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Edited by John Buxton and Norman Davis

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THE MID-EIGHTEENTH CENTURY

JOHN BUTT

Edited and completed by

GEOFFREY CARNALL

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OXFORD HISTORY OF ENGLISH LITERATURE

Edited by JOHN BUXTON *and* NORMAN DAVIS

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PREFACE

It distresses me that I should have taken so long to complete the present volume. Among John Butt's friends some who would have been his most keenly appreciative readers have themselves died, and others, I fear, must occasionally have given up hope of ever seeing the work published. The patience of the Oxford University Press has been strained to the limit, and perhaps beyond it. I am sorry that this should have been so, and sorry too that in the end my attempts to include a substantial portion of Butt's draft of a chapter on the historians should have proved abortive. He was working on Chapter VII during the last months of his life, and considering how severely he was handicapped by illness, the text he composed is extraordinarily attractive. It remains a first draft, however, and one that eventually I found myself compelled to abandon, with the exception of the first paragraph of the chapter, and a few isolated sentences elsewhere.

In addition to Chapter VII, I am responsible for the following sections of the book: Chapter VIII, except for the final section, dealing with Boswell's *Life of Johnson*; the section on dialogue in Chapter IX; the section on Sterne in Chapter X (except for a paragraph on page 444); Chapters XI and XII; and the chronological tables. Butt had drafted parts of the bibliography, and wherever practicable I incorporated his wording into my own text. His hand may be detected in some thirty-three author bibliographies, including those for Burke, Burns, Chatterton, Cowper, Junius, Macpherson, Percy, Samuel Richardson, and Smollett.

In the remainder of the book, the text has been left unchanged as far as possible, though some minor revisions were necessary to remove occasional obscurities and avoid loose ends and omissions. In this delicate operation I was greatly assisted by Professor G. S. Rousseau, who read all Butt's chapters and made a considerable number of comments and suggestions. I should also like to thank Mr. John Buxton, the general editor especially concerned with this volume, for his many helpful observations on the text submitted to him.

I am grateful, too, to Professor R. W. Hepburn and Dr. N. T. Phillipson, who read portions of what I wrote myself, and allowed me to benefit from their wide knowledge of the period. As for the bibliography, Mr. Alan Bell and Miss Ann Matheson kindly checked the sections dealing with general bibliographies and with the book trade, Mrs. V. G. Salmon suggested some of the titles in the section on language, and Dr. Roger Savage greatly improved the section on the drama. It would be impracticable to name all those colleagues and students whose conversation has stimulated and enlightened me: but I have been very fortunate in my associates.

John Butt himself wished to acknowledge his indebtedness for information on specific points to Professor D. C. Bryant, the late Professor D. B. Horn, Professor K. H. Jackson, and Professor C. J. Price. He often discussed his work with such friends as the late Professor W. L. Renwick and Professor James Sutherland, and was particularly grateful to those who had read and commented on chapters or sections in draft: Professor J. T. Boulton, Professor A. F. Falconer, Professor John MacQueen, Professor C. J. Rawson, and the late Professor Geoffrey Tillotson. He expressed warm appreciation of the former general editors of the series, the late Professor F. P. Wilson and the late Professor Bonamy Dobrée, recalling their encouragement, their forbearance, and their excellent advice.

John Butt also wished to thank the staffs of the four libraries which he had principally used: the National Library of Scotland, and the University Libraries of Edinburgh, Newcastle upon Tyne, and Yale. He mentioned particularly Professor William Beattie, Mr. E. R. S. Fifoot, Mr. D. M. Lloyd, Mr. W. Park, Miss W. C. Donkin, Miss J. M. Gladstone, and Miss Marjorie Wynne. I should like to make a similar acknowledgement, adding a special word of thanks to the staff of the Cambridge University Library, whose courtesy and helpfulness I have appreciated for many years. Obviously I am much indebted to the staffs of the Edinburgh libraries, and should like to mention particularly Mr. C. P. Finlayson of the University Library.

I must thank the University of Edinburgh for allowing me three terms of sabbatical leave, without which this volume would certainly never have been completed.

Portions of the text have already appeared in print. Butt

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first developed his views on Johnson as a writer of poetical 'imitations' in a lecture delivered to the Johnson Society of London, published in *The New Rambler* in 1959, and reprinted by the Yale University Press in the same year in *New Light on Dr. Johnson*, edited by F. W. Hilles. Johnson as biographer is considered in the second of the Ewing Lectures which Butt delivered at the University of California, Los Angeles, in 1962, published there in 1966 as *Biography in the hands of Walton, Johnson, and Boswell.* An abbreviated version of Chapter V was published in a volume of essays presented to Professor F. A. Pottle, entitled *From Sensibility to Romanticism*, edited by F. W. Hilles and H. Bloom, Oxford University Press, New York, 1965. The section on Boswell's *Life of Johnson* in Chapter VIII is taken from the third of the Ewing Lectures. A few paragraphs from the section on Richardson in Chapter X appeared as an introduction to the Everyman Library edition of *Clarissa.* The section on Fielding is slightly adapted from a pamphlet in the British Council series 'Writers and their Work'. The section on Smollett was published in *Tobias Smollett: Bicentennial Essays presented to Lewis M. Knapp*, edited by G. S. Rousseau and P. C. Boucé, New York, 1971. I am grateful to the editors and publishers for making it possible to reprint.

These acknowledgements would not be complete without a word of thanks to Miss E. M. Davidson, who typed much of the volume both for Professor Butt and for myself, and whose interest and concern were appreciated by both of us. Mrs. Margot Butt's help and encouragement over the years of painfully slow progress have meant more to me than I can well express. I am deeply grateful, too, to my wife. She compiled the index, and my part of the text owes much to her sympathetic criticism.

G. C.

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I

INTRODUCTION

ALL divisions of time in literary history are artificial and arbitrary, but 1740 is as convenient a year to choose as any for the beginning of a new period. It is true that in the later 1730s there is not that sense of an epoch ending which Dryden had observed and so successfully conveyed in *The Secular Masque* of 1700; nor does anyone declare that a literary reign was drawing to a close, as Dryden himself had announced in his verse epistle to Congreve (1694); but in 1740 no writer could match Dryden in authority and prestige and in the sway he exerted. Addison's rule at Button's Coffee-house had come to an end with his death in 1719, and there was no one left who by temperament and achievement could aspire to that succession. Swift and Pope, the only two great survivors of the wits of a former age, had each made his private retreat. By 1740 Swift was in failing health; though he was to linger for another five years, they were to be years of increasing mental distress, and he had delivered his testament in the *Verses on the Death of Doctor Swift* at the end of 1731. Pope had still one major work to complete, *The New Dunciad* (1742), or *The Dunciad*, Book IV, as we are more accustomed to call it; but he too, in the remaining four years of his life, was more concerned with revising old works than with writing new. His great satirical activity had been virtually brought to a close with the *Epilogue to the Satires* of 1738: 'This', he tells us, 'was the last poem of the kind printed by our author, with a resolution to publish no more.' One other man of letters had established a solid reputation by his work in the 1730s: James Thomson had completed his *Seasons* and had published the four parts of *Liberty*, besides producing three tragedies. In 1740 he was no more than forty years old, and he had still to write a masque, *Alfred*, two more tragedies, and *The Castle of Indolence*; but by disposition he was too acquiescent for a leader, and he was to die in 1748, his body oppressed, as his friend Armstrong said, 'with a great load of materials for a disease'.

In 1740 a different kind of reign was coming to an end. Sir Robert Walpole had been in power with only a brief interval since 1721. His influence had been diminishing since 1737, but he retained office until 1742, three years before his death. Certain aspects of his rule had offered a fair field for satire in prose and verse and on the stage. Stage attacks were easily suppressed by the Licensing Act of 1737, which closed all theatres but Drury Lane and Covent Garden, and brought all plays under the censorship of the Lord Chamberlain; and a plain warning was given to verse satirists when Paul Whitehead was summoned before the House of Lords in 1739 to answer for libels discovered in his *Manners*. The close of Walpole's career may therefore be said to have brought all writers who cared for political issues into closer relation with government, either through the need to exercise more discretion in attack or by the prospect of greater rewards in defence. Walpole's removal at the beginning of our period drew the teeth of some Tory satire, but it did not provide an occasion for rescinding the Licensing Act. The most notable sufferer was Henry Fielding, to whose energies the stage was now closed. But what the drama suffered by his compulsory retirement, the novel was to gain. One remote consequence of the uneasy close of Walpole's rule was therefore to help in making the 1740s the first great decade of the novel, a new form (or largely new) in which new or largely new writers—Richardson, Fielding, Smollett, and later, Sterne—were to found their reputations.

The same decade was to see new reputations made in verse. In 1740 Edward Young, an older man than Pope, was already fifty-seven and well known as a satirist and tragic dramatist. After more than seven years' silence, he began to publish in 1742 a series of meditations in blank verse 'on Life, Death, and Immortality', *The Complaint: Or, Night-Thoughts*, which brought him an entirely different, more lasting, and more widespread popularity, one more appropriate to his cloth, and as characteristic of the mood of the mid-century as his satirical reputation had been characteristic of an earlier period.

Apart from Fielding, Young, and John Dyer—whose *Grongar Hill* had appeared as long ago as 1726, and who was now to begin writing verse in a different manner—there are no other instances in our period of new reputations made by men who had earned different reputations amongst the Augustans;

but there were several younger writers beginning to publish at the end of the 1730s whose development a perceptive and sympathetic critic might have watched with interest. This critic would eventually have been forced to admit that Richard Glover had done nothing better than *Leonidas*, published in 1737 at the age of twenty-five, though the ballad *Admiral Hosier's Ghost* (1740) has undoubted merits; he might have expected more from the lyrical talents of George Lyttelton than was eventually to appear. Thanks to his perceptiveness, he might have discerned in an unintentionally bawdy poem, *The Oeconomy of Love* (1736), which John Armstrong published at the age of twenty-seven, at least one passage approaching eloquence, as well as signs of other qualities to reach maturity in *The Art of Preserving Health* (1744). He could have been forgiven if he had seen no signs of unusual talent in Mark Akenside's *A British Philippic* (1738) or even in the crude earliest version of William Shenstone's *The Schoolmistress* (1737); but if, like Pope, he had inquired about the author of *London: a Poem, in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal* (1738) and had been told that 'his name was Johnson, and that he was some obscure man', he ought to have replied, like Pope, 'He will soon be *déterré*.'

Each of these writers was to enjoy some esteem for his poetry, but with the exception of that last great name, none of them seemed to offer so much as the new poets of the 1740s. Gray was to begin writing in 1742, and by 1750 he had finished his *Elegy*, which was to be published the following year. Smart had begun about the same time, though not in a manner to forecast *A Song to David* (1763). Collins had published his *Persian Eclogues* in 1742, and his schoolfellow Joseph Warton wrote a provocative poem *The Enthusiast, or the Lover of Nature*, which appeared in 1744. The two friends happened to meet at Guildford races in 1746, and began to plan a volume of odes which was evidently intended by both of them as a *Lyrical Ballads* of experiment and reform. In the event they were to publish their odes separately later the same year.

In other branches of literature, the 1740s mark a turning-point. In classical scholarship it is the end of Bentley's long reign. His *Manilius* was published in 1739, three years before his death, and no one of comparable fame arose to take his place until Porson began to write at the very end of our period. By

1765 Joseph Priestley could venture on the claim that antiquity had come to occupy only a small part of general conversation, which was now preoccupied with modern history, policy, arts, manufactures, and commerce. 'A hundredth part of the time which was formerly given to criticism and antiquities, is enough in this age to gain a man the character of a profound scholar.' In Anglo-Saxon scholarship, too, the achievements of the previous period were not adequately sustained. On the other hand, antiquarianism of a more miscellaneous kind flourished, and helped to shape a new historical consciousness. That painstaking antiquary, William Oldys, was in the middle of his long and fruitful career. In 1740 he was acting as librarian to the Earl of Oxford, whose huge library was bought in 1742 by the bookseller Thomas Osborne. Osborne employed Oldys and Samuel Johnson to prepare a catalogue of the library (1743), and the two men were later engaged upon the eight-volume selection of pamphlets from the library entitled *The Harleian Miscellany* (1744–6). It was this great library, whose treasures Oldys and Johnson helped to unfold, that became one of the three principal collections in the library of the British Museum, opened in 1759. But Oldys's main interest was in biography. He had been associated with Thomas Birch in the supplement to Bayle's *Dictionary*, which Birch finished in 1741, and he was soon to begin work on *The Biographia Britannica* (6 volumes, 1747–66), which served as *The Dictionary of National Biography* of the eighteenth century. This is the scholarly context in which more popular and abiding biography was written, the lives written by Johnson for publication in *The Gentleman's Magazine* at the beginning of this period, the biographical work of Goldsmith in the middle, and *The Lives of the Poets* and Boswell's *Life of Johnson* at the end.

Scholarly and antiquarian activity lend a tone to the literature of the period in other ways. It was in this decade that Johnson began to plan his edition of Shakespeare and his *Dictionary of the English Language*, both of which summarized the best work of the past in each kind and so provided a basis of revision for future editors and lexicographers. The period was also to be one of great achievements in historiography. The work of the older men had been brought to a close with Carte's *General History of England* (4 volumes, 1747–55), and in 1740 Gibbon was only three years old. But Hooke began to publish

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his *Roman History* in 1738; and Robertson, though still in his early twenties, set to work in the middle of the decade upon his *History of Scotland* (2 volumes, 1759). Hume relates that he did not form the plan of writing his *History of Great Britain* until 1752, and in 1740 he was little known. His *Treatise of Human Nature*, published in 1739, had fallen 'dead-born from the press, without reaching such distinction as even to excite a murmur among the zealots'. The beginning of his philosophical career therefore lies just outside our period, but it was early in the new decade, with the publication of the first volume of his *Essays Moral and Political* in 1741, that his work began to obtain a favourable reception.

Much of the best writing of these fifty years still lay well out of sight. In 1740 Adam Smith was a university student; the Revd. Laurence Sterne was already a Prebendary of York, but was otherwise unknown to fame; Smollett had just gone to London, Goldsmith, Cowper, and Burke were at school, and Boswell was a babe in arms; Blake, Burns, Crabbe, and Sheridan were as yet unborn. But it is possible to detect enough evidence of changes in the making, with old careers ending and new careers beginning, to justify the convenience of opening a new volume at 1740.

The interest of the literary scene in the 1740s might even suggest the propriety of organizing this volume by surveys of each decade. It is true that the 1750s is not a remarkable period except in the careers of Johnson, who completed his *Dictionary* and wrote the *Rambler*, the *Idler*, and *Rasselas* as well, and of Hume, who besides his *History of England* published his *Enquiry concerning the Principles of Morals*, his *Political Discourses*, and his *Four Dissertations*; but no student of eighteenth-century literature should fail to observe the peculiar character of the 1760s. Though the decade is notable for the revival of satire in Churchill's meteorically bright and short career, it is more particularly marked by the unusual range of scholarly study of earlier literature, and the reflection of this in the imaginative literature of the day. In 1760 Edward Capell published his *Prolusions*, and thus made readily accessible the text of the play of *Edward III*. In 1761 Thomas Percy published the first Chinese novel to be translated into English (see p. 100), an authentic and substantial corrective to contemporary taste for chinoiseries. He had long been at work collecting and

selecting English and Scottish ballads, to be published at last as *Reliques of Ancient English Poetry* in 1765; and the care he took in presenting *Five Pieces of Runic Poetry* in 1763 was to defend himself from the suspicion with which many readers greeted Macpherson's Ossianic translations (1760–3). Welsh poetry was beginning to be explored (in Evan Evans's *Specimens of the Poetry of the Ancient Welsh Bards*, 1764) as well as Norse, and both were to inspire one of Thomas Gray's last publications containing 'The Descent of Odin' and 'The Triumphs of Owen', 1768. Two important books published during this decade contributed greatly to a better understanding of Elizabethan and earlier literature, namely Hurd's *Letters on Chivalry and Romance* (1762) and Farmer's *Essay on the Learning of Shakespeare* (1767). At the same time the boy Chatterton was fabricating his medieval romances, the first of which, 'Elinoure and Juga', was published in 1769. Lastly the novel, whose biographical structure had been turned upside down in *Tristram Shandy*, 1760–7, was reunited to the romance in Horace Walpole's 'Gothic' tale, *The Castle of Otranto*, 1764.

Johnson took an important part in this renascence of learning. His sympathetic understanding of Percy's work is shown in the 'dedication' to the Countess of Northumberland that he wrote for the *Reliques*; and in the same year he published his long-expected edition of Shakespeare, the best edition that had so far appeared. He was now beginning to take life a little more easily, and had been granted a pension in 1762. But as late as the 1770s, a decade which might otherwise seem most notable for a revival of comedy in *She Stoops to Conquer* and the plays of Sheridan, it was the old pensioner who still dominated the literary scene with his four political pamphlets, his *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland*, and the first volume of his *Lives of the Poets*. In fact Johnson's is the only great literary career that overspreads the whole period. He is alone amongst his contemporaries, or almost alone—Goldsmith is his closest rival here—in attempting a large variety of literary kinds. That is why the habit may be approved of borrowing his name for the title of this age, why his achievement is summarized at the beginning of this volume, and why his work alone has been accorded a chapter to itself.

A history of the literature of this period could be written on different principles and with different emphasis from those to

be found in this volume. Apart altogether from a survey of the period by decades, it would be possible to write a history of the intellectual movements of the age. This would rightly have given more prominence to Hume, who might then have become the subject of the second chapter. A history interested principally in literature as a reflection of society might properly have promoted to a higher rank some minor talent such as that of Horace Walpole; and a historian with his eye on the achievements of the early nineteenth century might have been embarrassed in the choice of a suitable forerunner—Akenside, or Gray, or Cowper, or (with increasing desperation) Macpherson—as a banner-holder. But the choice of Johnson serves to emphasize that this is a history undertaken upon more purely literary principles. Intellectual movements, the face of society, economic and political developments, have not been neglected; but care has been taken not to isolate them in separate chapters from purely literary discussion. As to the literary future, that will be observed as opportunity offers; for this, like all other ages, was an age of transition. The great figures of Wordsworth and Coleridge, Scott, Byron, Shelley, and Keats will be descried at the end of many a vista, but the positions they will be found to occupy are in no sense Messianic.

This was the last age in which writers were seriously affected by the doctrines associated with the traditional literary 'kinds'. Though it seems to have been felt that the epic was no longer entirely suited to the age—only one was written (Wilkie's *Epigoniad*)—it could be adapted, as Fielding was to show in his novels, and Gibbon in the *Decline and Fall*. Other adaptations scarcely less ingenious gave new life to the pastoral, the georgic, the satire, and the ode. In the pages that follow it will be seen how new 'kinds' derive from old by different processes, imitative or parodic, to which the biological term 'mutation' may be applied. Nor are the traditional 'kinds' alone in attracting the attention of the imitator and the parodist, as the sections devoted to the ballad and the letter will show. It is within the 'kinds', then, that the achievements of the age are to be considered and assessed.

II

SAMUEL JOHNSON

THOUGH Johnson[1] had worked as a journalist and translator in Birmingham and had occupied a schoolmaster's leisure at Edial in writing his tragedy *Irene*, it was not until he went to London in 1737 that his literary career may be said to have begun. He went there to try the fate of his tragedy and to get some employment in journalism and translating; but 'what first displayed his transcendent powers', in Boswell's words, was his *London: a Poem, in Imitation of the Third Satire of Juvenal*, published in May 1738, within a few days of the first dialogue of Pope's *One Thousand Seven Hundred and Thirty-Eight* (the *Epilogue to the Satires*).

The form he had chosen, the Imitation, was well established. It had sprung from the paraphrastic manner of translation admired in the mid-seventeenth century, and advocated by Denham and Cowley. 'If Virgil must needs speak English,' Denham had said in the preface to his *Destruction of Troy* (1656), 'it were fit he should speak not only as a Man of this Nation, but as a Man of this Age.' It is not a far cry from such an expression of policy to Oldham's determination, when rendering Horace's *Ars Poetica*, 'to alter the scene from *Rome* to *London*, and to make use of *English* names of Men, Places, and Customs, where the Parallel would decently permit' (1681). Poets were quick to take the hint, and the last thirty years of the seventeenth century can show numerous Imitations, ranging from the loosest of paraphrases to modernized translations running more or less in parallel with their originals. Creech reports that when translating Horace (1684) he had been

[1] Samuel Johnson, 1709–84, was the son of a Lichfield bookseller, and was educated at Lichfield Grammar School and Pembroke College, Oxford, which he left without a degree. After an unsuccessful period as a schoolmaster, when David Garrick was one of his pupils, he went to London and worked for the *Gentleman's Magazine*. He undertook a great variety of literary projects, including his *Dictionary*, published in 1755. He became the centre of a brilliant literary circle which eventually constituted itself into 'The Club', 1764. In 1762 he received a state pension, and thereafter lived in a more leisurely fashion, recorded in detail by Boswell. He was given an LL.D. at Oxford in 1775.

advised to 'turn the *Satyrs* to our own Times', since '*Rome* was now rivall'd in her Vices, and Parallels for Hypocrisie, Profaneness, Avarice and the like were easie to be found'. He resisted the temptation; but there were many who seized their opportunity. The finest examples belong to Johnson's lifetime. In 1713–14 Swift published *Part of the Seventh Epistle of the First Book of Horace Imitated*, *The First Ode of the Second Book of Horace Paraphras'd*, and *Horace, Part of the Sixth Satire of the Second Book Imitated.* In each instance he courted comparison with his originals by printing the Latin parallels; and in this he was followed by Pope, whose splendid series of *Imitations of Horace*, eleven in all, appeared between 1733 and 1738.

This was the tradition that Johnson inherited, and adapted, at the very climax of its reputation. What he knew of the tradition at the beginning of his career is uncertain. In later years he was to show himself characteristically well informed: in *The Lives of the Poets* (Life of Pope) he says that 'this mode of imitation . . . was first practised in the reign of Charles the Second by Oldham and Rochester, at least I remember no instances more ancient'. But it was sufficient for his present purposes that he knew what Pope had done, whose most significant contribution had been to use the form for political satire. A compliment to statesmen 'out of place' in the first *Imitation* and a reflection upon Walpole's Excise Bill in the second might show where Pope's political sympathies lay; but it was only in the later *Imitations*—the ironic *Epistle to Augustus*, the *Imitation of the Sixth Epistle of the First Book*, where moneyed interests and rigged elections are attacked, and the *First Epistle of the First Book* reverentially addressed to the Government's arch-enemy Bolingbroke—that Pope unmistakably directed this form to a political target. All three poems were published within the twelve months preceding the publication of *London*; and by following in their wake Johnson shows that he recognized the latest development in political attack, namely, the enlisting of a classical moralist in the struggle. In the last few months Pope had enlisted Horace in the Tory party; Johnson was now to make a Tory champion of Juvenal as well.

But in spite of similarities, so intentional and so well-marked as to provoke comparison with Pope, there are almost equally well-marked differences in substance and treatment. The choice of Juvenal seems pointed and deliberate; and its appropriate-

ness was confirmed, in the most authoritative manner, when *The Vanity of Human Wishes* was published in 1749. The choice of classical satirist to some extent conditioned the manner of attack. Horace's doctrine of contentment with a moderate competence was well suited to oppose the mercenariness and display of a mercantile government's supporters, and Horace's 'polite, insinuating style' was easily adapted to the voice of the elder statesman of poets, conscious of his own superiority in breeding and of the superiority of the noble friends with whom he is conversing. But this would have been an entirely inappropriate attitude for the young Samuel Johnson, unknown, with no influential friends, and with a radically different, indeed rawer experience of life. In so far as he and Pope may both be said to have belonged to the Tory party—the phrase itself is anachronistic—they belonged, in modern parlance, to different wings. Both are agreed in their diagnosis: moral standards have become tainted by a widespread lust for money. Pope can utter his condemnation from a position of modest affluence, but Johnson does not possess even that. His is the rancour of unrecognized merit, the indignation of one who scorns to learn the art of currying favour, but suffers for not practising it. Juvenal had taken this stance before him; but Johnson seems to have recognized the appropriateness of the stance to his own position.

Unlike a translator, an imitator is not in duty bound to find a parallel for every phrase in his original. He may select; and the extent to which Johnson exercised the privilege can be roughly indicated by measurements of length. In spite of the greater conciseness of the Latin language, *London* is sixty lines shorter than the original, and *The Vanity of Human Wishes* is about the same length as the Tenth Satire. Dryden, with every phrase on his conscience, had needed 503 lines of English verse to render the 322 lines of the Third Satire; even Oldham, who had set himself a task similar to Johnson's, required 477 lines; and Pope exceeded his originals every time by amounts varying from 42 lines to 149. Johnson's brevity can be attributed in part to the skill with which he packs his verse. Thus the famous line 'Slow rises worth, by poverty depress'd' (l. 177) distils a line and a half of Juvenal:

> Haud facile emergunt, quorum virtutibus obstat
> Res angusta domi.

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