, lifts the head and lies,  
 There dwelt a citizen of sober fame,  
 A plain good man, and Balaam was his name;  
 Religious, punctual, frugal, and so forth;  
 His word would pass for more than he was worth.  
 One solid dish his week-day meal affords,  
 An added pudding solemniz'd the Lord's:  
 Constant at church and 'Change; his gains were sure;  
 His givings rare, save farthings to the poor.

The dev'l was piqu'd such saintship to behold,  
 And long'd to tempt him like good Job of old;  
 But Satan now is wiser than of yore,  
 And tempts by making rich, not making poor.

Rous'd by the prince of air, the whirlwinds sweep  
 The surge, and plunge his father in the deep;  
 Then fell against his Cornish lands they roar,  
 And two rich shipwrecks bless the lucky shore.

Sir Balaam now, he lives like other folks,  
 He takes his chirping pint and cracks his jokes.  
 'Live like yourself,' was soon my lady's word;  
 And, lo! two puddings smok'd upon the board.

Asleep and naked as an Indian lay  
 An honest factor stole a gem away:

He pledg'd it to the knight; the knight had wit,  
 So kept the di'mond, and the rogue was bit.  
 Some scruple rose, but thus he eas'd his thought:  
 'I'll now give sixpence where I gave a groat;  
 Where once I went to church I'll now go twice—  
 And am so clear too of all other vice.'

The tempter saw his time; the work he ply'd;  
 Stocks and subscriptions pour on ev'ry side,  
 Till all the dæmon makes his full descent  
 In one abundant show'r of cent per cent,  
 Sinks deep within him, and possesses whole,  
 Then dubs director, and secures his soul.

Behold sir Balaam, now a man of spirit,  
 Ascribes his gettings to his parts and merit;  
 What late he call'd a blessing now was wit,  
 And God's good providence a lucky hit.  
 Things change their titles as our manners turn:  
 His compting-house employ'd the Sunday morn:  
 Seldom at church ('twas such a busy life)  
 But duly sent his family and wife.  
 There (so the dev'l ordain'd) one Christmas-tide  
 My good old lady catch'd a cold and dy'd.

A nymph of quality admires our knight;  
 He marries, bows at court, and grows polite;

Leaves the dull cits, and joins (to please the fair)  
 The well-bred cuckolds in St. James's air;  
 First for his son a gay commission buys,  
 Who drinks, whores, fights, and in a duel dies:  
 His daughter flaunts a viscount's tawdry wife;  
 She bears a coronet and p—x for life.  
 In Britain's senate he a seat obtains,  
 And one more pensioner St. Stephen gains.  
 My lady falls to play; so bad her chance,  
 He must repair it; takes a bribe from France:  
 The house impeach him; Coningsby harangues;  
 The court forsake him, and sir Balaam hangs.  
 Wife, son, and daughter, Satan! are thy own,  
 His wealth, yet dearer, forfeit to the crown:  
 The devil and the king divide the prize,  
 And sad sir Balaam curses God and dies.

**EPISTLE IV.**

*TO RICHARD BOYLE, EARL OF BURLINGTON.*

**OF THE USE OF RICHES.**

## THE ARGUMENT.

The vanity of expence in people of wealth and quality. The abuse of the word taste, v. 13. That the first principle and foundation in this, as in every thing else, is good sense, v. 40. The chief proof of it is to follow nature, even in works of mere luxury and elegance. Instanced in architecture and gardening, where all must be adapted to the genius and use of the place, and the beauties not forced into it, but resulting from it, v. 50. How men are disappointed in their most expensive undertakings for want of this true foundation, without which nothing can please long, if at all; and the best examples and rules will be but perverted into something burthensome and ridiculous, v. 65 to 92. A description of the false taste of magnificence; the first grand error of which is to imagine that greatness consists in the size and dimension, instead of the proportion and harmony, of the whole, v. 97; and the second, either in joining together parts incoherent, or too minutely resembling, or, in the repetition of the same too frequently, v. 105, &c. A word or two of false taste in books, in music, in painting, even in preaching and prayer, and lastly in entertainments, v. 133, &c. Yet Providence is justified in giving wealth to be squandered in this manner, since it is dispersed to the poor and laborious part of mankind, v. 169. [recurring to what is laid down in the first book, ep. ii. and in the epistle preceding this, v. 159, &c.] What are the proper objects of magnificence, and a proper field for the expence of great men, v. 177, &c. and, finally, the great and public works which become a prince, v. 191 to the end.

## ÉPISTLE IV.

"Tis strange the miser should his cares employ  
To gain those riches he can ne'er enjoy:  
Is it less strange the prodigal should waste  
His wealth to purchase what he ne'er can taste?  
Not for himself he sees, or hears, or eats;  
Artists must choose his pictures, music, meats:  
He buys for Topham drawings and designs;  
For Pembroke statues, dirty gods, and coins;  
Rare monkish manuscripts for Hearne alone,  
And books for Mead, and butterflies for Sloane.  
Think we all these are for himself? no more  
Than his fine wife, alas! or finer whore.

For what has Virro painted, built, and planted?  
Only to show how many tastes he wanted.  
What brought sir Visto's ill-got wealth to waste?  
Some dæmon whisper'd, 'Visto! have a taste.'  
Heav'n visits with a taste the wealthy fool,  
And needs no rod but Ripley with a rule.

See! sportive fate, to punish awkward pride, /  
 Bids Bubo build, and sends him such a guide:  
 A standing sermon at each year's expence,  
 That never coxcomb reach'd magnificence!

You show us Rome was glorious, not profuse,  
 And pompous buildings once were things of use;  
 Yet shall, my lord, your just; your noble, rules  
 Fill half the land with imitating fools;  
 Who random drawings from your sheets shall take;  
 And of one beauty many blunders make;  
 Load some vain church with old theatric state;  
 Turn arcs of triumph to a garden gate;  
 Reverse your ornaments, and hang them all  
 On some patch'd dog-hole ek'd with ends of wall,  
 Then clap four slices of pilaster on't,  
 That lac'd with bits of rustic makes a front;  
 Shall call the winds through long arcades to roar,  
 Proud to catch cold at a Venetian door:  
 Conscious they act a true Palladian part,  
 And if they starve they starve by rules of art.

Oft have you hinted to your brother peer  
 A certain truth, which many buy too dear:  
 Something there is more needful than expence,  
 And something previous e'en to taste—'tis sense;



Good sense, which only is the gift of heav'n,  
 And though no science, fairly worth the sev'n;  
 A light which in yourself you must perceive;  
 Jones and Le Nôtre have it not to give.

To build, to plant, whatever you intend,  
 To rear the column, or the arch to bend,  
 To swell the terrace, or to sink the grot,  
 In all, let nature never be forgot;  
 But treat the goddess like a modest fair,  
 Nor overdress, nor leave her wholly bare;  
 Let not each beauty ev'ry where be spy'd,  
 Where half the skill is decently to hide.  
 He gains all points who pleasingly confounds,  
 Surprises, varies, and conceals the bounds.

Consult the genius of the place in all;  
 That tells the waters or to rise or fall;  
 Or helps th' ambitious hill the heav'ns to scale,  
 Or scoops in circling theatres the vale;  
 Calls in the country, catches op'ning glades,  
 Joins willing woods, and varies shades from shades;  
 Now breaks, or now directs, th' intending lines;  
 Paints as you plant, and as you work designs.

Still follow sense, of ev'ry art the soul;

And let the parts all slide into a whole

Spontaneous beauties all around advance,  
 Start e'en from difficulty, strike from chance:  
 Nature shall join you; time shall make it grow  
 A work to wonder at—perhaps a *Stow*.

Without it, proud Versailles! thy glory falls,  
 And Nero's terraces desert their walls:  
 The vast parterres a thousand hands shall make,  
 Lo! Cobham comes and floats them with a lake:  
 Or cut wide views through mountains to the plain,  
 You'll wish your hill or shelter'd seat again.  
 E'er in an ornament its place remark,  
 Nor in an hermitage set Dr. Clarke.

'Behold Villario's ten years' toil complete,  
 His quincunx darkens, his espaliers meet,  
 The wood supports the plain, the parts unite,  
 And strength of shade contends with strength of  
     light;  
 A waving glow the bloomy beds display,  
 Blushing in bright diversities of day,  
 With silver-quiv'ring rills meander'd o'er—  
 Enjoy them you! Villario can no more:  
 Tir'd of the scene parterres and fountains yield,  
 He finds at last he better likes a field.

Through his young woods how pleas'd Sabinus  
stray'd,

Or sat delighted in the thick'ning shade,  
With annual joy the redd'ning shoots to greet,  
Or see the stretching branches long to meet!  
His son's fine taste an op'ner visto loves,  
Foe to the Dryads of his father's groves;  
One boundless green or flourish'd carpet views,  
With all the mournful family of yews;  
The thriving plants, ignoble broomsticks made,  
Now sweep those alleys they were born to shade.

At Timon's villa let us pass a day;  
Where all cry out, 'What sums are thrown away!'  
So proud, so grand; of that stupendous air,  
Soft and agreeable come never there.  
Greatness with Timon dwells in such a draught  
As brings all Brobdingnag before your thought.  
To compass this, his building is a town,  
His pond an ocean, his parterre a down:  
Who but must laugh, the master when he sees,  
A puny insect shiv'ring at a breeze!  
Lo, what huge heaps of littleness around!  
The whole a labour'd quarry above ground.

Two cupids squirt before: a lake behind  
 Improves the keenness of the northern wind.  
 His gardens next your admiration call;  
 On ev'ry side you look, behold the wall!  
 No pleasing intricacies intervene,  
 No artful wildness to perplex the scene;  
 Grove nods at grove, each alley has a brother,  
 And half the platform just reflects the other.  
 The suff'ring eye inverted nature sees,  
 Trees cut to statues, statues thick as trees;  
 With here a fountain never to be play'd,  
 And there a summerhouse that knows no shade;  
 Here Amphitrite sails through myrtle bow'rs,  
 There gladiators fight or die in flow'rs;  
 The water'd see the drooping seahorse mourn,  
 And swallows roost in Nilus' dusty urn.

My lord advances with majestic mien,  
 Smit with the mighty pleasure to be seen:  
 But soft—by regular approach—not yet—  
 First through the length of yon hot terrace sweat;  
 And when up ten steep slopes you've dragg'd your  
     thighs,  
 Just at his study-door he'll bless your eyes.

His study! with what authors is it stor'd?  
 In books, not authors, curious is my lord;  
 To all their dated backs he turns you round;  
 These Aldus printed, those Du Suëil has bound!  
 Lo, some are vellum, and the rest as good,  
 For all his lordship knows, but they are wood!  
 For Locke or Milton 'tis in vain to look;  
 These shelves admit not any modern book.

And now the chapel's silver bell you hear,  
 That summons you to all the pride of pray'r:  
 Light quirks of music, broken and unev'n,  
 Make the soul dance upon a jig to heav'n.  
 On painted ceilings you devoutly stare,  
 Where sprawl the saints of Verrio or Laguerre,  
 Or gilded clouds in fair expansion lie,  
 And bring all paradise before your eye.  
 To rest, the cushion and soft dean invite,  
 Who never mentions hell to ears polite.

But, hark! the chiming clocks to dinner call;  
 A hundred footsteps scrape the marble hall:  
 The rich buffet well-colour'd serpents grace,  
 And gaping Tritons spew to wash your face.  
 Is this a dinner? this a genial room?  
 No, 'tis a temple and a hecatomb.

A solemn sacrifice perform'd in state,  
 You drink by measure, and to minutes eat.  
 So quick retires each flying course, you'd swear  
 Sancho's dread doctor and his wand were there.  
 Between each act the trembling salvers ring,  
 From soup to sweet wine, and God bless the King.  
 In plenty starving, tantaliz'd in state,  
 And complaisantly help'd to all I hate,  
 Treated, caress'd, and tir'd, I take my leave,  
 Sick of his civil pride from morn to eve;  
 I curse such lavish cost and little skill,  
 And swear no day was ever past so ill.

Yet hence the poor are cloth'd, the hungry fed;  
 Health to himself, and to his infants bread  
 The lab'rer bears: what his hard heart denies,  
 His charitable vanity supplies.

Another age shall see the golden ear  
 Imbrown the slope, and nod on the parterre,  
 Deep havests bury all his pride has plann'd,  
 And laughing Ceres reassume the land.

Who then shall grace, or who improve the soil?  
 Who plants like Bathurst, or who builds like Boyle?  
 'Tis use alone that sanctifies expence,  
 And splendour borrows all her rays from sense.

His father's acres who enjoys in peace,  
 Or makes his neighbours glad if he increase;  
 Whose cheerful tenants bless their yearly toil,  
 Yet to their lord owe more than to the soil;  
 Whose ample lawns are not ashamed to feed  
 The milky heifer and deserving steed;  
 Whose rising forests, not for pride or show,  
 But future buildings, future navies, grow:  
 Let his plantations stretch from down to down,  
 First shade a country, and then raise a town.

You, too, proceed! make falling arts your care,  
 Erect new wonders, and the old repair;  
 Jones and Palladio to themselves restore,  
 And be whatever Vitruvius was before:  
 Till kings call forth th' ideas of your mind,  
 (Proud to accomplish what such hands design'd)  
 Bid harbours open, public ways extend,  
 Bid temples worthier of the God ascend,  
 Bid the broad arch the dang'rous flood contain,  
 The mole projected break the roaring main,  
 Back to his bounds their subject sea command,  
 And roll obedient rivers through the land:  
 These honours peace to happy Britain brings;  
 These are imperial works, and worthy kings.





**EPISTLE V.**

*TO MR. ADDISON.*

**OCCASIONED BY HIS DIALOGUES ON  
MEDALS.**



## EPISTLE V.

SEE the wild waste of all-devouring years!  
How Rome her own<sup>n</sup> sad sepulchre appears!  
With nodding<sup>n</sup> arches, broken temples spread!  
The very tombs now vanish'd like their dead!  
Imperial wonders rais'd on nations spoil'd,  
Where mix'd with slaves the groaning martyr<sup>n</sup> toil'd:  
Huge theatres, that now unpeopled woods,  
Now drain'd a distant<sup>n</sup> country<sup>n</sup> of her floods;  
Fanes, which admiring<sup>n</sup> gods with pride survey,  
Statues<sup>n</sup> of men, scarce less alive than they!  
Some felt the silent stroke of mould'ring age,  
Some hostile fury, some religious rage:  
Barbarian blindness, Christian zeal con<sup>n</sup>spire,  
And papal piety, and gothic fire.  
Perhaps, by its own ruins sav'd from flame,  
Some bury'd marble half preserves a name;  
That name the learn'd with fierce disputes pursue,  
And give to Titus old Vespasian's due.

Ambition sigh'd: she found it vain to trust  
The faithless column and the crumbling bust;  
Huge moles, whose shadow stretch'd from shore to  
shore,

Their ruins perish'd, and their place no more!  
Convinc'd, she now contracts her vast design,  
And all her triumphs shrink into a coin.

A narrower orb each crowded conquest keeps,  
Beneath her palm here sad Judea weeps.  
Now scantier limits the proud arch confine,  
And scarce are seen the prostrate Nile or Rhine;  
A small Euphrates through the piece is roll'd,  
And little eagles wave their wings in gold.

The medal, faithful to its charge of fame,  
~~Thro'~~climes and ages bears each form and name:  
In one short view subjected to our eye,  
Gods, emp'rors, heroes, sages, beauties, lie.  
With sharpen'd sight pale antiquaries pore,  
Th' inscription value, but the rust adore.  
This the blue varnish, that the green endears,  
The sacred rust of twice ten hundred years!  
To gain Pescennius one employs his schemes,  
One grasps a Cecrops in ecstatic dreams.

Poor Vadius, long with learned spleen devour'd,  
 Can taste no pleasure since his shield was scour'd;  
 And Curio, restless by the fair-one's side,  
 Sighs for an Ocho, and neglects his bride.

Theirs is the vanity, the learning thine:  
 Touch'd by thy hand, again Rome's glories shine;  
 Her gods and godlike heroes rise to view,  
 And all her faded garlands bloom anew.  
 Nor blush these studies thy regard engage;  
 These pleas'd the fathers of poetic rage;  
 The verse and sculpture bore an equal part,  
 And art reflected images to art.

Oh, when shall Britain, conscious of her claim,  
 Stand emulous of Greek and Roman fame?  
 In living medals see her wars enroll'd,  
 And vanquish'd realms supply recording gold?  
 Here, rising bold, the patriot's honest face;  
 There warriors frowning in historic brass:  
 Then future ages with delight shall see  
 How Plato's, Bacon's, Newton's, looks agree;  
 Or in fair series laurell'd bards be shown,  
 A Virgil there, and here an Addison:  
 Then shall thy Craggs (and let me call him mine)  
 On the cast ore another Pollio shine;

With aspect open shall erect his head,  
 And round the orb in lasting notes be read,  
 'Statesman, yet friend to truth & of soul sincere,  
 In action faithful, and in honour clear;  
 Who broke no promise, serv'd no private end,  
 Who gain'd no title, and who lost no friend;  
 Ennobled by himself, by all approv'd,  
 And prais'd unenvy'd by the muse he lov'd.'

END OF VOL. III.