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*Roderick McConchie,
Jukka Tyrkkö (Eds.)*

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES IN THEIR PARATEXTUAL CONTEXT

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Historical Dictionaries in their Paratextual Context



Edited by
Roderick McConchie and Jukka Tyrkkö

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Roderick McConchie and Jukka Tyrkkö
Introduction

Dictionaries exist in and are bound by a context, despite the fact that the average user tends to think of them as free-standing and authoritative. These works have usually been seen as a finished, immutable product, without asking how this product was produced, or what its subsequent fate was. The broader lexicographical context however is complex, multifaceted and often not easy to recover and scrutinize. Even the obvious question of who the lexicographers were often evokes puzzlement and obscurity. Samuel Johnson is the best-known exception, but the researcher sometimes flounders for the most elementary knowledge about lexicographers such as Elisha Coles, Robert Cawdrey, or Daniel Fenning, and the lexicographers responsible for lesser known dictionaries and glossaries are relegated to the shadows of history almost by default. Weak as it may be, often the only ray of light into the darkness is offered by the paratext of the book.

Paratext was defined by Genette as the “threshold” or the “undefined zone” that defines and frames a book in the eyes of the reader (1997: 2–3). This was perhaps especially so during the early and late modern periods when elaborated title-pages, copious prefaces and supererogatory dedications were particularly fashionable. Even today, the details of the illustrations, the subtle allusions in the text and the names of patrons, subscribers and friends of the author allow us to see the author or lexicographer in his daily circumstances and thus add depth to our understanding of how and why the lexicon was created. In the relatively short history of research in this area, however, “the preponderance of scholarship on historical lexicography tends to focus on the lexicographers themselves, rather than the circumstances in which the works were produced and published” (Tyrkkö 2009: 183). Perhaps we might also postulate an anthropotext of books – the human cultural context by which they are surrounded, embedded in and impacted by, and might include readers, collectors, and annotators.¹ This would clearly overlap with Genette’s categories, but not necessarily be co-extensive with them, and may in some cases extend beyond them so that we could see the primary human context of books rather than the primarily industrial context more clearly. Some papers in this collection are implicitly concerned with such a notion.

Reflection on the nature and role of dictionaries raises many questions. Who wrote and compiled dictionaries and why? Who patronised their publication and their authors, financed them, and to whom were they dedicated? How were they set up for printing, advertised, sold, and distributed? What were the conventions of

¹ “Anthropotext” has been used recently in anthropological linguistics by some Russian scholars.

dictionary layout? How did this change over the years? Who bought and read them? What collections did they find their way into, and for what reasons? What is the history of individual copies of dictionaries? The present collection is intended to posit tentative insights into some of these queries, as well as to stimulate further research.

The idea of this volume is thus to gather together essays dealing with the circumstances surrounding the compilation, publication, sale, ownership, collection, and use of dictionaries. The first question is a biographical one. In many cases, little is known about the lexicographers themselves. Since no dictionary is free of bias, the inevitable influence of the predilections, beliefs, and linguistic understanding of its compiler as well as the circumstances of the lexicographer's life are often a crucial factor influencing the nature and structure of what appears in the pages of the dictionary.

Such considerations also include what Thomas Tanselle appropriately calls “the physicality of books” (2009: 2), as distinct from their content taken alone (*see* Tanselle 2009: ch. 2). David Pearson has also set out a number of paratextual parameters within which dictionaries ought to be investigated, including forematter, dedications, production, ownership, bindings, collections, and so on. Dictionaries, more than many other publications, have a printed life which is both embedded in and contributes to their context and culture, whose compilers and publishers negotiated intensively between lexicographical principles and the demands of the market, and whose users had an easy, micro-level commerce between the individual entries in dictionaries and the real world. Dictionaries also spawned further dictionaries, and might be edited, added to, and dismembered by other lexicographers, and even by enthusiastic readers and users, so that the process of transmitting lexicographical data from one dictionary to another and from one edition of a dictionary to another needs to be understood.

The forematter of various dictionaries has not been modest in making claims: Daniel Fenning's preface to *The royal English dictionary* proclaims that the reader “will congratulate himself with having met with a dictionary on a more extensive plan than any that have already been published” (viii). Fenning also authored spelling books and textbooks on arithmetic. Likewise, Benjamin Martin boasts that his *Lingua Britannica reformata* of 1749 is “by much the most perfect of its Kind” (1768 Preface: xi), despite being not without some faults. At the same time as lexicographers and their publishers lauded their products, however, the dedicatory material is often self-deprecating to a degree, emphasising the author's urgent need of protection and the modest feebleness of the offering. The *Prosodia chirurgica*, possibly by the oculist Benedict Duddell, addresses its dedication to the well-known surgeon, John Shipton (1680–1748): “Sir, the Honour you did me in perusing, and the kind Assistance you lent me, in correcting this little Design, entitles me to the Liberty of ushering it into the World under your Protection. I can no way so strongly recommend it to the Publick, as by telling them Mr. Shipton has approved it”. The

dedication sometimes obsequiously shifts the entire value of the work to the dedicatee. The seeming contradiction between these can only be explained by investigating the desires and motivations of those involved in producing the dictionary.

Just as dictionary entries are transferred from one work to another and adapted to a new context, prefatory material as well as entries are adapted to new uses in later dictionaries, as Ruxandra Visan points out in her article on the preface to Nathan Bailey's 1736 *Dictionarium Britannicum*, which is an adaption of his 1721 introduction with additions from entries in Ephraim Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* and other sources. Visan demonstrates the freedom and flexibility with which text is appropriated between dictionaries and encyclopaedias, whether forematter or entries, an aspect of their structure which invites further detailed examination, not because it has been 'plagiarised', but because it has been constructively reworked.

A significant question is who read and used dictionaries and for what purpose. Rebecca Shapiro's article takes the earliest monolingual dictionaries, as well as *The ladies dictionary* and Piozzi's *British synonymy* and places them neatly and convincingly within a social, gender, and authorial context. In discussing the role of women across the history of English dictionaries, Shapiro's richly-argued article points out the necessity of taking the full range of socio-historical factors into account in assessing a work of lexicography.

Lexicographers exploited the characteristic patron-client relation which typifies publishing and authorship from the beginning of printing to the late eighteenth century. Various images were invoked to convey this complex sense of dependence, obligation, and gratitude, sometimes irrespective of whether there actually was any material support. As the dedication to Steven Blancard's *A physical dictionary* of 1684, addressed to Mr. William Molins, the translator J. G. declares, once he began to consider the matter of a dedication that he "presently pitcht on a Patron under whom to shelter it", using a typical allusion to the patron as a protector of the author's weakness. In John Woodall's terms, 'shrouded from terrible blasts by great Cedars' (*The Surgions mate* 1617: 6; see Tyrkkö this volume: 250).

Historical context matters, and the degree to which this is so can only be discovered by painstaking research into the events of the day and the personalities concerned. The chapter by Frederic Dolezal and Ward Risvold looks at the question of who printed John Wilkins's *Real character*. Although this is rendered more difficult by the fact that printers were often not acknowledged, a process of elimination determines the question in favour of Anne Maxwell. Dolezal and Risvold pay careful attention to the circumstances under which Wilkins's book was published, particularly the Great Fire of 1666 and its effects on the publishing industry.

Sarah Ogilvie takes yet another approach to extracting value from paratextual materials by drawing timely attention to the prefaces of the early fascicles, parts, and volumes of the *Oxford English Dictionary (OED)*, which are many and various. This also allows us to see something of what Ogilvie calls "the human side of dictionary-making". As she points out, the text of a dictionary tells us what a lexicog-

rapher did, but knowing why, how, and for whom is much more challenging. Ogilvie also discusses the prestige brought by the various dedicatees of the *OED*.

Yet another intriguing phenomenon in the dictionary paratext/context, the subscription list, is in practice both a means of funding publications for the publishers and a minor form of patronage for those subscribing. On the assumption that there may be a lot to be learnt from knowing who was prepared to put up money for a publication and to acquire the work, Seija Tiisala considers the list of subscribers to the Latin-Swedish-English dictionary by the anglophile Jacob Serenius, first published in Hamburg in 1734. This dictionary is made all the more intriguing because of the international circumstances of its compilation and publication. Tiisala works through the list in detail, showing it to contain many prominent figures in politics, business, the sciences, and the arts. There are also a number of interconnections between them.

The degree to which a lexicographer is personally involved with the dictionary has generally been under-estimated, as Gabriele Stein points out in her article on Claudius Hollyband. She outlines and evidences the various ways this involvement may manifest itself. This issue is of particular importance given that dictionaries before the nineteenth century were compiled by individuals, or in a few cases, individuals directing a modest group of amanuenses rather than a team of professional lexicographers. In such circumstances, the likelihood of personal biases and interests becoming apparent is obviously increased. What Stein explores is the way in which the richer life experience of the compiler shines through Hollyband's later work. Roderick McConchie deals with the same problem in discussing the philosophical stand taken by John Quincy in his medical dictionary of 1719. McConchie is concerned with the fact that Quincy was a declared Newtonian, and that his dictionary is thus laced with both headwords and entries reflecting this, often in great detail. Quincy's contribution to medical lexicography has rarely been acknowledged, but his influence was felt well into the nineteenth century.

There are some dictionaries about which we know far more than others, irrespective of their importance. Cawdrey's *Table alphabetical*, modest though it is, gets far more attention than almost any other of the far more sophisticated and influential of the early modern Latin-English, English-Latin dictionaries. Likewise, we know about the relations between Samuel Johnson and Lord Chesterfield, but in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many, if not most books were addressed to a patron, dictionaries being no exception. These patronage relations are rarely if ever discussed. And sometimes historically notable lexicons appeared in works that are now mostly remembered for other reasons.

John Woodall's *Surgions mate* (1617) is recognised as the first English medical manual written specifically for naval surgeons. In addition to a number of medical innovations, the book also includes a glossary that was later used as a source by several lexicographers, including the unknown author of the first medical dictionary, *A physical dictionary* (1657). Jukka Tyrkkö examines the eventful life of John

Woodall from a multilingual military surgeon to a master of the Company of Barber-Surgeons, highlighting the fact that sometimes notable and influential lexicographical achievements were incidental, rather than central, to the lives of the lexicographers.

Lexicographers have of course used their copies of the work of others, annotating, correcting and adding to the printed copy. This is often very valuable material, since it embodies not merely technical changes but attitudes to the original work as well. Two of our papers, by Giovanni Iamartino and Michael Adams, deal with this process. Iamartino investigates a copy of Johnson's dictionary which was passed on to Edmund Malone the Shakespeare scholar by Edmund Burke, and which he annotated copiously, in addition to the notes previously left by Samuel Dyer. This copy (BL C45) is thus now a rich repository of additional information. An otherwise unexceptional copy of the printed dictionary has become a unique cultural and scholarly document. In a similar vein, Adams demonstrates that the idiosyncratic dictionary by Charles Richardson, the *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–1837), has undergone the same process in the hands of Richard Chenevix Trench, a prime mover in the early history of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. Adams details the “penetrating attention” with which Trench approached this task. Adams identifies connections between these notes and Trench's subsequent report to the Philological Society of London, *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* (1857) and thus to the earliest work on the *OED*, but also demonstrates Trench's own way of assessing a dictionary.

Supplements incorporating various kinds of information were a frequent addition to dictionaries in the eighteenth century—a tradition which passed out of British lexicography but remained firmly entrenched in the United States. Victoria Domínguez-Rodríguez and Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez undertake a detailed survey of such supplements, ranging from grammars to history and lists of principal towns, poets, mythology, and so on. The article focusses particularly on the extra-linguistic and encyclopaedic supplements. The increasing tendency to include such material reflected the general rise in encyclopaedic and other reference works across Europe during the eighteenth century, as well as being a means of boosting sales through the attraction of having all this material in a single volume.

The amassing of dictionary collections is considered in the article by Olga Frolova and Roderick McConchie, who survey the provenance of copies of the earliest English dictionaries in the foreign stock of the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg. This is essentially a dictionary collection acquired piecemeal, not by design. The routes by which and owners through whom various dictionaries came into the hands of the Library prove to be both intriguing and multifarious, each telling their own story, albeit often a partial and discontinuous one.

Our hope is that this collection of articles raises questions and inspires our fellow historians of lexicography to examine the paratextual matter of dictionaries from new angles. We believe that the articles in this purposely heterogeneous vol-

ume highlight the value of overlooked and previously neglected paratextual elements of early lexicons, and that they collectively demonstrate unexploited potential from the philological viewpoint.

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Michael Adams

Reading Trench reading Richardson

Abstract: Richard Chenevix Trench mentions Charles Richardson and his *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836) frequently throughout his lectures to the Philological Society, *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* (1857), both with praise and as illustrating those very deficiencies. Trench annotated his copy of Richardson heavily. Some of the annotations directly connect his reading of Richardson and *On Some Deficiencies*, but the volume of annotations far exceeds the evidence cited in that work. From these annotations and *On Some Deficiencies*, we can reconstruct Trench's critical method and assess the scope and particularity of his lexical and readerly interests. In the annotations, he practices the critical reading of dictionaries, while also proposing in that practice the terms on which one should read texts in the making of dictionaries, how one gleans significant evidence from the texts that comprise historical English. Many features, textual and material, lead me to conclude that the precise acts of reading in question are unassociated with any concrete lexicographical program and illustrate a habit of dictionary criticism on Trench's part, a very early and historically significant, private regimen of dictionary reading and criticism.

Keywords: Richard Chenevix Trench, Charles Richardson, *New Dictionary of the English Language*, *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*, *Oxford English Dictionary*, dictionary criticism

1 Introduction

Richard Chenevix Trench mentions Charles Richardson and his *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–1837; henceforth *NDEL*) frequently throughout his lectures to the Philological Society, *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* (1857; second edition published 1860), both with praise and as illustrating those very deficiencies. Richardson, Trench proclaims, was “the first deliberate and consistent worker” (1860: 30) in English lexicography, and “[i]t cannot be brought as any charge against him ... that he has left much in it for those who come after him to accomplish” (1860: 30). Trench read Richardson's dictionary with penetrating attention. Richardson

has drawn, as he justly makes his boast in his *Preface*, a large number of books within the circle of his reading, which had never been employed for lexicographical purposes before ... Yet it lies in the necessity of things, in the limited capacities of any single man, that of the works he uses, some, and those important ones, can only have been partially read. (1860: 65)

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In the course of *On Some Deficiencies*, Trench observes, “Some shortcomings have been pointed out in our Dictionaries, and though, taking them in all, they cannot be said to be few, yet the books from which they are chiefly drawn, as you will not have failed to observe, are comparatively few; and even these books are capable of yielding infinitely more in this kind than they have here yielded” (1860: 63). Trench’s listeners and subsequent readers would have to take him at his word, but, regarding *NDEL*, was this claim mere intuition or a tested fact?

Trench’s copy of *NDEL* is owned by the Lilly Library at Indiana University, where I have examined it in detail. On the evidence contained therein, the answer to the question above is “tested fact.” Trench annotated his copy of *NDEL* heavily. Some of the annotations directly connect his reading of Richardson and *On Some Deficiencies*, but the volume of annotations far exceeds the evidence cited in Trench’s lectures or their published versions. From these annotations and *On Some Deficiencies*, we can reconstruct Trench’s critical method and assess the scope and particularity of his lexical and readerly interests. In the annotations, he practices the critical reading of dictionaries, while also proposing in that practice how one should read texts in the making of dictionaries, how one gleans significant evidence from the texts that comprise historical English.

My purpose is thus to describe Trench’s annotations and point up the terms on which they inform *On Some Deficiencies*, the *Oxford English Dictionary*’s earliest reading program, and some of Trench’s other philological work. Nevertheless, many textual features of Trench’s *NDEL* lead me to conclude that the precise acts of reading in question are unassociated with any concrete lexicographical program and illustrate a habit of dictionary criticism on Trench’s part, a very early and historically significant, private regimen of dictionary reading and criticism. Also, Trench had to select examples for *On Some Deficiencies* from copious marginal notes, and the annotations thus help us better to understand how Trench refined his reading of the state of English lexicography from an over-reading of *NDEL*, all the while affirming the intertextuality of lexicography and the literature on which it draws.

2 Two Lexicographers

Charles Richardson (1755–1865) is usually rated the most important English lexicographer between Johnson and Murray. *NDEL* is innovative enough to be interesting even when it is wrong or its author wrong-headed. By no means the first dictionary to illustrate meaning with quotations, its quotations are nevertheless unusually many and full. Arranged chronologically, though not explicitly dated, they are left for readers to assess for themselves, dissociated as they are from the definitions. Some (Dolezal 2000: 128; Reddick 2009: 176; Zgusta 1986: 88) have taken this method as empirical, descriptive, and democratic, while others (Pinnavaia 2010: 199n2

and 209–210) have pointed out that Richardson’s method is at least paradoxical, since he can be quite authoritarian on other scores.

Principal among these scores is the tyranny of etymological meaning, for Richardson was a fervid disciple of John Horne Tooke (Aarsleff 1967: 249–252) and believed that words only mean what they mean etymologically, regardless of context. He insists, in various formulations throughout the preface to *NDEL*, that “a word has one meaning, and one only; that from it all usages must spring and be derived; and that in the Etymology of each word must be found its intrinsic meaning, and the cause of the application in those usages” (41).¹ If one does not follow this principle, one ends up like Johnson, of whose defining Richardson complains in the preface “the number of distinct explanations [definitions] continued without restriction” (45). Johnson’s practice thus represented semantic chaos, to which Richardson’s practice was a supposed solution. The impetus behind *NDEL* was philosophical rather than linguistic. As Aarsleff (1967: 252) reminds us, “It was the design of Richardson’s *Dictionary* to demonstrate the history of thought and mind, not to tell the history of English,” although unintentionally, then, *NDEL* prompted some of the historical method adopted by the Philological Society for its dictionary, the *New English Dictionary* or, more commonly now, the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*).

Richardson’s copious quotations were meant to confirm the etymological principle rather than to invite readers to define differentially—careful reading of the quotations, Richardson believed, would lead one to see how all applications of a word in context merely extended the word’s etymological meaning. If some lexicographers are “lumpers”—prone to limiting senses of a word’s meaning to its core—and others are “splitters”—prone to dividing senses more or less elaborately—Richardson was an arch-lumper. Indeed, one peculiarity of his method, reflected jarringly in his entry structure, is that all derivatives of a word are listed together even when a bit of historical analysis would show that they mean very different things, not least because they operate in different lexical categories. In such root-focused entry structure, Richardson operated according to the *Stammwortprinzip* articulated in some European academy dictionaries from the sixteenth century forward (Considine 2014: 75–76, 82), but it inhibited historical analysis and so was not the element of *NDEL* that attracted the *OED*’s progenitors. Instead, they focused on the quotations and considered how paragraphs of chronologically arranged quotations, rather than persuade readers to a philosophical point of view, could illustrate word history.

¹ He also claims that words have concrete origins in “sensible objects” (42), rather than abstract origins, thus extending Horne Tooke’s allegiance to Lockean semantics; see Aarsleff (1967: 46–53) on Locke and Horne Took, and Dolezal (2000: 128) on Locke and Richardson.

Richard Chenevix Trench (1807–1886) was one of the *OED*'s early architects. He was many things besides a lexicographer: adventurer in the Spanish rebellion of 1831 and translator of Calderón; poet and playwright; curate, rector, chaplain, dean, and archbishop; professor of theology at King's College, London, and popular religious writer; member of an exclusive network of Victorian intellectuals, many of them fellow Cambridge Apostles and members of the Sterling Club, including Arthur Hallam, Charles and Alfred Tennyson, John Kemble, John Sterling, William Bodham Donne, J. W. Blakesley, F. D. Maurice, and Samuel Wilberforce—"some universal geniuses," an American observer, Charles Astor Bristed, called such students when he was at Cambridge a decade after Trench had left (Stray 2008: 112); family man; and, of course, philologist, author of *The Study of Words* (1851), *English Past and Present* (1855), *A Select Glossary of English Words Used Formerly in Senses Different from Their Present* (1859), and *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* (1857/1860).

On Some Deficiencies is generally recognized as the *OED*'s founding document. As James Murray (Burchfield 1993: 119) explained in "The Evolution of English Lexicography," Trench

called upon the Philological Society ... as the only body in England then interesting itself in the language, to undertake the collection of materials to complete the work already done by Bailey, Johnson, Todd, Webster, Richardson, and others, and to prepare a supplement to all the dictionaries, which should register all omitted words and senses, and supply all the historical information in which these works were lacking, and, above all, should give quotations illustrating the first and last appearance, and every notable point in the life-history of each word. From this impulse arose the movement which ... has culminated in the preparation of the Oxford English Dictionary.²

Trench's assessment of English lexicography up until he proposed the *OED* in *On Some Deficiencies* was thus crucial to the history of historical lexicography.

Beyond its role in prompting the *OED*, *On Some Deficiencies* is a significant and very early act of dictionary criticism; one might say that besides originating the *OED*, Trench originated that genre of criticism. As Landau (2001: 79) points out, it is "specific, informed, thoughtful, and notably devoid of pettiness," not the work of a "partisan lexicographer," but of an "observer" above self-interest. The specific information and mature perspective underlying *On Some Deficiencies* depends on another act of dictionary criticism—or perhaps a series of critical acts—the reading of those very dictionaries the *OED* would supersede. Least among them, in Trench's view, was Webster's *Dictionary*, for, he wrote, "Even if [it] were in other respects a

² From Murray's observation extends a thorough historical consensus, thus Milne (2010); Aarsleff (1967: 258); Murray (1977: 135); Landau (2001: 78–80); Mugglestone (2005: 6–8); Béjoint (2010: 97); and Brewer (2007: 109), who calls Trench "the first father of the *OED*," and whose index identifies him as the "originator of *OED*" (2007: 333).

better book, the almost total absence of illustrative quotations would deprive it of all value in my eyes” (1860: 7n3). He preferred Richardson, who had “bestowed far more attention” on word histories, “and not seldom the series of quotations by which he illustrates the successive phases of meaning through which a word has passed is singularly happy” (1860: 44). Trench re-imagined Richardson’s strategy as a historical one rather than a philosophical semantic one, and thus a chief feature of the *OED*’s method and structure was conceived.

Trench’s engagement with Richardson’s dictionary, then, is foundational to the *OED*, and it may have been of long standing. John Mitchell Kemble (1807–1857), one of Trench’s Cambridge friends and, during their twenties, a frequent and intimate correspondent (Trench 1888: 1.11–163 *passim*), was also a leading scholar of Anglo-Saxon and advocate in England of the New Philology (Aarsleff 1967: 191–209). Coincidentally, he had attended Charles Richardson’s school on Clapham Common (Haigh 2015), and we may assume, given their rising interests in philology, that the friends discussed Richardson while at university. Aarsleff (1967: 191) notes that Richardson was “known for his lexicography, on which he is said to have employed his more intelligent pupils,” and, without claiming so explicitly, he implies that Kemble might have been one of those students, which seems likely. Richardson, in turn, must have enjoyed Trench’s praise in *On Some Deficiencies*.

Laura Pinnavaia (2010: 211) concludes that “Richardson looks forward and, as a historian, creates one of the major lexicographic works to have provided inspiration and material for the elaboration of successive dictionaries, one of which has indeed been recognized as being the great *OED*,” but on what terms were material and inspiration provided? The *OED*’s “Historical Introduction” singles out Richardson as the exemplar dictionary, the one to criticize and improve (vii). In 1857, “apparently as the result of a suggestion made by F. J. Furnivall to Dean Trench in May,” the Philological Society formed a committee to “collect unregistered words,” in order to “publish a volume supplementary to the later editions of Johnson [i.e., Todd], or to Richardson” (vii). The committee’s report was delayed by *On Some Deficiencies*, which supplies the rationale for a new dictionary but also reflects Trench’s pre-report analysis of the dictionaries in question, especially *NDEL*.

Landau’s paraphrase of this passage of *OED* front matter raises a question. Landau writes that “a suggestion from F. J. Furnivall to Dean Trench ... resulted in his analysis of the deficiencies in English dictionaries” (2001: 80). Yet, to be precise, the *OED* does not say that Trench’s analysis of Richardson resulted from Furnivall’s suggestion, only that the suggestion led to formation of a committee. How did Trench engage critically with the English dictionary he admired most, and how did his dictionary criticism construct a relationship between Richardson and the *OED*? Such questions are not easily answered—they are not answered by *On Some Deficiencies* and the *OED* alone.

Fortunately, Trench’s annotated copy of *NDEL* is a previously missing link that helps us to construct some answers. It was purchased by the Lilly Library of Indiana

University—according to its records—on 13 July 2007 for £5760, from the firm of Marlborough Rare Books, Ltd., its earlier provenance as yet unknown to me. The upper right corner of the title page of the second volume is signed “Rich^d. C. Trench. 1838,” an early date of purchase, yet Trench—already familiar with Richardson’s lexicography through Kemble—may have awaited publication of *NDEL* and so acquired it as soon as it was available. Possibly, he possessed the first volume, published in 1836, before he acquired the second, but there is no inscription in the first volume to settle the question, one way or the other. In any event, Trench had *NDEL* in his possession long before he wrote *On Some Deficiencies*; indeed, before there was a Philological Society to dream of a new English dictionary on historical principles.³

3 The annotations in Trench’s copy of *NDEL*

Once having added Richardson to his library, Trench was bound to annotate it with references from other reading. For him, compulsive annotation was second nature. As his mother wrote of him in 1822, he had “a deep love of reading, or rather a *besoin*” (Trench 1888: 1.xiii), a view she amplified on 27 January 1823:

Richard has a craving for books, and reminds me of Doctor Somebody in “Camilla,” [one presumes Dr. Orkbourne] as he cannot take an airing without arming himself against ennui by one or more volumes. He delights in referring, collating, extracting. He wishes much we should purchase a certain Polyglot, and luxuriates in the idea of finding fifteen readings of the same passage in Scripture. (Trench 1888: 1.xiii)

Sixteen years before he acquired his copy of *NDEL*, Trench had already revealed the temperament of a dictionary critic. His copy of the dictionary is full of cross-references and shorthand extracts from other works; some annotations effectively collate Richardson and Johnson-Todd or Webster; his corrections to Richardson’s quotations bring a textual critic’s scrutiny to bear on the dictionary text.

The two volumes of Trench’s copy of *NDEL* contain 1,462 marginal annotations, a rate of .66 annotations per page. The sections titled “Omissions,” “Supplement,” and “Addenda” in each volume are wholly free from annotation. The annotations fall into various types. Most frequent are references to illustrative quotations in Early Modern works that would usefully supplement Richardson’s quotations, most often by supplying evidence of a derivative form or the earliest evidence of a func-

³ The Philological Society of London as we know it today was not established until 1842, and Trench did not become a member of it until March, 1857 (Milne 2010; Aarsleff 1967: 257), after he became Dean of Westminster in 1856 and moved to London from Itchen Stoke, Hants, where he had been rector since 1844.

tional shift, but also to indicate variation in the mode of inflection or spelling. Sometimes the reference will be to author, sometimes to text, sometimes to an abbreviated combination of the two: so, for **Lin**, the marginal note reads “Fairy Queen/3.8.24/Holl. Plin. 1./315,” for **Loveling**, “Sylvester Du.B. p./455,” and so on. Usually, Trench indicates the lemma in question in the annotation; usually he underlines it, though not always, not in the case of **Loveling**, for instance. When he finds them, Trench also notes omissions—in L, **Lachrymose**, **Laudanum**, **Lava**, **Leperess**, and **Licorice**—most often without references, though occasionally with them—*laudanum* can be found in “Harris’ Travels, 2.418.” **Loveling** is an omission, too, though not marked as one, and throughout, whether Trench treats derivatives in their own right or as items subordinate to main entries—following Richardson—is somewhat unclear. **Lava** is simply omitted in *NDEL*; **Love** is entered, but without **Loveling**.

Occasionally—only very occasionally—does Trench write a discursive note. Next to **Witch**, for instance, he observes that in early sources *witch* as easily refers to men as to women practitioners of the dark arts. And, in an example to which we will return momentarily, he writes at **Amuse**, “The reference to Hol/lands Plutarch incorrect: for p. 345 read p. 419.” But commentary is far less frequent than intertextual reference. Trench had already grasped a principle originating in the *OED*—despite its sometimes elaborate definitions—and extending to the practice of historical lexicographers as recently as Aitken (1973: 259): all of them see definitions and other sorts of commentary in a historical dictionary as secondary to the quotations—context is primary, definitions serve as a finding guide to those contexts, and so Trench devoted almost all of his annotations to identifying contexts of use Richardson had overlooked.

Trench’s annotations depend on a fairly narrow range of sources. One of the most prominent is Thomas Fuller’s *Pisgah sight of Palestine*. “While most of Fuller’s other works have been diligently used by our lexicographers,” Trench writes in *On Some Deficiencies*, “his *Pisgah Sight of Palestine*, one of his most curious and most characteristic ... has been, as far as my experience reaches, entirely overlooked by them” (1860: 12). The annotations rectify this neglect. Many other favorite sources are also from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries: Philemon Holland’s translations of Plutarch (1603), Pliny (1601), and Livy (1600), Thomas North’s translation of Plutarch (1579), Daniel Rogers’ *Naaman the Syrian* (1642)—perhaps avoided by earlier lexicographers because it is long and not especially entertaining—Philip Stubbes’ *Anatomie of abuses* (1583), John Hacket’s so-called “Life of Archbishop Williams” (1698), Joshua Sylvester’s translation of DuBartas (1608), everything written by Jeremy Taylor, and various works by the Cambridge Platonist Henry More.

Trench takes less frequent recourse to many other texts in his annotations, but those he draws on most frequently construct relationships between *NDEL* and those texts, as well as occasionally among those texts. While in Cambridge in 1836, Trench (1888: 1.216) wrote to his wife,

I have found a few books that may be serviceable to me, though not all that I had expected, and have worked for some hours each day in the library; but many books are a weariness both to flesh and spirit, and I believe I am more likely to write something genial and profitable to myself and to others, by the help of my own little collection of books, than if I were overlaid and distracted by the multitude of books which I should be here tempted to consult.

To the extent that Trench relied on his “own little collection of books,” some of the annotations are at least to some extent personal. In his estimation of Fuller, he points up his “experience” of that and other texts. And to some extent, Trench’s reading expressed personal taste. For instance, Bristed reports that “Cudworth is a favorite author” in Trinity College, Cambridge (Stray 2008: 263), and Trench maintained an interest in the Cambridge Platonists, extended to Henry More rather than Cudworth in the annotations. Of course, in one’s reading of or for a dictionary, private intellectual and public lexicographical motives can mingle inextricably.

4 Trench’s annotations in relation to his lexicography and dictionary criticism

Naturally, we assume some relationship between the annotations in Trench’s *NDEL* and *On Some Deficiencies*, but what is that relationship exactly? To what extent did those annotations guide the Philological Society towards the *OED*? Close comparison of the annotations and *On Some Deficiencies* provides us with a partial and—I think—very interesting answer to such questions. The “Index of Words” in *On Some Deficiencies* comprises 274 items. Of those 274, 156 or 57% are in *NDEL* and accompanied by an annotation. In 140 cases, or 51% of the index, but 90% of the relevant annotations, the source identified in the Richardson annotation is exactly that cited in *On Some Deficiencies*—usually, but not always, quoted in the footnotes. Conversely, the component of *On Some Deficiencies* that derives from Trench’s annotations constitute just over 10% of the total annotations, the directly relevant citations transferred into *On Some Deficiencies* from the annotations just under 10% of the whole.

Trench may already have had his *Select Glossary of English Words Used Formerly in Senses Different from Their Present* in mind while writing *On Some Deficiencies*—it was first published in 1859. It is reasonable to wonder whether the *NDEL* annotations bear on that work as well as *On Some Deficiencies* and how their relationships to the annotations compare. I have only been able to work with the Fifth Edition thus far, which was published in 1879, the title page of which claims it is “revised and enlarged,” so comparison of the two works here is approximate and provisional. The Fifth Edition includes 503 entries. Of those, 60 correspond to entries Trench annotated in his copy of *NDEL*—roughly 12% of the *Select Glossary* entries—while only 32 of them employ quotations that correspond to the *NDEL* annotations, a mere

6%. The *Select Glossary* entries for which Trench may have consulted his *NDEL* amount to only 4% of the total annotations, while the *Select Glossary* entries with quotations originating in Richardson annotations amount to just over 2% of the total.

One might call the proportion of material from the annotations registered in the *Select Glossary* “insignificant,” but the proportion of material from the annotations adopted by *On Some Deficiencies* is fairly significant, since slightly more than fifty percent of the illustrations in that work correspond to annotations in Trench’s copy of *NDEL*. Yet, clearly, Trench’s critical reading of *NDEL*—registered in 1,462 notes—far exceeded the specific uses to which Trench would put the annotations. One might have assumed, before doing the arithmetic, that Trench had annotated *NDEL* for the express purpose of composing *On Some Deficiencies*, and further that having done so, he was able to cull material for the *Select Glossary*, as well. But the volume of annotation overall and the proportions in which it was used outside of the dictionary artifact suggest that annotation served some purpose or purposes beyond preparation of those works—the level of annotation would have been an inefficient means of writing them. Instead, some of the annotations may be marks of intermittent intellectual engagement. After all, according to his mother, annotation was an intellectual habit of Trench’s from his earliest years, a reading practice—it is not impossible that Trench was in some manner, perhaps more than one manner, reading his dictionary for the pleasure of doing so, satisfying his characteristic *besoin*.

5 Layers of annotation

Significantly, some of the annotations cannot serve the purposes of *On Some Deficiencies* or the *Select Glossary*. For instance, there is a note on **Acrobat**, absent from *NDEL* because it was, quoting Trench, “a new word 1855”; similarly, **Garotte, garroter** are “coming in 1856,” a bit cryptic, but indicating their newness, as well. The *OED* entry, as yet unrevised, challenges Trench’s claim, putting *garrotte* ‘execute by means of one’ in 1851 and ‘throttling’ implicitly in a quotation of 1858, but Trench was merely recording what he had found in the meantime. Neither *acrobat* nor *garrotte* is annotated usefully with his books in view, however: they do not represent deficiencies in dictionaries published before they entered English vocabulary; they cannot be used formerly in senses different from the present ones, because they were not used formerly at all.

One cannot easily determine either the chronology or the intensity of Trench’s annotation. It is reasonable to assume that, while collecting material for *On Some Deficiencies*, Trench annotated *NDEL* for that purpose, and we have some evidence that he did so while writing the *Select Glossary*. Recall the annotation at **Amuse**: “The reference to Hol/lands Plutarch incorrect: for p. 345 read p. 419.” Perhaps he

had noticed the error while re-reading Holland; perhaps he realized, while reading *NDEL* that the passage in question belonged to a later point in the *Moralia* than indicated—surely, he knew the text well enough to detect the error. Yet, more plausibly, while *amuse* is not in *On Some Deficiencies*, it is illustrated in the *Select Glossary* with exactly this quotation from Holland's Plutarch, and Trench apparently corrected Richardson while double-checking his facts for that book. Work towards the two books very likely contributes two layers to Trench's many-layered reading of Richardson, but it is impossible, in the mass of annotations, to distinguish one layer from another.

In any event, Trench did not annotate by following the dictionary text, nor did he arrange excerpts from the books he read into alphabetical lists corresponding to head words. Note that in Figure 1 the entries in column b are in alphabetical order down the column—*Dodge*, *Dodipole*, *Dodkin*, *Doe*, and *Doff*—and the annotations proceed alphabetically from the text towards the page's edge, suggesting that the first annotation was for *Dodgery*, then *Dodkin*, then *Doe*, as though following Richardson's order. Clearly, however, *Dodgery* has been added later than *Dodkin* and *Doe*, squeezed into the barely available space to preserve the expected order. Then, having filled the space over column b, a later annotation for *Dodge* had to be entered over c.⁴ Annotation, in other words, was not systematic but depended on Trench's reading at the time.

When I first leafed through Trench's Richardson, I noticed that by far most annotations occur at the top of the page, whether in the top or outside margin, and I wondered whether Trench was thus reading across the columns for evidence of a preconceived argument, like that of *On Some Deficiencies*. When I looked more closely, however, I realized that many top-of-the-page annotations refer to bottom-of-the-page entries—could the gravity of the page have pulled Trench's attention to low entries, which would suggest columnar reading? I divided the page into three sectors, upper, middle, and bottom. The text block in Richardson is 7 x 9 inches, so that each sector measured three inches. Because in annotating with material from outside the dictionary, one must locate the relevant headword, I counted entries into each sector on the basis of headword placement on the page. In volume I, I counted 234 annotations clearly associated with top entries, 228 with middle entries, and 236 with bottom entries, which add up to somewhat less than the volume's total annotations, but a few annotations were not clearly linked, without further research, anyway, to an entry. In any event, the distribution of annotations is even and thus arguably random, which indicates at least some serendipitous collecting,

⁴ This type of arrangement of annotations at the tops of pages is infrequent, but this example from D is by no means the only one; for instance, on p. 531, while Richardson's entry for **Jump** is in column b, Trench's annotation for **To fall jump** is over c, presumably because the space above b had been filled before Trench found that citation.

even if some also was done intensively and specifically for *On Some Deficiencies* or the *Select Glossary*.

One cannot easily prove anything about when the annotations were entered from Trench's *NDEL* itself. *Acrobat* may have entered English in 1855, but the annotation for it could have been written at any time thereafter. It is certainly possible that preparation of *On Some Deficiencies* marks the onset of Trench's annotating and that notes not absorbed into that book and the *Select Glossary* date from much later in Trench's life. I am inclined, however, to place all or almost all of the annotation between purchase of the dictionary in 1838 and Trench's departure for Dublin in 1864. If his archepiscopal duties prohibited contributing to the Philological Society's dictionary effort—and many busy people contributed, after all—they may very well have brought annotation to a halt, as well. Trench was entering a new phase of his life at the time. Indeed, as we shall see, the bulk of annotation probably occurred in the 1850s, during Trench's intensively philological period.

Certain types of variation among annotations—in the quality of handwriting and in the forms of reference to specific works—suggest that Trench wrote them at various times, though one can hardly devise a chronology of entry from this evidence. Consider, for instance, a text on which Trench depends frequently, *Scrinia reserata: a memorial offer'd to the great deservings of John Williams, D. D., who some time held the places of Ld Keeper of the Great Seal of England, Ld Bishop of Lincoln, and Ld Archbishop of York: containing a series of the most remarkable occurrences and transactions of his life, in relation to both church and state* (London, 1693), by John Hacket (1592–1670), Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry, and like Trench a Trinity College, Cambridge, man. It is the sort of text that requires a shorthand method of reference, an abbreviated title or stencil.

When one enters a pile of notes from the same text into a dictionary all at once, one tends to employ the same name for the text; when one enters notes from said text at different times, one tends towards inconsistency, calling the relevant text by different names. Trench enters references to Hacket by the following forms:⁵

- (1) Hacket L. of A^p. Will^{ms}. (p. 360, s.v. *Commorant*; also p. 934, s.v. *Gremial*)
- (2) Hacket L. of A^p. W^{ms} (p. 395, s.v. *Consciunale*)
- (3) Hackets L. A^p. Will^{ms} (p. 467, s.v. *Cynosura*)
- (4) Hacket L. of A^p W^{ms} (p. 592, s.v. *Disunison*)
- (5) Hacket W^{ms} (p. 634, s.v. *Earworm*; also p. 904, s.v. *Glaver*; p. 983, s.v. *Hector*)
- (6) Hacket L. of W^{ms} (p. 752, s.v. *Fadoodle*; also p. 943, s.v. *Grypp*)
- (7) Hacket L. of A. W^{ms} (p. 916, s.v. *Gollsheaves*)
- (8) Hacket Life of A^p. Will^{ms} (p. 925, s.v. *Granado*)

⁵ Here and below, bolded entry forms are Trench's and may or may not correspond to Richardson's head words; often, because Trench is supplying an omission, they do not.

(9) Hacket L. of AB Williams (p. 936, s.v., *Grime*).

As the additional instances noted here indicate, one or another variant may appear at different points in the alphabet, which again suggests that Trench did not enter annotations in alphabetical order, that is, with a pile of pre-collected alphabetized notes for transcription into his copy of *NDEL*.

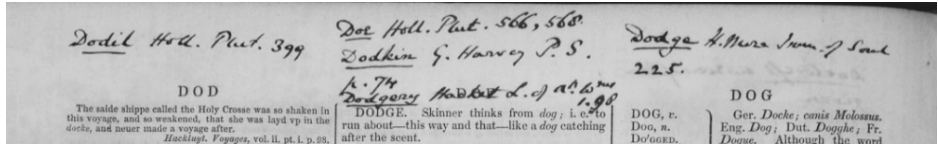


Figure 1. Squeezed in *Dodgery*

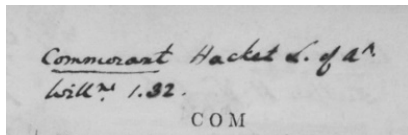


Figure 2. Hacket references, variant (1)

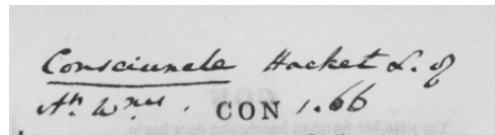


Figure 3. Hacket references, variants (2) and (8)

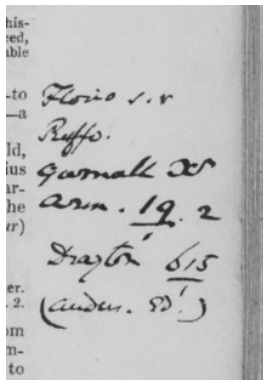


Figure 4. Careful (younger) writing, sample 1

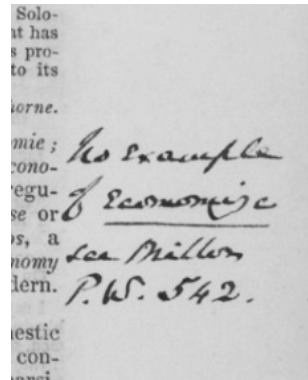


Figure 5. Careless (older) writing, sample 23

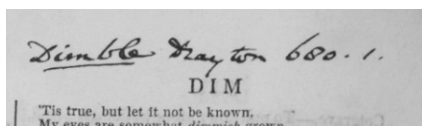


Figure 6. Careless (older) writing, sample 1

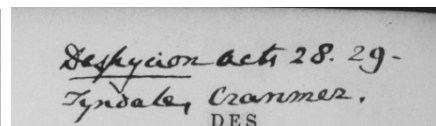


Figure 7. Careful (younger) writing, sample 2

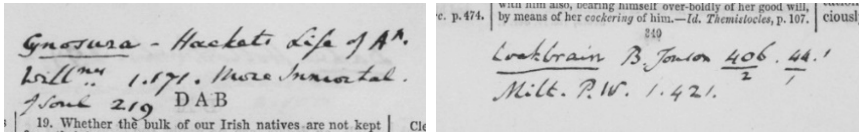


Figure 8. Hacket references, variants (3), (4), (7), **Figure 9.** Careful (younger) writing, sample and (9)

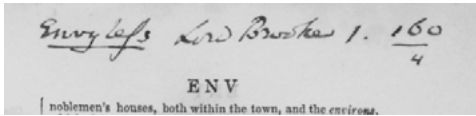


Figure 10. Careless (older) writing, sample 3

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The above list obscures another point of variation among the citation forms, one that may be even more important in establishing that annotations were entered not all at once but over some indeterminate period of time. The “A” in item 1 is a round character (see Figure 2), and that in item 2, as well as in item 8, starts the letter on a descending flourish (see Figure 3), while items 3, 4, 7 and 9 are simply triangular (see Figure 8). Writers may vary letter forms, of course, but this is less likely in an event of mass annotation than in intermittent notes, just as the stencil is less likely to vary—at least so widely—if a writer with a purpose has an abbreviation in mind. Repetition reinforces selection of a form of abbreviation. Also, although a writer may vary letter forms even within a single document, variation over a large number of annotations like those in Trench’s copy of *NDEL* might instead support the supposition that Trench entered notes at various times, with different letter forms habitual at those times, but not necessarily over time.

These last observations about letter forms converge with a general assessment of handwriting in the annotations across Volume I of Trench’s *NDEL*. The hand varies greatly, and while a number of factors may influence the variation, one of them is very likely age. There are instances of very careful writing, as in the articulation of “Drayton” (p. 543, s.v. *Dilling*), for seventeenth-century poet Michael Drayton, “Cranmer” (p. 524, s.v. *Despicion*), and “Milton P. W.” (p. 340, s.v. *Cockbrain*), which is as clear as writing can be. The “y” in *Drayton* (see Figure 4), the distinguishable minims in the “nm” cluster in *Cranmer* (see Figure 7), and the slight flourish of “P” in the Milton annotation (see Figure 9)—these probably illustrate Trench’s younger hand. Alternatively, another *Drayton* very close to the one entered early (p. 544, s.v. *Dimble*) is less precisely articulated (see Figure 6), and another *Milton* (p. 639, s.v. Richardson’s *Economy*) has an uncrossed “t” and open vowels (see Figure 5), as

does reference to “Lord Brooke” (p. 695, s.v. *Envyleless*; see Figure 10)—all of these are typical tendencies of a writer’s later hand, though some of the other factors alluded to previously complicate such a verdict.⁶ Just as there are a few carefully written annotations, a few are barely intelligible.

Alternatively, one might suspect that Richardson’s sloppy entries are simply the result of haste—he was, after all, an exceptionally busy person—written in a rush from one to another enterprise, as an opportunity presented itself, a word-lover’s respite from worldly, ecclesiastical, and spiritual business. This explanation is plausible, but one does not annotate a dictionary hastily and leisurely at the same time. In other words, sometimes, Trench wrote as though he had time, and so probably did; at other times, he wrote as though he had no time for legibility; but those times cannot be the same time, and degrees of legibility again suggest annotation over some span of time and a variety of circumstances. Further study of Trench’s handwriting across time and types of documents should lead us to a firmer conclusion about the relative significance of age and speed, which, of course, may also intersect in a specific annotation.

Though some may find examination of abbreviation and letter forms tedious, the artifact in the Lilly Library—Trench’s annotated *NDEL*—is, in these details, important evidence of Trench’s practice as a lexicographer and dictionary critic, as well as of the historical relationship between Richardson’s *NDEL* and the *OED*. As Dolezal (2000: 143) observes, scholars such as Aarsleff and Zgusta “have written on the subject of possible influences of RICHARDSON on the *OED*; this collection of data”—that presented by Dolezal—“should help illuminate and clarify some of the issues,” which it does. “As the committee”—the Philological Society’s Literary and Historical Committee, which established the *OED*’s reading program, and of which Trench was a member—looked for ‘unregistered words,’ it must have become apparent that not only were there words that had not been documented, but there were words that had senses undocumented, and that there were words that had not had their earliest use documented,” and, for our purposes perhaps most important, “At some point there must have been a realization that the quotations in RICHARDSON’S dictionary could not be relied upon.” Plausibly, in Trench’s annotations to *NDEL*, we come to that hitherto unidentified point.

The annotations may have directed more of the *OED*’s early history than is apparent from their role in *On Some Deficiencies*. After I presented an early version of

⁶ The complications are easily imagined. Margins in a dictionary are narrow and placed in ways that challenge clear handwriting. For instance, the reference to Drayton for *Dimble* on p. 544 is written in the margin at the gutter, not at the top outside corner of the same page, at which the hand would have more freedom and could write from a more usual position. Is this annotation less precisely written because its writer is older or because its younger writer’s style is cramped by the physical circumstances? A similarly loose “Drayton” appears, however, on the left, outside margin of page 330, s.v. Richardson’s *Climb*, in reference to the poet’s use of the perfect *clame*.

this article at OX-LEX, which was held at Pembroke College, the University of Oxford, 25–27 March 2015, Peter Gilliver, an editor of the *OED* and author of the official history of the *OED* project (Gilliver 2016)—no one knows more about the initial phases of it—wondered about the overlap between what appear to be Trench’s source texts and those listed in the *OED*’s July 1857 circular seeking volunteer readers of various texts and noting those texts already assigned. “Striking, isn’t it,” he wrote to me subsequently, “how few items are listed as being undertaken by the Dean of Westminster” (March 30, 2015, pers. comm.).⁷ Trench signed up for More’s *Mystery of Iniquity* and Rogers’ *Naaman the Syrian*, quite possibly in the latter case because he doubted anyone else would, or that—the initial enthusiasm having faltered—anyone who did would not follow through.

As a member of the Philological Society’s Literary and Historical Committee, he was certainly well-placed to collect early submissions of material from those who had volunteered to read texts on behalf of the project. One can imagine Trench, slips in hand, checking each contributed citation against *NDEL*, thus exposing deficiencies, and marking the useful references in his copy of *NDEL*, which he consulted later while composing *On Some Deficiencies*. Yet it seems unlikely, for the sake of the Philological Society’s project, that he would use his copy of *NDEL* to keep track of such submissions—the annotations would be less useful in assembling evidence for his lectures than the slips on which volunteer readers scribbled citations.

However, chronology confounds the proposition that Trench recorded contributors’ notes in his copy of *NDEL*. He became a member of the Philological Society in March, 1857, and was more or less immediately a member of the Literary and Historical Committee, which by July had issued a circular. Prior to publication of the circular, volunteer readers had been engaged for many texts. Trench delivered his first lecture on the deficiencies of English dictionaries on 5 November 1857. Thus, for the work of volunteer readers to have provided illustrations for the lecture in the heavy proportion indicated earlier, the relevant readers must have read more quickly than most, returned slips from their reading unusually quickly, too, and then Trench had to enter them in his copy of *NDEL* and make sense of them all in conceiving and composing his lectures. If all of the annotations—or even the bulk of them—recorded discoveries of volunteer readers Trench received between March and November, how could he have pulled it all together in time?

A similar question might be asked of the Literary and Historical Committee’s work—how did Trench, F. J. Furnivall, and Herbert Coleridge pull together a list of

⁷ A portion of the circular is available on the *OED* website. It is incorporated into the January 1859 “Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary by the Philological Society,” the full text of which was published by Richard W. Bailey (1986: 179–215). Mr. Gilliver’s question prompted me to reconsider material and revise my argument in several points, and I am very grateful for it and for the conversation surrounding it. My conclusions are my own, but Mr. Gilliver probably influenced any that prove sound.

texts that were likely to yield quotations essential to the Philological Society's proposed dictionary because they had been overlooked by previous lexicographers, given "the limited capacities of any single man?" Perhaps Trench had already identified at least some deficiencies in the textual basis of English lexicography while annotating his copy of *NDEL* over some indeterminate period of time. In other words, under Trench's influence, the committee devised its reading program with *On Some Deficiencies* already in mind—at least, already in Trench's mind. Trench's annotations constituted a test of lexicographical quotation, as well as coverage or words and senses of words, the sort of test any historical dictionary project must conduct in order to settle its reading program.⁸ Trench had not assigned himself to read Rogers' *Namaan the Syrian* because he feared no one else was up to the task, but because he had already read it—the job was done before the circular was published.

While Trench's copy of *NDEL* contains some evidently earlier and later annotations, most are similar enough that they cannot be distributed chronologically or even among periods of composition. Most probably come from Trench's principal philological period, roughly 1850 to 1859, a period long enough to account for variation in writing style and forms of reference but short enough that the writing is by and large homogenous—a decade rather than a few months seems more consistent with the evidence. Trench's annotations of *NDEL* substantially informed his *On Some Deficiencies* but they also figured in designing the nascent reading program of the *OED*. They outlined some of the dictionary's historicity and also expanded greatly from what had gone before the repertoire of lexicographical quotation—they helped the *OED* become the quotations dictionary on historical principles it was destined to become, "no patch upon old garments," as Trench (1860: 1) famously put it, "but a new garment throughout." They are perhaps the deepest-reaching roots of the *OED*.

6 Trench reading Richardson

Evidence from Trench's annotations suggests that he read *NDEL* over some undetermined period of time—a period that may in fact be beyond determining—but longer than the eight months between his joining the Philological Society and delivering *On Some Deficiencies*. If we take Trench's primary creative period in philology as 1838–1859, he was engaged with Richardson for twenty years, and would thus

⁸ For example, consider organization of the *Middle English Dictionary's* reading program, as described in welcome detail by David Jost (1984 and 1985), supplemented briefly by Adams (1995: 158–159), which provides an example of the inefficiency of volunteer reading early in a project's development.

have annotated his copy at an average rate of 73 entries per year, which to some might indicate only a casual interest in the dictionary, an annotation every week or so. But unless he lugged his Richardson around to Cambridge and London on his frequent and extended visits, unless he kept at his philological work while three of his children died in the early 1840s, he probably annotated Richardson sometimes more intensively, sometimes not at all, and quite possibly just whenever he could.

Had Trench annotated only during those eight months of 1857, he would have written six notes per day. Such a rate is far from arduous and well within our imagining, of course, but given his non-philological work, as well as the work of writing his books—which clearly depended on reading and quite possibly annotation of other sources—it seems unlikely that his annotations were evenly distributed across those 245 days, and the total might thus have been unachievable within the year. But he might well have been engaged intensively with his copy of *NDEL* for a middling period, roughly that during which he published his philological works, the 1850s. If that decade encompassed all of the annotations, Trench annotated *NDEL* at a fairly impressive average rate of 146 entries per year.

By the time he finished writing *The Study of Words* (1851), he must have had fairly regular recourse to dictionaries—*NDEL* among them—just as sources of information. But at some point, in checking his Richardson, he must have begun to enjoy the chronologically arranged quotations—which he later praised—and to think critically about their role in the dictionary's structure. As his experience of *NDEL* deepened, he would notice material that might supplement Richardson while going about his other reading; then, recursively, he would read Richardson and notice where something he'd read recently or otherwise recalled was missing from the dictionary's treatment of one or another word.

Reading texts for a dictionary is not like reading texts generally. Once the need to supply material to the dictionary in question is understood, it is focused and purposeful. Also, the reader's lexical focus heightens certain aspects of the reader's engagement and pleasure (Adams 2010: 48–56). In other words, it is a specialized sort of reading; it is itself a form of dictionary criticism. Trench was, for some time, an especially engaged reader of *NDEL*, among other dictionaries.⁹ The annotations prove that for *NDEL* and imply the same for the other dictionaries underlying Trench's several philological works, especially *On Some Deficiencies*, the critical essay incipient in the critical annotations that—given his *besoin*—followed predictably on his critical reading. Reading of this kind is essentially an intertextual experience, a collation of the dictionary text at hand with other texts, the facts of which

⁹ This article should raise our hopes that others of Trench's dictionaries — especially Johnson, Todd-Johnson, and Webster — likewise annotated, are extant, waiting for us to find them.

augment and thus implicitly criticize the dictionary.¹⁰ And Trench had the temperament for such reading from an early age, as his mother had noticed, and his friend, William Donne, who wrote to him, on 10 March 1834,

Some minds extract from an hour's reading, and from the snatches and fragments which an active mind allows for study, more solid and wholesome food than the close diligence of others collects in whole days, and this must be your case; for that you have little leisure for study I can easily understand, and I can *witness* that you are well appointed, and ready, whenever the results of study are required. (Trench 1888: 1.152–153)

While reading his copy of *NDEL* in this fashion, Trench saw a critical opening and in taking it imagined another sort of dictionary, the historical dictionary of English that would eventually be realized in the *OED*. Dolezal (2000: 139) observes that

The process of writing explanations [of lexical meaning] on the basis of cited texts depends on critically interpreting the texts; readers are invited to partake of the process in as much as some of the documentary evidence is presented by the dictionary makers. Of course, the reader must depend on the dictionary makers' reliable selection of exemplary quotations, ones that stand for all the pertinent quotations that were collected and classified.

And in fact those that were not, as well, but Trench's annotations—a record of such participation—signals a certain level of distrust in Richardson's reliability. If, as Dolezal continues, "Readers must also have faith that the word being defined appears in a context that really supports the definition," the annotations suggest that Trench's faith in Richardson's lexicography was tempered by his critical reading, both of *NDEL* and the literature from which he supplemented Richardson's wordlist and the miniature anthologies of quotations on which he founded his semantic treatment of lemmata.

Trench's reading of *NDEL* was thus recursive. He read the dictionary, of course, with an eye to the features Dolezal mentions. He read the texts Richardson cited, in order to gauge how successfully they conveyed meanings and outlined the historical development of meanings that mattered less to Richardson but increasingly more to Trench. And he read texts Richardson did not cite. He was doing so anyway, and his annotations may document serendipitous collation, but once one has assessed a lexicographer's tendency to quote too much of X, one tends to read Y and Z, just to see if—as one suspects—word histories change when one takes different texts into account. So, at this stage, a kind of double-reading occurs—reading at the point of annotation—in which Trench assesses the linguistic and historical relations of *NDEL*

¹⁰ Here, *criticism* and *criticize* are understood as terms of art that need not suggest negative or disapproving response. Theoretically, one could read a dictionary, approve of its method and augment it sympathetically. In marking omissions and errors, while maintaining respect for Richardson's accomplishment in *NDEL*, Trench might be said to register constructive criticism that could have led to a better *NDEL*, but instead led to the *OED* as a superior model of dictionary.

and texts cited in Trench's annotations. In addition, over time, Trench read his annotations critically, for instance canceling a note he had made on page 883—"The verb/to gaud/omitted/see Hollands/ Plut. p./91"—in which he had already replaced "Norths" with "Hollands."

Regina Fowler (2004: 53) proposes that "Richardson's *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–1837) aims to create its own ideal reader." Trench might be that reader, though the result of his reading was another dictionary altogether. "Richardson's dictionary, that 'valuable repertory' of texts," Fowler (2004: 60) writes,

is itself a text offering the reader some challenges but many pleasures. Its very eccentricity allows us to rethink the value of literary quotations as the source and illustration of meaning and to discuss the selection, ordering and contextualization of quotations, their use and misuse in establishing or unsettling definitions and their sometimes unassimilable autonomy in works of reference and record.

Rethinking is of course just what Trench did, gradually and to great effect, until he arrived at the glimmer of the *OED*, and the accumulation of his years of dictionary criticism informed the *OED*'s early reading program and his foundational lectures, *On Some Deficiencies*, the practical, professional results of philological avocations.

For we have some evidence that Trench saw his reading and dictionary annotations and even representations of them from the philological pulpit—as in *On Some Deficiencies*—as private pursuits. Even when revising *On Some Deficiencies*, "now republished with amendments and additions, and also with such alterations as the altered condition of things may require" (1860: 1), he noted explicitly that while preparations for the *OED* were a public enterprise, his dictionary research was separate from them, even if it informed them, and, of course, we have ample evidence it did. "I may be allowed, perhaps," he wrote (1860: 1–2),

to mention here what I mentioned on that former occasion [initial publication of the lectures]—namely, that I have thought it right to abstain from employing any portion of those large materials already collected for the Dictionary, partly as being unwilling even to seem to employ for a private end contributions made for a more public object but with a further advantage; for I am thus able to show that it needs no such combined effort of many to make palpable our deficiencies, however it may need this to remove them.

Since 51% of the examples from the 1860 version of *On Some Deficiencies* derive from his annotations in *NDEL*, we may safely conclude that Trench influenced the beginnings of the *OED*, but not that the *OED* influenced Trench's dictionary reading and research, which—the evidence accumulated here amply proves—must already have been well underway by 1857 for it to have the influence it did.

Rhetorically, Trench presented his engagement with dictionaries as a powerfully personal matter. In *On Some Deficiencies*, he often refers to "our Dictionaries" but occasionally slips into the first-person: "Surely if I am reading Swift," he writes, "and come upon the word 'to brangle,' or light upon 'druggerman' in Pope, I ought

to be able to find them in my Dictionary” (1860: 9), an example of the recursive dictionary reading to which I alluded earlier. These are not hypothetical examples: *Brangle* ‘quarrel’ is entered in *NDEL* (218), and Richardson illustrates it with three quotations from Swift, but, at the top of the column, Trench has annotated the entry with a citation from Henry More’s *An explanation of the grand mystery of godliness*, abbreviated “More on Godliness”; *Druggerman* ‘druggist’ is not in *NDEL*, and Trench has annotated the appropriate column (621) with references to Pope and Skinner. Trench observes that Richardson often overlooks archaic words, but *druggerman*, he explains, is one of “two I just noticed” in time for the 1857 edition of *On Some Deficiencies* (1857 and 1860: 12)—the implication, of course, is that “just noticed” is an unusual state of affairs, that his reading of Richardson had been ongoing for some time.

7 Conclusion

In hindsight, given its concrete manifestations in the *OED*’s reading program, *On Some Deficiencies*, the *Select Glossary*—all of them significant in the history of English lexicography—Trench’s engagement with *NDEL* seems purposeful, but, at the beginning, the very engagement may have been purpose enough. As Richardson wrote, “Dictionaries are too frequently considered as books to which idleness may fly for instantaneous relief from ignorance, and find all that it wants without the trouble of perusing more ... the continuance or renewal of enquiry will be frequently invited and not infrequently repaid” (53). Whether Trench’s reading of Richardson was continuous or often renewed we may never know, but he took Richardson’s advice to heart, and evidence of his dictionary reading, his spontaneous dictionary criticism, is there in his book for all to see. Utility does not preclude pleasure, of course, and many owners of historical and other quotations dictionaries take pleasure in reading them (Considine 1998; Adams 2010: 56–62). We have every reason to believe that Trench enjoyed reading his Richardson—in the act of dictionary criticism, purpose and pleasure converge, as they do when reading Trench reading Richardson.

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Fredric T. Dolezal and Ward J. Risvold

Did Anne Maxwell print John Wilkins's *An essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* (1668)?

But as it is now (for the most part abused) the Bookseller hath not only made the Printer, the Binder, and the Clasp-maker a slave to him: but hath brought Authors, yea the whole Commonwealth, and all the liberal Sciences into bondage. (George Wither 1624: 10)

Abstract: In order to answer the question posed in the title, we will explore the careers of a group of authors, booksellers and printers active in 17th century England. In doing so, we question previous work on the printing history of one of the Royal Society's earliest commissioned books, *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language*, by Bishop John Wilkins. The argument of this article focuses on (1) the authors John Wilkins and William Lloyd, both clerics (and both eventually Bishops) as well as being leading intellectuals of their day; (2) booksellers Samuel Gellibrand, John Martyn, and James Allestry, all of whom owned and operated their own bookshops and undertook the expense of paying for and overseeing the publications of books; and (3) the printers whom we have identified as the most likely candidates for printing this book. We hope by treating each bookseller and printer in turn that we can show that the preponderance of evidence points to Anne Maxwell as the most likely printer of Wilkins's *Essay*. As we shall see, Maxwell had the means of production, a long-term association as printer for Wilkins and the bookseller Samuel Gellibrand, and the reputation for quality work that makes her a mostly overlooked, but important, woman working in the book trade of 17th century London.

Keywords: Book history, London book trade, feminist historiography, John Wilkins, William Lloyd, Royal Society, booksellers, printers, Samuel Gellibrand, Thomas Roycroft, Joseph Moxon, John Martyn, Henry Brome, John Macock, Thomas Newcomb, John Tillotson

1 Background and Introduction

For most of us the story of a book begins when we acquire it and hold it in our hands. We may think about the publisher, if for no other reason than to record the bibliographic information required by our respective publication style sheets. We may also think about the place of publication, for much the same reason. The place of publication and publisher, however, do not tell us how the act of publishing became the artifact of publication. Normally, in 17th century England, the artifact was

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printed not by a publisher, but by a Master Printer supervising a printing house. The publisher, who was often also a bookseller, chose authors whose work was deemed marketable and then chose a printer (or printers) whose work was deemed cost- and quality-effective. In this essay, in order to answer the question posed in the title, we will explore the careers of a group of authors, booksellers and printers active in 17th century England.

Specifically we will be focusing on (1) authors John Wilkins and William Lloyd, both clerics (and both eventually bishops) as well as being leading intellectuals of their day; (2) booksellers Samuel Gellibrand, John Martyn, and James Allestry, all of whom owned and operated their own bookshops and undertook the expense of paying for and overseeing the publication of books; and (3) the printers whom we have identified as the most likely candidates for printing *An essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* (1668; hereafter, the *Essay*): Joseph Moxon, John Macock, Thomas Roycroft, Thomas Newcombe, and Anne Maxwell. And, as the title of this essay suggests, we think Anne Maxwell is the prime candidate. We hope by treating each bookseller and printer in turn that we can show that the preponderance of evidence points to Anne Maxwell as the most likely printer of Wilkins's *Essay*. As we shall see, Maxwell had the means of production, a long term association as printer for Wilkins and the bookseller Samuel Gellibrand, and the reputation for quality work that makes her a mostly overlooked, but important, woman working in the book trade of 17th century London.

The history of the publication of the *Essay* is complex. The evidence for it comes from primary and secondary sources that do not always give complete or accurate information. Title pages of books in this era of English printing history are notorious for not including the names of authors, booksellers, printers, or the ornamental devices that serve to identify a bookshop or printing house. It is a time in the book trade when, despite rules and regulations, there were no widely accepted principles of determining intellectual property rights, and piracy was rampant. It also was a time for which we have few reliable means of associating specific fonts, printing ornaments and other physical evidence with specific booksellers or printers. There is no comprehensive census for all of the fonts, ornamental designs, engravings, and wood cuts in use among the printing houses which we know were operating during the years we are interested in, namely, ca. 1640–1680. Add to this the fluid relationships among all the parties in the trade. Apprentices became “free”, for example, and could take their skills to another house. Also mobile were a hierarchy of workers, be they the compositors who set the type, the pressmen who struck the print, the “workmen” who inked, wet, hung and folded sheets of paper to make the pages, or the bookbinders who gathered and stitched the pages together. When all of these printing house employees moved from house to house, fonts, paper, wood blocks and copper engravings could and did change hands. Few known records of these activities remain.

Our story, then, of the publication of *An Essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* begins in two bookshops, The Ball and The Bell. The first is the shop of the bookseller–publisher Samuel Gellibrand; the second is the shop of another bookseller–publisher, John Martyn. The once-only partnership of these two men (formed solely for the purpose of publishing the *Essay*) provides the basis for investigating their preferred printers, whom we consider the most likely to be responsible for printing the *Essay*.

1.1 Science, Religion, and a Philosophical Language

Bishop John Wilkins (1614–1672) was a leading member of a group of intellectuals that included, among many other wits and scholars, Robert Boyle, Christopher Wren, Robert Hooke, John Evelyn, Abraham Cowley, Mary Beale, and Samuel Pepys. Wilkins played a pivotal role in both the ecclesiastical and scientific worlds of 17th century England. He was the chief proponent and inspiration for Latitudinarianism, an Anglican ideology that was founded upon a program of moderation and tolerance in religious affairs. His scientific and mathematical interests were wide-ranging, including aerodynamics, human anatomy, cryptography and linguistics. His published work is almost evenly split between topics related to religion and those related to the sciences.

By the time Wilkins began to work assiduously on the *Essay*, he was already a well-known advocate for clear and effective communication. In 1641, he published a book, *Mercury, or the secret and swift messenger*, on communication and communicating, with attention to cryptography. Then, in 1646, he published *Ecclesiastes, or, A discourse concerning the gift of preaching*, a self-help book for inexperienced ministers and preachers as a guide to deliver their thoughts effectively. In his book of 1648, *Mathematical magick, or the wonders that may be performed by mechanical geometry*, Wilkins roundly criticizes mathematicians and experimenters of the past who made their works obscure, thus rendering their ideas effectively unusable. Wilkins wanted to publish information to encourage practical applications of mathematics; in *Mathematical magick* he makes a case for the use of the “Vulgar Tongue,” not Latin, “for the Capacity of every Ingenious Artificer.”¹ His advocacy for clear communication was just as avid in matters ecclesiastic: in 1651, Wilkins offered *A discourse concerning the gift of prayer*, a book on constructing Christian prayers based on his structural and rhetorical analysis of liturgical prayers. Barbara Shapiro (1969) summarizes Wilkins’s advocacy of clear expression and supplies a motivating influence – publicity:

¹ Wilkins 1648: To the Reader.

Publicity, Wilkins was convinced, was absolutely essential for progress. But publicity alone was not enough. Clarity of exposition was just as important if scientific knowledge was to be really comprehended. Although he treated this problem at greater length in his religious writings, there is no doubt that he felt clarity of communication to be just as essential in scientific as religious writing. He constantly jibed at scientists, both ancient and modern, who wrote obscurely. One of the reasons he was hostile to chemical experimenters was that they express their findings in allegories and “affected Obscurities.” (Shapiro 1969: 32)

Wilkins was also a central figure in the founding of the Royal Society of London for Improving Natural Knowledge. As the catalyst to the Royal Society’s formation, Wilkins brought together the best minds of his generation, many of whom like him were inspired by Francis Bacon’s advocacy of empirical experimentation. These polymaths were instrumental in establishing and promoting the growth of what we now know as the modern sciences. Of particular interest to the Royal Society was the unavoidable difficulty, if not impossibility, of plain, direct and precise communication inherent when using any natural language: there were not only the ambivalences and ambiguities of meaning within their own English tongue, but also the added difficulty of communication across national and regional languages. Latin also was deemed liable to “corruption” because it too was a language of conventions, not a language founded on universal principles. The desire for an international system of communication—a universal language founded on philosophical or scientific principles—became the Royal Society’s first major project. The society gave the task to Wilkins, and the outcome was the *Essay*. Wilkins admits that “the compleating of such a design, being rather the work of a College and Age, then of any single Person” (a1^r). He drew from others in his circle: William Lloyd, John Ray, Francis Willughby, and John Tillotson, to name a few. The *Essay*, besides its place in the history of universal language schemes and classification systems, remains a forward-looking masterpiece of lexicography and a repository of some of the best linguistic ideas of the epoch, many of which have currency today.²

1.2 The *Essay*

This folio-sized volume priced at 16 shillings was one of the most expensive books published in London in the year 1668.³ An imposing artifact of English print tech-

² As we shall see below, William Lloyd (1627–1717) not only collaborated closely with Wilkins but also compiled an English dictionary that was published with the *Essay*.

³ As recorded in *The term catalogues 1668–1682*: “An Essay towards a real Character and a Philosophical language. By John Wilkins, Lord Bishop of Chester. In Folio. Price 16s [shillings], bound.” (see Arber 1903: I.3) The catalogue only begins with Michaelmas Term (October–December); according to this record of printing in London, the *Essay* and a two-volume set of reprints of the *Philosophical Transactions* (Martyn 1670) are the two most expensive books of the Term.

nology and the book trade in the middle of the 17th century, the 454-page *Essay* consists of four parts: (1) an introductory part (the “Prolegomenon”) that lays out a history of languages and writing systems, provides a critique of “common alphabets”, and offers a brief explanation for the necessity of establishing a philosophical language and character (a universal language system); (2) the largest section, which comprises the classification tables of “all things and notions under discourse” (“The Universal Philosophy” also referred to as “The Philosophical Tables”); (3) a grammar (the “Philosophical Grammar”), which besides a description of parts of speech, introduces a set of semantic operators (“transcendental particles”) that extend or restrict significations of the concepts, and a phonetic system that includes a phonetic table organized mostly on the basis of place and manner of articulation; and (4) a universal language scheme with its own writing and phonetic systems (“A Real Character, and A Philosophical Language”). In addition, there is an elaborate fold-out chart (usually inserted in bound copies after part four) that provides an index to the Philosophical Tables. Wilkins developed a writing system for his philosophical, or universal, language using a set of simple figures that were coordinated with specific concepts in the Philosophical Tables. As we shall see, printing these innovative figures required the service of someone who could manufacture typefaces.

Appended to all of this is a second complete work compiled by William Lloyd, philologist, cleric, and student of Wilkins. It is 157 pages in length and is titled *An alphabetical dictionary, wherein all English words according to their various significations, are either referred to their places in the philosophical tables, or explained by such words as are in those tables* (hereafter the *Dictionary*).

The book has two separate title pages: one for the *Essay* and one for the *Dictionary* (see Figures 1 and 2). We shall look at each title page in turn.

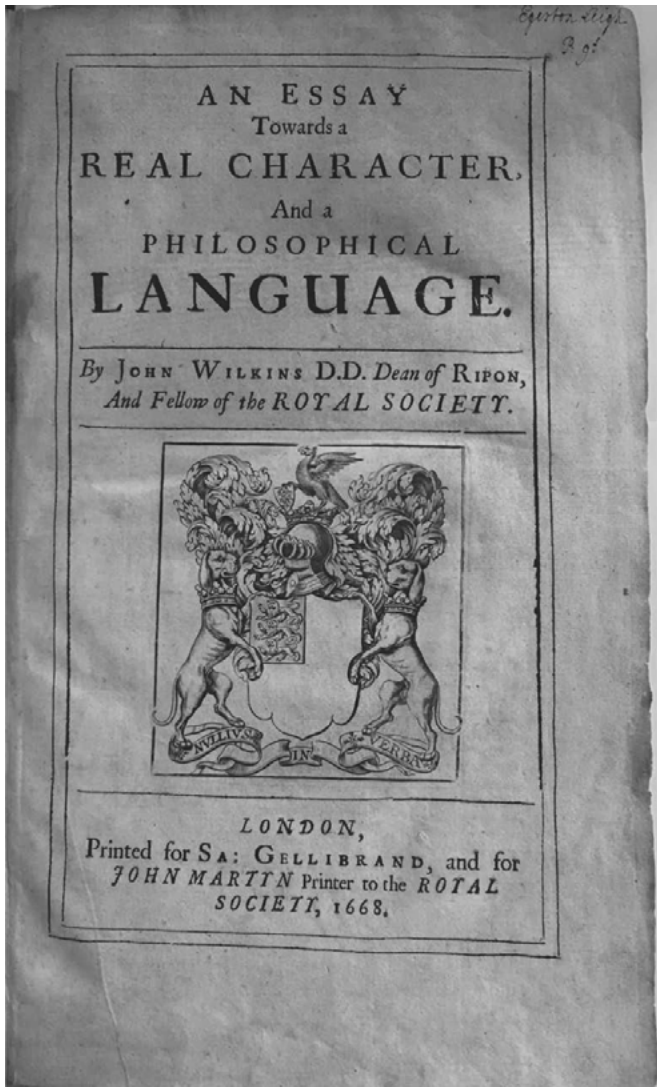


Figure 1. Title page of *An essay towards a real character and a philosophical language* (1668).

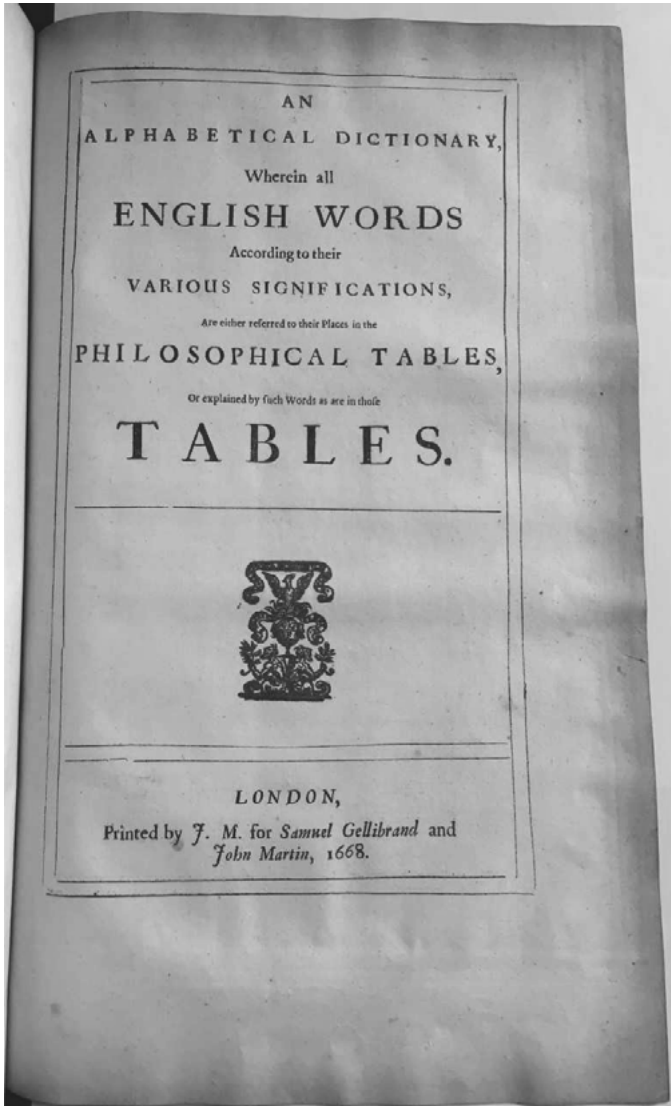


Figure 2. Title page of *An alphabetical dictionary* (1668), by William Lloyd. The *Dictionary* is usually bound together with the *Essay*.

The title page for the *Essay* bears the complete title, the place (London) and year of publication (1668), the engraved imprimatur of the Royal Society,⁴ the name of the author, “John Wilkins, D.D. Dean of Ripon, and Fellow of the Royal Society”, and the names of the two booksellers, “Sa: Gellibrand and John Martyn Printer to the Royal Society.” As Charles A. Rivington (1984: 1) says, “The men appointed ‘Printers to the Society’ were in fact all booksellers (what we should now call publishers) ...” Gellibrand and Martyn are the publishers, not the printers of the work. The printer’s name does not appear on the title page of the *Essay*.

Turning to the title page of the *Dictionary*, we see that it bears the complete title; the place (again, London) and year of publication (1668); the names of the bookseller-publishers, “Samuel Gellibrand and John Martin”; and a wood-cut printer’s device (also often referred to as a printer’s mark). Unlike the title page for the *Essay*, the *Dictionary*’s title page does include a printer, “Printed by J.M.” On the other hand, no author’s name appears on the title page of the *Dictionary*. However, there should be no mystery about the authorship of the *Dictionary*: John Wilkins ascribes “the drawing up of the dictionary” to his friend and colleague William Lloyd, as we more fully note in Section 2.2 below. The printer’s device on the title page has a design that had its origins in Italy, the work of the Giolito brothers of Venice (McKerrow 1913: 252). Ronald B. McKerrow writes that a “[c]areful examination of clear prints ... puts it beyond doubt ... that the English one is simply a very careful copy [of the Venetian device]” (1913: xxvii). McKerrow’s study goes up to the year 1640 and records 1621 as the last publication in the period that bears this imprint. We do not know who owned the wood block from which the device was printed or how they acquired it. It is presently not possible to associate the wood block with any particular person, printing house, or bookseller. The device does not appear to have been used in any other publications produced by the booksellers Gellibrand and Martyn.

Besides the device we find on the title page of the *Dictionary* and the mark of the Royal Society on the title page of the *Essay*, there is a factotum (a type of ornamental initial letter)⁵ that appears twice in the introductory chapters as the first enlarged letter of an opening paragraph. Similar factotums can be found in books printed by two of the printers under consideration here: Thomas Newcombe and Anne Maxwell.

⁴ Of the seven books issued under the imprimatur of the Royal Society (with James Allestry and John Martyn named as Printers to the Royal Society), only one book, Thomas Sprat’s *History of the Royal Society of London*, includes an indication of the printer. The *History* records the printer as “T.R.,” who is commonly believed to be Thomas Roycroft.

⁵ “Fac-totum, (I. do-all) a border, in whose mid[d]le any letter may be put for use, and taken out again.” An entry in: Elisha Coles, *An English Dictionary* (1676). See Lancashire (2006).

1.3 The London Book Trade

The book, once printed, would have been sold unbound; stitched but not bound; or stitched and bound between hard covers. John Martyn's bookshop, *The Bell*, was a meeting place for intellectuals, practitioners of the new science, poets and translators, and patrons from various stations of society at large. Whether sold at Martyn's shop or at Gellibrand's at the sign of *The Ball*, the *Essay* was offered for sale in or around St. Paul's Churchyard in the midst of a thriving book trade.

During this period in England, it was the booksellers, and, more broadly, their institution, the Stationers' Company, that controlled access to the press and thus access to a public audience. In simple terms, the Stationers' Charter (granted in 1557) gave the Company an effective monopoly on all facets of the book trade (printing; binding; publishing; selling) and put them in the position of deciding which books and authors were worthy of publication, or, from another perspective, worthy of censorship. The Stationers' Company Register recorded titles as a way to claim ownership and rights to printing. In practice, the Stationers' Company's authority was challenged by the steady printing of pirated editions and other unauthorized printed texts, whether broadsheets or large bound books. For the most part, authors' access to print and profit were controlled by the members of the Stationers' Company, in league or as individuals. The book trade was by law a highly regulated market,⁶ but in practice we find a growing entrepreneurial free market system that encouraged interested parties to defy regulation in service to profit and the desire to place new ideas before a large readership. It was in this socio-commercial context that the Royal Society launched in 1665 what is the oldest continuing scientific journal, *The Philosophical Transactions*, and determined to advertise and transmit the experiments and projects of the Society by having the books of its members published.

The Royal Society elected its own "Printers to the Society" as a way to wrest control of print production from the booksellers and to ensure the reliability, credibility and reputation of the work of the Royal Society, which was at that time an enterprise that had its opponents and beyond that a slight public presence.⁷ John Wilkins, Co-Secretary to the Royal Society, represented the society's publication process as its semi-official agent; the other Secretary was Henry Oldenburg, editor of

⁶ The Stationers' Company had the authority to censure publications it deemed unfit, an authority that also included full control of all book production and publishing. The reality, however, shows a book trade that included many unauthorized and even pirated editions of printed materials. The Bishop of London had a legal obligation to supervise the book trade (at this time Bishop Humphrey Henchman), but it was the Stationers who actually policed, licensed and regulated the trade (as uneven as that effort was).

⁷ For general and detailed studies of the people, places, times, and relevant issues see, Rostenberg (1965), Rivington (1984), Johns (1991), and Lewis (2002).

the *Philosophical Transactions* and the member who performed the day-to-day duties of correspondence with a diverse and very active group of intellectuals, both foreign and domestic. When it came time to find a bookseller for his magnum opus, the *Essay*, Wilkins had by then not only the experience of a well-published author in his own right, but the practical experience of negotiating and recommending books for publication as the Secretary and Vice President of the Royal Society.⁸ Wilkins wanted his book to have the full legitimacy, credibility, and ownership signified by the imprimatur of the Royal Society; he also took an active role in its production.⁹ This keen interest in control of production underlies the story behind the printing of his large, relatively expensive and elaborately designed book. In it we find a movement towards a more modern concept and practice of authorship.

1.4 The Great Fire

Wilkins on at least two occasions writes about the Great Fire of London (September 2–5, 1666) and the destruction of all but two copies of the first printing of the *Essay* along with much of the original manuscript. Evidently, the material still in the printing house (which goes unnamed) was consumed by the fire. We do not know where the two surviving copies were being held, nor what became of them. Nor do we know what became of the copies of the *Essay* that were used to print the book that finally appeared in 1668. In October of 1666, one month after the fire, Wilkins wrote a letter to one of his collaborators on the *Essay*, Francis Willughby (who provided zoological taxonomies for the book), about the loss of the already printed portions of his book, as well as the loss of a significant portion of his manuscript:

I thought it fitting to inform you, that the late fire destroyed all the impression that was wrought off, viz. 42 sheets of the book I was printing, excepting only one copy of each sheet, which was sent to me from the press, which I had with me in the country, besides the written

⁸ He was a member of the statute committee and was asked along with Jonathan Goddard to draw up the statute for the duty of printers to the *Society* (1663). An indicator of Wilkins's role can be found in this selection from the minutes of the Society of March 30, 1664: "It being proposed to Mr. Martyn, the society's printer, whether he would be at the charge of the translation and printing of the astronomical manuscript of Ulug Beig, he was desired to send his answer within two or three days to Dr. Wilkins, to be by him signified to the president." Birch (1756: 403).

⁹ The whole story of the publication from inception to reception creates the impression of a drama not just confined to a long-ago past, but also a history of influences across multiple disciplinary topics extending to the present and into the future. Copies of the book have been on the booksellers market from 1668 to the present. As of this writing, we see that at least three copies are for sale in the global internet market, ranging in price from 2000 to 9000 US dollars. The evidence of ownership of the multitude of copies in library holdings (more than 300) show how over time the *Essay* and *Dictionary* have traveled across continents and passed through the hands of people such as John Maynard Keynes, Louis-Lucien Bonaparte, and Samuel Pepys.

copy of the whole second book, and the dictionary from the beginning of the letter R, which I had likewise sent entire to the press; the renewing of which will be no small trouble and difficulty to me. But I am not hereby discouraged from the thoughts of beginning again: only, before I set about it, I must desire it your best assistance of the regular enumeration in defining the families of plants and animals. (Wilkins 1666: 300)

Two years later, Wilkins provided this account of the same event in “The Epistle Dedicatory” of the *Essay* to William Brouncker, President of the Royal Society:

I now at length present to your lordship those papers I had drawn up concerning a real character, and a philosophical language, which by several orders of the society have been required of me. I have been the longer about it, partly because it required some considerable time to reduce the collections I had by me to this purpose, into a tolerable order; and partly because when this work was done in writing, and the impression of it well nigh finished, it happened (Amongst many other better things) to be burnt in the late dreadful fire; by which, all that was printed (Excepting only two copies) and the great part of the unprinted original was destroyed: the preparing of which, hath taken up the greatest part of my time ever since. (a[i]l)

The two accounts only partly match: in the first account he is “beginning again” and asking for help to put together the tables of plants and animals; in the second account he writes about having saved two printed copies but having lost “the great part of the unprinted original.” It is apparent that the fire impeded progress on publishing the book.

Obviously, printing houses that were destroyed in the fire would have needed to recover quickly in order to handle the printing of such a large and elaborate book as Wilkins's *Essay* by 1668. We have fairly reliable information from a survey conducted by Roger L'Estrange¹⁰ (1616–1704) of printing houses registered in 1668; the survey includes information about which houses were running at a capacity necessary to engage in large scale printing, or printing at all (see below for more discussion of the survey). On the basis of this information, we can exclude some printers from our list of candidates.

1.5 The Anonymous Printer

As previously mentioned, printers' names are often missing from title pages of this period. Perhaps because it was a time of strict control (or at least the attempt at it) of the book trade and printers, some may have preferred anonymity in order to decrease their chances of being noticed by the authorities of the Stationers' Company,

10 L'Estrange was given official status by letters patent of 15 August 1663, which conflated the role of surveyor with that of licenser. In 1668 three supposedly loyal booksellers were elected by royal command to the governing body of the Stationers' Company, which became more active in exercising its independent powers of arrest and seizure.

or perhaps the precariousness of the Civil War left many printers hedging their bets. In the preface to the reprinting of *The term catalogues* (the volumes that recorded, however incompletely and capriciously, the registered books published in a given period of time), Edward Arber, the editor of the *Catalogues*, makes this claim about the context within which the people working in the book trade found themselves:

The 15 years, 1668 to 1682 A.D., fall within the most oppressive time that the English press has ever had to endure since Caxton brought printing in England. *L'Estrange* gagged the London press then, as it has never been gagged before or since. Yet the amount of unauthorized printing, not necessarily secret, in his time, was very considerable. (Arber 1903, I: xiii)

Or, it may be in some cases that the booksellers preferred to assign the printing of books to themselves as publishers. Thus, we must be aware that the designation of “printer,” or even “printed by,” is a rather loose expression for ‘making a printed book available to the public’.

The informed inferences drawn by D.F. McKenzie in his study of the book trade (first published in 1974) indicate that the printers’ names are not given on more than half of the books published in the time period covering 1668. So, it is not unusual that the *Essay’s* title page does not have the printer’s name on it; though it is notable that, in contrast, the title page of the *Dictionary* has at least a set of initials. This has made piecing together a reliable account of the people involved – the issues and ideologies associated with them – challenging, and heavily dependent upon drawing inferences from the information that is available. As McKenzie, who invested considerable thought, time, and effort in establishing reliable analytic bibliographies in the 17th century, notes in his article on the book trade:

I deal first with production and face the uncomfortable fact that – full as our information is – the model is quite inadequate to the acknowledged needs of analytical bibliography. First, there is the high incidence of anonymous proclamations, almanacks, bills of mortality, and so on. Second, the incidence of anonymous printing is over 54%: 268 of the items fixed down for the year bear no indication of the printer’s name. Third, all records of type and decorative materials, their origins and the extent of their duplication, do not permit us to attribute much anonymous work to particular houses.

These observations enforce another: that any model we create is not an image of the actual historical situation but only a projection of what we happen to know of it. What it indicates in this instance is the great disparity between what analytical bibliography might infer, and what we can establish. (McKenzie 2002: 115–116)

As with most of our work, and this is a difficulty all work on material production in the 17th century must face, we must rely on circumstantial evidence; 1668 happens to be the year in which we have the best records, or really any meaningful records. It was in that year, fortuitously for this study, that Roger L’Estrange supervised the Survey of the Printing Presses with the Names & Nombres of Apprentices Officers and Workmen belonging to every particular Presse Taken 29th Julij 1668.

1.6 More than One Printer?

The absence of a printer's name or mark on the title page of the *Essay* and the presence on the *Dictionary*'s title page suggests the work of two separate printers. According to Miller (1963: 162), "a number of the large folios of this period were the work of two or more printers." His claim that a folio "imprint often carries only the name of the printer who ran off the title-page and the first or last portion of the volume" also suggests the possibility of multiple printers (especially since, in our case, there are two volumes in one).

Furthermore, there are cross-referencing vagaries between dictionary and tables that suggest that the two, the dictionary and the tables, were printed either at different times, different locations, or by different printers. Without delving into the particulars, a comparison of the dictionary with the Philosophical Tables of the *Essay* also shows the consequences of the turbulent printing history of the book: indexical references in the dictionary do not always match with the corresponding sections of the table to which they refer; comparable cross-referencing within the *Essay* are correct, which indicates that the two titles in the book were printed at different times, and most likely, different places.¹¹ There are more important vagaries between execution and intention: as with the tables, the *Dictionary* also has front matter that in this case takes the form of an "Advertisement to the Reader". The Advertisement includes a guide to abbreviations in the Dictionary (and tables) as well as a guide to using the *Dictionary*:

And that the Reader may the better understand the usefulness of having all words set down according to their different Aceptions, and by what kind of Analogy they come to be used in such various senses (which is one of the particular advantages of this Dictionary) I shall here select out of it one particular instance, for each of these several kinds of words, viz. a Substantive, an Adjective, a Verb, a Particle; by which will be easy to understand any of the rest. (Lloyd 1668: aaa2^v)

The particular instances chosen to explicate the dictionary method appear as an elaborately formatted and designed organization of the microstructure of the sample entries. The explication of the *Dictionary* emulates the design of the tables with

¹¹ For example, in the *Dictionary*, the entry word, 'Expedient' refers the reader to "T.V.6." [Genus Transcendentals General. Difference Five. Species Six.] However, in the table for T.V. the species is actually numbered 7 (thus, T.V.7. would be the correct place marker). In contrast, in the explication of the Lord's Prayer that shows the reader how to use the tables and translate lexical items and concepts into the philosophical language 'Expedient' is correctly cross-referenced with "... the Genus of Transcendental General, ... the fifth difference, ... the seventh species." [T.V.7] The tables were still being organized, or re-organized, so changes could be made within the *Essay*, while the *Dictionary* seems to have already been struck.

many of its familiar bracketing and notational systems.¹² In contrast to the guide in the advertisement, the *Dictionary* as printed shows what appears to be a schematic representation of the guide's explication. Did the printer avoid the task of following the "design"? Is this a case of the compositor's manuscript not providing adequate guidance? Was Wilkins counting on having the *Dictionary* re-printed? There can be no definite answers without further documented evidence; the radical difference between the guide to the *Dictionary* with its elaborate presentation of an entry and the abbreviated formulaic presentation we see in the *Dictionary* itself is striking.

In the following section of this essay we provide bio-bibliographic descriptions of the principal people associated with the publication of the *Essay*. After we treat John Wilkins as publicist, author and executive producer, we discuss each bookseller and printer involved in the production of the *Essay*; after which we will present the Master Printers we believe most likely to have printed the book for the publishers and the reasons why. Finally, we will discuss the reasons we think Anne Maxwell is the best candidate among these printers.

2 The Authors

2.1 John Wilkins (1614–1672): Co-founder of the Royal Society; Inventor; Science Writer; Leading Latitudinarian; Advocate for the Plain Style of communication in writing and in the pulpit; Bishop.

When we consider John Wilkins as an author, we have to keep in mind that few authors in the 17th century assumed an active role in the print production of their manuscripts. Wilkins is a notable exception; he took a keen and active engagement not only in his work, but he also shepherded other people's work through the publication process, for example, Thomas Sprat's *History of the Royal Society* (1667), another book awarded the imprimatur of the Royal Society. Certainly, the fact that he was secretary to the Royal Society required a particular level of responsibility to ensure the accurate and creditable representation of the society in its printed history, but we suggest that Wilkins was a man who worked to bring together the best possible people to complete whatever task was at hand. We see this acumen for management in his effort to form the Royal Society; we see it in his collecting of expertise in putting together the best people to aid in the completion of the *Essay* itself. Wilkins appears to be a man who handpicked allies and collaborators that he

¹² See Dolezal 1985: 112ff.

felt would and could successfully do the job. And the *Essay* required credible experts and tradespeople if it were to be completed efficiently and effectively.

In Table 1 we include a list of known booksellers and printers that worked with John Wilkins.

Table 1. Known booksellers and printers that worked with John Wilkins.

The Printers	The Booksellers	Year of Publication
E[dward] G[riffin]	for Michael Sparke and Edward Forrest	1638
I. Norton	for Iohn Maynard, and Timothy Wilkins	1640
John Norton and R. Hearne	for Iohn Maynard	1640
Printed by M.F.	for Samuel Gellibrand	1646
Printed by T.R. and E.M.	for Samuel Gellibrand	1651 [two titles]
Printed by T.M.	for Samuel Gellibrand	1655
Printed by T.R. and E.M.	for Samuel Gellibrand	1656
Printed by A.M.	for Sa: Gellibrand,	1667
Printed by J.M.	for Sa: Gellibrand and J. Martin	1668
Printed by T. Newcomb,	for Sa: Gellibrand	1669
Printed by A. Maxwell	for Sa: Gellibrand	1669–1672 [five titles]

2.1 William Lloyd (1627–1717): Philologist; Lexicographer; Historian; Polemicist; Bishop

William Lloyd compiled the *Alphabetical Dictionary* for the *Essay*. In the “Epistle to the Reader,” Wilkins writes the following:

I must acknowledge my self obliged to the continual assistance I have had, from my most Learned and worthy Friend, Dr. *William Lloyd*, then whom (so far as I am able to judge,) this Nation could not have afforded a fitter Person, either for that great Industry, or Accurate judgment, both in *Philological*, and *Philosophical* matters, required to such a Work. And particularly I must wholly ascribe to him that tedious and difficult task, of su[*i*]ting the Tables to the *Dictionary* and the drawing up of the *Dictionary* itself, which upon tryal, I doubt not, will be found to be the most perfect, that was ever yet made for the *English Tongue*. (c[i]’)

Lloyd's work on the *Essay* is as cloudy and unexplored as the printing of the *Essay* itself. We do know that Lloyd has manuscripts comprising thousands of pages of notes, extracts, and comments in his own short hand, and multiple languages; yet these manuscripts remain mostly un-transcribed. Perhaps within them are clues or even direct answers to the questions raised here about the printing of the *Essay*.

3 The Booksellers

3.1 James Allestry (?–1670) and John Martyn (ca.1617–1680): Booksellers; Printers to the Royal Society of London¹³

John Martyn and James Allestry, located at The Bell in St Paul's Churchyard, were two of the most important booksellers of the day. They were responsible for publishing many of the scientific tracts and books of the early members of the Royal Society; they also printed significant numbers of theological and literary works. Their partnership began in 1652 and ended with the death of Allestry in 1670, during which time they published 102 books. They were elected and sworn in as Printers to the Royal Society in 1663. It is Martyn whose "reputation, however, rests upon his publication and sale of scientific books."¹⁴

It must be noted that one of the major resources we use for investigating the book trade and analytical bibliography is the two volumes on the booksellers and printers of the 17th century by Henry R. Plomer (1856–1928); it continues to be a valuable resource, though one must be aware that it contains some errors. Plomer gives short shrift to Martyn; the entry for James Allestry is more than four times as long as the entry for Martyn. In fact, within the scant four-line entry for Martyn the reader is directed to Allestry.

In contrast, Leona Rostenberg¹⁵ puts Martyn at the center of the company's affairs, lauding Martyn as one of "the host of names which stimulated the intellectual and scientific development of the English Restoration ... who, by the books he published and sold, helped preserve for posterity an indelible record of an age of diverse experimentation, abounding in curiosity and enviable genius" (1965: 273).

Rhodri Lewis draws a different image of John Martyn. Based on his reading of the records at hand, Lewis claims that at this time Martyn's reputation was not so secure, Martyn's name being tainted by accusations of questionable business prac-

¹³ Some of the secondary literature used as resources for this section include Thomas Birch (1756); Leona Rostenberg (1965); and Charles A. Rivington (1984).

¹⁴ Rostenberg 1965: 240.

¹⁵ See Rostenberg 1965: II.

tices brought by the Stationers' Company.¹⁶ Regardless, when Martyn died, he had accumulated considerable wealth and was honored with burial at the Chapel of St. Faith and his remains marked by an imposing monument. John Wilkins's long-time friend and colleague, Robert Hooke,¹⁷ for one, maintained a steady business as customer and author with Martyn throughout their careers. When considering the overlapping interests and personal biases of the people working in the book trade we should not be surprised to find very different assessments of a person's character and quality of work.

Allestry was a very successful bookseller and publisher, who "employed some of the best printers of the day"; he too had a reputable list of authors, with a shop that "was the resort of the wealthy and the learned."¹⁸ The printer Thomas Roycroft did a substantial amount of Allestry's printing. It is still the case, however, that Henry Oldenburg, Co-Secretary of the Royal Society with John Wilkins, seemed to nurture a disliking of James Allestry. We get a taste of this in a peevish comment in a letter Oldenburg writes to Robert Boyle about delays in printing the *Transactions*. Oldenburg uses a colloquial, or perhaps nonce expression, that may indicate that Allestry has made himself unavailable, or "taken a snuff" (a reading based on context, and, by allusion, meaning 'to be extinguished or gone from sight'):

He should [Oldenburg is referring to a "Mr Davies"], when he sends Copies to Mr Thompson, send some to a good Bookseller about ye Exchange, (for there I find, they are inquired after) and to another about Dunstons in Fleetstreet ...

Before I received this dull letter of his, I had already dispatcht away to D. Wallis my MS. For ye month of January; wch, I think, he must print; but if in ye Interim he speed not better, we must then consider of another expedient, or let it gall. I am afraid, there being a kind of conjuration, and a very mysticall one, among Stationers, and Allestry having taken a snuff, he does, it may be, so colloque with Davies, yt by not forwarding the next of these Transactions, they bring downe ye price to their lure. (A.R. and M.B. Hall 1965–1977: 646)

Thomas Birch in his history of the Royal Society tells us that its members were given the privilege "to elect, nominate and appoint one or more booksellers or printers

16 See Lewis (2002) for a detailed discussion of the competing and mutual interests of booksellers and the members of the Royal Society, especially as the Society, and particularly John Wilkins, are concerned about the credibility and reliability of their publications. See also this article for his counterclaims to Rostenberg's more appreciative reading of Martyn's contributions.

17 Hooke 1665: The Preface: "[John Wilkins] is indeed a man born for the good of mankind, and for the honour of his country..." and Hooke proceeds, paraphrasing "one of the Antient Romans" who thanked God Scipio was Roman "because where ever Scipio had been born, there had been the seat of the Empire of the World; so may I thank God, that Dr. Wilkins is an Englishman, for wherever he lived, there had been the chief Seat of generous knowledge and true Philosophy." Then Hooke tells the reader of his indebtedness: "By the advice of this Excellent Man I first set upon this Enterprise..."

18 Plomer 1907: 2–3.

who were to publish such matters and concerns pertinent to the Society.” Wilkins and Jonathan Goddard wrote the statute that would govern the duties of printers to the Royal Society. According to Birch, the Society decided that “Because the Stationers and Printers are one and the same company and ... practice both trades promiscuously the Society might choose a stationer for their printer without any violation to the charter.”¹⁹ It was in this way that the booksellers Martyn and Allestry were elected to the office of Printer to the Royal Society even though they themselves were not then or ever printers in fact. Leona Rostenberg believes that one reason these booksellers were selected may be related to their transactions with members of the Royal Society, for example, John Evelyn and Robert Hooke.

It is quite probable that these early and important Society fellows prompted the candidacy of their publishers, who already enjoyed the patronage of Robert Hooke, one of the prime movers of the group ... the young scientist was a constant visitor to the Bell. He appears to have regarded the shop as having been established largely for his own bibliophilic eccentricities. Here he browsed almost daily; purchased considerable material “on approval; returned almost an equal proportion ... and settled his bill several weeks later, occasionally altering the total to his own advantage.”²⁰

Not only for Robert Hooke, but for other bibliophiles and those interested in conversation and exchange of ideas, Martyn’s shop was used as a reading room and salon. However, for our purpose here it is important to note that Martyn and Allestry were granted a “power and privilege to print all such things, matters and businesses concerning the Royal Society ... and that no other person (except any duly chosen and sworn as aforesaid) shall print any of the said things, matters and businesses concerning the Royal Society.”²¹ The privilege also included the caveat that the Society would oversee the suitable production of their books. One of their most important duties was the printing of the *Philosophical Transactions*.

The printers most relevant for us that were used by Martyn and Allestry, according to information gleaned from Plomer (1907), were John Macock, Thomas Newcomb, and Thomas Roycroft. Of these, we consider Macock and Roycroft as two of our more likely candidates for being the printers of Wilkins’s *Essay*. In particular, Martyn worked with Macock producing “editions of Euclid, Evelyn, Blount, etc.”²²

A continuing drama that wends its way throughout the circumstances surrounding the printing of the *Essay* is the Great Fire of 1666, with Martyn’s and Allestry’s shop “being undone with the rest of the Stationers at St. Paul’s Churchyard...”²³ The destruction caused by the fire led to Allestry setting up his own shop, while Martyn

¹⁹ Birch 1756: I, 321.

²⁰ Rostenberg 1965: 242.

²¹ Birch 1756: I, 323.

²² Rostenberg 1965: 276.

²³ Oldenburg to Boyle, September 10, 1666 in Boyle Works, V. 358, as cited in Rostenberg 1965: 253.

was back in business at another location within a few months. We know that the bookseller Samuel Gellibrand, in association with John Martyn, published the *Essay* in 1668; the title page clearly indicates that. Did the Great Fire provide Wilkins with an opportunity to circumvent the chartered rights of Martyn and his partner James Allestry—also Printer to the Royal Society until his death in 1670—in order to have Gellibrand his own long time publisher reprint the *Essay*?

3.2 Samuel Gellibrand (1614–1675): Bookseller

Samuel Gellibrand worked as a bookseller in London from 1637–1675 (Plomer's entry describes him as "a well known bookseller"). He took over the Brazen Serpent in St. Paul's Churchyard from Luke Fawne in 1641. Later, in 1650, Gellibrand changed his shop's name, or moved addresses, to The Ball in St. Paul's Churchyard. He remained there continuously until 1675, except for the three years (1666–1668) immediately after the Great Fire. He was the youngest brother of the mathematician/astronomer Henry Gellibrand (1597–1636), who was appointed to the chair in astronomy at Gresham College in 1627.

Gellibrand's catalogue in the early 1640s points to some interesting business habits. The printer, Richard Bishop, appears on title pages with Gellibrand more than a dozen times. Once Gellibrand found a printer he liked, he seems to have brought the printer work for significant amounts of time. It was certainly a sensible and unsurprising business practice, but nonetheless, a collaboration that required each party to fulfill obligations and expectations.

In 1646, Gellibrand published John Wilkins's first religious work, *Ecclesiastes, or, A discourse concerning the gift of preaching*. This book underwent several reprintings during the course of the 17th century and into the 18th century; some of the reprinted copies of *Ecclesiastes* were bound together with Wilkins's *Discourse concerning the gift of prayer*, another one of Gellibrand's publications. After the Great Fire, Gellibrand re-issued these works employing Anne Maxwell as his printer. According to the extant record of publications, he engaged Maxwell exclusively as his printer from 1667 until his death in 1675. It is in this context that Gellibrand publishes John Wilkins's *Essay* in concert with the bookseller John Martyn, Printer to the Royal Society.

Samuel Gellibrand's name appears on the title page of works by John Wilkins fourteen times: he also published works by John Wallis, Christopher Wase, and John Tillotson—all allies or associates of Wilkins.

Charles A. Rivington suggests that "Martyn appears to have made an arrangement with Samuel Gellibrand, a prominent bookseller of the Ball in St Paul's Churchyard to share the cost of publishing John Wilkins's ... *Essay* ... which was 'printed for Sa. Gellibrand and for John Martyn Printer to the Royal Society' [the wording clearly indicating that Gellibrand was not a Printer to the Society]" (1984:

11). As we have seen above in the section on Martyn, Leona Rostenberg portrays John Martyn as the bookselling publishing force to reckon with when it came to scientific tracts and other publications of the members of the Royal Society. Rhodri Lewis on the other hand claims otherwise, emphasizing Rivington's understanding of the matter: Martyn's reputation was suspect, as this passage from Rivington suggests:

Oldenburg "described Martyn as 'morose and fickle' and his behavior as 'mighty tedious ... [and] Dr John Beale wrote ... Ye Printer hath undone us all, & himself also, if he had ye Ingenuity to feele it ... But wee should have more prudence than to expose our reputations to the humour of such a sordid man. (1984: 8–9)

Martyn's association with the book could have damaged the reception, prestige, and reputation of the *Essay*, a consequence that would have been particularly worrisome to John Wilkins.²⁴ Given what we know of the mutual publishing history of Gellibrand and Wilkins, it is more probable that it was Wilkins who brought Gellibrand into the project, and along with him came the printer Anne Maxwell, who had a business relationship with both men; see the section on Maxwell below for more on this supposition.

3.3 *Henry Brome (ca. 1620's–1681): Bookseller

We include Henry Brome-with-an-asterisk because the only evidence that he might have been a publisher of the *Essay*, albeit an anonymous one, comes from advertisement pages that can be found in some of his publications. That Brome would claim a relationship with the Wilkins book adds another element of mystery and confusion to its publication history.²⁵ The advertisements claim to be a catalog of "...

²⁴ Rhodri Lewis (2002: 138–139) takes the argument further: "Wilkins would never have used Martyn qua Martyn (and never used him anyway again), but was obliged to use him as a printer of any work that bore the imprimatur of the Royal Society ... By using Gellibrand—highly reputable within the stationers company—Wilkins sought to mitigate any adverse effect on his *Essay* that the presence of Martyn's name on the title page would have caused ... Having Gellibrand as the first main printer of the *Essay* was not a favor to his old business partner but was, rather, a carefully considered decision designed to advance Wilkins's own agenda and the cause of the Royal Society..." As we know, Gellibrand was the publisher not the printer of the *Essay*, a distinction that at times gets effaced in the original records (see Arber's (1903) notes indicating that Printer = Publisher in the *Term Catalogue*).

²⁵ There does happen to be a publication in 1668 that puts Brome in one degree of book trade separation from Wilkins: his co-author, William Lloyd's pamphlet: *Sermons preached before the King at White-Hall, on Decemb. 1, M.DC.LXVII, being the first Sunday in Advent*. Furthermore, seven printings of Wilkins's very popular *Principles and duties of natural religion* were published by one of the Bromes (Henry, Joanna [wife], and Charles) and their associate booksellers from 1675 to 1703.

Books printed for Henry Brome” (or some close variation, but always with “printed for”); “printed for” is the well-known convention of establishing the identity of the publisher who, of course, would also have been one of the booksellers. The first title in which such an advertisement appears, according to *Early English Books Online*, is in 1677 (Luke Beaulieu, *Claustrum animae, the reformed monastery*); the last one appears the year of Brome’s death, 1681 (by H.R., *Religio clerici*). The *Essay* is described in the 1677 “Catalogue” as “Bishop Wilkins *Real character* in fol.”, in other words, the folio edition, not some excerpt or summary. Rather incredibly, this seeming claim to be publisher of Wilkins’s *Essay* can also be found in a book translation by Roger L’Estrange, the human panopticon and overlord of the book trade of the day (q.v. Bona 1680, *A guide to Eternity*). Another book with a similar advertisement (*The history of the Sevarites or Sevarambi*), published by Brome in 1679, has this imprint: “licensed by Roger L’Estrange.” Perhaps it was merely a loose way of advertising Brome’s books for sale that are “some Books, Printed for, and sold by H. Brome, since the dreadful Fire of London, to 1676.” This practice is continued by Henry Brome’s son, Charles, in a 1700 publication, *Eclectical chiliasm*. For now, we can offer no further insight into this matter.

4 The Master Printers

4.1 John Macock (also Macocke and Maycock) (?–1692): Printer; Printer to the Parliament (1660); printer to the House of Lords; Master of the Stationers’ Company (1680). In 1668: Three presses; three apprentices; ten workmen²⁶

John Macock had one of the major printing houses as recorded in the survey of the printing presses in 1668; he is an excellent candidate for printer of the *Essay*. At the time of the printing he is said to have had three presses, three apprentices and ten workmen. There is circumstantial evidence and at least one direct claim that Macock printed Lloyd’s *An alphabetical dictionary* (1668) that is appended with a separate title page to the *Essay*. Unlike the *Essay*, the *Dictionary* includes the initials of the printer, “Printed by J. M. for Samuel Gellibrand and John Martin, 1668.” There were at least three people active as printers with names that could be reduced to the initials “J. M.”: Joseph Moxon, James Millett, and John Macock. Millett seems safe to

Henry Brome and family also printed multiple editions of Lloyd’s funeral sermon for Bishop Wilkins.

²⁶ We include information about the printing houses from Plomer (1907/1922) and the transcription by D. F. McKenzie of L’Estrange 1668.

eliminate because we can find no connection between him and Wilkins or Wilkins's circle. The two more probable candidates, Moxon and Macock, had close associations with the Royal Society and with Wilkins himself.

Macock on the other hand used "J. Macock(e)", "John Macock(e)" and "J.M." on the books he printed.²⁷ In his book on Milton's *Samson Agonistes*, John T. Shawcross points out what he believes to be egregious errors in the printing of Milton's book in 1671 (a book that poses "a number of problems ... of orthography, punctuation, capitalization ..."). He identifies the printer as John Macock, who he also claims is the printer of *Paradise regain'd*. Shawcross does concede that the copy text may have been a problem.

We know from Martyn's will that "John Macock" and another printer, Thomas Newcombe, worked in collaboration.²⁸ Martyn, though called Printer to the Royal Society, would have always needed to employ a printer. Wilkins might have preferred to allow Gellibrand to employ one of his printers, and, as a result Gellibrand becomes a co-publisher with Martyn, the official "printer".

Wilkins, as the chair of the committee that oversaw printing of the Royal Society's publications, was intensively engaged in the whole production process. Might he have been unsatisfied with Macock's work? As mentioned previously, the Great Fire, in destroying much of the initial printing of the book, provided Wilkins with the opportunity to bring in Gellibrand, who in turn may have brought in a printer Wilkins also knew and trusted.²⁹

We cannot completely discount the possibility that Macock is the printer of the *Essay*.³⁰ However, when we look at the forty books attributed to "J. M." and "J. Macock(e)"³¹ we do not find a strong correlation between printer and booksellers that would indicate a working relationship with other texts associated with Wilkins and

27 For one notable example, in 1670 there is an impression of *The history of Britain* by John Milton that was "Printed by J. M. for James Allestry, at the Rose and Crown in St. Paul's Church-Yard, MDCLXX." According to Wing (CD-ROM, 1996)/M2119, the initials stand for John Macock. Furthermore, Shawcross (2001), among others, claims that Macock was "Milton's printer for various items during the years 1670–1678 ..." See also Coffin 1948.

28 Rostenberg 1965: 276.

29 Even without the disruption, printing practices then include the possibility that not only booksellers engaged printers, but printers themselves could sub-contract work. In other words, we can be certain of very little about the history of material production at the time, since the records are spotty at best. In addition, there has been an over-reliance on Plomer's work (as valuable as it is). More on this point, later.

30 The library at King's College, Cambridge, and the Cheatham Library in Manchester posit John Macock as the printer; also, Brigitte Asbach-Schnitker (1984) in her descriptive bibliography writes "Probably John Macock." The librarians (personal communication) of the respective libraries tell us that they have no notes or records that might document the evidence that informed the decisions that were made by earlier catalogers.

31 We used the *Early English Books Online* search engine to determine these numbers and names.

his known printers and booksellers. It remains the case, however, that the authors of some of the forty texts are in the Wilkins circle: Abraham Cowley, John Dryden, John Evelyn, and Seth Ward. In contrast, neither Martyn nor Gellibrand used J. M. as a printer during the pertinent years, with the only exception, albeit an important one, being *An alphabetical dictionary*.

4.2 Joseph Moxon (1627–1691): Printer, Publisher, Bookseller, Author, globe maker, map maker and maker of mathematical instruments. Appointed Hydrographer to the King by Charles II in 1662. Fellow of the Royal Society.³² In 1668: not recorded

Son of a dissenter, James Moxon set up printing in Holland (1637) before moving to a shop in the upper end of Houndsditch [or Hounsditch] near Bishopsgate in London (ca. 1647).³³ There he and his father shared an imprint (“James and Joseph Moxon”), publishing works by confirmed dissenters. After 1649, Joseph and James stopped sharing an imprint.

It was at that time that Joseph Moxon learned the trades of globe maker and map maker and was known for his work on printing mathematical works. This work and publicity brought him in close contact with the leading mathematicians of his time, which in time evolved into an association with members of the Royal Society. Four of the men who supported his petition to become “Hydrographer to the King” were friends of Seth Ward and John Wilkins.³⁴ Moxon’s petition was granted and he became the first Royal Hydrographer. According to Jagger (1995: 198), “Moxon’s appointment as Hydrographer to the King resulted in an increased demand for his globes and maps which left no time for his publishing activities.” Moxon devoted much of his time to working with members of the Royal Society and associates such as Samuel Pepys during the period in which John Wilkins would have begun and finished his work on the *Essay*.³⁵

Joseph Moxon is one of the most studied and reported upon people in the London book trade. He considered printing a science, and wrote a multivolume text in which he advanced that argument; he had close associations with important members of the Wilkins circle; he had a reputation for producing mathematical charts and tables; and he tried his hand as a typefounder, which put him in a position to

³² Much of the biographical information on Moxon in this article is based on Jagger 1995, Moxon 1958, and information in Plomer 1907/1922.

³³ See Jagger 1995: 193. Plomer tells us that the James of Houndsditch is “possibly” Joseph’s brother.

³⁴ Jagger 1995: 197.

³⁵ Samuel Pepys did business for the Admiralty with Moxon as well as providing Wilkins technical shipbuilding and seafaring information for his classification tables for *Naval relations*.

set the typeface for the *Real character*.³⁶ E. Rowe Mores (1731–1778) traced the location of the symbols used in the *Essay* to the Robert Andrews foundry of 1706 (160 cuts by his account) that ultimately had been passed down from Moxon’s stock.³⁷ Herbert Davis and Edward Carter, the editors of Moxon’s *Art of printing* (Moxon 1958) using Talbot Reed (1887) and Mores (1778) as sources, make this case about Moxon’s work in 1667:

But in 1666 his premises... must have been destroyed in the fire, and probably his stock of globes and instruments was lost. Any rate we find him in the next year at the Atlas in Russell Street, Westminster; it is here that we have the first definite evidence of his work also as the letter-cutter and typesetter. When we first find him venturing into letter-cutting it was, characteristically, to further a ‘philosophical’ experiment: work that illustrates his propensity, noticed by Talbot Reed, to ‘the more curious by-paths of typography’. For the first types cut by him at Russell Street in 1667 were the symbols designed by Bishop Wilkins for his *Essay towards a real character and a Philosophical Language*. (Carter and Davis 1958: xxxv)

Davis and Carter make the further point “that Moxon was first tempted to try his hand at this occupation [designing and cutting type] by an inquiry from a member of the Royal Society, the future Bishop Wilkins” (357). Moxon’s work as a neophyte letter-cutter and typesetter would have consumed much of his time in 1667. For this very reason it seems less likely that he could have simultaneously undertaken the task of printing a large folio edition such as the *Essay* given the amount of time and apparatus that would have required (especially after losing his premises and, most likely, his printing supplies).

As we have seen, the Great Fire interrupted the first printing of the book. However, we can find no mention of anyone cutting and casting the Real Characters before Moxon. If Moxon’s Real Character fonts for the second run of the *Essay* were the first set to be manufactured, did the first printing of the *Essay* in 1666 not include the Real Characters? That seems unlikely for a book entitled, *An essay towards a real character and a philosophical language*. This leaves us with yet another important gap in our knowledge of the printing history of the *Essay*.

Joseph Moxon had greater designs and ambitions than being known as a printer: he was an author, a bookseller and finally a Fellow of the Royal Society. Also, from the evidence at hand, Moxon never used only initials;³⁸ he impresses his name

³⁶ “... his exercise of the trade at that time would have been unlawful. If he founded, it can only have been on such a small scale as not to attract the attention of the authorities” (Moxon 1958: 358).

³⁷ See Mores 1963: 34.

³⁸ A possible exception, a five page pamphlet: A true description of Jamaica with the fertility, commodities, and healthfulness of the place. As also the towns, havens, creeks, promontories, and the circuit of the whole island, London: Printed by J.M., 1657. The link to Moxon appears in the spelling “scituated” [“This island is scituated West from Hispaniola...” (a2)] and in the title of a collection of six charts A Book of Sea-Plats containing the scituation of all the Ports [&c.] Moxon 1657. q.v. Moxon 1958: 422.

as “J. Moxon” or “Joseph Moxon”. In fact, during the period of his most active role as printer from 1656 to 1659, Moxon’s name appears as “Joseph Moxon” a total of fifteen times (with variations: Josephus; Ioseph; and Josephi); “J. Moxon” occurs twice. For a work of the importance of the *Essay*, and from what we know of Moxon and his reputation, it seems odd that he would not insist on his name appearing, not only on the title page of the *Dictionary*, but especially on the title page of the main work, the *Essay*.

More tellingly, we find that Moxon did no printing from 1661 until 1669, when he printed a specimen sheet of fonts that he presumably had been cutting in 1667 and 1668 (based on the census of books printed by or for Joseph Moxon gathered by Davis and Carter, and those recorded in *Early English Books Online* extracted from ESTC, the *English Short Title Catalog*).

John Wilkins had a central role in finding reputable publication outlets. Plomer (1907: 134) tells us that Moxon’s “work as a printer was poor”, though Carter and Davis make the point that poor printing was typical of the English printers’ trade of that era. If this criticism is true, and if we consider that Joseph Moxon was steadily employed as a map and globe maker who regularly associated and conversed at length with members of the Royal Society – especially Robert Hooke (a well-known bibliophile who spent many hours at bookseller’s shops leafing through new publications), then it may well be that printing, a tradesman’s calling, was not a priority for Moxon,³⁹ nor an occupation for which he had a talent. John Wilkins would have been looking for the best possible printer for his work and for the publications of his colleagues in the Royal Society.

4.3 Thomas Roycroft (1637–1677?): Printer; Master of the Stationers’ Company; City Printer; Law Patentee; King’s Printer in the Oriental Languages; shareholder in the King’s Printing House.⁴⁰ In 1668: four presses; two apprentices; i0 workmen [sic]

Thomas Roycroft is another strong candidate for the printer of Wilkins’s *Essay*. For our study, one standout title in his prodigious output is Thomas Sprat’s *History of the Royal Society* (1667), a work that was closely supervised by John Wilkins. Roycroft had a reputation for producing some of the finest printed texts of the 17th

³⁹ “He can never have given his undivided attention to making type [or we presume, printing books]: he had a shop to look after, globes to make and print, books to sell, publish, and write” (see Moxon 1958: 358).

⁴⁰ Biographical and bibliographical information was collected from Plomer (1907), Plomer (1922) and Timperley (1839).

century. Furthermore, Roycroft printed the first few publications of Margaret Cavendish (1623–1673), who also had a close association with the Royal Society (also of interest is Cavendish’s later collaboration with Samuel Gellibrand, the bookseller). The booksellers for the Roycroft impressions were John Martyn and James Allestry, a collaboration that included Thomas Sprat’s *History of the Royal Society* (1667); Martyn and Allestry were at that time Printers to the Royal Society (though it bears repeating that Martyn and Allestry were no printers in fact).

Especially noteworthy is Roycroft’s printing of the six-volume *Biblia sacra polyglotta edente Waltono* (known as “the London Polyglott”), 1654–1656, superintended by the Right Reverend Dr. Brian Walton. The six-volume work presents nine separate languages: “Hebrew; Chaldee; Samaritan; Greek; Syriac; Arabic; Ethiopic; Persian; and Latin.”⁴¹ It bears mentioning, along with the other circumstantial evidence, that Wilkins’s *Essay* includes a table of “The Lord’s Prayer” in fifty languages; moreover, there is also a woodcut text of what is purported to be “The Lord’s Prayer in Chinese character (or at least a reasonable representation of Chinese characters). The book also includes elaborate charts, tables, geometrical figures, engraved cross-sections of the anatomical features of the vocal tract, and an elaborate engraving of the ecosystem aboard Noah’s Ark.

Roycroft’s work on the polyglot bible, various lexicons, and books with attention to charts, tables, a variety of fonts and the like makes him a good candidate for taking on the elaborate task of printing the *Essay*. Once more the Great Fire of London of 1666 assumes the role of spoiler: Roycroft’s printing house was completely destroyed in the fire. However, he was back in business in 1667 printing, among five titles that year, Sprat’s *History*. He also printed another noteworthy text, John Ogilby’s (1600–1676) translations of a text by Virgil and of Aesop’s *Fables* (originally printed by Roycroft in 1665, subsequently destroyed in the fire, and reprinted in 1668). Another exemplary impression by Roycroft is *Castelli lexicon heptaglotton*, 1669, in two volumes.

There is also the question that persists across all possible candidates: Would the masterful Roycroft have printed a book without putting his name on the title page? He was the King’s printer, his printing of the polyglot Bible was considered a masterpiece, and he is associated with some of the finest publications of the time. As with Moxon, we find no indication of possible Roycroft impressions that were brought out without striking his name or initials. And there is this: Martyn and Allestry had a long-standing business relationship with Roycroft. If Roycroft is the printer, then why the need to bring in another bookseller who had his own preferred printers, especially Gellibrand, a publisher who had no official standing with the

⁴¹ Timperley (1839: 524), who goes on to mention that the first volume “is enriched with prefaces, prolegomena, treatises on weights and measures, geographical charts, and chronological tables...”

Royal Society? Does the absence of Allestry also indicate the absence of Allestry's favored printer, Thomas Roycroft?

4.4 Thomas Newcombe (also Newcomb) (1625–1681): Printer. Owned 1/6 part of the King's printing house in the Savoy. In 1668: 3 presses; 1 proof press; 1 apprentice; 7 compositors; 5 pressmen

Thomas Newcombe, owner of one of the largest printing houses in London, had a long and prosperous career as a London printer, and after the Restoration worked to reestablish the King's printing house. The Great Fire consumed Newcombe's and the King's printing house. Newcombe printed sparsely in the immediate aftermath of the fire; but by the latter half of 1668, both printing houses were back in business.

Newcombe had a direct working relationship with Henry Oldenburg and the Royal Society: he printed the *Philosophical Transactions* from 1665–1670. In 1655, he printed a work by Andrew Marvell for Samuel Gellibrand, and then in 1669 he printed another text for Gellibrand, a sermon by John Wilkins. Most of these items make him a strong candidate for printing the *Essay*. In addition, there happens to be a census of Newcombe's ornament stock (Miller 1950/1951) that includes a collection of 26 factotums (a type of ornamental initial letter). One of the factotums is very close in design to the factotums used in printing the *Essay*. If the relationships among those in the book trade in London were not so fluid and we had a complete accounting of printers' marks used during this time, we might have more confidence in correlating a specific printer with a specific ornament. Instead, C. William Miller sounds this cautionary note in his article on printers' ornament stock:

English ornament makers of this period show a marked tendency to copy and recopy earlier designs rather than create new ones. Those copies made in wood are more often than not distinguishable from each other, but on occasion recuttings were made with such precision that one is hard put to tell them apart. (1950/1951: 161)

Since there were a limited number of licensed type founders in London (the people designated as the only legitimate engravers of fonts and ornaments), it is not surprising that a specific ornament design could be in the possession of multiple printers.⁴² Miller further cautions us, noting that “A knowledge of printers' type-

⁴² For instance, in the will of Thomas Grover, “Letter-Founder”, the following printers are listed as debtors to his estate: the King's Printing house; Mr. Macock; Mr. Roycroft; Mr. Newcomb; and Mrs. Maxwell (Evans 1963: 62); our printers were buying at least some of their fonts and devices from a common source.

ornaments is generally useless in attempting to identify a particular printer in this period.” (1950/1951: 161)

one is always on surer ground if he can buttress the evidence of the ornamentation with that derived from ... printer-employment habits of the stationer publishing the book. [...] where the volume in question contains ornaments known to be used by several printers, one can on occasion establish with great probability the one printer whom [the bookseller] hired to do his work. (1950/1951: 162)

Nevertheless, Newcombe is a strong candidate, even though his business was not fully up and running until later in 1668. Nor can we discount his cooperative relationship with Macock, and the possibility that at least one printing of the *Essay* (or parts of it) took place in the shops of Macock (the *Dictionary*, perhaps) and Newcombe. The official printer to the Royal Society, Martyn, had previously employed Newcombe and Macock for presswork. In our analysis, it is the presence of Gellibrand on both title pages and Wilkins’s authorial involvement in the production process that suggests a change in printers, if not before, then after the fire. Furthermore, we do not know of any books attributed to Thomas Newcombe that he has not signed with his initials or name. As is the case with Roycroft, it seems doubtful that the master of one of the largest printing houses in London, a partner in the King’s printing house, and a leading figure in the trade would not have signed a book bearing the imprimatur of the Royal Society.

4.5 Anne Maxwell (?–1692): Printer. Anne Maxwell’s printing house was spared from the Great Fire of 1666. In 1668: two presses; three compositors; three pressmen

Anne Maxwell is our last and most favored candidate for printer of the *Essay*.⁴³ In L’Estrange’s survey of printers of 1668 we find that Maxwell owned two printing presses, employed three compositors, three pressmen and no apprentices; however, D. F. McKenzie (2002: 117) claims that Maxwell already had at least one apprentice in her shop in 1668 “which meets the hypothetical need for presswork” that she is said to have performed; in other words, Anne Maxwell had the capability to do all the printing that is documented in the record for 1668 (twelve books by McKenzie’s count). She inherited the printing house when her husband David died in 1665; this is not an uncommon background for the many women who worked in the book

⁴³ McKenzie draws this point (out of the three points he makes) from his study of six of the 26 printing houses collected in L’Estrange, “Anne Maxwell’s presswork, as evidenced by Margaret Cavendish’s book, is exceptionally good ... we note that two of her pressmen had long experience” (2002: 117)

trade in the middle of the 17th century as booksellers, compositors, printers and the other means of employment that the trade offered.⁴⁴ L'Estrange in 1668 records four women operating printing houses: "M^{rs} Symon"; "M^{rs} Griffin"; "M^{rs} Cote"; and, "M^{rs} Maxwell".

In 1666, Anne Maxwell printed the first of a series of books and editions in association with the writer and scientist Margaret Cavendish, *The description of a new world called the blazing world*, a work, says Cavendish, that joins "a work of Fancy to my serious Philosophical Contemplations," ("To the Reader"). Margaret Cavendish wrote and published extensively on natural philosophy. In the same year she published, and Maxwell printed, *Observations upon experimental philosophy*, which was bound with her "Philosophical Observations, and joined ... as two Worlds at the ends of their Poles": they are, as she says, the world of reason, "a rational search and enquiry into the causes of natural effects", and the world of "Fancy a voluntary creation or production of the Mind."

Margaret Cavendish began her publishing career by employing John Martyn and James Allestry as her booksellers. They in turn employed Thomas Roycroft as their printer. Martyn and Allestry as we know are central figures in the production of scientific texts.

Later, Cavendish turned to Anne Maxwell to print her publications. That Maxwell's printing house did not suffer any damage from the fire of 1666 would make her a most viable choice; this same good fortune would have helped Wilkins more quickly revive his publication plans for the *Essay* after the set-backs caused by the fire. Besides Anne Maxwell's presswork for Cavendish, which D. F. McKenzie (2002: 122) describes as exceptionally good, he also extolls Cavendish's books for their "concern to use typography to mediate knowledge and literary experience..."; he goes on to say that "Cavendish's books are interesting for their surface tone—they're sumptuous, lavishly spaced, highly decorated folios printed in Great Primer and Double Pica on good paper". Although, in his estimation, the overall effect betrays a misplaced representation of dignity. Undoubtedly, Anne Maxwell had a good, even excellent, reputation as a printer; for instance, a bibliographic census of extant literature printed by Maxwell covering the years 1665–1675 shows a total of 122 texts that bear her imprint.

A factotum similar in design to the one we previously identified in the Newcombe collection appears in Maxwell's printing of Cavendish 1666a/b (as well as in the printed text of the *Essay*): the factotums we find in Maxwell's work, if not the same wood-cuts used in the printing of the *Essay*, are remarkably similar in design, whereas the Newcombe design is noticeably different in the details of the design from both the Cavendish and the Wilkins factotums. The design features a reed or wicker basket holding an elaborately florid potted plant.

⁴⁴ See McKenzie 2002: 116.

At the same time that Anne Maxwell was printing for Margaret Cavendish, Samuel Gellibrand, bookseller and long-time associate of John Wilkins, employed Maxwell exclusively as his printer from 1666–1668. It was not the first time Gellibrand employed the Maxwell printing house: earlier, David Maxwell printed books for Gellibrand. The decision by Wilkins to ask Gellibrand to join in the production of the *Essay* puts Anne Maxwell forward for primary consideration as printer.

Anne Maxwell printed thirteen books by John Wilkins in the years from 1667 to 1680 (five of which were published in his lifetime). Another text “Printed by Anne Maxwell” that is likely to have been sponsored by Wilkins is a broadsheet that had two printing runs: “Old Mr. Dod’s Sayings” (1671). John Dod (1549–1645), a genial and well-known cleric, was John Wilkins’s grandfather and mentor. She printed new editions of *The gift of prayer* (originally 1651); *Ecclesiastes, or the gift of preaching* (originally 1646); four texts of sermons preached before the King; the *Beauty of Providence* (originally 1649); and at least two editions of *Natural religion* (Wilkins/Tillotson 1675; 2nd ed. 1676), based on an unfinished manuscript edited posthumously by Wilkins’s son-in-law John Tillotson (1630–1694). If we could look at Wilkins’s copies of the *Essay* we would certainly know more about his intentions for revising his work; we might also learn the answers to some of the questions raised here. Wilkins bequeathed his effects and papers to Tillotson, later Archbishop of Canterbury from 1691 to 1694.⁴⁵ This should be happy news. As it turns out, Tillotson’s personal library, which included books owned by Wilkins, was sold at auction at “Mrs. Bourn’s Coffee-House adjoining to St. Lawrence Church near Guildhall, on Tuesday the 23d. of April 1695.” (*A collection*, no date: Title Page). Of great interest are three copies of the *Essay* that are listed in the catalogue: for example, one is described “in Pastboard with several additions in MSS by the Author”; and a second copy, “with several Beasts and Birds (engraven in Copper)⁴⁶ mentioned in the book and MSS. Notes by the Author” (*A collection*: 13).⁴⁷ If any of Wilkins’s own copies of the *Essay* exist, they exist in some archive, museum, or private collection that we have yet to discover.

⁴⁵ “He was pleased by his Last Will to commit his Papers to my care”. (Wilkins 1675: “The Preface”, written by Tillotson).

⁴⁶ There were also some engraved copper plates that at one time were in the possession of the Royal Society. They were commissioned in 1671 by Wilkins as he continued his work on his philosophical tables between 1668 and his death in 1672. In his role as executor Tillotson gave the engravings back to the engraver, Henry Hunt – upon Hunt’s death in 1714 they were bequeathed to the Royal Society. (Kusukawa 2011: 274). “There are many things that the Royal Society no longer possesses, namely most of the objects from its Repository ... as well as all the plates for *Philosophical Transactions*, including Hunt’s plates for Wilkins’s *Real character*.” (Kusukawa 2011: 289)

⁴⁷ We would like to thank Jessica Hudson of Lambeth Palace Library for her assistance in locating information about the whereabouts of Tillotson’s books. The information supplied by Ms. Hudson also supports Shapiro’s claim (1969: 321) that “... there does not appear to be any major collection of his [Wilkins’s] personal papers ... Neither these nor Tillotson’s own papers have come to light.”

Our case for Maxwell, then, brings together issues and evidence based on (1) MAXWELL'S PRODUCTION CAPABILITIES: Maxwell's printing house was a successful medium sized business with experienced skilled workers (printing at least 122 texts from 1665–1675); furthermore, her printing house was spared during the Great Fire, allowing her to continue printing without interruption; (2) MAXWELL'S REPUTATION FOR QUALITY WORK: McKenzie praises the quality of Maxwell's printing of Margaret Cavendish, who turned to Maxwell after using the services of Martyn, Allestry and Roycroft; and (3) MAXWELL'S BUSINESS RELATIONSHIPS WITH SAMUEL GELLIBRAND AND JOHN WILKINS: both men employed her almost exclusively as a printer during the years in and around the publication date of the *Essay*; Samuel Gellibrand's own long term business relationship with Wilkins underscores the possibility that Wilkins turned to Gellibrand because he trusted Gellibrand to bring to the production legitimacy, a good reputation, and just as importantly, a printer, Maxwell, who could produce a large, complex, and elaborately designed folio. We think that the preponderance of evidence points to Anne Maxwell, not least because she was certainly John Wilkins's and Samuel Gellibrand's Master Printer of choice.

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**“As well for the entertainment of the curious,
as the information of the ignorant”**

Encyclopaedic supplements in eighteenth-century English
dictionaries

Abstract: Eighteenth-century general English dictionaries have awakened scholarly interest in recent decades, but there are not many studies exploring the relevance and contents of their paratextual constituents. This paper focuses on encyclopaedic supplements particularly, a type of paratextual constituent usually prefixed or appended to eighteenth-century dictionaries that has been neglected in historical lexicographic studies so far.

The paratext of a book comprises all constituents that surround the main text like title pages, prefaces, appendices or supplements, for instance, which may have different functions within the overall structure of the work. In the case of eighteenth-century general English dictionaries, those functions went from facilitating the reading and understanding of the text to complementing the information included or justifying why yet another dictionary was published in an (over-)saturated market. The appendices, in particular, were intended to enhance the value of the volume by incorporating supplementary information and thus make it more exhaustive and self-contained.

By studying the nature and contents of encyclopaedic supplements, we will first establish a preliminary typology of the data in selected material (i.e. biographical, linguistic, historical, mythological, etc.). Then, we will discuss the reasons that moved eighteenth-century dictionary compilers to incorporate this extra material in the works, also taking into account the information provided in the title pages and prefaces. The results of this study will likely shed light on which contents were considered potentially appealing to the readership of such English dictionaries.

Keywords: Eighteenth-century, general English dictionary, paratext, encyclopedic supplements, typology.

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1 Introduction

If a modern reader wanted to obtain information on, let us say, Edmund Spencer's life and works, he would probably consult the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, the *Encyclopaedia Britannica* or even the *Wikipedia*, rather than looking the name up in a general language dictionary. Nowadays, personal or place names are out of the scope of linguistic dictionaries and this type of biographical or cultural information is assumed to pertain to the realm of encyclopaedias. The distinction between dictionaries and encyclopaedias, however, was not so clear-cut in early and late modern English times (Starnes 1940; Landau 2001 [1984]: 151; McIntosh 1998: 8); it was quite frequent that general-purpose dictionaries contained information not expected in similar reference works today. Thus, an eighteenth-century reader with the same curiosity as our modern one could find this entry in Barclay's (1774: n.p.) or Scott's (1786: 436) dictionaries:

1598 Edmund Spencer, London; Faery Queen and other poems

Despite its sketchy character, this article conveyed basic information such as the date of Spenser's death, his birthplace, the literary genre he cultivated, and the name of his most popular work, enough data for a general reference work of this kind.

Apart from alphabetical lists of personal and place names, in the front and the back matter of eighteenth-century general dictionaries, the readers could also consult supplements on a wide variety of topics that ranged from history, geography, literature, mythology or onomastics (see Table 2) to English grammar, pronunciation, abbreviations, pedagogical guidance or historical accounts of the language, not to mention the illustrations inserted in the wordlist that also added informative value to the works. Eighteenth-century lexicographers, moved by an urge to offer useful reference material to dictionary users (Rusnack 1997: 590), incorporated supplements into their volumes, although "the ways in which dictionaries might be 'useful' were ... open to conflicting interpretations" (Mugglestone 2010: 322). Accordingly, whereas some lexicographers included lists of the most frequent abbreviations in English (e.g. Cocker 1704; Jones 1797),¹ others offered a brief history of the English language (Anon. 1753; Scott and Bailey 1755) or a description of the constitution and government of England (Barclay 1774). The lack of consensus on the selection of supplements "confirm[s] the different configurations of the notion of 'dictionary' at this time" (Mugglestone 2010, 322), and explains Trench's mid-nineteenth-century complaint about earlier dictionaries:

¹ Similar lists of abbreviations were also prefixed, interspersed throughout or appended to eighteenth-century school grammars (cf. Domínguez-Rodríguez 2016).

A Dictionary ought to know its own limits, not merely as to what it should include, but also what it should exclude ... Our early lexicographers ... from failing to recognize any proper limits to their work, from the desire to combine in it as many utilities as possible, present often the strangest medleys in the books which they have produced. These are not Dictionaries of words only, but of persons, places, things; they are gazetteers, mythologies, scientific encyclopaedias, and a hundred things more. (Trench 1857: 45)

This characteristically inclusive format of eighteenth-century dictionaries accounts for the label of *encyclopaedic dictionaries*, an expression that denotes an intermediate position between dictionaries and encyclopaedias. The concept is defined in Hartmann and James' *Dictionary of Lexicography* (1998: 49):

A type of REFERENCE WORK which shares features of the GENERAL DICTIONARY and the ENCYCLOPEDIA. There is a tension between LINGUISTIC INFORMATION (e.g. on the etymology, spelling, pronunciation, grammar and meaning of the lexical items treated) and ENCYCLOPEDIAIC INFORMATION (e.g. facts and figures on the technical terms and names included, often with pictorial illustrations), which explains the HYBRID or compromise status of this dictionary type.

Indeed, encyclopaedic dictionaries constitute one of the main types of dictionaries developed during the eighteenth century. Even though they were devised to give “a wider range of information for the leisurely and educated user” (Osselton 1990: 1943), these dictionaries were mainly targeted at the semi-educated readers anxious to have access to some basic knowledge on a vast array of topics (McIntosh 1998: 8). Of course, the introduction of supplementary material in general dictionaries was not a novelty in the history of lexicography, but it unquestionably underwent a boost during the encyclopaedic movement of the Enlightenment. In this sense, we agree with McIntosh (1998: 9) that “the tendency of dictionaries to take on the functions of encyclopaedias may have gathered momentum after 1751, when the first volume of the *Encyclopédie* was published, and may be related to the growth of what we now call science”.

All in all, we cannot overlook the pressure the market exerted on eighteenth-century editors and lexicographers alike. Mitchell (1998) argues that the competence of other contemporary reference works—such as monolingual, bilingual and polyglot grammars, which were already incorporating additional linguistic and encyclopaedic contents into their pages—may have also prompted them to compile multi-purpose dictionaries that could satisfy the needs of an increasingly larger reading public. As a product, then, encyclopaedic dictionaries served commercial ends and responded to the audience's demand for reference works with scholarly information (Osselton 1983: 13).

A clear indicator of the editors' concern for inclusiveness is the frequency of the word *complete*² on the title pages as in Anon. (1785), Fenning (1767), or Barclay (1774). Besides, they often display detailed information on the supplements the volume includes,³ as shown in Barlow's:

The **complete** English dictionary: or, general repository of the English language. Containing A Copious Explanation of all the Words in the English Language; Together with Their different Significations, viz. I. The Words, and the various Senses in which they are used. II. The True Pronunciation pointed out by being properly accented. III. Initial Letters placed to devote the Part of Speech to which each Word belongs. **IV. A geographical Description of the four Quarters of the World. V. A more particular Description of the Counties, Cities, and principal Towns in England and Wales, than has ever appeared in any Book of this Kind. VI. As the Lives of the English Poets, and others, celebrated for their Learning and Genius,** can no where be introduced with more Propriety than in a Dictionary of the English Language, we have enriched our Performance with the most entertaining and authentic Memoirs of those Illustrious Men who have flourished in these Kingdoms. To which will be prefixed, **a complete English grammar.** (Barlow 1772–1773?: title page; our emphasis)

Nevertheless, the apparent disparity in the additional material in eighteenth-century dictionaries can be organised by applying a general scheme that distinguishes language related from encyclopaedic or cultural supplements, that is, linguistic from extralinguistic supplements.⁴ As for the former, Dyche and Pardon's (1735) dictionary was the first to include a prefixed grammar of the English language (Osselton 1990: 1944; Starnes and Noyes 1991: 129; Tyrkkö 2013: 182), but "by the time of Johnson ... it was traditional to include an essay on English grammar and a history of the English language in a dictionary's front matter" (Landau 2001: 148). Apart from these conventional linguistic supplements, dictionary users could also find lists of homophones, frequent abbreviations, contractions used for personal and place names, observations on pronunciation, etc. The extra-linguistic supplements comprised data related to myths, geography, trade and navigation, or historical events, among other encyclopaedic-like information.

Our study will focus on the encyclopaedic, or extra-linguistic, supplements in a selection of eighteenth-century dictionaries, trying to systematise their apparently random contents and discussing their potential functionality or practical usage. To achieve these two general aims, first we will address the editors' and authors' motivations to include such supplements in their works, taking into account the information in key paratextual constituents like the title pages or the authors' own prefatory comments. Secondly, we will propose a classification of encyclopaedic supple-

² For further information on the notion of completeness in eighteenth-century reference works, see Rudy (2014, especially "Introduction: concepts of completeness": 1–17).

³ Cf. Subsection 3.1.

⁴ Stark (1999: 16–17) refers to the debate on the different names used to refer to these supplementary contents.

ment types depending on the content and semantic fields (or disciplines) covered. And, thirdly, we will briefly characterise the encyclopaedic supplements identified to obtain a general idea of their possible use and function. Through these steps, we hope to shed light on the practice of incorporating extra-linguistic supplements into eighteenth-century general English dictionaries, a characteristic feature that has been mentioned in several scholarly works to date but has not been fully examined yet.

2 Description of study corpus

2.1 Scope and dictionary constituents

The concept of “paratext” as defined by Genette (1997)⁵ will be the point of departure to explain the scope of this study. According to him, the paratext of a book comprises all constituents that surround the main text including title pages, prefaces, dedicatory letters or appendices, for instance. These constituents may have different functions within the overall structure of the book, namely, to facilitate the reading and understanding of the text, to complement the information it contains, or to justify its publication. Broadly speaking, the title page and the preface of a book usually introduce the author and his work; the index arranges the book contents; the list of abbreviations helps to understand their meaning and use in the work; the lists of other works by the author or by the publisher announce future publications or advertise existing ones; and, most relevant for the purposes of this chapter, the front and back matter supplements—or appendices—complement the contents of the main work. Besides, these paratextual constituents may contribute to introducing specific or practical contents to the potential dictionary user, also serving as an effective tool to enhance the value and utility of the work in full.

Specifically, the title pages and prefaces of eighteenth-century general English dictionaries are a rich source of information about any other paratextual element the work may contain.⁶ In fact, a close reading of their title pages and prefaces has revealed that most of them have “extra” information beyond the alphabetical entries, especially in the form of linguistic supplements (mainly dealing with the grammar and history of the English language) and extra-linguistic or encyclopaedic supplements (variously including historical, geographical, socio-cultural or mythological content). Since this practice was already present in some of the first monolingual dictionaries published in seventeenth-century England, one cannot assume

⁵ This date corresponds to the English translation of the French work *Seuils*, first published in 1987.

⁶ For an exhaustive analysis of title pages in eighteenth-century normative works, in this case grammars, see Yáñez-Bouza (2016) and Yáñez-Bouza and Rodríguez-Gil (2016).

that this is a brand-new feature characterising eighteenth-century general English dictionaries. Yet the tendency to include appendices in these reference works gains force in this period.⁷

For the purposes of our study, encyclopaedic supplements comprise the physically-independent or separate sections with additional or extra-linguistic information on different topics. Eighteenth-century general English dictionary supplements appear inserted either at the very beginning (prefixed) or at the end (suffixed) of the volume, and respond to generic labels like “appendix” (e.g., Fenning 1767; Scott 1786), or to more specific designations like “account” (Anon. 1759; Jones 1797), “dictionary” (Cocker 1704; Fisher 1773), “list” (Barclay 1774; Anon. 1785), “outline” (Barclay 1774), “explanation” (Rider 1759), or “table” (Bailey 1730; Scott 1786). These supplements may also include entries alphabetically arranged (proper names of persons, cities or gods), or longer thematic articles (on ancient history, religious sects, etc.).

From the supplements located in the study corpus, we have discarded linguistic ones,⁸ as well as errata sections, lists of words accidentally skipped or forgotten (according to the lexicographers’ own word), plates and other illustrations since we are focusing on content-based supplements and not corrections (metalinguistic awareness) or visual aids. Accordingly, we will focus on extra-linguistic supplements, that is, those concerned with historical, geographical, biographical, mythological, or, to use an all-embracing term, any encyclopaedic material present in the dictionaries studied.⁹ However, it is sometimes difficult to draw a clear dividing line between linguistic and extra-linguistic supplements. This is evident in Cocker’s 1704 “An historico-poetical dictionary”, a miscellaneous collection of personal names, place names and mythological and poetical characters that intricately combines linguistic and encyclopaedic-like information in a single supplement.¹⁰ While some entries in Cocker’s supplement contain information that may be considered linguistic, as they explain their etymology or original meaning (as in “Alphonso, a Spanish name, a helper”, “Catherine, i.e. pure or chaste”, “Charles, i.e. all noble. Saxon”, “Clara, a woman’s name, i.e. clear, bright. Lat.” or “Clemens, a man’s name, i.e. merciful, mild”), others report more encyclopaedic details, such as “Abington, A Town in Berkshire” or “St. Andrews in Scotland, a City and University. Funded and richly endowed by Ungus King of Picts”. Besides, Cocker provides anecdotal accounts on

⁷ Cf. Subsection 2.3. below.

⁸ The grammars, the histories of the language, the lists of abbreviations, homophones, and, in general, all the language-related or linguistic supplements are out of the scope of this article. Readers may refer to Tyrkkö’s (2013) and Rodríguez-Álvarez’s (2009) works for discussions on the most frequent linguistic supplements of eighteenth-century English dictionaries, that is, English grammars and histories of the English language.

⁹ This choice justifies the alternative denomination encyclopaedic supplements to refer to them.

¹⁰ Cf. Section 3 below.

mythological characters or poets as in these articles: “Achilles, the Son of Peleus and Thetis, who slew Hector” and “Anacreon, the Lyrick Grecian Poet, who was choaked with the stone of a Grape”. For this reason, our study has taken into consideration Cocker’s supplement, which can be conceptualised as of having a ‘mixed’ or ‘hybrid’ nature, together with all those that deal with any kind of encyclopaedic information thematically.¹¹

2.2 Data

In order to compile our study corpus, we first resorted to Alston’s 1966 bibliographic catalogue, in particular to volume 5, “The English Dictionary”. Initially, we made a selection of original first editions, i.e. not pirated, of eighteenth-century general English dictionaries. However, we decided to incorporate as-per-Alston (1966) spelling and pronouncing dictionaries as well¹² because a preliminary skimming revealed that they also contained interesting supplementary material. This way, Entick’s *The New Spelling Dictionary* (1765) was part of the pre-final corpus, while works like *A spelling dictionary of the English language, on a new plan* (Anon. 1755) were ruled out since the entries did not provide semantic information. The total number of dictionaries gathered during this first stage amounted then to 53.

Next, we searched all the dictionaries in our list in *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (ECCO), always choosing first editions if available.¹³ We introduced the words “dictionary” and “vocabulary” in the ‘Title’ browser, and this search displayed two more monolingual English dictionaries providing definitions, not recorded in Alston (1966): Hoops (1774) and Clarendon (1795). Thus, our study corpus was reduced to 49 primary sources, including general English dictionaries, as well as spelling and pronouncing dictionaries.

Then, we scanned through all title pages, prefatory and back matter to locate encyclopaedic-like or cultural (i.e. extra-linguistic) addenda that diversely supplemented the A–Z sections of the dictionaries selected. This thorough examination allowed us to further reduce the initial study corpus to 28 dictionaries.

Fourthly, we studied in detail those encyclopaedic or cultural sections added to the dictionaries to refine our selection more. As the following case in point will show, a closer inspection was necessary to identify irrelevant material for this study. Therefore, we discarded, for instance, *A new general English dictionary* by Dyche and Pardon (1735). This work had been selected because, apart from a linguistic

¹¹ Cf. Subsections 3.3.1 and 3.3.2. below.

¹² On condition that the word entries had their corresponding definitions.

¹³ The first edition of Dyche and Pardon (1735) was not digitised in ECCO, but was available on the Internet [<http://books.google.com>]; last access: June 7, 2018].

appendix called “A Compendious English Grammar”, these authors also mention on the title page that they incorporate:

A Supplement of the proper Names of the most noted Kingdoms, Provinces, Cities, Towns, Rivers, & c. throughout the World. As also, of the most celebrated Emperors, Kings, Queens, Priests, Poets, Philosophers, Generals, & c. whether Jewish, Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian; but more especially such as are mentioned either in the Old or New Testament.

Dyche and Pardon make it clear that the selection of names and places for the supplement is based on criteria such as importance (“most noted”, “most celebrated”), internationality (“throughout the World”), religious inclusiveness (“whether Jewish, Pagan, Mahometan, or Christian”), nobility (“Emperors, Kings, Queens”), social notability (“Priests”, “Generals”) and relevance in the Arts (“Poets, Philosophers”). Such an announcement on the title page arouses expectations of encyclopaedic-like entries on the importance, the nobility or the relevance of these characters. However, at the close of the “Introduction” to the dictionary, these lexicographers state the prescriptive purpose of the “Catalogue, or Alphabet of Names”, which is “inserted purely for the Sake of instructing the less Knowing, in the Spelling and Pronunciation of such Names or Words, as are not contain’d in the Dictionary”. And, finally, before the catalogue proper, which is inserted at the very end of their dictionary, readers are informed that it is just a list of proper names and places, included on the following grounds:

The Design of the following Catalogue of Names of Persons and Places, is, that such Readers as are conversant with English Books only, may meet with a large Collection ready made to their Hands, in order to know how to spell them. In which you will note, that as many of them are Eastern Names, and principally contained in the Old Testament, or such Histories as the Commentators must necessarily read to understand many Parts thereof ... And as most of the ancient Histories are now translated into English, the Names of the principal Actors must of course become familiar to the Readers; so that it was judg’d proper to insert the following Alphabet, wherein Kings, Emperors, Queens, Priests, Philosophers, Rules, Judges, &c. are promiscuously set down and mark’d where the Stress or Tone of the Voice should be, in order to shew the proper Pronunciation. (Dyche and Pardon 1735: n.p.)

In the light of the above, we can say that this is an appendix that *a priori* announced encyclopaedic content but, after a closer analysis, it may be considered a spelling and pronunciation guide for the dictionary end-users, that is, a prescriptive linguistic appendix.¹⁴

¹⁴ This was also observed in Fisher’s 1773 *An accurate new spelling dictionary and expositor of the English language*, for example. Here, there is an appended list of Christian names ordered alphabetically and marked for stress to guide dictionary users in the correct pronunciation of each one. On this basis, Fisher’s appendix must be considered linguistic in nature. Contrary to Fenning’s *The new and complete spelling dictionary* (1767), for instance, it does not offer historical, etymological or

Applying this same criterion to all other dictionaries for coherence’s sake, our final study corpus was composed of 16 selected works by 12 known and 4 anonymous authors altogether.¹⁵ They were published in England, Scotland and the United States of America, and the majority saw the light from the 1770s onwards, as shown in Table 1:

Table 1. Study corpus (authors, titles, place of publication, year of first edition)

Author	Abridged title (city, year of first edition)
Cocker, Edward	<i>Cocker’s English dictionary</i> (London, 1704)
Bailey, Nathan[iel]	<i>Dictionarium Britannicum</i> (London, 1730)
Anonymous? ¹⁶	<i>A new English dictionary</i> (Glasgow, 1759)
Rider, William	<i>A new universal English dictionary</i> (London, 1759)
Manson, D[avid]	<i>A new pocket dictionary</i> (Belfast, 1762)
Fenning, D[aniel]	<i>The new and complete spelling dictionary</i> (London, 1767)
Fisher, A[nn(e)]	<i>An accurate new spelling dictionary and expositor of the English language</i> (Newcastle, 1773)
Barclay, James	<i>A complete and universal English dictionary</i> (London, 1774)
Anonymous ¹⁷	<i>A general and complete dictionary of the English language</i> (London, 1785)
Scott, William	<i>A new spelling, pronouncing, and explanatory dictionary of the English language</i> (Edinburgh, 1786)
Bentick, John	<i>The spelling and explanatory dictionary of the English language</i> (London, 1786)
Anonymous	<i>A dictionary of the English language</i> (London, 1794)
Perry, William	<i>A general dictionary of the English language</i> (London, 1795) ¹⁸
Anonymous	<i>A pronouncing dictionary of the English language</i> (London, 1796)
Jones, Stephen	<i>Sheridan Improved</i> [uniform title]: <i>A general pronouncing and explanatory dictionary</i> (London, ² 1797 [1st ed. 1796; no copy located in ECCO, but some appear in ESTC])

cultural information on each proper name. All in all, her dictionary forms part of our study corpus on account of other encyclopaedic information she attaches to the book.

15 Here, we have assumed that we are dealing with four different anonymous authors. In this paper, we will use the abbreviation Anon. when used as the unknown name of the author, but not adjectivally.

16 The preface being signed by “Their affectionate friend, and very humble servant” D. Paterson, in “Glasgow June 28th, 1759”, Alston (1966: 42) suggests that “he was presumably the printer”.

17 The preface is signed by a quite uncertain initial “J.”

18 The preface is dated “December 1794”.

Author	Abridged title (city, year of first edition)
Alexander, Caleb	<i>The Columbian dictionary of the English language</i> (Boston, 1800)

2.3 The introduction of encyclopaedic supplements in eighteenth-century English dictionaries

Even though the presence of encyclopaedic contents in general English dictionaries was not an innovation at that time,¹⁹ the tendency to incorporate more and more material coincides with the heyday of eighteenth-century encyclopaedism. However, the extra-linguistic contents of supplements differed from the branches of knowledge treated in encyclopaedias; whereas the discoveries and new advances in scientific and technical fields found room in encyclopaedias (Yeo 1991: 26), articles on science and technology formed part of the word-lists of dictionaries, but not of the supplements. This idea is similarly defended by Collison and Preece (1991), who suggest that the encyclopaedic dictionaries flourishing during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries resulted in two different formats: “the encyclopaedia ... that paid particular attention to the fields of history and biography ... [and] also a new form of encyclopaedia ... that devoted itself to the arts and sciences”. The former type, concerned with the past, is more in consonance with the supplement contents found in our study corpus—as shown in Table 2—while the latter, related to the scientific and technological advances of the period, is much better reflected in the entries of encyclopaedias or in the A–Z sections of dictionaries, exemplified by the following article from Barlow’s *The complete English dictionary* (1772–1773):²⁰

19 In her review “Literary features of Renaissance Dictionaries”, Starnes indicates that Elyot (1538) is the first English precedent in distributing historical, biographical and mythological entries in alphabetical order throughout the text. In 1559, however, in his revision of Elyot’s work, Thomas Cooper “shifted all entries concerned with myths, legends, lives, geography, etc. to a separate section at the end of the dictionary proper” (Starnes 1940: 27). During the sixteenth century both practices coexisted in bilingual dictionaries. As for monolingual English dictionaries, as early as 1623, Cockeram already includes appendices like those found in our corpus, i.e. lists of mythological characters, and of men and women well-known for their historical relevance or their artistic merits (Ramsay 1947: 58). Other seventeenth-century lexicographers (Blount 1656; Phillips 1658; or Coles 1676) incorporate entries on mythology, place names, historical characters, or religious sects, not as separate supplements but in the A–Z section. For a thorough revision on encyclopaedic contents in dictionaries, see Roe (1978).

20 We find evidence of the deep impact scientism and encyclopaedism had on dictionary-making at the time in the preface to *Glossographia Anglicana nova* (1707: A3^o), whose author acknowledges the use of John Harris’s *Lexicon technicum* (1704) for the compilation of a large number of entries. Likewise, Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English language* (1755) and Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum*

ACCE'LERATED MOTION, in Mechanics, is that which is continually increased; this being produced by a constant impulse, or power, which continues its action upon the body; if it cause an equal increase in equal times, the motion is said to be *uniformly accelerated*. Thus the motion of falling bodies is constantly accelerated, because gravity, every moment, adds a new impulse, which generates a new degree of velocity, and the velocity thus increasing, its motion must be increased likewise, or in other words it must move faster and faster every moment. Galileo, the restorer of reason in Italy, was the discoverer of this important truth, which is a natural consequence from Sir Isaac Newton's second law of nature or motion, viz. "The change of motion produced in any body, is always proportionable to the force whereby it is effected, and in the same direction wherein that force acts." As the height from which bodies can be let fall, is so small as not to alter gravity, it must therefore act upon them uniformly, during the whole time of their descent, and they must, consequently, acquire an equal degree of velocity, which will constantly increase in proportion to the time the body takes up in falling; and therefore, the space a body passes over in a uniform motion, is in a ratio compounded of the time and velocity, i.e. the velocity multiplied by the time is equal to the space passed over. Hence we may observe, that a body falls three times as far in the second portion of time, as it does in the first; five times as far in the third; seven times as far in the fourth, and so on, in a series of odd numbers, as 1, 3, 5, 7, 9, 11, 13, 15, 17, &c.

When bodies are thrown perpendicularly upwards, their velocities decrease, as the times they ascend increase; because their gravity destroys an equal portion of their velocity every instant of their ascent. And the heights bodies rise to, when thrown perpendicularly upwards, are as the squares of the time spent, from their setting out, to the moment they cease to rise: i.e. if a body be thrown upwards, with such a degree of velocity as to continue rising twice as long as another, it will ascend four times as high; if thrice as long, nine times as high, &c. for the heights which bodies thrown up with different velocities arrive to, are to each other as the squares of those velocities.

Yeo (1991: 26) sums up such an intellectual movement thus: "Most of the encyclopaedias published from this time [the eighteenth century] gave an important place to science and technology – they were often called dictionaries of arts and sciences; subjects such as biography, history, geography, and literature were usually later additions". For him, the idea of eighteenth-century encyclopaedias as "agents of popularization" of science was not accurate since these books used to incorporate the latest scientific discoveries, which rendered these articles more difficult for an average audience.

Eighteenth-century lexicographers, however, were aware of the instructive character of dictionaries: "as well for the Entertainment of the Curious, as the Information of the Ignorant" (Bailey 1721: title page).²¹ In this line, far from lengthy technical and scientific explanations, encyclopaedic supplements, albeit occasion-

(1730) are also indebted to Harris's dictionary and Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* (1728), as McIntosh (1998: 9) and Starnes and Noyes (1991: 119) respectively argue.

21 Starnes and Noyes (1991: 191) mention the influence of the "reference book tradition" on seventeenth-century dictionary-making. As uneducated readers were exposed to numerous references to classical history, literature and mythology in literary productions of the time, these lists of names of persons and places may have acted as useful facilitators of learning.

ally sketchy,²² served as an easy reference aid to all kinds of readers in search of elementary information on history, geography or mythology. It is in fact undeniable, as Fisher (1773: iii) explains, that ignorance of mythology, for instance, can prevent a reader from fully understanding a literary piece or a newspaper article in the same way that an unknown word can conceal the meaning of a text. Therefore, cultural appendices were added to general dictionaries for practical purposes: to facilitate access to information to both the learned and the unlearned, and to provide facts that could be of interest to the reader:

And to gratify general curiosity, as well as particular enquiry, a list is also subjoined of all the Cities, Towns, Boroughs, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales, with their respective distances from the metropolis, and the days on which their several markets are held. (Anon. 1785: iii).

This is what Osselton calls “the notion of the dictionary as an instructive and readable work” (1990: 1950). Interestingly enough, Samuel Johnson Jr. does not assume these two qualities for his own dictionary—“It is not calculated or intended to afford either entertainment or instruction” (1798?: 3)—a work, by the way, lacking in encyclopaedic supplements. But it is precisely these qualities that contemporary readers might have missed in the first edition of Benjamin Martin’s *Lingua Britannica reformata* (1749). After having dismissed “historical Accounts of persons and things” in the first edition because “The Matters are all foreign to an English Dictionary”, he changed his mind in the second one (1754)²³ to highlight among the improvements “the following Additions ... The Description of each Kingdom in *Europe* the capital Cities of each Kingdom ... a Description of each City and Town in *Great Britain* and *Ireland* the Days of their Fairs and Markets the Description of each County in *England* and *Wales*” and more (Marcon 1990: 82). That is, although interspersed in the wordlist, the decision to incorporate all these articles still attests to the importance attached to the cultural component in eighteenth-century dictionary-making policy.²⁴

²² About the length of entries, see Subsection 3.3.2. below.

²³ On the chequered history of geographical and personal names in the English dictionary, see Roe (1978) and Osselton (1990: 1946).

²⁴ Another case of lexicographers adding cultural contents in subsequent editions of their dictionaries is John Entick, who also decided to incorporate a new appendix to the 1776 edition of his *The new spelling dictionary*: “A succinct Account of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Heroines, &c. deduced from the best authorities” (Rodríguez-Álvarez and Rodríguez-Gil 2006: 314).

3 A study of supplementary encyclopaedic and cultural information

Our exposition unfolds in three stages, taking into account the information contained on the title pages, the prefatory matter (prefaces, introductions and dedications), and prefixed or appended supplements to the A–Z entry section proper.

3.1 Title pages

Title pages are descriptive and serve the purpose of itemizing the contents dictionary users are going to find inside (McConchie 2013; Yáñez-Bouza 2017; Yáñez-Bouza and Rodríguez-Gil 2016). But not all title pages in our study corpus anticipate the additional encyclopaedic material attached to the dictionary, and the other way round. Perry (1795), for instance, does not mention any supplement in the title—nor in the preface—but actually there are three of them inside.²⁵ That is, some lexicographers are coherent and include just the appendices they advertise on the title pages, whereas others—a minor group—obviate this information.²⁶ In the following paragraphs, we will describe how our authors announce encyclopaedic or cultural supplements on their title pages,²⁷ which are often complemented by details as to the target audience and end-purpose of the work.

According to Cocker (1704), a dictionary is a reference book that is “necessary for all Persons who desire to understand their own Language, and would attain to Eloquence in Speaking, and Elegancy in Writing”. For this reason, apart from the “most refined and difficult words” in the sciences (including Philosophy, Law, Medicine or Mathematics), Cocker’s dictionary incorporates hard words from classical (Greek, Latin) and vernacular languages (Dutch, Italian, Spanish or French). This fundamentally lexicographic information is supplemented by encyclopaedic material that he organises in various appendices, namely: 1) “An Historico-Poetical Dictionary”, or a miscellanea containing “Proper Names of Men, Women, Rivers, Coun-

²⁵ See Section 3.

²⁶ This is the case of Rider’s (1759) and Jones’s (1797) English dictionaries. Exceptionally, Anon. (1794) and Perry (1794) each advertise a prefixed English grammar to their general English dictionaries. While Anon. (1794) attaches a “Prosodial Grammar”, Perry (1794) presents a “Comprehensive Grammar”, which suggests that the objective and focus of these two linguistic supplements probably differ. However, Anon.’s (1794) prefatory advertisement introduces supplements not announced on the title page. And Perry’s (1794) dictionary has appended supplements at the end of the volume, not mentioned on the title page or in the preface. Therefore, their dictionaries are part of our study corpus. Cf. Subsection 3.2.

²⁷ For a thoughtful account of Cocker’s (1704) and Bailey’s (1730) dictionaries, see Starnes and Noyes (1991).

tries, Cities, Castles, Towns, Mountains & c. in England, Scotland and Ireland & c. And the feigned stories of Heathen Gods, and other Poetical Inventions”;²⁸ 2) “The Interpretation of the most usual Terms in Military Discipline”; 3) “The Terms which Merchants and others make use of in Trade and Commerce”; and 4) “... the Coins of most Countries in Europe, and several Parts of the World, with other useful Particulars”. All this linguistic and encyclopaedic information is appended to the dictionary, so that Cocker is honest and sells what he advertises from the very beginning of the work.²⁹

For his part, Bailey highlights on the title page of his *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) that the word entries have been carefully “Illustrated with near Five Hundred Cuts, for Giving a clearer idea of those Figures, not so well apprehended by verbal description”. This announcement is almost identical to that in the preface to Bailey’s previous lexicographic contribution—*The universal etymological English dictionary* (1727)—³⁰ albeit the number of illustrations has almost doubled in the 1730 dictionary. Apart from this kind of visual support, Bailey also promises an appendix that presents “A Collection of Proper Names of Persons and Places in Great-Britain, with their Etymologies and Explications”.³¹ As a concluding remark, his efforts are “not only for the Information of the Ignorant, but the Entertainment of the Curious; and also the Benefit of Artificers, Tradesmen, Young Students and Foreigners”.

28 According to Alston (1966: 14), “Cocker’s dictionary has sections devoted to proper names [that is] based, like other similar lists, on Charles Estienne’s *Dictionarium historicum*, Paris, 1553”.

29 We have discarded Cocker’s appended supplements on “Military Terms” and “Terms that Dealers use” from our study corpus because they are clearly linguistic. In the preface to Cocker’s dictionary, it is explained that the appendix on military terms was compiled to understand the meaning of “newly invented” terms appearing in “our Gazzets and other publick News ... and usually met with in the relations of Martial Affairs”. Similarly, the second one was intended to clarify key concepts used in trading exchanges, which had recently been “... extraordinarily improved and enlarged with Foreign Nations”. Cf. Subsection 3.2.

30 Bailey’s *The universal etymological English dictionary* (1727) has been also excluded from our study corpus because it only contains linguistic supplements and illustrations. As he indicates on the title page, the dictionary is divided into two parts: “I. An Additional Collection of Words not in the former Volume ... [and] II. An Orthographical Dictionary, showing the Orthography and Orthopia of the English Tongue”. In relation to the “considerable Number of Terms of Art in Anatomy, Botany, Heraldry, Logick, Mathematicks, Philosophy, Physick, and all other Arts and Sciences”, Bailey says that he has enriched the lexical entries by new “Explications, Etymologies and engraven Schemes, where necessary, for the more easy and clear apprehending them”. That is, he has illustrated the dictionary with images and figures that help the dictionary user to conceptualise or visualise better the meaning of the word defined. This is seen, for example, in the entries belonging to the semantic field of Heraldry (see ‘Barry’ or ‘Carbuncle’) or Geometry (in concepts like ‘Altitude’, ‘Chord’, ‘Dodecagon’ or ‘Rhombus’). For further details on the use of illustrations in linguistic dictionaries, see Stein (1991), Mitchell (1998: 619–621) and Swanepoel (2003: 50).

31 This differs from Bailey’s 1727 etymological dictionary, which included all anthroponyms and toponyms in the A–Z entry section.

Bailey’s 1730 dictionary was devised, therefore, to reach a broad target audience that could have differing interests and reasons for perusing the book.

In Anon. (1759), the title page publicises two prefixed supplements: “An exact Explication of most Contractions to be met with in English Books and Writings. And an Interpretation of the proper Names of Men and Women”. While the first one is linguistic (to improve reading and writing skills, basically), the second, through the word ‘interpretation’, reveals that it is not merely a list of personal names; there is extra information telling the (etymological) meaning of the words included in it. Finally, this anonymous lexicographer also specifies that he has “subjoined, A brief Hint concerning the several Sects that have appeared, and the Errors vented by them since the Commencement of Christianity”, an account that may touch historical, religious and sociocultural aspects.³²

On Manson’s (1762) title page, he mentions a supplement that should be used “for occasional inspection”, as it contains advanced material or “All the uncommon Words in Johnson’s Abridgement, which were omitted in the first Alphabet”. It is inserted after the A–Z entry section and, like Cocker’s 1704 supplementary “An Historico-Poetical Dictionary”, it consists of a dictionary within a dictionary.³³ Furthermore, Manson includes two other prefixed supplements, which revolve around current issues about the teaching-learning process in Ireland, namely: 1) “A Plan for the Improvement of Children in Virtue and Learning, without the Use of the Rod”; and 2) “The present State and Practice of the Play-School in Belfast”. These supplements are unique in our study corpus³⁴ and by far the least connected to the contents the lexicographers typically introduce in the English dictionaries.

The new and complete spelling dictionary’s title page (Fenning 1767) claims to be complemented by “Two Very Useful Tables”, prefixed to the English dictionary itself. These tables contain, firstly, “the Names of the most principal Men mentioned in the Old and New Testament, with their significant Meaning, and Places referred to” and, secondly, the “Names of such Places as are more difficult to read and pronounce, having both their proper Accent and Rules for Pronunciation, for such as would read the Sacred Writings with Propriety”. However, a close examination of

32 Later in the century, Barclay (1774) also deals with sects, but not in a supplement attached to the dictionary. The preface contains the explanation of the characteristics of the “short, but clear accounts of the several Religious Sects, both in the Jewish and Christian Church.” Barclay underlines that his proposal is “more copious and numerous than are given in the very few Publications of this kind which have adopted them”, and that it serves a utilitarian purpose since it is addressed to a general public “who desire information on this particular, but have neither time nor inclination to search for it in other Books”.

33 Contrary to Cocker’s, this is a supplement of purely linguistic nature that, in Manson’s view, contains difficult or hard words for young learners (the end users of his dictionary, as pointed out on the title page). It is not, therefore, part of our study corpus.

34 See Subsection 3.3.2.6.

the volume reveals that both tables are appended to the English dictionary, not prefixed to it. The noun phrase ‘their significant Meaning’ made us think that the tables included some kind of etymological glossing, as the supplement later showed.

Regarding Fisher’s *An accurate new spelling dictionary* (1773), the title page points out that “An Entire New Dictionary of all the Heathen Gods and Goddesses: and also of the most illustrious Heroes treated of by Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and other antient Poets: With a summary Account of their Origin, Descent, Exploits, etc.” has been added to the spelling dictionary. That is, Fisher is in the wake of Cocker’s (1704) and Manson’s (1762) practice of including a dictionary within a dictionary, in her case devoted to classical mythology.

Barclay’s 1774 title page is the most comprehensive and detailed so far, as it includes comparatively longish information in relation to the dictionary contents. It lists up to six linguistic and extra-linguistic (i.e. encyclopaedic or cultural) supplements that take the form of a prefixed or appended “free enquiry”, essay, sketch, outline or list.³⁵ Barclay boasts of having his dictionary tested and recommended by coeval eminent figures in the field of education, as read in the foreword printed immediately before the title page:

The following Dictionary having been submitted to the perusal and examination of the Gentlemen whose names are hereunto subscribed, they have been pleased to favour the Author and Proprietors with their approbation both of the Plan and Execution of the Work; and to recommend it to all Masters of Schools, Academies, &c. as the most useful Dictionary of the kind hitherto published ... (Barclay 1774: n.p.)

Just as Fisher did in her 1773 spelling dictionary, Barclay also claims originality on the title page of his ‘complete and universal’ dictionary, which he says comprises “several thousand Articles not to be found in any other Dictionary”. Apart from the increased number of entries compared to previous dictionaries, Barclay also stands out for being our first lexicographer to mention a prefixed “Sketch of the Constitution, Government and Trade of England”, on the one hand, and introduce timelines to arrange historical events and figures by chronological order, on the other (in full, “An Outline of Antient and Modern History; Including a Chronological Series of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions, from the Creation to the Present Time: together with a Complete List of the Grecian, Roman and English Classicks”). In this case, Barclay’s title is illustrative enough to advance and explicate what information the dictionary user will find.

³⁵ More than any of the previous dictionaries, Barclay’s seems an all-in-one reference book for the (young) learner. Simpson (1990: 56) highlights “the degree of its encyclopaedic content”. Cf. Sub-section 3.3.

By contrast, the next author, Anon. (1785), is indeed concise on the title page. He just signals that *A general and complete dictionary of the English language* is complemented by “An Alphabetical Account of the Heathen Deities”—a type of encyclopaedic supplement first introduced by Fisher (1773) in our study corpus—and a final chorographical “List of the Cities, Towns Boroughs, and remarkable Villages, in England and Wales”, which is present in Cocker (1704) and Bailey (1730) as well. A repetitive pattern, or derivative tradition, seems to be emerging during this period of English lexicography, probably because the authors drew on previous dictionaries to compose theirs. This tendency to reproduce the same kind of supplementary contents will be commented on in the succeeding paragraphs and further studied in Subsections 3.2. and 3.3. below.

On Scott’s 1786 title page, he states that his dictionary is aimed at a young audience (“the youth of both sexes”) and is “particularly calculated for the Improvement of Natives and Foreigners in the proper Speaking and Writing of the English Language”. To that end, the lexicographer incorporates three encyclopaedic appendices that may contribute to increase the reading skills of young language learners, to wit: “an Account of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses, Ancient Heroes, &c.; a Table of Remarkable Occurrences from the Creation; and a List of Celebrated Writers”. That is, Scott’s dictionary offers a mythological, a historical and a literary appendix; all three types have already been presented by some author in our study corpus, which suggests that the recurrence of topics in supplements starts to gain force in the last two decades of the century.

In fact, Bentick (1786) also appends “A Mythological and Biographical Dictionary of all the Heathen Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Philosophers, mentioned in the Writings of the Ancients”. This supplement closely follows the tradition of Fisher (1773) and is also presented as a dictionary within a dictionary. But there is an apparent difference as to content: Bentick deals with ‘biographical’ details of all the fictitious characters and historical figures covered, which could respond to a boost in the genre of biographical dictionaries (“an important, influential and increasingly popular genre in eighteenth-century England”, claims Rivers [2001: 137]).

Moreover, Bentick includes “A complete List of all the Cities, Towns, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales; Their Distances from London in measured Miles, and the Days on which their Markets are held” ; that is, chorography and nundinography. This type of list may go back to Barclay (1774), although he inserted the information in the A–Z entry section of the work.³⁶ Therefore, we may say that

³⁶ Barclay’s title page reads that his “Complete and Universal English Dictionary” has been compiled “on a new plan” and, to make the volume more comprehensive, he has included “An Authentic Account of the Counties, Cities, and Market Towns of England, Wales, and Scotland; as also the Villages with Fairs; the Days they are kept according to the New-Style; as well as the Cattle, Goods, and Merchandize sold thereat; and the exact Distance from London, carefully corrected from the latest Measurements”.

Bentick's supplement is the first of its kind in our study corpus, and it seems to define the way ahead for successive authors.

Finally, Anon. (1796) and Alexander (1800)—the last two authors in our study corpus—each just mention an encyclopaedic appendix on the same topic: mythology. On the title page of *A pronouncing dictionary of the English language*, the anonymous author speaks of a “Select Mythological Dictionary, Containing the names of the Fabulous Deities, &c.”, whereas Alexander, the only American-native author in our selection, reintroduces the dictionary-within-a-dictionary approach through a mythological supplement called “Heathen Mythology: Or, a Classical Pronouncing Dictionary”. Even though Alexander singles out the inclusion of pronouncing guidelines in the supplement (by means of prosodic accents), this is not a novelty at all, as we will explain later in Subsection 3.3.2.1.

3.2 Prefatory matter: prefaces, dedications and advertisements³⁷

The prefatory matter of a book constitutes an essentially metadiscursive genre with more or less conventionalised divisions and formulaic expressions (Taavitsainen 2008; Rodríguez-Álvarez and Rodríguez-Gil 2013). For the purposes here, ‘genre’ is understood as a “category of communication act whose rules are roughly pre-agreed within a ‘discourse community’³⁸ of users” (Baker and Saldanha 2009: 152). In our study corpus, nine out of the 16 selected lexicographers exploit the potential of the prefatory material to comment on, and advocate for, the supplements of their dictionaries.³⁹

³⁷ In our study corpus, there are nine ‘Preface [to the Public/Reader]’ (Cocker [1704], Anon. [1759], Fenning [1767], Fisher [1773], Barclay [1774], Anon. [1785], Scott [1786], Bentick [1786] and Perry [1795]); four ‘Dedication’ (Bailey [1730], Rider [1759], Fenning [1767] and Barclay [1774]); and four ‘Advertisement’ (Anon. [1794], Anon. [1796], Jones [1797] and Alexander [1800]). The sole exception is Manson (1762), whose English dictionary does not include any prefatory matter.

³⁸ The concept of ‘discourse community’ has been recently become an area of scholarly interest (Watts 1999; Borg 2003; Bamford and Bondi 2005). Broadly speaking, a discourse community “must have some set of shared common goals, some mechanisms for communication, and some way of providing the exchange of information amongst its members” (Paltridge 2006: 24). These goals may be either agreed formally through guilds or associations, or be more tacit (Swales 1990: 24), as when a set of ruling practices is implied or expected from qualified professionals.

³⁹ The authors excluded from this list are Bailey (1730) and Rider (1759), since they write a ‘Dedication’ to a benefactor in the traditional laudatory sense; Manson (1762) and Alexander (1800), whose dictionaries do not have any prefatory matter; Bentick (1786), Perry (1795) and Jones (1797) who do not tackle encyclopaedic supplements in their respective prefaces or advertisements.

Cocker’s 1704 “The Preface to the Reader” is signed by John Hawkins, the dictionary editor.⁴⁰ This man of letters points out that “An Historico-Poetical Dictionary”⁴¹ has a functional or instrumental purpose for the general dictionary user:

And that this Book might be generally useful, he has added a short Poetical, and likewise a Geographical Dictionary of parts of the World, and of the Antiquities of Cities, Towns, and other eminent places of England, Scotland and Ireland, so that for a small Expence, Strangers as well as English Men may Travel thereby. (Cocker 1704: n.p.)

In the excerpt above, Hawkins is more precise about the contents of “An Historico-Poetical Dictionary”; he speaks in terms of disciplines rather than listing the topics or semantic fields covered (as he did on the title page, probably because of lack of space). Besides, Hawkins briefly justifies the presence of the “Account of the Value of all the common Coins which pass in Europe and many Parts of the World”, since it is a “useful Matter for the Readers Instruction” in an age in which money had become “the principal end of Commerce and the Idol of the World”.

In the preface, Anon. (1759) states that his dictionary is different from others in currency thanks to the supplements it contains and gives his reasons for it. First, he points out that setting proper names aside the A–Z entry section pursues two practical goals: a) assisting the user to locate the entries more easily; and b) keeping a logical order in the presentation of contents. Note his argument in full: “An Interpretation of the Proper Names of Men and Women from their Original ... is here put by itself both for the more easy finding them, and that the Dictionary itself might not be crowded or intermixed with things that have not such a near connection therewith”. The lexicographer thus distinguishes between “words in their true sense and proper meaning, [whose] knowledge is introductory to the knowledge of things” and words that may be considered more ancillary in nature.

Secondly, Anon. (1759) put the supplement dealing with sects “at the conclusion of all [the dictionary]” to present a “succinct account of the several Sects that have appeared since the Commencement of Christianity, and the Errors vented by them”. This title is almost identical to that used on the title page of the dictionary and it focuses on two relevant aspects that characterise the supplement: the chronological exposition of events and the inclusion of erroneous opinions held so far.

Moving on to Fenning’s 1767 preface, it expands the information offered on the title page. On pages vi–vii, he explains that the supplements are thought “to render the Work yet more useful to Youth in Schools, and such adult Persons as have been taught in a bad Manner, as also to others, who have had no Opportunity to be

40 Hawkins was a committed editor, insofar as he states on the title page that he actually “perused and published from the author, correct copy” (Cocker 1704).

41 The lexicographers studied are not usually consistent as far as titles are concerned, which may vary in length and the words used.

taught, but by their own Care and Instruction ...”. This statement could be understood as a principle of universality to be applied to education. Appealing to it, Fenning conceived his dictionary as a tool to make knowledge accessible to wider sectors of the English-speaking population. For this purpose, the two appended supplements—dealing with proper names and place names, respectively—are, in Fenning’s own words, “two very useful Tables ... alphabetically digested, with the Place and Text referred to; and, if difficult, the true Pronunciation immediately follow”. It is likely that the author’s career as a schoolmaster⁴² might have influenced the decision to include these supplements. In fact, this author deems it necessary to justify their presence by using purely linguistic arguments:

And though this [*i.e.* the Tables] may at first appear insignificant; yet I am confident it is of more Service than Teachers in general are aware of, when they know there is not one Person in ten, (perhaps in twenty) but would pronounce this Word *Cedron*, *Sedron*, as also *Cenchrea*, *Senchrea*, whose Pronunciations are *Kedron*, and *Kenkrea*, &c. (Fenning 1767: vii)

Fisher (1773), the only female lexicographer in our study corpus, reports that eighteenth-century dictionaries showed a clear tendency to be largely derivative, by saying:

And though Dictionaries are but vocabularies, or catalogues of the unconnected words of our common language ... yet as no man living, perhaps, is capacitated merely from the promptness of human memory (without the help of any other dictionary) to recollect or write down even an hundred words in alphabetical order; ... so consequently no book of this kind, for that very reason, should be considered as an original work ... (Fisher 1773: i).

But, despite this habitual practice, she claimed that her work was original⁴³ and reported several reasons to support it throughout the preface. The fourth reason she gives is, precisely, the introduction of “An Entire New Dictionary of all the Heathen Gods and Goddesses”. Drawing on her own teaching practice, and based on pedagogical grounds, Fisher explains how worthy it may be for young learners:

Having experienced that youth in general wanting of a classical education, are often at a loss to understand the meaning of the allusions and fancies of our poets, & c. taken from the heathen mythology, which occur in almost every periodical publication, magazine, newspaper & c. (Fisher 1773: iii).

42 On the title page of the dictionary, Fenning is publicised as the author of “the Royal Dictionary, Young Man’s Book of Knowledge, Use of the Globes, Universal Spelling-Book, School-Masters Companion, & c.”. For biographical details, see *Eighteenth-Century English Grammars* (ECEG) database at Manchester University.

43 For more information on the topic of plagiarism in eighteenth-century lexicography, see, for instance, Lancashire (2005) or Rodríguez-Álvarez and Rodríguez-Gil (2006).

In other words, this supplement could serve an educational purpose, but, at the same time, could be a means to acquire some knowledge of classical Antiquity and deal with daily news and literary works properly. Although Fisher defends the originality of her proposal, Starnes (1940: 32) points out that the inclusion of mythological contents was habitual from “about 1540 on, [when] the larger dictionaries made a special point of re-cording the myths and the stories of gods and goddesses to enable their readers to understand classical poetry”. All in all, she believed that her supplement on mythological contents also had a more pragmatic function: serving as a marketing strategy to “greatly enhance the value of the book”.⁴⁴

Barclay’s (1774) preface is very informative, especially if compared to Cocker’s (1704), Anon.’s (1759), Fenning’s (1767) and Fisher’s (1773) tendency to conciseness. This author devotes some paragraphs to the relevance and function of each supplement included in *A complete and universal English dictionary*. As to “An Essay on the Constitution, Trade, and Government of England”, Barclay thought it “necessary to accompany, and in some degree to illustrate, the History of England”, whereas the “Outline of Antient and Modern History ... Together with the list of the Grecian, Roman, and English Classicks” is an “entirely new” article that would complement the previous supplement and be “found extremely useful to almost every class of Readers”. This means that Barclay conceived these two supplements as interrelated elements in the dictionary, which mutually reinforced each other and could provide a more complete historical account of the country.

In addition, he claims that such historical information can work out at school with young learners because it allows implementing new approaches to deal with a usually hard and tedious content, proceeding as follows:

... to Youth at Schools it will be found very serviceable in a double respect. By this Epitome they may be instructed in that necessary and useful part of knowledge, the History of their own Country, even imperceptibly ... Again: These Historical Anecdotes may be given as very proper and useful Exercises to Youth at Schools ... The Master may advance one step farther with his pupils. Let him put them upon drawing up, from the several parts of it, as they lie scattered in the Dictionary, a complete History of England, beginning with King Egbert, the Saxon, and taking every reign, in its chronological order, down to the present period. (Barclay 177: n.p.)

Barclay affirms that the exercise described above could be also done with the dictionary information on geography because it is “more uniform than in any other Dictionary of this kind” and, therefore, it will prove “very useful to Youth, in facilitating the knowledge of the Globes and Maps, which every one knows to be a necessary and pleasing branch of Polite Literature”. He equally envisages a practical end

⁴⁴ How paratexts may increase the value of the book has been recently studied by Yeo (2001), Mitchell (2001), and Rodríguez-Álvarez and Rodríguez-Gil (2013).

for a “History of the Heathen Mythology”, which can be introduced in teaching-learning contexts “according to the discretion of the Master”.

Regarding Anon. (1785), the two encyclopaedic supplements he incorporates into the dictionary are overtly but succinctly justified in the preface. First, the author tells the reader that the “alphabetical account of the Heathen Deities” is a way “to render this work still more extensively useful ... for the assistance of the memory in reading the classics”. That is, he presents the supplement as an aid for literary pleasure. In the second one, this lexicographer offers the familiar chorography and nundinography: “all the Cities, Towns Boroughs, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales, with their respective distances from the metropolis, and the days on which their several markets are held”.⁴⁵ Conceptually, it is similar to Bentick’s proposal, but much less elaborated as it is just intended to “gratify general curiosity, as well as particular enquiry”.

Prefatory comments by Scott (1786) on his three supplements also raise the issue of originality and tradition, as Fisher (1773) did, by describing his “Appendix”, not “as an original performance, but as [a] selection which cannot fail of being both entertaining and instructive”. Like Barclay (1774), Scott is convinced of the utility the appended contents may have for teaching purposes, yet he admits that a parallel function is to provide amusement or pleasure to the dictionary user.

Continuing with Anon. (1794), the preface opens acknowledging the derivative nature of his work (“The following Volume has been selected with the greatest care from the most approved Dictionaries of the English language”). However, at the same time the lexicographer highlights some aspects that particularise his dictionary, including the attention to details in the edition and format, as well as an attempt to satisfy the real needs of “those for whom it is intended”, that is, “the youth of both sexes at boarding-schools”. Among the other added values of his dictionary, the author mentions the inclusion of “A select Mythological Dictionary, containing the names of such of the fabulous Deities, &c. as are oftenest found in classical writers, accented in such a manner that the English Reader cannot mistake the true quantity”, treading in Fisher’s (1773) footsteps. The second supplement Anon. (1794) inserts in the dictionary is the apparently in-vogue “list of all cities, boroughs, market-towns, and remarkable villages in England and Wales; the days on which their markets are held, and how far distant from London in measured miles”, also present in Anon. (1785) and Bentick (1786).

To conclude this section, and interestingly enough, the “Advertisement” of Anon. (1796)–located in the prefatory matter–speaks of a further appended supplement not advertised on the title page (on place names and market days), and the paragraph explaining their contents coincides verbatim with that in Anon. (1794).

⁴⁵ The distances from London and market days were not announced on the title page. This information can be called nundinography for convenience.

3.3 A typology of encyclopaedic supplements

In the light of the description in Subsections 3.1. and 3.2. above, the contents of the encyclopaedic supplements identified in our study corpus are displayed in Table 2 by frequency order first,⁴⁶ and then under a ‘miscellanea’ label to organise unique supplements (this time by order of appearance):

Table 2. Contents of supplements, disciplines covered and list of authors.

Contents of supplements	Disciplines	Authors
Heathen Gods and Goddesses; Heroes	Mythology	Cocker (1704); Fisher (1773); Anon. (1785); Scott (1786); Benticke (1786); Anon. (1794); Perry (1795); Anon. (1796); Jones (c.1797); Alexander (1800)
Place names (cities, towns and villages; natural elements [rivers, mountains...])	Geography	Cocker (1704); Bailey (1730); Fenning (1767); Anon. (1785); Benticke (1786); Anon. (1794), Perry (1795); Anon. (1796); Jones (21797)
Market towns and distance from London	Trading	Anon. (1785); Benticke (1786); Anon. (1794); Perry (1795); Anon. (1796)
Proper names (men; women)	(Anthrop-)onomastics	Cocker (1704); Bailey (1730); Anon. (1759); Fenning (1767)
Names of literary authors, philosophers and other notable figures (classic and/or modern)	Literature	Barclay (1774); Scott (1786); Alexander (1800)
Ancient and modern History	History	Barclay (1774); Scott (1786)
** Miscellanea (unique) Value of coins	Trade	Cocker (1704)
Planets	Astrology	Cocker (1704)
Signs of the Zodiac	Astronomy	Cocker (1704)
Astrological positions	Astrology	Cocker (1704)
Weights and measures	Metrology	Cocker (1704)
Musical notation	Music	Cocker (1704)
Explanation of frontispiece	Art (Painting)	Rider (1759)

⁴⁶ Note that this is not a one-to-one correspondence (one author, one supplement), but a classification based on the different contents covered.

Contents of supplements	Disciplines	Authors
Historical account on sects	History; Religion	Anon. (1759)
A plan for the improvement of children	Education	Manson (1762)
Present state and practice of play-school	Education	Manson (1762)
Constitution, Government and Trade	History; Politics; Trade	Barclay (1774)

These contents appear either compiled together in a single supplement (as in Cocker [1704]), or in isolation, that is, in the form of monographs (Fisher [1773] or Alexander [1800]). For the sake of clarity, our typology proposal below is divided into two subsections to systematise the information into broad categories and provide an overview of the material located in our study corpus.⁴⁷

3.3.1 Hybrid or mixed supplements

This category comprises just the first two lexicographers in our study corpus: Cocker (1704) and Bailey (1730). In their supplements, they gather information from several disciplines without specifying any criterion on the title pages or prefaces, or before the supplements proper, that may give a hint to the modern reader about the rationale behind their selection.

In fact, Cocker's 1704 supplement, this time called "An Historical Poetical Dictionary", variously contains anthroponyms (e.g. "Jerome or Hierome, a Father of the Church, Translater of the Bible into Latin"); toponyms ("Dunbar, a Town in Scotland and Ireland"); demonyms ("Gallego, an Inhabitant of Galicia in Spain"); topographical names ("Dale, i.e. a plain next the Sea"; "Kelnsey, in Yorkshire, i.e. a Town near the Water"); emblematic place names ("St Germain, a Pallace like Windsor, in France"); mythological characters ("Ancæus, the Son of Neptune, slain by a wild Boar"); or historical figures ("Cicero, a Famous Roman Orator and Philosopher"; "Gummilda, who killed herself for grief, that her Husband Asmond King of Denmark was slain in Battle"). The entries are either followed by etymological explanations ("Judith, a Woman's name, i.e. praising Heb.") or (pseudo-)historical remarks of encyclopaedic character ("Justinian, Emperor of Rome, who first reduced the Civil

⁴⁷ The diversity arising out of the authors' style, choices and (non-)linguistic biases requires much more space to be fully systematised and described. We offer here a broad-brush description based on a preliminary analysis of the material.

Law into Pandects and Cedes”; “Jocasta, Daughter of Creon King of Crete, who after the Death of her Husband, unknowingly Married Oedipus her own Son”).

Likewise, Bailey (1730) presents an appended supplement entitled “An Alphabetical Table of the Names of Persons and Places in Great Britain, With their several Etymologies”, whose format is that of a dictionary within a dictionary, rather than a table strictly speaking. Here, the lexicographer mixes anthroponyms (“Grosvenor [of *le gros veneur*, F. i.e. a great hunter], a surname”); toponyms (“Cisbury [q. the borough of king Cissa, a king of the South-Saxons, who built a military fort near it] a town in Sussex”); or emblematic buildings (“Picts-Wall, a famous wall anciently built by the Romans on the northern bounds of England to hinder the incursions of the Picts and Scots”, or “Queen’s College [in Oxford] was so named from queen Philippa, wife to king Edward III, being founded by Robert Eggesfield her chaplain, A.D. 1340”). As a rule, Bailey offers concise encyclopaedic information in no more than three–five lines, and the entries are frequently cross-referenced to the previous or next one in the alphabetical list, as follows:

Aber [aber, C. Br. the mouth; or the fall of a brook, or a lesser water into a greater. Hence

Aberconwey [of *aber* and *conwey* in the mouth of the river Conwey] the name of a city in Caernarvonshire in Wales, built by king Edward III. out of the ruins of Caerbaen.

Aberdeen [of *aber* and *Dou* or *Dee* the river] an university and bishop’s see in Scotland.

If it is necessary to clarify the word etymon, this author introduces native letters from the Greek (“Katharine [Catharina, L. of *καζαρός*, Gr. pure], a proper name of women”) and Hebrew alphabets (see the entries for ‘Ahaziah’, ‘Baal’ or ‘Gabriel’), as well as Anglo-Saxon characters like the yogh <ȝ> (“Bridgewater [q. d. the Burȝh of one Walter, a soldier under *William the Conqueror*, who had this place given him for his service in the wars] a town in Somersetshire”) or the eth <ð> (“Ethelwold, of *æðel* and *ulph*, Sax. help] the name of the second of the Saxon monarchs”).

3.3.2 Thematic supplements

From Anon. (1759) onwards, the supplements in our study corpus are more or less thematically focused, dealing with two disciplines jointly at the most. That is, some lexicographers incorporate into a single supplement what they consider interconnected topics, like place names and market towns, or historical events and notable philosophers, for instance. However, this is not a drawback to identify the contents clearly in many of them, since the 1759–1800 lexicographers usually insert pertinent headings and subheadings to organise the supplement contents and guide the dictionary user through them.

As shown in Table 2 above, the contents most frequently covered in the thematic supplements are heathen gods, goddesses and heroes (present in nine dictionaries),⁴⁸ and place names (in seven of them),⁴⁹ closely followed by market towns and distances from London; proper names; classic authors and philosophers; English (modern) authors; and outlines of ancient and modern history. At the other end of the scale, eleven very specific supplements appear just once each in our study corpus; we have brought them together under the label ‘miscellanea’, as explained in Subsection 3.3.2.6.

3.3.2.1 Heathen gods, goddesses and heroes

Fisher’s 1773 short dictionary on “Heathen Gods and Goddesses” also deals with “the most illustrious Heroes, mentioned in Homer, Virgil, Ovid, and other ancient Poets”, as well as toponyms and other geographical names (like “Acheron, one of the infernal rivers”), natural elements (“Favonius, the western wind”) or epithets (“Fascetis, a title of Diana Taurica”). The entries in this thematic–or monograph–dictionary are relatively informative, going from just one-line brief definitions (“Labda, one of the bacchanals”, “Phosphorus, the morning star”) to more elaborated ones: “Chiron, a centaur, and a son of Saturn; he was excellently skilled in physic, & taught this art to Æsculapius; was tutor of Achilles, and after his death made the constellation Sagitarius” or “Pietas, a heathen goddess; she herself presided over the worship paid her, the duty of children towards their parents, and the tenderness of parents towards their children”.

Anon. (1785), the next lexicographer in our study corpus to incorporate “A Concise Account of the Heathen Deities”, follows the pattern of Fisher’s dictionary and likewise introduces short-to-medium-sized definitions of proper names (e.g. mythical creatures: “Daphne, a nymph beloved by Apollo”, or “Gorgons, the three daughters of Phorcus and Cete, Eurvale, Medusa and Stheno, who could change into stones those whom they looked on; Perseus slew them”); places (“Hippo'crene, a fountain at the bottom of mount Helicon, dedicated to Apollo & c.”); or epithets (“Bar'bata, a title of Venus and Fortuna”), for instance. Note that, as an innovation, this author marks where the stress of each foreign word is by vertical strokes: “Bubona, the goddess of oxen”.

However, Scott’s 1786 “A Compendious Dictionary of the Heathen Gods and Goddesses, Antient Heroes, &c.” has more elaborated and lengthy definitions, which usually comprise details on the deeds that put these figures, places or elements in the mythological sphere. He also marks each word stress:

⁴⁸ Also Cocker (1704), whose dictionary supplements were examined in Subsection 3.3.1. 50

⁴⁹ Also Cocker (1704) and Bailey (1730); cf. also Subsection 3.3.1.

Atalan'ta, the daughter of Scheneus. She was sought in marriage by several young princes; but her father would not give her to any one that could not out-run her. Hippomemes had this advantage by the help of Venus; who advised him to throw down three golden apples as they were running, which caused Atalanta to stoop to pick them up, and so he got the race.

For his part, Bentick's 1786 "A Mythological and Biographical Dictionary of the Most Remarkable Heathen Gods and Goddesses, Heroes and Philosophers, Mentioned in the Writings of the Ancients" adopts the same format as his three predecessors', yet it is the longest so far. It covers 54 pages in total, against the 27 in Fisher (1773), 9 in Anon. (1785), and 24 in Scott (1786). In the title, he uses the adjective 'biographical', thus remarking that the appendix also contains accounts of the life of figures that can explain their role in classical mythology or in history. However, at first sight, the entries are less informative than Scott's (1786). By way of illustration, see the following entries for the same item in Bentick and Scott, the immediately preceding lexicographer in our study corpus:

Fab'ula, or Fa'ble, an allegorical deity, daughter of Somnus and Nox. It is said that she married Falsehood, and is constantly employed in counterfeiting history. She is represented with a mask upon her face, and magnificently drest. (Scott 1786)

Fábula, the goddess of lies. (Bentick 1786)

In relation to Perry (1795), he is yet another exceptional case in our study corpus because he does not announce any encyclopaedic supplement on the title page or in the preface, but, at the end of the volume, one finds a ten-page appendix simply entitled "Heathen Mythology". It comes back to Fisher's direct style characterised by short definitions, at the same time as it continues the tradition of marking word stress: "Æscula'pius, the god of physic", "Euro'pa, the daughter of Agenor, who it is said was carried into Crete by Jupiter, in the form of a white bull", "Si'mis, a famous robber, killed by Hercules" or "Za'grens, a title of Bacchus".

At this point, it is relevant to comment that Jones's (1797) "Concise Account of the Heathen Deities, &c. &c." is also 10 pages long and shares most features of Perry's as to the type of definition and the inclusion of word stress. In fact, a survey of both supplements shows some content and format resemblances that point to little originality in Jones. Note, for instance, that the nineteen entries under letter 'V' are identical in both cases, and that Jones even keeps Perry's distinction between the variant graphs <v> and <u> ("Vacuna", but "Urania").

In relation to Anon. (1794), his "Concise Account of the Heathen Deities" consists of twelve pages and shares the characteristics of all the previous lexicographers mentioned in this section. The definitions are generally short and all entries are marked for word stress, as in "Cassan'dra, the daughter of Priam, endowed with the gift of prophecy by Apollo, but credited by no one" or "Ly'caon, a king of Arca-

dia”. In turn, Anon. (1796) is based on Anon. (1794) and we find the same approach to mythological characters and information.

To finish this section, Alexander’s 1800 “Heathen Mythology; or A Classical Pronouncing Dictionary” is 14 pages long⁵⁰ and, like his predecessors, emphasises the correct stressing of each word. In this case, the entries even incorporate prosodic details, as follows: “Icarus, ĭ-kā-'rūs, the son of Dædalus; who, flying with his father out of Crete into Sicily, and soaring too high, melted the wax of his wings, and fell into the Icarian sea, so called from this affair”.

3.3.2.2 Place names, market days and distances from London

Even though in Table 2 we distinguished ‘place names’ (toponyms and other geographical sites) from market towns plus distance from London, it is difficult to draw a neat line between these two in practice. Six in a row of the seven lexicographers that provide a supplement on place names also add information about market towns, days and distances from London in such an intricate manner that their supplements are better understood if described as a compact whole. Fenning’s (1767) represents the sole exception to the rule above. He appends a ‘Table II’ that is just one page long and it records “An Alphabetical List of such Places as are more difficult to read and pronounce, with their proper Accent and Signification”. Each new entry in the table repeats this pattern: headword + pronunciation in brackets + definition + Biblical passage in which (s)he or it is mentioned; an example is “Cyrène, (pr. Sy-ré-ne) a City of Lybia in Africa. Acts. ii.10”.

Conversely, there is an evident change in Anon. (1785). To make the information on place names more comprehensive, this lexicographer appends a list of “the Cities, Boroughs, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales” that explicates “how far distant from London in measured Miles, and the Days on which their Markets are held”. By means of a *nota bene* (N.B.) inserted before the list itself, Anon. (1785) clarifies that “those [names] with this Mark * are Cities; those with this † are Burroughs; and the Figures denote the Miles distant from London”. These symbols are a visual resource that helps to interpret the contents of the appendix, especially by dictionary users not familiar with England’s geography, and reveals some kind of authorial awareness of their real needs. Each new entry is printed in a row, as in: “†St. Alban’s, Hertf. 21, Saturday”, “Baddow, Essex, 30, —”, or “*Bangor, Corn. 246, Wednesday”.

This same linear format is present in Anon. (1794), Anon. (1796) and Jones (1797), but they slightly modify the way of marking “Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales” by resorting to other strategies instead of symbols. In Anon. (1794) and Anon. (1796), we read that “those

⁵⁰ Alexander’s dictionary is paginated; the mythological supplement is located on pages 539–552.

marked with c. are Cities; those with b. are Boroughs ...”, as in “St. Albans, b. Hertf. 21, Satur.”, Baddow, Essex, 30, —”, or “Bangor, c. Corn. 246, Wedn.” However, in Jones we have that “those places printed in Capitals are Cities; those in Italics are Boroughs [...]”, so that, compared with Anon. (1785), Jones refers to “*St. Alban’s*, Hertf. 21, Saturday”, “Baddow, Essex, 30, —”, and “BANGOR, Corn. 246, Wednesday”. As an extra addendum, Jones attaches a final table entitled “England is divided into fifty-two Counties or Shires; there are forty in England properly so called, and twelve in the Principality of Wales”. The information is displayed in two columns, under the headings “Counties” (e.g. Northumberland) and “Chief Cities, and Rivers” (“Newcastle upon Tyne”).

Again, similarly to Anon.’s (1785) proposal, Bentick’s adds “An Alphabetical List of the Cities, Boroughs, Market Towns, and remarkable Villages in England and Wales” and also inserts a note on usage before the appendix. However, the list is organised in separate columns as follows: “The first Column contains the Names of Places; the second, the County they are in; the third, the Days on which the Markets are held; and the fourth, their Distances in Measured Miles from London.—Those marked * send Members to Parliament”. This latter information on territorial political representation is not recorded by Anon. (1785; 1794; 1796) or Jones (1797), nor announced by Bentick himself on the title page, the preface or the appendix title.

Finally, Perry’s 1795 supplement on place names is not original, but displays a mixed approach that presents an identical *N.B.* to that in Anon.’s (1785) chorography and nundinography, even using the same symbols to distinguish cities and boroughs, while the disposition of contents in four columns is the one found in Bentick (1786).

3.3.2.3 Personal names⁵¹

According to Swanepoel (2003: 50), the inclusion of biblical—and mythological—proper names in general English dictionaries is “based on the assumption that proper names and knowledge associated with them constitute a part of the lexical knowledge of language-users”. Therefore, and to make this information more relevant to a given discourse community, lexicographers usually restrict proper names to those that refer to “persons, places and incidents typical of the history or culture of the ethnic group or nation whose language is being described in the dictionary” (Swanepoel 2003: 51).

⁵¹ To the exclusion of Cocker (1704) and Bailey (1730), dealt with in Subsection 3.3.1. above. Note that some other authors, like Fisher (1773) or Anon. (1785), also insert a supplement on Christian names, ordered alphabetically and marked for stress to guide dictionary users in the correct pronunciation of each one. But they do not offer historical, etymological or cultural information on each name as Anonymous (1759) and Fenning (1767) do, so their supplements must be considered essentially linguistic.

This same tendency is seen in our study corpus, in which Old and New Testament names are given considerable weight.⁵² Even though he mentioned it neither on the title page nor in the preface to the dictionary, Anon. (1759) now specifies which proper names of men are included in his first prefixed supplement: “A Table of the most usual proper Names of Men, especially those that are recorded in the Holy Scriptures, with their Significations”. The mention of the Holy Scriptures does not appear in the second table, devoted to proper names of women. In both cases, Anon. (1759) offers etymological and/or historical details: e.g. “Anthony. Gr. Flourishing” vs. “Hannah. Hb. Gracious; the mother of Samuel the Prophet”.

For his part, Fenning (1767) incorporates in Table I “An Alphabetical List of the most eminent Men in the Old and New Testament, with their proper Accent, Pronunciation and Signification”. The table is divided in three columns per page to organise the information as follows: the first one includes the proper name (“Aaron”); the second, a brief etymological explanation or characterisation (“a teacher [lofty]”); and the third, the Biblical passage in which (s)he is mentioned (“Exod. iv. 14”).

3.3.2.4 ‘Men of Learning and Genius’: Classic and modern authors⁵³

According to Starnes (1940: 34), it is likely that “the best illustration of the relationship of literature to the dictionary in the Renaissance is found in the biographical matter which the dictionaries contain”. Such a link between dictionaries and literature is still observed in our eighteenth-century study corpus, to a different scale, insofar as some lexicographers reunite key figures in the field of classical and modern literature to give them relevance in the literary heritage. Indeed, the lists of men of learning and genius in our study corpus are inserted in a period in which the accounts of lives “were published in a variety of forms, either separately or more often as parts of other works: in funeral sermons, as prefaces to posthumous collected editions, as characters in memoirs or histories, or as collections of individuals grouped by particular religious denomination, institutional or professional affiliation” (Rivers 2001: 136–137). Precisely this later kind of grouping, by professional affiliation and, likewise, by their individual contributions to arts and sciences, is observed in our study corpus.

In Barclay (1774), we find two separate lists; one of “Grecian and Roman Classic Authors” (two pages long), and another on “most celebrated English Authors”. In relation to the classical authors, Barclay inserts a *nota bene* to indicate how to

⁵² However, Marconi (1990: 77) remarks that “proper names do not occur in modern dictionaries, or anyway not in the main list”.

⁵³ Unlike the four lexicographers in this section, others like Barlow (1772–1773) opted for including encyclopaedic information in the A–Z entry section proper, not outside it in separate appendices. Cf. Section 1 above.

interpret the information the supplement contains, as follows: “By the Dates is implied the Time when the following Writers died; but when that Period happens not to be known, the Age in which they lived is signified by L. The names in *Italic* are those who have given the best English Translations, exclusive of School Books”. There is a distinction between “Before Christ” and “After Christ” (by means of column headings) that extends up to the early Middle Ages, visually arranged as a vertical timeline. The information appears in this order: (*ca.*) date—name + definition + modern authors mentioning him + further details (if pertinent). The first entry corresponds to “907—Homer, the first profane writer and Greek poet, flourished. Pope. Hesiod, the Greek poet, supposed to live near the time of Homer. Cooke”, whereas the last one is “529—Præopius, of Cæsarea, the Roman historian. Holcroft”.

By contrast, Barclay’s 1774 list of the “most celebrated English Authors” focuses on notable “After Christ” figures in the literary field and other scientific disciplines, going from “735—Bede, a priest of Northumberland; history of the Saxons, Scots, & c.” to “1773—Philip, Earl of Chesterfield, essays, letters, politics, and poems”. In this case, the information consists of a minimal biographical note followed by his literary achievements, or the discipline in which the author was outstanding (e.g. “1727—Sir Isaac Newton, Lincolnshire, mathematics, geometry, astronomy, optics”).

Scott (1786) continues the tradition in Barclay (1774):⁵⁴ inserting a *nota bene* for interpretation before the list proper;⁵⁵ separating classical from modern authors; grouping them before and after Christ; and organising the information in a vertical timeline. In both cases, the list of “Men of Learning and Genius” covering the classical authors goes from 907 BC to 529 AD, and the encyclopaedic information in the entries is almost identical, to wit: Barclay’s (1774) “Diogenes Laertius, the Greek Biographer, L.” vs. Scott’s (1786) “Diogenes Laertius, the Greek, *fl.*”. However, Scott’s (1786) supplement on modern authors starts in Homer (as in Barclay’s) but finishes in 1786, the very year of the first edition of Scott’s dictionary (in Barclay, the last date was 1773). The entry corresponds to “Dr. Gilbert Stuart, Edinburgh; History of Mary Queen of the Scots, History of Reformation, on the British Constitution, &c. died Aug. 13, aged 44”. The same tradition is observed in Alexander’s 1800 supplement on “Men of Learning and Genius”, although it is preceded by an editor’s note

54 This was a habitual practice at the time, as described by Starnes (1940: 34–35): “English compilers, however, inspired by the revived interest in classical antiquity, enlarged the biographical feature, and introduced freely brief lives of poets, orators, statesmen, warriors, philosophers, theologians, and religious leaders. In the larger dictionaries from the time of Elyot to the end of the seventeenth century the biographical element abounds; and one reads repeatedly the familiar anecdotes, the personal details, the witty replies of such persons as Agesilaus, Archelaus, Cato, Diogenes, Plato, Aristotle, Caesar, Cicero, Pompey, Phocion, Pericles, and a host of others”.

55 Scott’s (1786) *nota bene* is shorter and it states that “By the Dates is implied the Time when the Writers died; but when that Period happens not to be known, the Age in which they flourished is signified by *fl.*”

to justify a rupture, or lack of consistency, in the dictionary: “The following List of Learned Men was inserted during the absence of the Author, which will account for the omission of the accented or pronouncing words”. In this list, there is also a distinction between “Before Christ” and “After Christ” up to the early Middle Ages, and the order of the information in each entry differs slightly to “name + definition + modern authors mentioning him + (*ca.*) date of death”. The list opens with “Homer, the first profane writer, and Greek poet, flourished—Pope, Cowper—907 [BC]” and “Procopius of Cæsarea, the Roman historian—Holcroft —529 [AD]” closes it, just as in the two previous lexicographers’ supplements. As a sort of colophon, the editor also adds a paragraph to report on and criticise the forced loss of literary patrimony:

Eere [*sic*] ends the illustrious list of ancient, or as they are styled, Classic authors, for whom mankind are indebted to Greece and Rome, those two great theatres of human glory; but it will ever be regretted, that a small part only of their writings have come to our hands. This was owing to the barbarous policy of those fierce illiterate pagans, who, in the fifth century, subverted the Roman empire, and in which practices they were joined soon after by the Saracens, or followers of Mahomet. Constantinople had alone escaped the ravages of the Barbarians; and to the few literati who sheltered themselves within its walls, is chiefly owing the preservation of those valuable remains of antiquity. To learning, civility, and refinement, succeeded worse than Gothic ignorance—the superstition and buffoonery of the church of Rome: Europe therefore produces few names worthy of record, during the space of thousand years; a period which historians, with great propriety, denominate the dark or Gothic ages. (Alexander 1800: 554)

Alexander’s “Men of Learning and Genius” supplement continues by introducing notable figures in England, in chronological order (AD). Before the list itself, Alexander (or, more probably, his editor) inserts a note on the crucial role of the printing press for the flourishing and development of intellectual curiosity:

The invention of printing contributed to the revival of learning in the sixteenth century, from which memorable æra a race of men have sprung up in a new soil, France, Germany, and Britain; who, if they do not exceed, at least equal, the greatest geniuses of antiquity. Those of England have the reputation of the first rank, with some of whose names we shall finish our list. (Alexander 1800: 555)

Such a list goes back to Bede, “a priest of Northumberland, History of the Saxons & c.” but ends much earlier than Barclay’s (1774) and Scott’s (1786) supplements, that is, in “John Gay, Exeter; poems, fables and eleven dramatic pieces—1732”. In this case, the information consists of a minimal biographical note followed by the work in which he is mentioned, or the disciplines for which he is a well-known figure at the close of the eighteenth century. Another closing note is found at the end of this list. This time, it is not an original piece, but a verbatim reproduction of Barclay’s *N.B.* that explained how to interpret the supplement information.

3.3.2.5 Outlines of ancient and modern history

Barclay (1774) is the first to introduce this kind of supplement that, according to him, includes “a chronological series of Remarkable Events, Discoveries and Inventions, from the Creation to the Present Time ...”. This outline is ten pages long and has the same format as the one explained for classical and modern authors above, adopting the format of a modern vertical timeline. It extends from 1004 BC, when “The creation of the world, and Adam and Eve” took place, up to AD 1773, when “Captain Phipps is sent to explore the North Pole ...” and “The Jesuits were expelled from the Pope’s dominions”.

Scott’s 1786 “A Table of Remarkable Occurrences and a List of Celebrated Writers, from the Creation to the Present Time” is quite similar to Barclay (1774) as well. It extends from 1004 BC (the time of “The Creation of the World, and of Adam and Eve”), but continues up to AD 1785 when “Mr. Lunardi ascended in an air balloon from the Artillery-ground, Moorfields, the first attempt of the kind in England, Sept. 15. Ascended at Edinburgh”.

3.3.2.6 Miscellanea

Cocker’s 1704 dictionary includes an appended supplement on the “Value of the Coins, that are now Currant in Europe, and some other Parts of the World”. He justifies the importance of this information for the reader since, as mentioned in the preface by the editor (Hawkins) “Money is so Material in Trade, and the Principal Design of all Commerce being to obtain the same”. He organises the information in equivalence tables where the values of foreign coins are compared either to the English ones or to gold pieces.⁵⁶ Cocker also included some concise supplements based on visual cues, inasmuch as these included the symbols used by astronomers to represent the seven celestial bodies visible to the naked eye (e.g. “Mars ♂, ☉ Sol, Venus ♀”); the twelve signs of the Zodiac (“♋ Cancer, ♌ Leo”) and some astrological aspects (“△ Trine”); marks and letters by which apothecaries express weights and measures (“gr. a grain”; “ʒ, a dram”); and three symbols for musical notation (corresponding to “semibreve”, “minim” and “crotchet”).

Rider’s dictionary (1759) does not have prefixed or appended supplements in the strict sense, yet it opens with an “Explanation of the Frontispiece to Rider’s Dictionary, Which is now Printing in Weekly Numbers”. Even though the information is not encyclopaedic *stricto sensu*, this kind of foreword serves a didactic function, insofar as it describes the metaphorical meanings of the images engraved and portrays a story of Britannia, which is entertaining to the dictionary user (the same end that lexicographers like Bailey [1730] or Scott [1786] assign to their supplements).

⁵⁶ Unlike Cocker (1704), Barclay’s dictionary, published in 1774, sixty years later, does not present monetary equivalence tables (“Jewish coins reduced to English Money” or “Values and Properties of the French Coins”) in a final appendix, but as illustrations accompanying the word entry ‘coin’.

Manson's (1762) two prefixed supplements [1) "A Plan for the Improvement of Children in Virtue and Learning, without the Use of the Rod"; and 2) "The present State and Practice of the Play-School in Belfast"] are introduced straightforwardly, without any consideration or information on the purpose they both have in the overall work. In the first case, Manson gives parents and tutors some guidelines on how to educate children with patience and benevolence, so that obstinacy, crying and other misbehaviour can be redressed. And, in the second, Manson describes the reality of eighteenth-century playschools in Belfast, explaining how daily tasks are carried out, the kind of children they receive, and the teaching methodology generally implemented, for instance.

Finally, Barclay's 1774 prefixed sketch on the "Constitution, Trade and Government of England" sets down the current situation of these central political pillars in the country. Barclay's account provides an overall picture of it by succinctly tackling the following topics: a) An introduction to the state-of-the-art; b) The constitution of the ecclesiastical government and courts; c) The Parliament of Great Britain; d) The Court of Justice; and e) Trade and Navigation.

4 Concluding remarks

In the dictionaries selected for our study corpus, we have identified 36 different encyclopaedic supplements in total, either prefixed or appended to the A–Z entry section, covering diverse contents and disciplines of interest to potential eighteenth-century end-users. The practice of including linguistic and extra-linguistic addenda to dictionaries, and to other normative works like English grammars, was not innovative in this historical period, yet it gained momentum probably because of the unprecedented blossoming of Encyclopaedism across Western Europe. The more comprehensive a general English dictionary was, the more valuable and profitable it could become for distinct discourse communities: learners of English, the "youth" in general, fair ladies and women, traders and navigators, to name a few of the explicit groups mentioned on the title pages and in the prefaces examined.

Being able to reach the highest number of readers possible also meant success in terms of sales and revenues. Apart from lexicographers themselves, the editorial and publishing market of eighteenth-century England also benefited greatly from the ready acceptance of dictionaries among the general public, so that the design of appealing and descriptive title pages, where the presence of supplements was announced, was a common marketing strategy. Hyperbolic adjectives in the titles like "complete" (Fenning 1767), "universal" (Rider 1759) or "accurate" (Fisher 1773), as well as phrases emphasising the currency of the dictionary content (*A new English dictionary*, Anon. 1759; *Sheridan improved*, Jones ²1797) and supplements ("The present State and Practice of the Play-School in Belfast", in Manson [1762]) were a fre-

quent recourse to enhance the quality and all-embracing nature of the dictionary, on the one hand, and to achieve a positive appraisal from the critics, other experts and the general public, on the other. This way, thoughtful title pages and prefaces by dictionary-makers put into practice the classical rhetorical technique of *captatio benevolentiae*, which aimed to capture the goodwill, or favourable predisposition, of the public towards the discourse presented (in this case, in the form of a written text for general reference). Besides, the idea of inclusiveness seems to have permeated in eighteenth-century dictionary-makers and compilers who, like their predecessors in the history of lexicography, admitted that some of their contributions to the discipline were not “an original performance” (Scott 1786), but closely on the path of other coeval, even earlier, dictionaries. However, this derivative tradition also suggests a certain degree of homogeneity in the practice of eighteenth-century dictionary-making.

Although we have not addressed the linguistic addenda incorporated into these dictionaries here, it is likely that combining them with extra-linguistic supplements helped lexicographers make their works more attractive to a wider audience, as Fisher (1773) overtly wished in the preface. Supplements, therefore, were an added value to the dictionary itself and provided the user with extra information that could serve a variety of educational, informative, enlightening or simply entertaining purposes. In fact, some authors inserted comments somewhere in the dictionary to guide the reader as to the practical usage of the encyclopaedic supplement, going from learning how to pronounce classical names, better understanding and enjoying literary masterpieces, to having reliable details about market days or correctly interpreting symbols from the Zodiac or marks used to weigh medicinal products. Precisely because of that tendency to reproduce both dictionary supplement contents, especially evident from the 1770s onwards in our study corpus, readers might have expected that general English dictionaries were more than merely linguistic—or lexicographical—reference works, to the point of serving for more extensive consultation on particularly relevant topics. Thus, if acquiring a dictionary meant having all information at hand in a single work, was not the investment worthy?

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Olga E. Frolova and Roderick McConchie

Printed English dictionaries in the National Library of Russia to the mid-seventeenth century

Abstract: Collectors, whether individuals, libraries or other institutions have a variety of motives in acquiring books. Books may also pass through several hands over time. We examine the collection of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English dictionaries amassed by the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg, attempting to trace the ownership of the various copies through time and space. Provenances are rarely complete, but something of interest can be gleaned from the book-plates, signatures, stamps, and other indications found in this collection.

Keywords: National Library of Russia, collections, provenance, Załusky, ownership

1 Introduction

Among its multitudinous collection of early printed works, the National Library of Russia in St Petersburg (henceforth NLR) holds a number of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century English dictionaries, seventeen of which pre-date 1650. Although it seems that this accumulation was come by piecemeal rather than by design, the fact that there are a number of sixteenth-century dictionaries in the library and a much larger number published in the seventeenth century does invite the question of how they were acquired and from what sources.

It is important to distinguish between an edition or an issue of a dictionary and the actual copies held in a collection. Consideration of the latter, and an account of whatever marginalia, signatures, marks of ownership, dates and places, as well as book-plates and stamps are to be found may shed some light on these questions. David Pearson provides a wealth of information and guidance in such matters.¹ Kisseleva (2004) suggests the potential for such an approach, and Frolova has already published a series of articles on copies of several sixteenth-century English works held by the library.

Given the variety of provenance the dictionary items display, the NLR's English lexicographical works as a whole should be described as an accumulation rather than a collection. While it is quite impressive in itself given that it has never specialised either in English or in dictionaries, the sheer number of such works does how-

¹ For a summary introduction, Pearson 2008, chapter 4; for an exhaustive account, Pearson 1994.

ever have to be seen in the context of, say, the library's collection of forty-one sixteenth-century Calepines.

The NLR's collection has generally been acquired from many sources, including private, public, and monastic and ecclesiastical libraries, much of it through the work of enthusiastic collectors. By far the largest individual source is the massive accumulation acquired by Andrzej-Stanisław Żałuski (1695–1758) and his brother Józef-Andrzej (1702–1774), Polish politicians, churchmen and bibliophiles who amassed a huge library in Warsaw in the mid to late 18th century, one of the largest in Europe at that period (see Korolev: 1). This library, which became Poland's first public library in 1747, eventually contained over 400,000 volumes. Part of the collection was seized by Russian troops on the orders of Katherine the Great in 1794 following the second partition of Poland (1793) and the Kościuszko uprising. This collection was then transferred to St Petersburg, where it became a part of the foreign stock of the Imperial Public Library (now the NLR). Since the Żałuskis used to leave their notes and marks on the title pages and fly-leaves of their books, identifying works from that collection is usually straightforward.

Other sources of the collection include the bibliophile and diplomat Piotr Dubrovsky (1754–1816), who was an energetic acquirer of materials for the library, and the military engineer Jan Pieter van Suchtelen (1751–1836) who, although he was born in the Netherlands, became a well-known Russian soldier and diplomat (for van Suchtelen, see Lankhorst 1998). Further sources include a number of Polish religious houses.

The most interesting point about this accumulation of dictionaries then is not that it is coherent or was planned, but that the traces of ownership and location left on them are so heterodox. The collecting of the Żałuskis was seemingly not closely planned in any case, apart from the desire to collect as much as possible. It does seem that they had no qualms about acquiring multiple copies and broken sets, for instance. Their agents elsewhere in Europe apparently bought what they could when they could, although it is possible that they employed mass purchasing in order to obtain particular editions, rarities, and so on, and there were certainly inquiries after particular books. Even popes were not beyond being importuned for books. An edition of the letters of Pope Clement XIV appeared in England in 1777, includes the following remark in a letter of July 9, 1755 in which the Pope apologises for failing to find a particular volume: “what work is there which you have not dragged from its concealment? There is not a book in the world which does not owe you homage, or can escape your search” (1777: I, 230). Where it can be established, English dictionaries might thus describe a very circuitous route to St Petersburg, as we shall see.

2 The dictionaries

The early NLR English dictionary holdings are:

- Cooper, Thomas (1552): *Bibliotheca Eliotæ: Elyot's dictionarie the second tyme enriched & more perfectly corrected by Th. Cooper*. 4°. London: Thomas Berthelet.
- Howlet, Richard (1572): *HVLOETS Dictionarie, newelye corrected, amended, set in order and enlarged, With many names of men, tovvnes, beastes, foules, fishes, trees, shrubbes, herbes, frutes, places, instrumentes &c. And in eche place fit phrases, gathered out of the best Latin authors. Also the Frenche thereunto annexed, by vvhich you may finde the Latin or Frenche, Of anye Englishe woorde you will. By John Higgins late student in Oxeforde*. Higgins, John (ed.) 2°. London: Tho. Marshe.
- Cooper, Thomas (1578): *Thesaurus linguæ Romanæ et Britannicæ*. 4°. London: Arnold Hatfield for Edward Blount. ZAL²
- Baret, John (1580): *An alvearie or quadruple dictionarie, containing foure sundrie tongues: namelie, English, Latine, Greeke, & French. Newlie enriched with varietie of wordes, phrases, prouerbs, and diuers lightsome obseruations of grammar*. 4°. Londini: Excudebat Henricus Denhamus typographus, Gulielmi Seresij vnicus assignatus. ZAL
- Morel, Guillaume (1583): *Verborvm Latinorvm cvm Graecis Anglicisqve conivnctorum, locupletissimi commentarij: ad elaboratum Gvilielmi Morellii Parisiensis, Regij in Græcis typographi archetypum accuratissimè excusi, novaqve vocvm passim insertarvm accessione adaucti, vt stellulæ, quæ singulis lucent paginis, indicabunt. Consvltis, praeter ditissima aliorvm dictionaria, viuus etiam nonnullorum doctorum vocibus, quò Anglica versio perspicua magis sit, fructuosiór ad communem studiosorum vsu emânet. Quid vtilitatis in his commentariis contineatvr, quæque conscribendi eos ratio à primo authore inita sit, ipsius Morellii præfatione studiosi facilimè percipient*. Londini: In ædibus Henrici Bynnemani, per assignationem. 2°. [London]: Richardi Huttoni. ZAL
- Perceval, Richard (1591): *Hispanica: Containing a grammar with a dictionarie in Spanish, English and Latine*. 4°. London: John Jackson for Richard Watkins
- Florio, John (1598): *A worlde of wordes, or most copious, and exact dictionarie in Italian and English, collected by Ioh Florio*. 2°. London: Arnold Hatfield for Edw. Blount. ZAL
- Rider, John (1612): *Bibliotheca scholastic*. 4°. Oxoniæ: Joseph Barnes.
- Minsheu, John (1617): *The guide in the tongues. By the studie, industrie, and at the charges of John Minsheu. Published and Printed*. 2°. Londini: Apud Joannem Browne.

² From the Załuski library.

- Minsheu, John (1617): *A most copious Spanish dictionarie, with Latine and English ... By the studie, industrie, and at the charges of Iohn Minsheu*. Londini: [William Stansby and Eliot's Court Press].
- Withals, John (1616): *A dictionarie in English and Latine ... At first set forth by M. Withals, with phrases both rhythmical and proverbial ... by Dr. Evans; after by Abr. Fleming: and then by William Clerk*. 8°. London: Thomas Purfoot.
- Minsheu, John (1623): *A dictionary in Spanish and English: first published into the English tongue by Ric. Percivale Gent. Now enlarged and amplified ... All done by John Minsheu Professor of Langhages in London*. Petit folio or quarto? London: John Haviland for William Aspley. ZAL
- Spelman, Henry (1626): *Henrici Spelmanni ... archaeologus in modum glossarii*. 2°. Londini: Apud Ioannem Beale. ZAL
- Minsheu, John (1627): *Minshaei emendatio, vel à mendis expurgatio, seu augmentatio sui ductoris in linguas, the guide into tongues*. 2°. London: Iohn Haviland. ZAL
- Cotgrave, Randle (1632): *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues. Compiled by Randle Cotgrave. Wherevnto is also annexed a most copious dictionarie, of the English set before the French consists of two parts*. London: Adam Islip.
- [Cockeram, Henry] (1639): *The English dictionarie: or An Interpreter of hard English words by H.C. Gent*. 8°. London: T. Cotes for Thomas Weaver. ZAL
- Rider, John (1640): *Riders dictionarie, corrected and augmented ... by Francis Holyoke*. 8°. London: Felix Kingston for Edward Whitaker.

By definition, all of the sixteenth-century dictionaries published in England are bilingual or multilingual. The earliest such work held by the NLR is the second revision of the dictionary of Thomas Elyot by Thomas Cooper (1517–92) in 1552. This revision was the edition previous to Cooper staking his claim to full rights in the work with the appearance under his own name of *Thesaurus linguae romanæ et britannicæ* printed by Henry Wykes for Thomas Berthelet in 1565. This work proved popular, being republished in 1573, 1578, 1584, and 1587, before being superseded by the dictionaries of Thomas Thomas and John Rider into the 1590s.

Elyot's dictionary itself, first published by Thomas Berthelet in 1538 as *The dictionary of syr Thomas Elyot*, and subsequently known subsequently as *Bibliotheca Eliotæ*, was the originator of a long and influential line of humanist dictionaries in England intended for the advanced user and the classical scholar.³ English had no dictionary before Elyot which could complement those composed for schoolboys, and which were so often little more than glossaries or extensions of the vulgaria tradition of Latin workbooks for use in school, such as those by William Horman and John Stanbridge. Neither had it a dictionary of quality comparable to the conti-

³ Professor Gabriele Stein has recently published a comprehensive monograph on Elyot's career as a lexicographer (Stein 2014).

mental works by Ambrogio Calepino (Calepinus) (first published as *Cornucopia* 1502), the Greek-Latin *Thesaurus linguae latinae* 1532 by Robert Estienne (Robertus Stephanus), or, later, even that by Johannes Scapula (1580), an abridgement of Henri Estienne's later, monumental Greek-Latin work, *Thesaurus Graecæ linguæ*, published in Geneva in 1572.

The NLR's copy of the *Bibliotheca Eliotæ* is in quarto or petit folio and lacks the title page, so that provenance information may well have vanished along with it. This work is dedicated to Walter Haddon, the eighth President of Magdalen College, Oxford, 1552–1554: “Eximio Viro D. Haddonno Mvsaei Magdalensis Apud Oxonienses, præsi” (A2^r). (“To the excellent man of the muses, Master Haddon, President of Magdalen in Oxford”), appropriately enough since Cooper taught at Magdalen. Haddon was a civil lawyer, and mostly associated with Cambridge—his tenure in Oxford was both short and controversial, the means of his appointment having been challenged. Cooper, however, had a life-long association with Oxford, having been born there. He became a permanent fellow of Magdalen in 1540, but resigned in 1545. He became Master of the Magdalen School, originally founded to train College choristers, in 1549. At the top of the same page there is a typical Załuski manuscript note “Cooperi Thes. Lex Lat Angl”. There are some other notes and underlinings by Załuski on this page indicating that the Załuskis acquired this copy after the loss of the title page. The NLR copy has a brown calf leather binding in the “cottage” style (English work, approximately the second half of the seventeenth century). At the end of the volume there are three blank leaves, one of which contains numerous manuscript notes in Latin in two different hands.

The next dictionary chronologically is the revision by John Higgins of Richard Howlet's *Abcedarium anglico latinum, pro tyrunculis*, a work which first appeared in 1552. This volume is not from the Załuski collection. This impressive folio seems to have been designed for teaching purposes, but is too large and too expensive for this purpose or market. Little is known of Howlet's life (see McConchie 2007). John Higgins, the reviser, was known as a poet, translator, and linguist. His interest in French probably explains the addition of that language to Howlet's work. The title-border of Higgins's revision is every bit as grand as that used in the first edition, a title-border that first appeared in 1551 in a Bible published by John Day (see McConchie 2007: 47). Higgins's title-border, a copy of a continental original, was used twice before appearing on Howlet's dictionary, and was last used in 1618, having appeared meanwhile on a number of musical publications (McKerrow/Ferguson 1932: no. 132).

A Latin “Liber ad lectorem” in praise of Higgins's efforts and claiming the attention of the book's potential users was printed on the title-page rather than among the other liminary poems. Likewise, a verse in English on the virtues of writing rather than doing nothing appears in the upper central roundel of the frame, and another in a factotum in the pediment of the frame. A hand-written note, apparently reading “Desporly” in a much later hand appears on the upper right corner of the

title page; we have no explanation for this inscription thus far. The binding, of the sixteenth or early seventeenth century and possibly French or Spanish, is in coloured leather stamped with six monograms under a ducal crown, thus far unidentified and possibly unidentifiable. There are several notes in brown pencil at the beginning of the text.

Baret's *Alvearie*, first published in 1573, is a significant work from several points of view, not least because we are told something of the way it was compiled, and because it has complex typography designed to enhance the value and readability of the work, which is in advance of the typography of most English dictionaries of this period (see McConchie 2017). The NLR has a copy of the second edition, that of 1580. This volume is signed by two people. The first is the scholar and poet Joseph Beaumont (1616–1699), who became the 30th Master of Peterhouse in Cambridge in 1663, after having been Master of Jesus College. Peterhouse had been his original college as an undergraduate. Several inscriptions by him are present: on the title-page, “Josi. Beaumont”, and on A3^r “Jos. Beaumont S.Petri”. A third inscription, the motto “Omnia vanitas”, appears on the title-page in the same hand. The other is a large, scrawling signature on the flyleaf, “E Libris Caroli, S. P. C.”, where “S. P. C.” represents Peterhouse, sometimes called St. Peter's College, left by his son, Charles Beaumont, who had the Master's Lodge built for his own use in 1702 and bequeathed it to the college in 1727, and who also may well be the Mr. Charles Beaumont of Cambridge who appears among the subscribers to both John Harris's *Lexicon Technicum* of 1704 and to John Spencer's *De legibus Hebræorum ritualibus et earum rationibus, libri quatuor* of 1727, in which he is described as “D. D. late of Cambridge” in the list of subscribers.

A change in the printing of dictionaries in England occurred when the publisher Henry Bynneman was granted a patent on the publication of dictionaries in 1580, the same year the second edition of Baret appeared.⁴ He had already published England's first rhyming dictionary: *Manipulus vocabulorum: A dictonarie of English and Latine wordes*, 1570, compiled by Peter Levins, and a modest French-English work possibly compiled by Lucas Harrison, its publisher. Having obtained his dictionary patent, Bynneman now published Claudius Hollyband's *The treasure of the French tong* of 1580.⁵ Jean Crespin's *Lexicon Graecolatinum* of 1581 and a further edition of Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae & Britannicae* in 1584.

Bynneman died in 1583, however, and the 1584 Cooper must have been completed by Henry Denham, with whom Bynneman had worked for many years (McKerrow 1910: 60). The patent then passed to Denham (see Clegg 2013: 48; Greg 1956: 100). It does not seem then that he profited enormously by the grant of this patent, and by the time Rider's *Bibliotheca scholastica* (1589) and Thomas Thomas's

⁴ His patent included chronicles and histories as well.

⁵ For more on Hollyband and his dictionary, see Stein, this volume.

Dictionarium linguae latinae et anglicanae (1587) appear, they are published by John Barnes in Oxford and Thomas himself in Cambridge

The next NLR volume, the *Verborvm Latinorvm cvm Graecis Anglicisque conivntorum, conjuntorum, locupletiss. commentarii* by Guillaume Morel (1505–1564) was published in London in 1583, having first appeared in Paris in 1558. Morel was a distinguished printer and publisher who also produced a history of philosophy.⁶ Richard Hutton edited this trilingual dictionary, replacing the French entries with English ones. This sole edition is dedicated to Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, and carries a dedicatory verse by Abraham Fleming.⁷ Morel's dictionary was also a major source for Thomas Thomas. Sir Christopher Hatton, to whom a number of Bynne-man's books are dedicated and who is mentioned in the privilege statement on the title page, was Bynneman's patron (Bell 2008). This copy, a Załuski item, has little to identify its ownership. It is signed on the title-page "Tho. Penyston", although the identity of the owner remains uncertain thus far. There was a Sir Thomas Penyston, Bart. (1591–1644), son of a wealthy wool merchant of the same name, who became High Sheriff of Oxfordshire and an MP, but any firm connexion between him and his family and the present volume is yet to be established. His son, also Thomas (?–1674), inherited the title. An unattributed note that "This booke cost 9/8" appears at the top of the title-page as well.⁸

The NLR also holds copies of two English-vernacular-English dictionaries dating from the late sixteenth century, the first being Richard Perceval's *Bibliotheca Hispanica: containing a grammar with a dictionarie in Spanish, English and Latine* of 1591 and the second John Florio's *A worlde of wordes*, printed by Arnold Hatfield for Edward Blount in 1598. The Spanish dictionary by Perceval (c.1558–1620) was augmented through the assistance of Thomas Doyley, who himself had compiled a Spanish dictionary, but had generously decided not to publish knowing that Perceval's was in preparation. The volume itself also typifies the kind of chain of ownership which may be encountered when owners and others leave their traces—to judge by the notes and signatures its owners have left, this book appears, conjecturally, to have passed through the hands of Elizabeth Cecil, Robert Cecil, the poet and divine John Donne (see Pearson 2007–2016), Henry King (1592–1669), bishop of Chichester who amassed a substantial library (Pearson 2007–2016: s. v. King family), the Chichester Cathedral library, and the poet and writer Charles Cotton (1630–1687).⁹ Since Cotton was insolvent when he died and his creditors became the beneficiaries of his estate, it seems reasonable to assume that his books were sold about

⁶ For more on Morel, see Santinello, Giovanni and Blackwell 1993: 86–87.

⁷ The title page ascription reads "Cantebrigi: Ex officina Thomae Thomasii, incltyt academi tytopographi. Extant Londini apud Richardum Boyle ad insigne Rosy in Coemeterio D. Paulis, [1587]." Boyle was a known printer of puritan works in London. See McKerrow 1910.

⁸ Several candidate John Penystons appear in the archival resources.

⁹ Not mentioned in Pearson 2007–2016.

this time, possibly as an escheat library. This appears to be a direct and unbroken ownership chain up to this point.

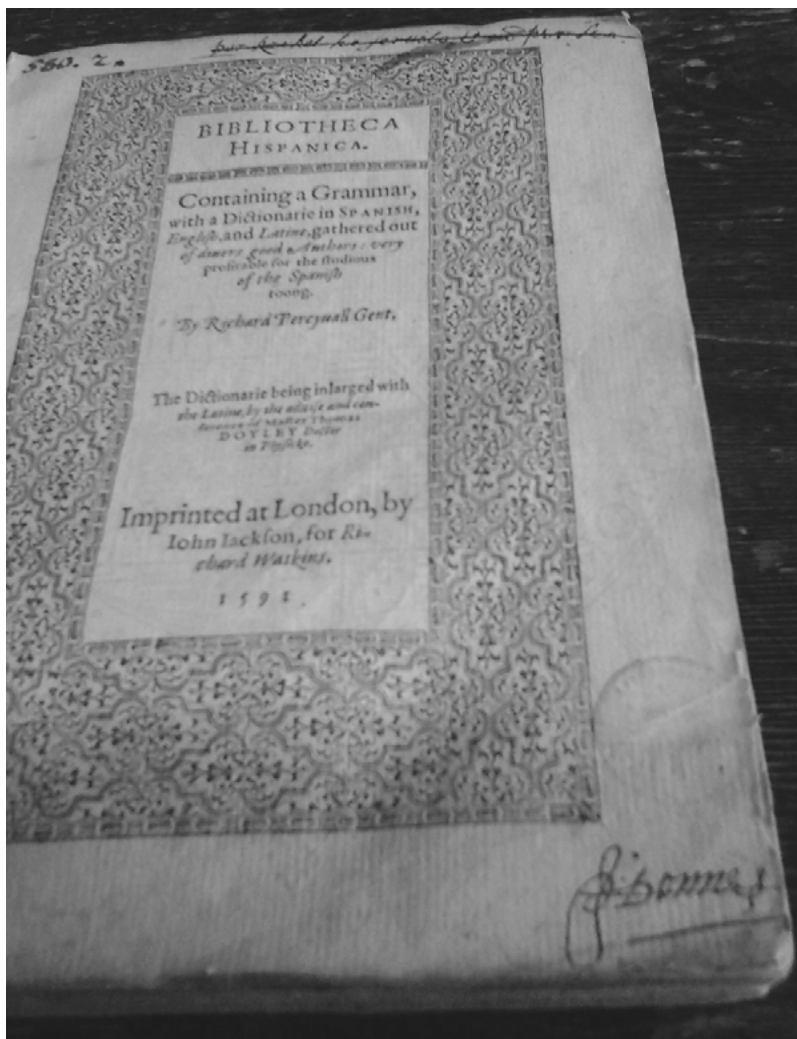


Figure 1. Perceval *Bibliotheca Hispanica*: John Donne's signature (bottom) and his motto (top; struck through)

Given me by my dear Sister Mrs
Anne King Part of the Bishop of Chi-
chesters Library & once in Books of
Doctor Donne Deane of St Pauls.

Charles Cotton.

Figure 2. Perceval *Bibliotheca Hispanica*: The inscription by Charles Cotton

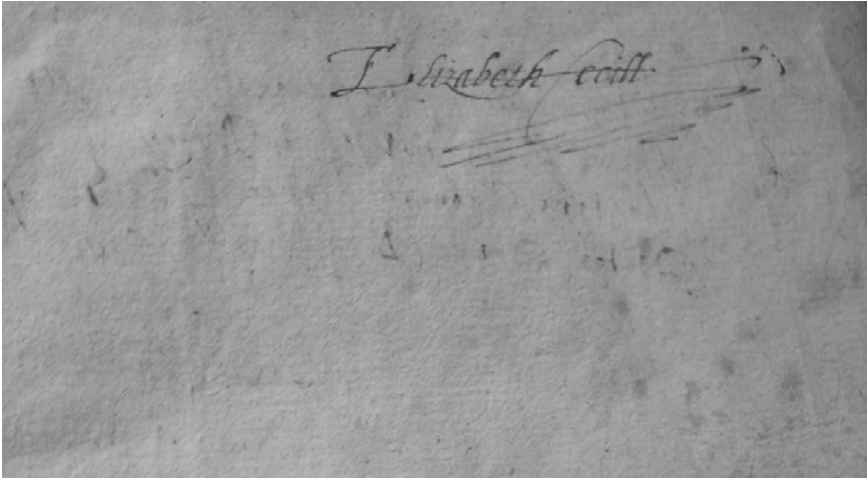


Figure 3. Perceval *Bibliotheca Hispanica*: Elizabeth Cecil's signature



Figure 4. Perceval *Bibliotheca Hispanica*: the Göttingen University Library stamps

It appears next on the Continent in the possession of the University of Göttingen, and then goes to the Imperial Library at the Hermitage before reaching its present location. Clearly there may be gaps in this latter chain of transmission, and there may of course be other owners and sellers who have left no trace. The various owners of this work who have left quite a lot behind them have however been most helpful. Possibly the first was John Donne (1572–1631), who has left his signature “J Donne”, on the title-page. Further information is supplied by Charles Cotton on the front free end paper: “Given mee by my dear sister Mrs Anna King out of the Bishop of Chichesters Library, and once a Book of Doctor Donne of St Pauls. Charles Cotton”. Donne’s signature is known from other volumes, such as a copy of Ovid’s *Metamorphoses* which was published in Cambridge in 1584 and signed by Donne (see St. John’s College Cambridge 2014).¹⁰ The NLR volume also bears the signature of Elizabeth Cecil. Anne King was the sister of Henry King, Bishop of Chichester, and a well-known poet. King was also a co-executor of Donne’s estate (see Beal n.d.; Larmine 2005). Elizabeth Cecil may be the wife of Robert Cecil, the younger son of the first Lord Burghley. The Perceval dictionary is also inscribed with Donne’s motto “Per Rachel ho servito e non per Lea” taken from Petrarch’s *Canzoniere* (206.55), and referring to Genesis 29 (see Pearson 1998: 26; Redpath 2009: 47). The Perceval volume also has two stamps of the Georg-August University of Göttingen, one of which shows that the volume was disposed of as a duplicate (“DUPL BIBL GOTT VEND”), as well as the St. Petersburg Imperial Foreign Library’s bookplate. The other stamp reads “EX BIBLIOTHECA ACAD GEORGIÆ AUGUSTÆ”. The manuscript handwritten accessions records of the Göttingen library show that one copy of Perceval was bought in The Hague in April 1747 and the other was purchased from the bookseller Thomas Osborne in London in 1757. There is no way now of knowing which one was the duplicate for disposal.¹¹

Donne had expended some effort in learning modern languages, including Spanish, as a young man. It seems possible that he was in Robert Cecil’s employ in 1598, which could explain his possession of this volume (Redpath 2009: 7). Donne and King were close friends, and it seems that King was the editor of the posthumous edition of Donne’s poems of 1633 (Hobbs 2008).

The next dictionary in the NLR in the scholarly humanist tradition is John Rider’s *Bibliotheca scholastica*, the first edition of which appeared in 1589, although the NLR copy is a rather later edition published in Oxford in 1612. This work had claimed on its title page that it was

¹⁰ On this volume, see Dubyanskaya, 1989; see also http://www.joh.cam.ac.uk/library/special_collections/early_books/pix/provenance/donne/donne.htm and Keynes 1977. A number of books owned by Donne remain in the Chichester Cathedral library (Hobbs 2008).

¹¹ Our thanks to Cornelia Pfordt, Head of Historic Printed Collections at the Georg-August-Universität for this information.

A Double Dictionarie, Penned for all those that would haue within short space the vse of the Latin tongue, either to speake, or write. Verie profitable and necessarie for Scholers, Courtiers, Lawyers and the Clarkes, Apprentices of London, Traveliers, Factors for marchants, and briefly for all Discontinuers within her Maiesties Realmes of England and Ireland.

This was not strictly true, since it was rather a Latin-English dictionary with an index. The work had been published again in 1606, revised by the irascible rector of Southam in Warwickshire and lexicographer Francis Holyoke (1566x73–1653), who was also responsible for the second revision (and third edition), held by the NLR. The dictionary was published repeatedly down to the 1670s, the final edition being prepared by Holyoke's son Charles (McConchie 2008). It also proved to be influential, being used as a model by at least two other C17 English/vernacular lexicographers, Mark Ridley (Russian) in the 1590s, who, while he was a physician to Tsar Feodor I, assembled a manuscript Russian-English/English-Russian dictionary, and later Ristead Pliuncéad (Richard Plunkett; Irish), though the works of these two men both remained unpublished. Pliuncéad also used another dictionary, that by Thomas Thomas, the *Dictionarium linguæ Latinæ et Anglicanæ* of 1587. Rider's work plagiarized Thomas extensively, and it is curious that only as late as 1617 was a suit for plagiarism brought against Holyoake by Thomas's executors. The NLR also holds a later copy of this work, which was again revised by Holyoke. This one appeared in 1640, but the copy offers the user no indication of provenance or ownership. It has an eighteenth-century leather binding, possibly of French origin, which suggests that its route to St Petersburg was indirect.

A particularly influential volume is by John Florio (1553–1625), the son of Michael Angelo Florio, an expatriate Italian reformist preacher who arrived in London in 1550 and eventually turned to tutoring in Italian as a career. His son John took up the same career, as well as publishing works designed to teach Italian, called *Florio his first frutes* and *Florios second frutes*, copies of which are also held by the NLR, as well as his collection of proverbs. Florio's dictionary, *A worlde of wordes*, is an exceptionally rich source of vocabulary in both languages, and has been extensively used by the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary*.

One noteworthy point about the printing of Florio's works is that both the first and second fruits as well as *A worlde of wordes* all used the same title-border, despite a change in publisher after the first two, presumably for reasons of perceived continuity. The dictionary was printed by Arnold Hatfield for Edward Blunt. As was common practice, the title-border was also used for other works, including John Knewstubb's *The lectvres vpon the twentieth [sic] chapter of Exodus*, 1579, printed by Thomas Woodcocke, but it was also associated with dictionaries, having been first used for Lucas Harrison's *A dictionarie French and English* (1571) (McKerrow/Ferguson 1932: no. 133). The NLR copy of the second fruits is very heavily annotated on the front end papers, and has some marginalia inside, apparently in Latin and Italian.

Of particular interest is that the copy of *Worlde of wordes*, from the Załuski Library, also has copious marginalia throughout in a small neat hand in English but with many Italian words noted. This copy appears to represent a rare glimpse into the workings of an early modern lexicographer (see McConchie 2013). The marginalia in *Worlde of words* usually have a citation reference with them, and show every sign of having been systematically organised. They run right through the dictionary, follow a similar and consistent format, and are in the same hand. They thus appear to represent a set of additions to the dictionary, possibly a completed stage in the revision process. The majority do in fact appear in Florio's later edition (Florio 1611), even the exclusions being systematic, which naturally raises the question of who wrote them. A recent article suggests that it was not Florio himself, but that, since they are principled and consistent, they may be the work of an amanuensis working for Florio (see McConchie 2013). Florio's early hand was described as "ragged", but the hand in this NLR copy is quite neat (Woudhuysen 1996: 112).

An English-Latin school dictionary by John Withals first appeared in 1553, published by Thomas Berthelet under the title *A shorte dictionarie for yonge begynners*. It was arranged under subject headings rather like the *vulgaria*, not an alphabetical dictionary, a convenient disposition for class learning; as Withals puts it, "a thyng written by me to induce children to the latine tonge" (Aii'). This proved to be a popular work, going through a number of editions into the seventeenth century. It is essentially a topical dictionary or nomenclator (see Hüllen 1999), conveniently modest given its intended market. By the time of the 1616 edition, contributions have been made by others, including William Clerk, (fl. 1599–1608) and Lewis Evans, (fl. 1574). Abraham Fleming (1562?–1607), also identified on the title-page, was an editor, corrector and reviser who worked for a number of London publishing houses in the 1570s and 1580s. His work also included several dictionaries, such as the second edition of Baret's *Alvearie* (1580), Jean Veron's *A dictionarie in Latine and English* (1584), and *The nomenclator* by Hadrianus Junius (1585). His role in the revision and production of dictionaries in this period remains to be investigated. His name continued to appear on the title-pages of the later editions of this work. The NLR copy is from the Załuski library, bearing their manuscript notes on the title page. It also has the nineteenth-century stamp of the Imperial Public library on the title page. The handwritten name "Bulwer" appears at the top of the title page, but there is little else to help establish a provenance. The seventeenth-century brown calf leather binding is English.

There is a surprisingly rich accumulation of works by the polyglot lexicographer, John Minsheu (1560–1627). Minsheu apparently had no university education, and travelled extensively, eventually teaching languages in London. His Spanish-English dictionary and the grammar and dialogues he prepared were evidently intended as a set. The first English book to have been printed by subscription is John Minsheu's magnum opus, the eleven-language polyglot dictionary, *The guide into tongues* of 1617, although the publishing history of the work and the separate sub-

scription list is still in dispute (see Norman 2016). This was the first occasion on which the headwords in a polyglot dictionary, a tradition going back to the early sixteenth century, had been in English. This work, along with *A most copious Spanish dictionarie, with Latine and English*, also published in 1617, are both held by the NLR, in whose copy these two dictionaries are bound together in a brown suede calf binding with a gilded heraldic bookstamp of James I on both covers. There are also traces of clasps and of the gilded stamped frame along the borders of both covers. The volume includes a subscription list, presumably bound into the volume later, since it contains more names than the earliest list (Minsheu 1617–1620).¹² The list of subscribers exists in a number of variants.

It is known that after the foundation of the British Museum library at the end of the 18th century, the books from the Old Royal Library were incorporated into its stock and some were sold as duplicates during a series of sales, the last of which took place in 1832. The NLR copy was acquired by John Verney, esquire of Alexton (Leicestershire), whose bookplate appears on the fly-leaf, possibly through such a sale. A bookplate, probably dating back to the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, may be that recorded as Franks 30324 (Gambier Howe 1903–1904), since it bears the inscription of John Peyto Verney, 14th Baron of Willoughby de Broke in Warwickshire, who died in 1816. Another John Peyto Verney, also Baron of Willoughby, lived from 1773–1820 (see Franks 30325, Gambier Howe 1903–1904), but the six-way quartering of the shield suggests the other John Verney (see Gambier Howe 1903–1904, vol. 3). There is no information on how this copy got to the Imperial Public library in St. Petersburg either.



Figure 5. John Peyto Verney's book-plate

¹² Lacking access to all the various copies of this list, we are unable to place this one with any confidence. It does contain a larger number of Oxford and Cambridge subscribers on the verso.

A second copy of Minsheu, the edition printed in London by John Haviland in 1627 of *Minshaei emendatio ... The guide into tongues* bound alone this time, came from the Załuski library, and has typical handwritten notes by Józef Andrzej on the title page. The binding is very simple, nineteenth-century cardboard. The third volume is a complete set consisting of all three works by Minsheu: *A dictionary in Spanish and English* (1623), *A Spanish grammar first collected and published by Richard Percivale Gent. Now augmented and enlarged ... by John Minsheu*, and *Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English* (1623), this volume being from 1623, and incorporating their stamp and notes by Andrzej Załuski on the title page. The volume is bound in contemporary brown leather. There are also inscriptions on the title page by Alexandre Gouley of Rouen (Rothomagens), a book collector of the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, and a “Michell”, thus far unidentified. The NLR also owns a separately bound copy of Minsheu’s *Pleasant and delightful dialogues in Spanish and English*, originally a part of Minsheu’s *A dictionary in Spanish and English* of 1623 with separate pagination but continuous registration, as the ESTC points out.

The NLR has two copies of Henry Spelman’s *Archaeologus in modum glossarii* of 1626. Spelman (1581–1641) was a historian and antiquarian with an interest in the law, who undertook to record the obscure and difficult terms in the legal and ecclesiastical domains. The provenance of the first copy cannot be determined with any great certainty, since there is nothing on the title page, but it does have the manuscript note “John Hunt his book” on B1’, and there are notes in his handwriting on the previous page as well. This copy has a seventeenth-century brown leather binding, and has the typical Załuski notes on the title-page. The second belonged to the Warsaw Lyceum, a Polish secondary educational establishment which existed from 1804 to 1831 under the Kingdoms of Prussia and Poland successively and owed its original existence to attempts to Germanize Poland since Warsaw had become part of East Prussia after the Third Partition of Poland in 1795. The books from this library have the monogram LV on the title page, as the NLR copy does. There are also a considerable number of inscriptions on the title page, such as “Ric. Stanley 1633”, and “Broyton 1656” (or “Boyton”), which offer some hints as to previous owners. Richard Stanley may have had some connexion with the Earls of Derby, but this must remain conjecture. Broyton (possibly a by-form of Bryton or Broughton) is impossible to place without further evidence. At the top left, “credo, spero” appears, probably part of the familiar “credo, spero, amo” motto (‘I believe, I hope, I love’). Other inscriptions are indecipherable.

A dictionarie of the French and English tongues. Compiled by Randle Cotgrave. Wherevnto is also annexed a most copious dictionarie, of the English set before the French by Randle Cotgrave consists of two parts, both announced on the title page. The first one contains the French-English dictionary by Cotgrave which only has foliation at the bottom from B1 to Mmmm6 and “Briefe Directions for such as desire to learne the French Tongue”, which have separate foliation at the top from Fols. 1

to 10, which are not leaves but pages in reality, and the continued foliation at the bottom of Nnnn6. The second, companion part, which has its separate title page and foliation at the bottom, consists of the English-French dictionary by Robert Sherwood (fl. 1622–1634), about whom little is known aside from his printed works. This volume has a seventeenth-century binding of brown leather with the title in gold on the spine. The bookplate of the Imperial Hermitage Foreign library appears on the fly-leaf, the volume having been transferred to the Imperial Public Library in the mid nineteenth century by the order of Emperor Nicholas I. The NLR also holds an edition of Cotgrave from 1650.

The last dictionary to be discussed here is *The English dictionarie: or An interpreter of hard English words* by H. C. Gent, which appeared in London in 1639. The NLR has two copies of this work, which is a later edition of the third monolingual dictionary, published by Henry Cockeram, which first appeared in 1623, and was frequently reprinted in the succeeding years. The NLR copy only has a signature by Załuski on the top of the title page, and an unexplained number at the author line, probably 98 or 18.

Needless to say, the collection does not end at about 1650, but the number of works to cover becomes too large for a preliminary survey such as this. The NLR also holds *The new world of English words*; a 1658 edition of Cockeram's *The English dictionary*; Sir Henry Spelman's *Glossarium archaiologicum* issued posthumously in 1664, as well as the edition of 1687; Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* of 1670; Elisha Coles's English-Latin dictionary of 1677 and his English dictionary of 1692. There are also two editions of Francis Gouldman's *A copious dictionary*, 1664 and 1678, and Stephen Skinner's *Etymologicon* of 1671. A late seventeenth-century edition of a dictionary is William Walker's *A dictionary of English and Latin idioms* of 1690 which is missing the Latin title-page, a work which first appeared in 1670 and had reached its sixth edition by 1712.

3 Conclusion

Looking at the provenance of the volumes covered here is rather like looking at a picture through the holes of a sieve, with disconnected glimpses only, but a few tentative conclusions do emerge. These books have come through many hands and through several countries to get to the NLR. As far as can be seen, there are no volumes which share even a part of that trajectory, coming, say, from the same original collection before some were brought into a shared Załuski connexion via their extensive trawling for books. Other NLR books than dictionaries may relate to some of them and have followed the same path, but this is research which remains to be done.

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Giovanni lamartino

“A hundred visions and revisions”: Malone’s annotations to Johnson’s *Dictionary*

Abstract: This chapter deals with an annotated copy of Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary of the English Language*. Between 1808 and 1811, Edmond Malone, the Shakespearian scholar and a member of Johnson’s literary club, added nearly three thousand notes to his copy of the *Dictionary* (now in the British Library) as his tribute to the importance of his friend’s extraordinary achievement and his personal contribution to improving on it. The chapter focusses on the A-E section of the *Dictionary* and the annotations found there (approximately, 20% of the total), and provides a qualitative analysis of them by discussing in turn new entries and new definitions penned by Malone, added quotations to already existing entries, new and revised etymologies, and miscellaneous notes. This is meant to show how research on early annotated copies of the *Dictionary*—a still neglected area in Johnsonian studies—may highlight educated dictionary users’ viewpoints, thus offering present-day researchers reliable and interesting data on the way Johnson’s lexicographical achievement was received by the cultural élite of his times.

Keywords: Samuel Johnson, Edmond Malone, annotations in dictionaries, early reception of Johnson’s dictionary

1 Introduction

Every other authour may aspire to praise; the lexicographer can only hope to escape reproach, and even this negative recompence has been yet granted to very few. (Kolb & DeMaria 2005:73)

As is well known, this remark is from the second paragraph in Samuel Johnson’s Preface to his *Dictionary of the English language*; a few lines above Johnson had included “the writer of dictionaries” among those “unhappy mortals” whose cruel fate is “to be exposed to censure, without hope of praise”. The conclusion of the Preface struck a similar, but a more personal and even gloomier note in its rhetorically perfect final sentence:

I have protracted my work till most of those whom I wished to please, have sunk into the grave, and success and miscarriage are empty sounds: I therefore dismiss it with frigid tranquillity, having little to fear or hope from censure or from praise. (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 113)

Censure and praise, nevertheless, came. In general terms, whereas most praise was vague and perfunctory, usually and simply complimenting Johnson on his marvel-

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lous achievement, unfavourable critics often led frontal attacks, magnifying the work's defects and focussing on specific weaknesses.¹

Such criticism—together with the booksellers' and Johnson's own vested interest—must have prompted him to gather material and notes for a revised edition of the *Dictionary*, which was published in 1777. Johnson described his method in the “Advertisement to this Edition”, which is worth quoting in full:

Many are the works of human industry, which to begin and finish are hardly granted to the same man. He that undertakes to compile a Dictionary, undertakes that, which, if it comprehends the full extent of his design, he knows himself unable to perform. Yet his labours, though deficient, may be useful, and with the hope of this inferior praise, he must incite his activity, and solace his weariness.

Perfection is unattainable, but nearer and nearer approaches may be made; and finding my Dictionary about to be reprinted, I have endeavoured, by a revisal, to make it less reprehensible. I will not deny that I found many parts requiring emendation, and more capable of improvement. Many faults I have corrected, some superfluities I have taken away, and some deficiencies I have supplied. I have methodised some parts that were disordered, and illuminated some that were obscure. Yet the changes or additions bear a very small proportion to the whole. The critic will now have less to object, but the student who has bought any of the former copies, needs not repent; he will not, without nice collation, perceive how they differ, and usefulness seldom depends upon little things.

For negligence or deficiency, I have perhaps not need of more apology than the nature of the work will furnish; I have left that inaccurate which never was made exact, and that imperfect which never was completed. (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 375)

Samuel Johnson's words here—when he indirectly refers to the collaborative nature of dictionary-making and the never-ending process of compiling the perfect dictionary—laid the foundations for the work of those readers and critics who, instead of denouncing the shortcomings of and mistakes in Johnson's work, tried to put them right by inserting their addenda and corrigenda into their own copy of Johnson's *Dictionary*.

In some way, and at least in one specific instance, this sort of constructive criticism and cooperative venture was explicitly stimulated by Johnson himself, if we are ready to rely on a letter that, in October 1785, i.e. ten months after Johnson's death, Sir Joshua Reynolds wrote to Andrew Strahan, the son of Johnson's printer. Strahan and his associates wanted to publish a new revised edition of Johnson's *Dictionary* to avert the danger of unauthorised editions from competing booksellers; Reynolds, who had lent Strahan Johnson's own corrected copy of the fourth edition he had himself inherited from the lexicographer, suggested to Strahan that he should use one further annotated copy of his late friend's work:

¹ The early critical reception of Johnson's *Dictionary* has long been the object of many an essay: see among others Rypins (1925) and Noyes (1954–55).

As without doubt you wish to make this New Edition of Johnson’s Dicty, as complete as possible, I take the liberty of acquainting you, that Mr. Dyer a friend of Dr. Johnson’s had by the Doctor’s desire made notes, explanations and corrections of words to be used, in a future edition; for this purpose the Dictionary was divided into four folio volumes, with a certain number of blank leaves at the end of each volume. Mr. Ed. Burke (who was likewise an intimate friend of Dyer) is in possession of those volumes, I mentioned to him that I believed you would be glad to have the use of them for your New Edition, to which he readily consented. If you think this worth your attention I will desire Mr. Burke to send them to Town. (Hilles 1929: 140–141)²

Although Strahan did not adopt Reynold’s suggestion, the letter makes clear the historical and lexicographical relevance of Samuel Dyer’s notes, made at Johnson’s desire by a long-standing friend, highly respected for his profound scholarly knowledge and unassuming character by all the members of Johnson’s Literary Club. Dyer had died in 1772: his annotated copy of the Dictionary had passed to Edmund Burke, who in time added his own notes and, more importantly in the present context, made this copy available to another annotator of Johnson’s *Dictionary*, Edmund Malone.³

2 Malone’s annotated copy

Edmond Malone (174–1812), of course, is best known as a Shakespearian scholar and an editor of Shakespeare’s works. When the death of his father in 1774 assured him an income, he dropped his job as a lawyer in Dublin, and went to London to live the life of a scholar. He soon came to know Samuel Johnson, but he had to wait until 1782 to be admitted to the Literary Club, just two years before Johnson’s death. He was of great assistance to James Boswell in revising and proofreading the latter’s *Life of Johnson*, four of the later editions of which he annotated.⁴

It comes as no surprise, then, that he was particularly interested in Johnson’s *Dictionary*, and that the scholarly and philological approach he had long been taking to the study of Shakespearian and early modern literature might be applied to the *Dictionary* as well. Still, one can hardly agree with Malone’s biographer, Peter

2 This is from Letter XCIII of 23 October 1785. The same letter is referred to and commented on in Sledd & Kolb (1955: 128) and Reddick (1990: 8, 176).

3 Dyer’s and Burke’s notes are edited and commented on in Iamartino (1995). I contend that annotated copies of the *Dictionary* represent a still neglected, undervalued research area in Johnsonian studies, and undeservedly so, since they may both furnish detailed lexicographical criticism and represent privileged dictionary users’ viewpoints, and can therefore offer us reliable and interesting data on the way Johnson’s lexicographical achievement was received by the cultural élite of his times. A preliminary survey of copies of the *Dictionary* with early annotations is to be published by John Considine.

4 Martin (1995) is the latest biography of Malone’s life.

Martin, when he writes that Malone planned “a new, correct, and expanded edition of the *Dictionary*” (Martin 1995: 264); indeed, Martin’s book itself highlights that this and other tasks that Malone decided to carry out in the first decade of the 19th century were somehow a lame excuse for not completing his new octavo edition of Shakespeare’s works, which was still unfinished at the time of his death in 1812 (and was to be published under the editorship of James Boswell the younger in 1821).

Whether Malone intended to edit the *Dictionary* or not, his immediate aim is very clear, i.e. to counter the steady corruption of the *Dictionary* by greedy booksellers since Johnson’s death. He used the three-volume Dublin quarto edition of 1775, the last one that in his view was correctly printed, and more or less systematically annotated all three volumes, between November 1808 and 1811: nearly 3000 notes are included in his copy, which is now in the British Library (shelf-mark: BL C.45.f.9–11).

On the flyleaves of the first volume Malone jotted down the following remarks that can help contextualize his work as an annotator:

The sixth edition was published both in folio and quarto, in 1785, after the author’s death.

The tenth edition of this work was published by the London Booksellers in 4to in Nov. 1810, pr. £.5–S.5–D.0, probably more incorrect than any of the preceding.

Each of these editions, we may be certain, has accumulated errors of the press; and the booksellers, whose chief object is profit, have rendered the latter editions much less valuable than this early one, by abridgement or suppression, in order to bring the work into a smaller compass. Thus, to the examples, they have in late editions subjoined Bible, instead of the particular part of the Sacred Writings, as Isaiah, Proverbs, &c and Shakspeare, to the example taken from his works, instead of the particular play. E. M.

One striking proof of the corruptions which have been introduced, may be found under ache.

More material is given in these pages: a short section entitled “English Idioms” where some idiomatic expressions are given in illustrative quotations; and a list of 16 “Moderns quoted”, i.e. contemporary writers quoted in as many entries.⁵ Leaving aside some less relevant observations, three passages refer in one way or another to the making of the *Dictionary*. Firstly, a quotation from Hester Lynch Piozzi’s *Anecdotes of the late Samuel Johnson* highlights that Johnson excluded from his list of authorities worth quoting “writers dangerous to religion or morality”:

⁵ Notoriously, Johnson had written in the Preface: “My purpose was to admit no testimony of living authours, that I might not be misled by partiality, and that none of my cotemporaries might have reason to complain; nor have I departed from this resolution, but when some performance of uncommon excellence excited my veneration, when my memory supplied me, from late books, with an example that was wanting, or when my heart, in the tenderness of friendship, solicited admission for a favourite name.” (Kolb & DeMaria 2005:95).

D^r Johnson rejected every authority for a word in his Dictionary that could only be gleaned from writers dangerous to religion or morality. “I would not (said he) send people to look for words in a book, that by such a casual seizure of the mind might chance to mislead it for ever.” (*Anecdotes of Samuel Johnson*, by Hester Lynch Piozzi)⁶

Secondly, a mention is made of Herbert Croft, who wrote the *Life* of Edward Young included in Samuel Johnson’s *Lives of the poets*; in 1788 Croft addressed a letter to William Pitt on the subject of a new dictionary, although nothing came out of it:⁷

Mr Croft, a very self-sufficient and conceited writer, asserts, that this Dictionary contains about forty eight thousand words of which more than 15000 are not illustrated by examples. He published Proposals in 1792 for a new edition of Johnson’s works with great improvements, but it has never appeared; and the proposer has lately (1797) absconded. In June 1797 his books were sold by auction.

Thirdly and finally, Malone mentions his own work on the *Dictionary* and the help he got from Dyer’s notes:

In this copy I have inserted a great number of additional words and examples, omitted by Dr Johnson. E. Malone

For the greater part of the Manuscript Observations I am answerable: those to which D is subscribed, were written by Samuel Dyer, the principal author of Junius. E. M.

To be more precise, and to do justice to Dyer’s work, a careful check of Malone’s use of Dyer’s annotations reveals that Malone copies or adapts 173 notes by Dyer (out of a total of 237), but only one third of the occurrences are marked by a D. Nevertheless, as Johnson mentions Dyer while discussing the etymology of the word UGLY,⁸ Malone pens the following two sentences, the first in the margin and the second at the foot of the page:

All the MS remarks inserted in the margin<s> of this Copy & signed D. were written by this gentleman.

Mr Samuel Dyer, a member of the Literary Club, of whom Sir Jn Hawkins has given a most false and injurious character, dictated by the most diabolical malice. See his *Life of Johnson*.⁹

⁶ Malone’s quotation here is from Lynch Piozzi (1786: 182).

⁷ See William P. Courtney & Rebecca Mills’s entry on Sir Herbert Croft (1751–1816), in the online *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, <https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/6718>.

⁸ “This word was antiently written *ougly*; whence Mr. *Dier* ingeniously deduces it from *ouphlike*; that is, like an *ouph*, *elf*, or *goblin*. In Saxon *oga* is terrour; and in *ogan* is to fear.” (Johnson 1755: s.v. UGLY).

⁹ Here Malone refers to Hawkins (1787: 222–232).

3 Malone's annotations

While a full edition of Edmond Malone's annotations is being prepared by the present writer, this essay focuses on the 529 annotations which cover the A-E section of the *Dictionary* and roughly correspond to 20% of the total. A qualitative analysis of this representative corpus shows that the data can be organized under four main categories: new entries and new definitions; added quotations (and related information) to existing entries; new or revised etymologies; and miscellaneous notes. Of course, each single annotation may exemplify more than one category.¹⁰

3.1 New entries and definitions

This category includes the largest number of items in the corpus: 144 new entries, 8 of which were copied from or inspired by Dyer's notes, and 75 new definitions, 13 of which also derive from Dyer in one way or another.

The entry ARCHNESS, added by Malone, shows that he tried to improve upon Johnson's *Dictionary* by making it a more coherent whole; since the word *archness* had been used in order to define SHREWDNESS ("n.s. [...] 1. Sly cunning; archness. [...] 2. Mischievousness; petulance."), Johnson should have given it its own entry, and Malone is ready to provide it:

- (1) EM: ARCHNESS: n.s. [from arch] Shrewdness; sly humour, without malice. See Shrewdness, where Johnson has introduced this word tho' he forgot it here

Malone's exploitation of Samuel Dyer's notes shows both his dependence on and manipulation of the available material:

- (2) SD: ALP. A mountain. V. Wachter: "O'er many a frozen, many a fiery Alp." Milton.
EM: ALP: n.s. a mountain. O'er many a frozen, many fiery alp. Milton

¹⁰ In the following sections, the initials SJ will introduce the excerpts from Johnson's *Dictionary* (only what is pertinent to the discussion, not the full entries, will be quoted); SD, Dyer's manuscript annotations as edited and listed in the appendix to lamartino (1995: 232–245); and EM, Malone's manuscript annotations. These are reproduced in this essay as they are found in the dictionary copy, formal inconsistencies in capitalization, punctuation etc. included. Only minor editorial changes are systematically made: unlike Malone's practice, no word is underlined and his entry-words are reproduced in block letters; conjectural emendations are between angle brackets, and illegible handwriting is replaced by [***].

- (3) SD: ANEAL. To anoint, to perform extreme unction, from ye French Enhuiler, which signifies ye same thing.
EM: TO ANELE: v.a. From ele, sax. oil. To give extreme unction. Unhousel’d, disappointed, unanel’d. Hamlet
- (4) SD: ARGUTENESS. [From Argute]. Subtlety, acuteness: “Seneca tickles you by starts with his Arguteness, Plutarch pleases you for continuance with his propriety.” Dryden’s *Life of Plutarch*.
EM: ARGUTENESS: Subtlety, neatness of expression. Dryden, *Life of Plutarch*
- (5) SD: BILBOQUET. n.s. Fr. The Toy called A Cup & Ball.
EM: BILBOQUET: n.s The toy called a cup & ball
- (6) SD: CATGUT. A string made of the intestines of animals
EM: CATGUT: n.s. 1. A string made of the intestines of animals.
2. A species of linen with wide interstices
- (7) SD: CUTLET. A Steak, & properly a Rib cut off; from Cotelette, Fr., i.e. petite Cote. Thus Swift uses ye word: “So Mutton Cutletts prime of meat.” The common use of it is improper.
EM: CUTLET: n.s. a stake; properly a rib cut off; from cotelette, Fr. i.e. petite cote. So mutton cutlets, prime of meat. Swift
- (8) SD: EMULATE. n.a. Emulating, ambitious: “Thereto prickt on by a most emulate pride.” Shak. Ham.
EM: EMULATE n.a. emulating, ambitious. Thereto prick’d on by a most emulate pride. Shakspeare Hamlet.
- (9) SD: ENTREATMENT. [Entretien, Fr.]. Conversation: “Set your entreatments at a higher rate / Than a Command to parley.” Sh. Ham.
EM: ENTREATMENTS n.s. Objects of entreaty; favours solicited.
“Set your entreatments at a higher rate.” Hamlet

In a few cases—examples 2, 5 and 8—Malone reproduces his source verbatim. More often than not, however, Malone makes slight but meaningful changes: he substitutes the etymology in 3, modifies the definition in 4 and 9, adds an additional meaning in 6, and removes the usage note in 7.

As to the new entries that Malone adds to his copy of Johnson’s *Dictionary*, what is first noticeable from a linguistic point of view is the large number of compound and derived words. To the former group belong, among others, BUM-BOAT, CONTRARY-MINDED, COPY-RIGHT and DOG-SICK:

- (10) EM: BUM-BOAT: A large clumsy boat used in carrying vegetables & liquors to a ship lying at some distance from the shore
- (11) EM: CONTRARY-MINDED: Adj. of a contrary way of thinking. For the example, see to defy. MS in marg.
- (12) EM: COPY-RIGHT: n.s. The property which an author or his [***] has in a literary work
- (13) EM: DOG-SICK: “He that saith, he is dog-sicke or sick as a dog meaneth, doubtlesse a sick dog” Dyers Dry Dinner, by H. Butler, 1599

To the latter group, AMBROSIACK, BALLADER, and CONSORTSHIP:

- (14) EM: AMBROSIACK: adj. (in the same sense as ambrosial[]). “Or Constablis ambrosiack Muse”—B. Jonson. Underwoods
- (15) EM: BALLADER: n.s. A maker of ballads. Donne in his Paradoxes
- (16) EM: CONSORTSHIP: State of union, or fellowship. Thus must the parent either keep her virgin, or labour for the provision of a meet consortship. Bp Hall. Cases of Conscience

Specialized lexis is particularly common among Malone’s additions, as is testified to by such examples as Accompaniment, Batter, Bell-Metal, Caricature or Catch-up:

- (17) EM: ACCOMPANIMENT: n.s. 1. A term in musick. 2. The concomitant circumstances usually attending a person or thing
- (18) EM: BATTER: n.s. [in cookery] A mixture of hog’s lard, flour and eggs, for frying fish
- (19) EM: BELL-METAL: n.s. A composition formed of a small portion of copper and a large quantity of tin
- (20) (20) EM: CARICATURE: n.s. [caricatura, Ital.] An exaggerated representation of the parts of a face so as to render the original ridiculous, without losing the resemblance

Colloquialisms and everyday words, such as All-fours or Catch-penny, are certainly less present than such learned words as, among others, to Affamish, Bovicide, Commessation and to Dissert:

- (21) EM: ALL-FOURS: n.s. 1. A game at cards. 2. the arms used together with the legs on the ground. “He went on all-fours.”
- (22) EM: CATCH-PENNY: n.s. A worthless pamphlet; merely calculated to gain a little money
- (23) EM: TO AFFAMISH: To starve “I tell thee of the hard usages of the antient eremitical Christians, of their rigorous abstinences, their affamishing meales, their nightly watchings.” Bp Hall Balm of Gilead
- (24) EM: BOVICIDE: n.s. A butcher. Coles. Eng. Dict.¹¹
- (25) EM: COMESSATION: n.s. [comessatio, Lat.] A nocturnal banquet, where several preassembled for the purpose of eating and drinking [...].
- (26) EM: TO DISSERT: v.n. [from disserto, Lat.] To harangue; to speak rhetorically in debate

Anyway, the most interesting examples among Malone’s additions are those new dictionary entries that reflect some sort of restricted or innovative usage: to Bolter, Duds, Cankered and Diddy exemplify provincial or regional usage; Catching-bargain and Cock-a-doodle reflect low and cant usage respectively; Chopper and Clubable, innovative usage:

- (27) EM: TO BOLTER: v.a. To begrime and clot with blood and dirt. This is a provincial word, frequently used in Warwickshire and probably in other counties. When a horse is hard ridden in dirty roads, and the hair of that part which is wounded by the spur is besmeared and clotted with blood, sweat, and dirt, he is said to be bolstered or blood-boltered. Hence Shakspeares blood-boltered in Macbeth. See my note there
- (28) EM: DUDS: n.s [without a singular] corrupted from dawds, yet used in the north of England. Small articles of lines, cloths. This word was carried over

¹¹ This example shows that Malone, in order to improve Johnson’s masterpiece, also made use of other dictionaries—an interesting detail that will systematically be dealt with in the present writer’s planned full edition of Malone’s annotations. Sotheby’s auction catalogue of Malone’s library lists the 1685 edition of Elisha Coles’s *An English dictionary* (Anon. 1818: 15) where the entry “*Bovicide, l. a Butcher*” is found.

by the English settlers to Ireland, where the lower classes still say, I must gather up my duds. See dawds (i.e. pieces) in <Gro>se's Prov. Glos.¹²

- (29) EM: CANKERED: adj. Sordid, covetous. Scotch.
- (30) EM: DIDDY: n.s. [corrupted from Titty-teton, Fr.] a woman's bubby. The word is universally used in Ireland, and probably was once common in England. See Tit and the note there
- (31) EM: CATCHING-BARGAIN: A contract wch appears honest, but is fraudulent. A low term.
- (32) EM: COCK-A-DOODLE: A cant word of uncertain meaning
- (33) EM: CHOPPER: n.s. A butcher's cleaver: now more frequently used than cleaver¹³

12 Malone refers here to Grose (1790)—which is the second edition of *A provincial glossary*— where DAWDS is defined as “Pieces. To rive aw-a-dawds; to tear all to pieces.”; DUDDS, instead, is defined as “Rags. North. Also clothes. West. A square in the centre of Stirbitch fair, where linen cloth is sold, is called the Duddery. See Gent. Mag. May, 1784.” Both the first, 1787 edition of Grose's *Provincial glossary* and the later, 1811 one that Malone might have consulted only have “DUDDS. Rags. N. Also clothes. W.” and no DAWDS entry. “DUDS, clothes”, which is the only very simple entry in Grose (1785), the only dictionary by Francis Grose listed in the Sotheby's catalogue (Anon. 1818: 32).

13 This is a nice instance of the annotations by Malone that Henry Todd included verbatim in his revised edition of Johnson's *Dictionary*. In the Introduction to his edition, Todd gratefully acknowledges his debt to Malone in words that are worth quoting: “The first, and in my opinion the most important, obligation which I have to acknowledge, is to James Boswell, Esq. of the Middle Temple, the son of the biographer of Johnson, the friend of the late Edmond Malone, and a zealous promoter of the cause of literature. Among the valuable books of Mr. Malone, consigned to the care of Mr. Boswell, there was a copy of Dr. Johnson's Dictionary, interleaved, and bound in three volumes; in which Mr. Malone had “inserted a great number of additional words and examples omitted by Johnson.” With the frankness that distinguishes the real lover of learning, Mr. Boswell sent these volumes to me, of the existence of which I had not before known; allowing me, at the same time, to extract any of the observations, which Mr. Malone had made, for the purpose of the present work. The accuracy and diligence of Mr. Malone could not but render the business of examining his volumes very pleasing; nor fail to afford abundant service towards the labour in which I was employed [...] That I have omitted many of his additions, I will not conceal; that I have, in particular cases, expressly summoned him to my aid, will be obvious; and that he would not have disdained the manner in which I have adopted any of his improvements, I am persuaded.” (Todd 1818: iii).

The OED, s.v. CHOPPER, n. 2.a. quotes Todd's entry as the earliest illustration of this meaning of the word.

- (34) EM: CLUBABLE: adj. [from club—inserted by Johnson] A man suited to be member of a Club; companionable. Boswell is a very clubable man. *Life of Johnson*. IV.276. sixth ed. of 1811¹⁴

As has already been mentioned, Malone quite often adds new definitions to existing words in Johnson’s *Dictionary*. His note for to Browse shows that he was both well aware of Johnson’s methodology and ready to move away from it:

- (35) SJ: TO BROWSE. v.a. [brouser,Fr.] To eat branches, or shrubs.[...]
EM: This definition is made to suit the passage quoted, according to the method followed by Johnson throughout his *Dictionary*; but to browse does not only mean what he supposes, but also to feed on any herbage, when used in its primitive sense, or on meat when used metaphorically. “There is cold meat in the cave, will browse on that. Whilst what what [sic] we have kill’d be cook’d. *Cymbeline*. “They have scared two of my best sheep, which I fear the wolf will sooner find than the master, if any where I have them, tis by the seaside, browsing upon ivy.”

Likewise, he can correct Johnson’s definitions of Bishoprick, Cataract and to Couch (in the latter cases without acknowledging his debt to Dyer):

- (36) SJ: BISHOPRICK. n.s. [...] The diocese of a bishop; the district over which the jurisdiction of a bishop extends. [...]
EM: Literally, the kingdom of a Bishop—Everything belonging to a Bishop was princely; his diocese was his kingdom; his mansion, his palace; his seat, his throne; then he had his chancellor. M.
- (37) SJ: CATARACT. [In medicine.] A suffusion of the eye, when little clouds, motes, and flies, seem to float about in the air; when confirmed, the pupil of the eye is either wholly, or in part, covered, and shut up with a little thin skin, so that the light has no admittance. *Quincy*.
SD: CATARACT. In Medicine, ye Opacity of ye Chrystalline Humour.
EM: A cataract is in fact the opacity of the crystalline humour
- (38) SJ: TO COUCH. v.a.[...] 8.To depress the condensed crystalline humour or film that overspreads the pupil of the eye. This is improperly called couching the eye, for couching the cataract: with equal impropriety they sometimes speak of couching the patient. [...]
SD: COUCH. v.a. N°8. Not to depress a film, but to depress ye

¹⁴ The OED, s.v. CLUBBABLE / CLUBABLE, adj. mentions as its earliest illustration the same quotation from the 1791 edition of Boswell’s *Life of Johnson*: Johnson is reported to have used the word in 1783.

chrySTALLINE Humour when it is become opaque. See Cataract.

EM: To couch is to depress the crystalline humour when too opaque

In most cases, however, Malone simply adds new senses to Johnson's entry-words; these may be additional senses of polysemous everyday words, as in to Cock, to Cut, to Despatch or Doodle:

- (39) SJ: TO COCK. v.n. 1. To strut; to hold up the head, and look big, or menacing, or pert. 2. To train or use fighting cocks. [...]
EM: 3. To cocker; to indulge too much. Hence probably cockney. "Where cocking dads made sawce lads / In youth so rage, to beg in age". Tusser in his own life. p. 162
- (40) SJ: TO CUT. [...] 8. To intersect; to cross: as, one line cuts another at right angles. 9. To cut down. To fell; to hew down.[...]
EM: One of the senses of to cut, omitted. 9. To castrate. "Nero did cut a youth [Sperus] as if he would have transformed him into a woman and called him wife". Bacon, Apophthegms.8.ed.1625
- (41) SJ: TO DESPATCH. v.a. [...] 1. To send away hastily. 2. To send out of the world; to put to death. 3. To perform a business quickly [...]. 4. To conclude an affair with another. [...]
SD: To DESPATCH. v.a. To deprive: "Thus was I sleeping, by a brother's hand, / Of Life, of crown, of Queen, at once despatch'd." Sh. Ham.
EM: 5. To deprive. Thus was I sleeping, by a brother's hand, Of life, of crown, of queen, at once despatch'd. Shakspeare, Hamlet, D.
- (42) SJ: DOODLE. n.s. [...] A trifler; an idler.
EM: 2. Membrum puerile¹⁵

More often, however, technical senses are added, as in Accommodation, Address, Assurance, Budget and Determination; the last two examples in this group, to Damask and Cast, are copied from Dyer's notes although he is given his due only once:

- (43) SJ: ACCOMODATION. n.s. [...] 1. Provision of conveniences. 2. In the plural, conveniences, things requisite to ease or refreshment. 3. Adaptation, fitness; with the particle to. 4. Composition of a difference, reconciliation, adjustment. [...]
EM: See note below. Phillips in his Dict. defines this word thus:

¹⁵ It was quite common for early lexicographers to have recourse to Latin in order to define sex-related taboo words: see Iamartino (2014: 176, 178–179).

to fit happily; also to lend.¹⁶ In this last sense it is still used among money’d men who advance sums “by way of accommodation.”

- (44) SJ: ADDRESS. n.s. [...] 1. Verbal application to any one, by way of persuasion, petition. 2. Courtship. 3. Manner of addressing another. [...] 4. Skill; dexterity. 5. Manner of directing a letter; a sense chiefly mercantile. [...] EM: 6 Written application to any one, generally complimentary; as a Dedication of a work. “It is dedicated in a very elegant address; to Sir Charles Sidley.” Johnson’s *Life of Dryden*. 7 The complimentary replay of the H. of Lords & Commons to the King’s speech from the throne; or any other formal application by parl. to his Majesty.
- (45) SJ: ASSURANCE. n.s. [...] 1. Certain expectation. 2. Secure confidence; trust. 3. Freedom from doubt; certain knowledge. 4. Firmness; undoubting steadiness. 5. Confidence; want of modesty; exemption from awe or fear. 6. Freedom from vicious shame. 7. Ground of confidence; security given. 8. Spirit; intrepidity. 9. Sanguineness; readiness to hope. 10. Testimony of credit. 11. Conviction. 12. [In theology.] Security with respect to a future state; certainty of acceptance with God. 13. The same with insurance. See Insurance. [...] EM: 14. A deed whereby lands or goods are granted and assured by one man to another. Shakspeare
- (46) SJ: BUDGET. n.s. [...] 1. A bag, such as may be easily carried. 2. It is used for a store, or stock [...] EM: 3. The statement made by the Chan. of the Exch. in the House of Commons on a certain day in each session, of the finances of the kingdom, and of the ways & means of raising the revenues wanted for the ensuing year.
- (47) SJ: DETERMINATION. n.s. [...] 1. Absolute direction to a certain end. 2. The result of deliberation; conclusion formed; resolution taken. 3. Judicial decision. [...] EM: 4 End; final completion. Used only by lawyers. “From and after the determination of the said lease, &c.”
- (48) SJ: TO DAMASK. v.a. [from the noun] 1. To form flowers upon stuffs. 2. To variegate; to diversify. 3. To adorn steel-work with figures; practiced, I suppose, first at Damascus.

¹⁶ This is further evidence that Malone relied on other dictionaries in order to improve Johnson’s. The entry in Edward Phillips’s *The new world of English words* (London, 1658) is: “*To Accommodate*, (latin) to fit, or to lend.”

SD: To DAMASK. 4. To take off ye chill from wine by setting it before ye fire.

EM: 4 To take off the chill from wine by setting it before the fire. D. 5. To [***] sheets, to waste paper. M.

- (49) SJ: CAST. n.s. [from the verb] 1. The act of casting or throwing; a throw. 2. The thing thrown. 3. State of any thing cast or thrown. 4. Manner of throwing. 5. The space through which any thing is thrown. 6. A stroke; a touch. 7. Motion of the eye; direction of the eye. 8. He that squints is said popularly to have a cast with his eye. 9. The throw of dice. 10. Venture from throwing dice; chance from the fall of dice. 11. A mould; a form. 12. A shade; or tendency to any colour. 13. Exterior appearance. 14. Manner; air; mien. 15. A flight; a number of hawks dismissed from the fist. 16. [Casta, Spanish] A breed; a race; a species. [...]

SD: CAST. n.s. The act of casting metal in a mould: "And why such daily cast of brazen cannon." Shakesp. Ham.

EM: 17. The act of casting metal. And why such daily cast of brazen cannon And foreign mart for implements of war. Shakspeare Hamlet.

Finally, a number of completely new definitions can be found among Malone's notes; those listed here specify a figurative sense, a substandard one, or describe an idiom:

- (50) SJ: TO DEMOLISH. v.a. [...] To throw down buildings; to raze; to destroy. [...]
SD: TO DEMOLISH. v.a. The figurative sense is omitted.
EM: 2. In a figurative sense, to mar, to confound.
- (51) SJ: TO DISH. v.a.[...] To serve in a dish; to send up to table.[...] EM: 2. To demolish. A low cant word used by gamesters.
- (52) SJ: TO CATCH. v.a.[...] 1. To lay hold on with the hand; intimating the suddenness of the action. 2. To stop any thing flying; to receive any thing in the passage. 3. To seize any thing by pursuit. 4. To stop any thing falling. 5. To ensnare; to intangle in a snare. 6. To receive suddenly. 7. To fasten suddenly upon; to seize. 8. To seize unexpectedly. 9. To seize eagerly. 10. To please; to seize the affections; to charm. 11. To receive any contagion or disease. 12. To catch at. To endeavour suddenly to lay hold on. [...]
EM: 13. To catch a Tartar. To be caught in the trap one has laid for another: instead of taking an enemy, to be taken by him. "In this defeat they lost about 5000 men, besides those that were taken prisoners;—so that instead of catching the Tartar, they were caught themselves." Life of Rich. Talbot

Duke of Tyrconnel. 4to 1689. The phrase probably grew from some particular story.

3.2 Added quotations and related information

When it was published in 1755, Johnson’s *Dictionary* was particularly praised for the very large number of illustrative quotations documenting the real usage of words. Therefore, it was natural for such a well-read scholar as Malone to enrich Johnson’s entries with quite a few additional quotations. Almost 200 entries in the A-E section of Johnson’s *Dictionary* are provided with one or more extra quotations excerpted from no less than 99 different works or authors; of these, two will here be analysed in detail.

As is well known, the most quoted author in Johnson’s *Dictionary* is William Shakespeare; quite surprisingly, given Malone’s pre-eminent position as a Shakespearean scholar, the Bard does not come first in the list of Malone’s added quotations. Instead, the works of Bishop Joseph Hall—the renowned devotional writer, moralist, satirist and controversialist of Puritan England—take pride of place in Malone’s marginalia, with 62 quotations from 14 different works.

A number of reasons can explain Malone’s partiality for Hall. Firstly, Malone must have appreciated the bishop’s literary style: in his note about the word *CLIENTELE*, for whose usage Johnson had quoted Ben Jonson, Malone states that “It is used by a better writer than Ben Jonson—by Bishop Hall” and then copies two quotes from as many works by the bishop; and near Johnson’s proscriptive usage note on the word *LESSER*, Malone writes: “Bp Hall, in general a most correct as well as energetick writer, has fallen into this inaccuracy”, and again this is followed by a quotation. Secondly, even though fourteen different works by Bishop Hall are quoted from in Malone’s notes, most of them are taken from a book entitled *Resolutions and decisions of divers practicall cases of conscience* (Nath. Butter: London 1649), which Malone usually refers to as *Cases of con.*, sometimes followed by the date of the second edition, 1650. The mention of other works is followed by the date of the first or an early edition, as in the case of the devotional work entitled *The balm of Gilead*, first published in 1642 but often quoted from a later edition (William Hunt, London 1660); this is perfectly in line with Malone’s scholarly interests in 16th and 17th century English literature and his mania as a bibliophile. Thirdly, however, it can be argued that the very many quotes from Bishop Hall’s works in Malone’s marginalia may also depend on the fact that the first *Complete works* of Bishop Hall, edited by Josiah Pratt, were published in London in 1808, when Malone started annotating his copy of Johnson’s *Dictionary*. This hypothesis is based on the note for a new entry that Malone added to Johnson’s wordlist, where Pratt is mentioned as the author of a glossary to the bishop’s works:

- (53) EM: BELKING: (Q etymol.) What aches of the bones, what belking of the joints, what convulsions of the sinews. Bp Hall. Balm of Gilead. Probably it here means swelling; from balk, a ridge of land. M Pratt the author of a very imperfect Glossary to Bp Hall works says, it means lurking, wch cannot be the meaning.

Indeed, as an appendix to vol. 10 in Pratt's edition, a *Glossary of Such Obsolete or Unusual Words as Occur in the Ten Volumes* is found, and the entry "Belking–Lurking" is included in it.¹⁷

This hypothesis can be confirmed—albeit indirectly—by the fact that Malone made use of at least another wordlist to comment on Johnson's entries: 17 entry-words are glossed as "mentioned by P. Heylin in 1656 as an unusual word" (AMPHIBIOUS, TO ASPERSE), "enumerated by P. Heylin in 1656 in a list of uncouth & unusual words" (COMMENSURATE, COMPLACENCY), "new & uncouth in 1656. Heylin" (TO EVERT) or similar expressions. Here Malone refers to a book entitled *Observations on the historie of the reign of King Charles: Published by H.L. Esq.* [i.e. Hamon L'Estrange] for illustration of the story, and rectifying some mistakes and errors in the course thereof. This book, anonymously published in London in 1656, is attributed to Peter Heylyn (1600–1662), who appended to his book "An Alphabetical Table. Containing the uncouth and unusuall Words which are found in our Author; those which are in a different Character, being used by him in a differing sense from that which commonly they carry". This Table contains 308 words altogether, and 110 in the A-E sequence, out of which Malone chose 17.

However important the role played by glossaries and wordlists can be in providing Malone with material for his notes,¹⁸ most of them are the result of his research interests: this can be deduced from the fact that, Bishop Hall's works excepted, the largest number of quotations, 52 in the A-E section, come from Shakespeare, whose

¹⁷ The present writer's hypothesis—that Malone scanned through Pratt's glossary to select rare words in Hall's writings and use them for his notes—will be confirmed when a systematic comparison between Pratt's glossary and Malone's references to Hall's works is made for the planned full edition of the annotations. Of course, Malone may also have been influenced by the fact that Johnson probably first read the bishop's works as a young man and mentioned them in his lives of Milton, Dryden and Pope.

¹⁸ Apart from the dictionaries already mentioned in the preceding footnotes—Coles's (also s.v. TO BATTLE and DORP), Grose's, and Phillips's (also s.v. TO COY)—Malone used Randle Cotgrave's *A dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (both the first edition published by Adam Islip, London 1611, and the one revised by James Howell and published as *A French and English dictionary*, William Hunt, London 1660, s.v. ACCOSTER for TO ACCOST, DRESSÉ for DRESSER, etc.), Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (Tho. Newcomb, London 1656, s.v. TO DUN) and John Cowell's *The interpreter* (John Legate, Cambridge, 1607, s.v. CERTIORARI for CRITICK) as well as Charles Butler's *The English grammar* (the Authour, Oxford 1633) and "An Index of Woords Like and Vnlike" appended to it (see, among others, examples 67 and 85 here below).

plays he studied and worked on all his life. A review of Malone’s Shakespearian notes to Johnson’s *Dictionary* will show that Malone used the Bard’s works to serve different purposes, i.e. to specify the work a certain quotation had been taken from (BAY), to revise Johnson’s definitions (TO ACCOST), and to improve Johnson’s entries by adding illustrative examples (TO CALL, COMFORTABLE), usage notes (CRITICK), notes on spelling (DIDAPPER), new senses to Johnson’s words (BAIL, TO CIPHER), or new entries (DENOTEMENT):

- (54) SJ: BAY. n.s. In architecture, a term used to signify the magnitude of a building [...]. If this law hold in Vienna ten years, I’ll rent the fairest house in it after threepence a bay. Shakesp.
EM: Meas. for Meas.
- (55) SJ: TO ACCOST. v.a. [...] To speak to first; to address, to salute. You mistake, knight: accost her, front her, board her, woo her, assail her. Shakesp.
Twelfth Night. [...]
EM: To accost did not in Shakspeare’s time signify to speak to first, to address, or to salute and therefore this instance does not correspond with the definition. It meant to approach, to come side by side, or alongside, to come face to face. See Cotgrave in accoster. This appears from the etymology, and I have met with no example of its being used in the sense of to address or speak to, so early as Shakspeare’s time.
- (56) SJ: TO CALL. v.a. [...] 1. To name; to denominate. 2. To summon, or invite, to or from any place, thing, or person [...]
EM: And if his name be George, I’ll call him Peter. Shakspeare. K. John.
- (57) SJ: COMFORTABLE. adj. [...] 3. Dispensing comfort; having the power of giving comfort. [...]
EM: Be comfortable to my mother, your mistress. Shakspeare. A. Well
- (58) SJ: CRITICK. n.s. [...] 1. A man skilled in the art of judging of literature; a man able to distinguish the faults and beauties of writing. 2. An examiner; a judge. 3. A snarler; a carper; a caviller. 4. A censurer, a man apt to find fault. [...]
EM: The first author that I have found who used Critick in its present sense is Cowell in his Interpreter, 4to 1607: “The word, certiorari, is used diverse times in the Digest of the Civil Lawe, but our later critiques think it so barbarous, &c. In Shakspeare’s time, i.e. when Cowel wrote, it generally signified a censurer. So, in Troilus & Cress: stubborn criticks apt without a theme, For depravation.
- (59) SJ: DIDAPPER. n.s. [from dip] A bird that dives into the water.

EM: It shd be written Divedapper. So in Shakspeare's Venus and Adonis: "Upon this promise did he raise his chin / Like a divedapper peering thro' a wave"

(60) SJ: BAIL. n.s. [...] Bail is the freeing or setting at liberty one arrested or imprisoned upon action either civil or criminal, under security taken for his appearance. [...]

EM: n.s. Surety, bondsman; one who gives security for another. Let me be their bail. Titus Andronicus.

(61) SJ: TO CIPHER. v.a. [...] To write in occult characters. [...]

EM: 2. To figure at; to characterise. The face of either cipher'd either's heart. Shakspeare. Rape of Lucrece

(62) EM: DENOTEMENT. n.s. An indication. They are close denotements working from the heart that passion cannot rule. Othello

As a final comment on Malone's Shakespearian marginalia and their relation to Johnson's Dictionary, here is what the annotator wrote near Johnson's definition of *Morrow* as "The morning; the day after the present day...":

As Dr. Johnson, in his examples, had always morality in view, when a word could be illustrated by some moral sentiment, it is remarkable that he should have omitted Macbeth's Soliloquy "to morrow, and to morrow". Johnson was not very deeply read in Shakspeare in 1755, but he had published "Notes on Macbeth" in 1744.¹⁹

In a way, then, here as elsewhere Malone's painstaking effort aims at helping Johnson come up to his own standard.

3.3 New or revised etymologies

Etymology is notoriously a weak spot in Johnson's *Dictionary*. Although in his *Plan of a dictionary of the English language*, Johnson was confident that tracing the origin

¹⁹ Apart from dealing with Shakespeare, Malone edited Dryden's prose works, which were published as *The critical and miscellaneous prose works of John Dryden* (4 vols; T. Cadell, Jun. and W. Davies, London 1800); quite unsurprisingly, then, thirteen illustrative quotations from Dryden's works are found among Malone's notes on the A-E section of Johnson's *Dictionary*, s.v. ADVERT, ARGUTENESS, TO ARRIVE, BREAK, BULL, CAROUSAL, CATACHRESIS, CITTESS, COMMONPLACE, CONTRADICTION, TO CONVINCING, TO DISNEST, and EARMARK). Space does not permit listing them all here, but some of them are commented on in 3.4.

of words might “be often successfully performed by the assistance of our own etymologists” (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 40), in the Preface to the *Dictionary* he was ready to acknowledge his debt to Franciscus Junius and Stephen Skinner, but did not refrain from criticising them (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 81–83); and made wiser by his 9-years’ toil on the *Dictionary*, he admitted that “the etymology which I adopt is uncertain, and perhaps frequently erroneous” (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 99). Moreover, Allen Reddick convincingly argues that the quotations chosen by Johnson in order to illustrate the first sense of the word *etymology* itself “display an unmistakable scepticism towards the powers of etymology to determine meaning or usage” (2009: 164). And yet, information of a sort about etymology and the derivation of words had to be included in his *Dictionary*, as it had first appeared one century earlier in Thomas Blount’s *Glossographia*, had become a regular feature in the most important dictionaries preceding Johnson’s, and was consistent with his desire to carry out his job as a lexicographer “with a scholar’s reverence for antiquity, and a grammarian’s regard to the genius of our tongue” (Preface to the *Dictionary*, Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 78).

Given this context, it is hardly surprising to observe that Edmond Malone took a keen interest in Johnson’s etymologies and tried to rectify at least some of the faulty ones; as a result, ninety of his annotations in the A-E section of the *Dictionary* deal with Johnson’s etymological information.

Only some of them focus on what Johnson defines as ‘derivation’,²⁰ i.e. the process by which new words derived from already existing English ones and were not borrowed from foreign languages. Malone’s annotations here may either complement what Johnson had written (CATERWAUL, CROOKED, ANOTHERGUESS) or be an addition to the latter’s worldlist (ATCH BONE, BEARN and DUNSCOPE):

- (63) SJ: TO CATERWAUL. v.n. [from cat.] [...]
EM: and the old english verb to waul or cry: which see
- (64) SJ: CROOKED. adj. [crocher, French.] [...]
EM: It shd seem to have been originally the participle of the verb to crook
- (65) SJ: ANOTHERGUESS. adj. [This word, which though rarely used in writing, is somewhat frequent in colloquial language, I conceive to be corrupted from another guise; that is, of a different guise, or manner, or form.] [...]
EM: Perhaps corrupted from another-gates. See above.
- (66) EM: ATCH BONE [Corrupted from Natch bone a natch bone; an atch bone. So viceversa, an eyas hawk, a nias hawk. See Natch, and nias.

20 See the relevant passages in Johnson’s *Plan* and Preface (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 40, 80).

- (67) EM: BEARN. n.s. from to bear (gestare) a child. Mercy on't—A very pretty bearn Shaksp. Winters Tale Pronounced bard. See Butlers Eng. Gram. 1633 Index.
- (68) EM: DUNSCOPE. n.s. [an academick word in the college of Dublin] A hole bored through the wall of a student's chamber, whereby he can spy a dun when he comes to his door. This word is not legitimately formed being compounded of english & greek; but the latin word nomenclator is liable to a similar objection.

The above examples show Malone's critical attitude and results: he can complete (63) or amend (64–65) Johnson's etymological information, or even add new entries with their own etymological note (66–68). A few more instances of Malone's annotations will show the full range of his comments. Some of them definitely confirm or deny Johnson's etymologies:

- (69) SJ: CASH. n.s. [caisse, Fr. a chest.] [...]
EM: This etymology is certainly right: and the word originally seems to have been used in the French sense. [...]
- (70) SJ: BALUSTER. n.s. [according to du Cange, from balaustrium, low Lat. a bathing place.] [...]
EM: This is wrong. It must be derived from Balestrieria Ital. a spike hole or loop hole to shoot out at. The intervals between balusters are similar to loop holes²¹
- (71) SJ: BATTLEDOOR. n.s. [so called from door, taken for a flat board, and battle, or striking.] [...]
EM: No. from Batador, Span. a washing beatle, with which laundresses beat their linen.
- (72) SJ: BILLIARDS. n.s. without a singular. [billard, Fr. of which that language has no etymology; and therefore they probably derived from England both the play and the name; which is corrupted from balyards, yards or sticks with which a ball is driven along a table. [...]
EM: Not so; billiard is certainly from bille a ball; so compagnard, & many more.

²¹ Rather than Johnson himself, his source is criticised here. Anyway, it is to be noted that Malone's etymological hypothesis is wrong too.

Others rectify Johnson’s etymologies or provide further information:

- (73) SJ: BEVERAGE. n.s. [from *bevere*, to drink, Ital.] [...] EM: From *Buvraige*, old Fr. M.
- (74) SJ: DOLE. n.s. 5.[from *doler*.] [...] EM: From the old French *dole*.
- (75) SJ: BABBLE. n.s. [*babil*, Fr.] [...] EM: And this (The Fr. *babil*) from *balbus*, Lat. a snuffling stammerer
- (76) SJ: CAJOLERY. n.s. [*cajolerie*, Fr.] Flattery. EM: *cajolerie* or *cageolerie*, in Fr. signifies originally, at least, only prating, babbling, chattering, like a jay in a cage.
- (77) SJ: BIOGRAPHY. n.s. [*βιος* and *γραφω* [...]] EM: This word has been adopted into our language probably within a Century. Holland in his *Life of Bale*, *Heroologia*, 1620, uses the original greek—in subsequente narratione, seu *Βιογραφια*.
- (78) SJ: BRIDAL. adj. [from *bride*.] [...] BRIDAL. n.s. The nuptial feast [...] EM: from *bride-ale*, the nuptial feast. So [***] See *Ale*
- (79) SJ: CANT. n.s. [probably from *cantus*, Lat. implying the odd tone of voice used by vagrants; but imagined by some to be corrupted from quaint.] [...] 5. Auction. [...] EM: In this sense it is derived from the Ital. *Al’incanto*, “at who gives most”, when goods are sold by a crier. *Incantare* is “to sell by auction, or a common crier”.²²

22 For this note, Malone referred to both Florio’s 1596 *A world of words* and to Giuseppe Baretto’s 1771 edition of his bilingual English-Italian dictionary. In fact, both works are listed (together with Florio’s 1611 *Queen Anna’s new world of words*) in Sotheby’s auction catalogue of Malone’s library (Anon. 1818: 8, 30). Moreover, it is worth noting that the copy of *A world of words* nowadays available as a pdf document in the EEBO collection is the one owned by Malone, who marked the two entries with a cross. Florio defines “*Incanto, as Incantagione. Also a place where goods are to be solde by a crier at who giues most.*” and “*Incantare, to enchaunt, to bewitch, to charme, to witch, to vse spells and sorceries. Also to sell goods by a crier at who giues most.*” Baretto, instead, contributed to Malone’s note with his entry “*Incantare [vendere all’incanto] to sell by auction*”.

Also, when a new entry is added to Johnson's compilation, the entry-word may be given its etymological note:

- (80) EM: TO BUCK UP. v.a. to approach close to another, wantonly. Perhaps from buck which in Suffolk is used for the breast, or belly. 2. from bouc, Fr. a he-goat.
- (81) EM: EXTRA-TENSION. n.s. from extra and tenes Lat. The act of keeping out; expulsion.

Malone's revisions and additions to the *Dictionary's* etymological notes show that he mastered—or at least had a smattering of—a number of different languages; while the annotations above refer to Latin, Greek, French and Italian words, German and Spanish should also be added to the list:

- (82) SJ: BEAKER. n.s. [from beak.] A cup with a spout in the form of a bird's beak. [...]
EM: from Beachera, Germ. a cup or flagon.
- (83) SJ: CASK. n.s. [casque, French; cadus, Latin.] [...]
EM: Rather from caxa, Span, a chest. (arca).²³

Two final comments must be added here. In the first place, Malone took advantage of some of his favourite authors—the abovementioned Bishop Joseph Hall and grammarian Charles Butler, but also Sir William Blackstone—for his work on Johnson's etymologies too:

- (84) SJ: BURGLARY. n.s.[from burg, a house, and larron, a thief.] [...]
EM: Bp Hall seems to have supposed the etymology of Burglary to be Bury & lay, and improperly wrote the word burglayer. "If in this instance the thief

²³ Although both Malone's etymologies in 82 and 83 are questionable, the mention of a variety of languages as possible sources for English words is relevant here because it can be related to what Johnson had written in his *Plan of a dictionary*: "our language is well known not to be primitive or self-originated, but to have adopted words of every generation, and either for the supply of its necessities, or the increase of its copiousness, to have received additions from very distant regions; so that in search for the progenitors of our speech, we may wander from the tropic to the frozen zone, and find some in the vallies of Palestine and some upon the rocks of Norway." (Kolb & DeMaria 2005: 41).

or burglayer miscarry, his blood will be upon his own head.” Cases of Conscience 1650.²⁴

- (85) SJ: ARRANT. adj. [a word of uncertain etymology, but probably from errant, which being at first applied to its proper signification to vagabonds, as an errant or arrant rogue, that is, a rambling rogue, lost, in time, its original signification, and being by its use understood to imply something bad, was applied at large to any thing that was mentioned with hatred or contempt.] [...]

EM: Butler says it seems to come from arrenter, Fr. (pronounced arranter) [to let only by *** or hire] and so an arrant knave or hoor, is such a one as is hired to be naught. Eng. Gram. 4to 1633 p. 2 of Index.

- (86) SJ: BAY Salt. Salt made of sea water [...]

EM: According to Butler (Eng. Gram. Index 1633) bay-salt derives its name from Baionne in France.

- (87) SJ: CULPRIT. n.s. [about this word there is great dispute. It is used by the judge at criminal trials, who, when the prison declares himself not guilty, and puts himself upon his trial, answers: Culprit, God send thee a good deliverance. It is likely that it is a corruption of Qu’il paroît, May it so appear, the wish of the judge being that the prisoner may be found innocent.] [...]

EM: Sr Wm Blackstone says the origin of the word is this: When the prisoner has pleaded not guilty (abbreviated non, or nient cul.) the Clerk replies, that the prisoner is guilty, and that he is ready to prove him so. This was set down in the same abbreviated form “Cul. prit.”. The prisoner is guilty (culpabilis)—Prit. “praesto sum or paratus verificare”. These short notes or minutes of the officer’s replication, and comment, set down at first, perhaps, to help the memory, the ignorance of succeeding Clerks adopted for the very words to be by them spoken; & made the two abbrev. as one word. So in the Cry & of proclamations “O, yes,” for Oyez, “hear ye”, and for “countez” count these.²⁵

²⁴ Malone misquotes Hall here, as he writes “instance” instead of “resistance” (Pratt ed. 1808: VIII, 397).

²⁵ Malone’s annotation here reproduces, almost verbatim, a short passage and a footnote in William Blackstone’s *Commentaries on the laws of England*, Bk 4, Ch. 26 “Of plea, and issue”, in the 4-volume Oxford edition of 1766–1769 (Blackstone 1769: 333–334). Of the many editions of Blackstone’s *Commentaries*, this is the one that is listed in Sotheby’s auction catalogue of Malone’s library (Anon. 1818: 9).

In the second place, not unlike Johnson, who can often make only a tentative etymological interpretation of words (see the entries ANOTHERGUESS, CANT, ARRANT and CULPRIT quoted above), Malone is sometimes doubtful about his own emendations:

- (88) SJ: BANTLING. n.s. [if it has any etymology, it is perhaps corrupted from the old word bairn, bairnling, a little child.] [...]
EM: As ling signified young, So Edmund-ling the true etymology may be sought from thence. But shall we do with Bant?
- (89) SJ: BROGUE. n.s. [brog, Irish.] [...] EM: Perhaps from Brog, old Fr. a country; thence used for a peculiar dialect. Vid Borel D.²⁶ In the last century a brogue signified a country-man's shoe made of raw untanned leather, and fastened by a thong instead of a buckle. It is rendered by Coles in his Dict. 1679, *crudus pero*. – I doubt whether brogue be an Irish word. It does not appear to have signified a corrupt dialect in the siventeenth [sic] century; at least I have met with no example of that kind²⁷
- (90) SJ: BUMBAILIFF. n.s. [This is a corruption of bound bailiff, produced by gradual corruption, boun, bun, bum bailiff.] [...]
EM: This etymology is very questionable. It is I think more probably a corruption of bump-bailif—a fellow who arrests by giving you a bump on the shoulder. Since the above was written, it appeared to me more probable that bum merely signified large. So bumboat (which see above) & bum-dagger. See you the huge bum-dagger at his back, To which no hilt nor iron doth he lack. The letting of humors blood. 1600.²⁸

²⁶ Here as elsewhere in Malone's annotations, D. shows that this is taken from Dyer's notes.

²⁷ Elisha Coles's 1679 dictionary mentioned here is not the monolingual one already mentioned above, but *A dictionary, English-Latin, and Latin-English* (Peter Parker and Thomas Guy, London 1679), where the entry "A brogue, *crudus pero*." is found.

²⁸ The annotation on BUMBAILIFF merits consideration. Firstly, Johnson's etymological note is a revised one: in his original edition of 1755, Johnson had simply written "[from *bum* and *bailiff*.]", while the text in the Dublin edition used by Malone reproduces what is found in Johnson's fourth, revised edition of 1777. Secondly, Malone's wording shows that he was ready to go back to his own annotations, if he was not satisfied with them. Thirdly, and even more interestingly, the quoted couplet provides clear evidence that Malone exploited his philological work on Shakespeare's plays and related literature for his emendations of Johnson's text. The couplet, in fact, is taken from Samuel Rowlands's *The letting of hv mors blood in the head-vaine* (W. F[erbrand], London 1660), 3rd Satyre, and is quoted by George Steevens in a footnote to his edition of *Romeo and Juliet* (in *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, C. Bathurst *et al.*, London 1778, vol. X, p. 162). Malone must have noticed it while working on a new octavo edition of Shakespeare's plays, which he left unfinished when he died and was published under the editorship of James Boswell the younger in 1821, as *The plays and poems of William Shakespeare*, with the corrections and illustrations of various commen-

As a final general comment on this presentation of Malone’s addenda and corrigenda to Johnson’s etymological notes in the *Dictionary*, then, one can but conclude that, although Johnson’s etymologies were often faulty, his “treatment of etymology, used systematically through the dictionary, nevertheless represented a significant advance” (Mugglestone 2012: 160) on previous dictionaries.²⁹ Malone, while improving on them in specific instances, was still far from etymological accuracy—the days of modern philology were yet to come.

3.4 Miscellaneous notes

Edmond Malone’s miscellaneous additions and emendations to Johnson’s *Dictionary*—altogether, more than one hundred in the A-E section—may be organized under five headings: cross-references (6 instances); emendations (24); language notes, on grammar and pronunciation (14); usage notes (51); and encyclopaedic material (14).

Dictionary cross-references deserve no specific comment, though they provide good evidence of Malone’s careful perusal of Johnson’s *Dictionary*. A couple of examples will suffice:

- (91) SJ: TO BOURGEON. v.a. [...] To sprout; to shoot into branches; to put forth buds. [...]
EM: See Whim-wham, where an earlier instance (from B. Jonson) is given. M.
- (92) SJ: CONSIDERABLE. adj. [...] 2. Respectable. [...]
EM: yet “respectable” is omitted in its place.

Emendations are meant to make up for either lexicographic defects on Johnson’s part or linguistic and extra-linguistic (i.e. encyclopaedic) mistakes. The former group of imperfections can be exemplified by to Bail, to Daft and Decomposition:

- (93) SJ: TO BAIL. v.a. [...] 1. To give bail for another. [...]
Let me be their bail [...] Shakesp. Titus Andronicus. [...]
EM: Bail is here a substantive. See at top of this page

tators (F.C. and J. Rivington *et al.*, London 1821): Steevens’s quotation from Rowlands, used to comment on a passage in *Romeo and Juliet*, Act V, Sc. iii, is reproduced in vol. 6, p. 253 of this edition.

²⁹ Mugglestone’s words echo what previous scholars had stated: J. P. Hardy made clear that “Johnson compiled his Dictionary before etymology had developed as a science (Hardy 1979: 110) and Robert DeMaria argued that his “etymologies are better than his predecessors’: they do not reflect an advance in linguistic science, but they usually show good sense, and they rely on judiciously selected sources.” (DeMaria 1993: 114).

- (94) SJ: TO DAFT: v.a. [contracted from do aft; that is, to throw back; to throw off]. [...]
 SD: DAFT. Q. whether ye true word is not Daff? so it is spoken by ye country people, & ye seco<nd> example here produced confirms it. The first example may be an error o<f> ye press.
 EM: The verb is to daff. i.e. to do off, daft pronounced broad and doff have the same sound
- (95) SJ: DECOMPOSITION. n.s. [...] The act of compounding things already compounded. [...]
 EM: compounding > uncompounding

The latter, larger group by Bonny, Breve, Candlewaster, Chaldron, Cheer, Cock, Discord and Doublet:

- (96) SJ: BONNY. adj. [...] [from bon, bonne, Fr. It is a word now almost confined to the Scottish dialect.] [...]
 EM: No; - it is much used in the North of England, particularly in Yorkshire
- (97) SJ: BREVE. n.s. [in musick] A note or character of time, equivalent to two measures or minims. [...]
 SD: BREVE. n.s. Not ye length of two Minims, but of two Semi breves, or four Minims.
 EM: No; it is equal to two semibreves or four minims
- (98) SJ: CANDLEWASTER. n.s. [...] One that consumes candles; a spendthrift. [...]
 SD: CANDLE-WASTER. In Shakspeare seems not to signify a Spendthrift, but rather a Drunkard, who passes ye night in drinking
 EM: Perhaps rather a drunkard; one who passes the night in drinking & thus consumes candles.
- (99) SJ: CHALDER / CHALDRON / CHAUDRON. n.s. A dry English measure of coals, consisting of thirty six bushels heaped up, according to the sealed bushel kept at Guildhall, London. The chauldron should weigh two thousand pounds. Chambers.
 EM: This must be a mistake, or a misprint. A Ton of coals weighs twenty hundred or 2000 pounds; a chaldron shd weigh 2800. So a chaldron is to a ton, as seven to five.
- (100) SJ: CHEER. n.s. [chere, Fr. entertainment; caro, Span. the coun-

tenance. It seems to have, in English, some relation to both these senses.]
[...]

SD: CHEER. n.s. Chere in old Fr. signified ye Countenance.

EM: Chere in old Fr. signified countenance.

- (101) SJ: COCK. n.s. [...] 14. Cock on the Hoop. Triumphant; exulting.
EM: Rather, wild, licentious, profuse, extravagant. The metaphor taken from one who wildly & wastefully takes the cock out of a barrel & lays it on the hoop or top of the cask, letting all the liquor run to waste.
- (102) SJ: DISCORD. n.s. [...] 3. [In music.] Sounds not of themselves pleasing, but necessary to be mixed with others. [...]
SD: DISCORD. [in Musick] A combination of disagreeing notes. That they are necessary to be mixed with others is no part of their Definition, nor is it universally true.
EM: Discord in musick is a combination of disagreeing sounds. That they are necessary to be mixed with others, is no part of their definition, nor it is universally true. D.
- (103) SJ: DOUBLET. n.s. [...] 1. The inner garment of a man; the waist coat: so called from being double for warmth, or because it makes the dress double. [...]
EM: I long thought, with Dr Johnson, that doublet meant a waistcoat; but that is not the fact, nor do any of the early instances here given prove it, tho’ Addison seems to have so used the word. But doublet meant the coat, the inner garment of a man, with respect to his cloak or outer covering. So Lord Capel at his execution in March 1648–9 “Stay, I must pull off my doublet first, and my waistcoat.” Hudibras’s doublet of sturdy buff, was not a waistcoat, but a coat: i.e. an outer garment. See also Taylor, *The Water Poets Works*, p. 186 Story 10³⁰

Language notes in the corpus of Malone’s marginalia refer to either grammar or pronunciation; among them, the following:

- (104) SJ: TO ADVERT. v.n. [...] To attend to; to regard; to observe; with the particle to before the object of regard.

30 Here Malone refers to *All the workes of Iohn Taylor the water poet* (James Boler, London 1630), which includes a series of anecdotes and very short funny stories entitled “Wit and mirth”: the one referred to here—about a gallant and his doublets—is number 10 on page 180 (not 186).

EM: Dryden uses it with upon before the object. While they pretend to advert upon one libel they set up another. *Vindication of the D. of Guise* 1683.

- (105) SJ: COMPOUND. adj. [...] 1. Formed out of many ingredients; not simple. 2. [in grammar] Composed of two or more words, not simple. [...]
EM: The longest compound epithet probably in the English language is found in a poem called *The Silkewormes & their flies*, 4to 1599: “Ten hundred-thousand-thousand-breasted nurse”
- (106) SJ: TO BREAK. v.n. [...]
With arts like these, rich Matho, when he speaks, / Attracts all fees, and little lawyers breaks. Dryden [...]
She held my hand, the destin’d blow to break, / Then from her rosy lips began to speak. Dryden [...]
Of whence she was, yet fearful how to break / My mind, adventur’d humbly thus to speak. Dryden [...]
EM: These instances from Dryden shew that the word break ought to be pronounced breek, in conformity to the general pronunciation of the diphthong (ea)—which I have heard contested. So also Evelyn *Mundus Muliebris*, 1694 Then bracelets for her wrists bespeak, unless her heart-strings you will break. Were not this the [***] pronunciation, the present tense break, and the past tense brake wd have the sound [***]
- (107) SJ: CARO’USAL. n.s. [from carouse. It seems more properly pronounced with the accent upon the second syllable; but Dryden accents it on the first.] [...]
EM: Dryden followed the practice of his age. Before the crystal palace, where he dwells, the armed angels hold their carousels. So, Andrew Marvel in “*Lachrymae Musarum*”, 1650.³¹

Usage notes make up the largest group in the miscellaneous annotations: they may either antedate Johnson’s earliest quotations (*Amenity*, *Anomaly*), or comment on obsolete words and semantic shifts (*Awful*, *Cabin*), provincial words (*Bucket*), recent words or word meanings (*Campaign*, *Deficient*, *to Dun*, *Epithet*), as well as words’ etymology and semantics (*Dissenter*, *Doorkeeper*):

³¹ Malone’s comments on *TO ADVERT*, *BREAK* and *CAROUSAL* reveal his thorough knowledge of Dryden’s poetry, as is explained in fn. 19. As to *COMPOUND*, the quoted line is taken from Thomas Mofett’s *The silkewormes, and their flies* (Nicholas Ling, London 1599, p. 47), a typical example of Malone’s interest in the minor literature of Shakespeare’s time.

- (108) SJ: AMENITY. n.s.[...] Pleasantness; agreeableness of situation.
If the situation of Babylon was such at first, as in the days of Herodotus, it was a seat of amenity and pleasure. Browne.
EM: The word is older than Browne. It is found in the *Astrologyster*, by J. Melton, 1620: “the amenitie, neatness, elegance and splendour of the place did so tickle and delight my senses, &c”
- (109) SJ: ANOMALY. n.s.[...] Irregularity; deviation from the common rule. [...]
If we should chance to find a mother debauching her daughter, as such monsters have been seen, we must charge this upon a peculiar anomaly and baseness of nature. South.
EM: Anomaly. This word is older than South. It is used by Butler in his *Eng. Gram.* 1633 “But the vulgar pronunciation of this letter hath diverse anomalies.” p.24
- (110) SJ: AWFUL. adj. [...] 2. Worshipful; in authority; invested with dignity. This sense is obsolete. [...]
EM: Perhaps it is used by Hall in this sense. And how apt parents are to make use of this awful authority in matching their children ... we have too lamentable experience every day. *Cases of Con.*
- (111) SJ: CABIN. n.s.[...] 1. A small room. 2. A small chamber in a ship. 3. A cottage, or small house. 4. A tent, or temporary habitation.
EM: Cabin was the common word in the time of Q. Elizabeth, for which is now called a cottage or small tenement. “Wee had soone built a pretty fort, and within it we had all cabins to lye in.” Rob. Cary, Earl of Monmouth’s *Memoirs*, 1759, p. 198
- (112) SJ: BUCKET. n.s.[...] 1. The vessel in which water is drawn out of a well. 2. The vessel in which water is carried, particularly to quench a fire.
EM: Such is the modern usage, and consequently an Englishman when he hears an Irishman talk of a chambermaid’s carrying a bucket of water (meaning a pail) considers this an Irishism; but it was old English. So in *Numbers XXIV.7.* He shall pour the waters out of his buckets &c.
- (113) SJ: CAMPAIGN / CAMPANIA. n.s.[...] 1. A large, open, level tract of ground, without hills. 2. The time for which any army keeps the field, without entering into quarters. [...]

EM: The word campaign was not used probably till after the Restoration; from the Life of Fuller in 1660 we find “during the campania, and while the army continued in the field, he performed the duty of his holy function.”

- (114) SJ: DEFICIENT. adj.[...] Failing; wanting; defective; imperfect.[...]
EM: Bacon uses it, but printed it in Italics and I suspect it was then a new word: I would not have such knowledges wch I note as deficient to be thought things imaginative. Advancement of Learning 4to 1605.
- (115) SJ: TO DUN. v.a. [...] To claim a debt with vehemence and importunity. [...]
EM: TO dun. Blount in his Glossographia first published, I believe about 1660 says the word was but lately come into use.³²
- (116) SJ: EPITHET. n.s.[...] 1. An adjective denoting any quality good or bad [...] 2. It is used by some writers improperly for title, name. 3. It is used improperly for phrase, expression.
EM: This word in its first and only true sense was probably not in use before 1609, for John Harington in his Account of the Church written then uses epitheton. It is used in Histriomastix, a com. 1610 (E2 verso)
- (117) SJ: DISSENTER. n.s.[...] 1. One that disagrees, or declares his disagreement from an opinion. 2. One who, for whatever reasons, refuses the communion of the English Church. [...]
EM: The Presbyterians to escape the odium that justly fell on them after the Rebellion assumed this name for the first time, I believe, soon after the Restoration. “But if our Dissenters, a title rebellious people pride themselves in –” Pref. to the Works of Sir Geo. Wharton 1683³³
- (118) SJ: DOORKEEPER. n.s.[...] Porter; one that keeps the entrance of a house. [...]
EM: The expression in the time of Elizabeth was keeper of the

32 The entry in Thomas Blount’s *Glossographia* (Tho. Newcomb, London 1656) states that “TO DUN, is a word lately taken up by fancy, and signifies to demand earnestly, or press a man to pay for commodities taken up on trust, or other debt.”

33 The quotation here is correctly taken from the Preface to *The works of that late most excellent philosopher and astronomer, sir George Wharton, Bar.*, edited by John Gadbury (J. Leigh and A. Churchill, London 1683).

door. Door-keeper never once occurs in the old transln of the Bible, but was first introduced in the transln of 1611 in one place only, Chron XV.28.24.

Finally, Malone thought fit to pen a dozen or so encyclopaedic notes on his copy of Johnson’s *Dictionary*; almost all dealing with fruits and vegetables, and minerals:

- (119) SJ: APPLE. n.s.[...] 1. The fruit of the apple-tree. 2. The pupil of the eye.[...]
EM: The best apples orig. from Greece
- (120) SJ: ARTICHOKE. n.s.[...] This plant is very likely the thistle [...]
EM: Artichokes came to us from Sicily. In Shakspeare’s time they were eaten raw, [***]
- (121) SJ: BRASS. n.s.[...] 1. A yellow metal, made by mixing copper with lapis calaminaris. It is used, in popular language, for any kind of metal in which copper has a part. 2. Impudence. [...]
EM: This calamine stone renders it yellow & hard. In Ireland they call a copper halfpenny or penny, brass, and so did the English formerly. See St. Mathew X.9 Provide neither gold nor silver, nor brass, in your purses.
- (122) SJ: CAULIFLOWER. n.s.[...] A species of cabbage. [...]
EM: Cauliflowers were brought into Engl. from Cyprus. Q when?

The final question mark in Malone’s comment on Cauliflower may symbolically indicate that there could be no end—actually, there was no end—to his addenda and corrigenda; likewise, therefore, only a few provisional concluding remarks can be offered to the present analysis of Edmond Malone’s annotations to Samuel Johnson’s *Dictionary*.

4 Concluding remarks

The poetic phrase in the title of this essay—obviously taken from Eliot’s *The Love Song of J. Alfred Prufrock*, and made to refer to Malone’s deliberate attempt to improve on Johnson’s *Dictionary*—is meant to suggest that, however circumscribed and in-depth was the present analysis of the annotator’s job, a few general statements can be made in order to set Johnson’s work and Malone’s efforts to make it better in a wider linguistic, literary and socio-cultural framework.

Firstly, although Johnson’s *Dictionary* was recognised as a *magnum opus* immediately after its publication, the criticism levelled at it and the annotators’ work (such as Malone’s) demonstrate that it was never considered “the definitive record

of the English language”,³⁴ as Johnson himself had anticipated in the Preface to the first edition and repeated in the Advertisement to the fourth, revised one. Secondly, then, previous and competing dictionaries were not neglected by dictionary-users, thus maintaining a tradition in lexicography that would in time be able to surpass Johnson’s masterpiece. Thirdly, because of the symbolic significance that came to be attached to Johnson’s *Dictionary* as the embodiment of Englishness in language use and literary canon, it soon became common property of the British cultural elite, and as such open to new “visions and revisions”—a *monumentum aere perennius* perhaps, but a living monument to the English language for many generations. Fourthly, Malone’s patient and careful study of his older friend’s work provides clear evidence of the close connection between linguistic and literary studies in late modern Europe, a connection that present-day hyperspecialization tends to forget about. Fifthly and finally, Malone’s systematic reading of Johnson’s *Dictionary* should not (or not only) be seen as the eccentric pastime of a leisured gentleman, but should remind us that dictionaries are not only reference works but may also, and profitably, become study aids, as the most recent trends in dictionary-making amply witness.

Harmless drudges—be they lexicographers, lexicographers’ annotators, and students of lexicography, in the present as much as in the past—can play an active role in the linguistic, literary, and socio-cultural landscape of their own times.

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³⁴ I take the liberty of borrowing this phrase from the homepage of the online edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*, whose revision has been going on for years—a clear testimony to the fact that no dictionary can ever be perfect!

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Roderick McConchie

The use of “mechanical reasoning”: John Quincy and his *Lexicon physico-medicum* (1719)

Abstract: The medical dictionary by John Quincy (1683?–1723) reveals a lexicographer with an agenda which arose from the circumstances of his life and is forcefully expressed in the dictionary. First an apothecary, and then a physician, Quincy foregrounded the English language and the principles of Newtonianism and the mechanistic view of medicine in his work. His dictionary became the most popular and durable one in the eighteenth century.

Keywords: John Quincy, Baptism, Newtonianism, English language, medical practice, mechanical principles

Medical lexicography is poorly understood and hardly researched at all, and John Quincy, the author of the *Lexicon physico-medicum, or, a new physical dictionary* of 1719, is thus a little-known figure in a neglected field. He was however very influential, his dictionary not only surviving for nearly a century and eleven editions, but also forming the basis of the medical dictionary by Robert Hooper which dominated the first half of the nineteenth century. His life is still obscure, the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB) offering little information, some of which is incorrect. Quincy, whose date and place of birth are unknown, was a Baptist and trained as an apothecary. He worked as an apothecary in London, took a medical degree from Edinburgh, produced a number of publications, including a translation, a dispensatory, and a medical dictionary, and died on January 11, 1723 (OS). The best guess as to his year of birth is 1683, assuming that he was apprenticed at about fourteen.

We can now add a little to this meagre account. His Edinburgh degree in medicine was granted in 1717 (University of Edinburgh 1846), not 1712 as is sometimes claimed. He was also married to Mary Collet in 1704, which gained him a valuable benefactor and supporter, since Mary was the sister of Joseph Collet, a Baptist and an employee of the East India Company who rose to become President of Madras. Collet left a considerable correspondence which sheds a little more light on Quincy (BL MS EUR D 1153/1, 1153/2). It is clear from these letters that Quincy was working as an apothecary, but had started some new business about 1712, and that Collet bailed him out of severe financial straits in 1716. Whether the change mentioned is a change of profession or a new start in the same business is not known, but he may have begun the process of getting his Edinburgh degree by 1716. One obvious result of Collet's help was that Quincy gratefully dedicated his widely-used *Pharmacopœia officinalis & extemporanea* of 1718 to him. Quincy was also a supporter of well-

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known physicians such as John Freind and Richard Mead, whom he seems to have known. He also contributed to a pamphlet war in 1719 against the controversial physician John Woodward (Quincy 1719a), who was ferociously satirised by Mead, and gave lectures in pharmacy in London which were published posthumously by Peter Shaw (Quincy 1723). The only substantial publication on Quincy is that by Howard-Jones in 1951. Quincy was later cited with approval for his advocacy of physical medicine as late as 1957 in the introduction to an article by Allsopp (1957: S40), and yet again in *The Lancet* (1952: 111–112) under the title “A Wise Apothecary”, but this is no more than a very brief digest of material in Howard-Jones’s much fuller account of Quincy’s publications.

The general point I wish to stress is that Quincy shows how far the interests and agendas of the lexicographer can influence a dictionary. Quincy makes his agenda clear on the title-page, in declaring that the work will explain the terms used in both the profession and those areas of philosophy (in the eighteenth-century sense of natural science) which underpin medical theory and practice.

Our first question then is how this agenda informs the dictionary itself. He also declares that the terms of philosophy are drawn from “Authors ... who have wrote upon Mechanical Principles” (Quincy 1719b: title page). We need to ask what this meant, and determine why it was important to Quincy. The second question concerns the extent to which Quincy’s mechanical principles may have influenced other near-contemporary dictionaries.

The dictionary which Quincy produced is situated in a succession of medical works which respond to the most current and useful changes in and additions to the medical lexicon. These are seen as “the newest and most fit for modern use” (1719b: x). This is a view not shared by the translator of Steven Blancard’s dictionary, who argues simply that the terms of medical practice are useful and necessary, but assumes that they are fixed, not that they form an evolving lexicon; in a sense, Quincy’s is the whiggish view of the medical lexicon.¹ Quincy refers to various forms of reasoning which he sees as the basis of medical knowledge—mathematical reasoning (1719b: x), mechanical reasoning (under *baths*), geometrical reasoning (under *calidum immatum*), and physical reasoning (under *balneum*).² I have used “mechanical reasoning” here to cover what Quincy himself describes in these various ways since that is what he uses in his preface to the dictionary, as well as alluding to “mechanical principles” in the title. These forms of reasoning obviously overlap.

¹ Blancard, also known as Blanchard and Blankaart (see in Bibliography), was a Dutch physician, whose Latin dictionary was translated and published in English in 1684. See The Preface.

² Interestingly, however, he does not use the term *iatromathematics*, which would describe not a little of what he is concerned with. This term goes back at least to the early seventeenth century, but seems never to have become widely used (see OED).

Quincy begins his medical dictionary with a statement of what he perceives as the terminological problem of his time in medicine and of his intentions in this work:

Since the Introduction of Mathematical Reasoning, and the Application of mechanical Laws to a Study, indeed no otherwise knowable, the Books of Physicians abound with Terms very unmanageable, and which are not explained in any one Work extant. (1719b: x)

The question at issue here is how far Quincy’s dictionary has been influenced by the concepts and terminology of mechanical reasoning primarily under the influence of Newtonian principles, especially as they were mediated in medicine by Archibald Pitcairne. Quincy explains in the preface that “the Terms of Philosophical Writers have been transplanted into the Discourses of Physicians, and rendered it frequently necessary to explain such new Terms” (Quincy 1719b: x). The praecognita of medicine are now heavily influenced by works in mathematics and philosophy, and terms in these fields must therefore be entered in a medical dictionary and defined. Quincy criticises the earlier medical dictionaries by Steven Blancard (first published 1679), Bartolomeo Castelli (first published 1607), and the technical dictionary by John Harris (1704); Blancard for not incorporating such terms, and Harris for simply taking over entries from Blancard. He also finds that Blancard’s definitions are outdated and need recasting, and that many terms are now out of use and should be deleted. As to Castelli, Quincy regards this work as more a dictionary of the terminology of the ancients than one for contemporaneous use, and it was indeed a century old when Quincy published his. There is also some further comment about the adequacy of Harris’s definitions, the insufficiency of which Quincy ascribes to the author’s haste (Quincy 1719b: xi). Quincy, unlike his predecessors, argues that modernity is crucial to an understanding of medicine as it is now practised and in terms of the theory on which it is based.

Quincy’s interest in mechanical principles did not arise with his lexicon, however. It appears clearly in his first major work, the translation of Santorio Santorio’s *Medicina statica* (1614) of 1712. The introduction to this work explained the principles of “mechanical reasoning” as constituting the assumption that all bodies have solidity, extension and figure, and that these operate according to comprehensible and immutable laws.³ Santorio was particularly concerned about “insensible perspiration” and the balance between dietary intake and weight. Measuring and calculating these daily was his recommended regimen.

The frontispiece to Quincy’s translation of Santorio’s *Medicina statica* shows the “weighing man” seated at his meal in a weighing chair suspended from a balance,

³ Santorio (1561–1636) seems to have had some currency in England, having been published in 1676 in a translation by J. D., and then in Latin with a Latin commentary by Martin Lister in 1701. Quincy’s translation was reissued in 1716 and 1720.

an image which was widely known in Europe in the seventeenth century. Quincy writes in the preface:

Mechanical Reasoning is what is much talked of now in Physick, and by some perhaps more than it is well understood; but the greatest number of Professors in Medicine are declared enemies to it ... It is therefore for the Information of ... these that I have been at the Pains of shewing what *Mechanical* Reasoning is, and proving that all *Physical Certainty* depends upon the same Principles. (Santorio 1712: ix)

This excerpt shows two things—first, Quincy’s location of mechanical principles at the heart of the medical endeavour rather than Latin and Greek and natural philosophy, and, second, his no-nonsense and rather gritty approach to people who held other views.

We also need to understand the significance of Quincy’s title, *Lexicon physico-medicum*. The adjective *physicus* in Latin meant pertaining to natural sciences and physical nature. One of the three senses then current for Quincy derives from this. The other two are the now current ‘The branch of science concerned with the nature and properties of non-living matter and energy’ (OED 1b), the sense which OED suggests was beginning to emerge in Quincy’s day and, lastly, the sense of medical science, as well as an individual work on this subject (OED 2). Thus Quincy plays very consciously with this term and its potential ambiguities, invoking elements of all three senses at times, especially since he distinguishes between “physicks and medicine” (1719b: xiii), and “physicks and mechanicks” (1719b: xiv) in his declaration of intent. In this respect he differs from earlier English medical dictionaries, which had used the title “physical dictionary” in some form, as in the dictionary of 1657, possibly by Nicholas Culpeper,⁴ and the English translation of Blancard’s dictionary, simply meaning a medical dictionary. This gives added point to Quincy’s English sub-title in that his work of roughly the same title as the previous two will be genuinely new.

In this respect, it is worth considering his somewhat perfunctory definition of *physick* itself:

Physick, from φυσικς, Natura, is in general the Science of all material Beings, or whatsoever concerns the System of this visible World; tho in a more limited and improper Sense by many it is applied to the Science of Medicine.⁵

The word *mechanical*, “a Term much of late introduced into Physicks and Medicine”, gets a longer exposition than *physick*. Quincy explains that the only way to

⁴ For a thoroughgoing discussion of this work and its authorship, see Tyrkkö (2009).

⁵ Quincy may have been kicking against the pricks. Dr. Johnson is less judgemental a little later, claiming that the word, “originally signifying natural philosophy, has been transferred in many modern languages to medicine” (Johnson 1755: s.v. *physic*).

understand a material body is by understanding it quite literally as a physical machine.

For considering an animal Body as a Composition out of the same Matter from which all other material Beings are formed, and to have all those Properties which concern a Physician’s Regard only ... naturally leads a Person who trusts to proper Evidences ... to consider the several Parts, according to their Figures, Contexture, and Use; either as Wheels, Pullies, Wedges, Leavers, Skrews, Chords, Canals, Cisterns, Strainers, and the like ... to keep the Mind close in view of the Figures, Magnitudes, and mechanical Powers of every Part or Movement ... as is used to enquire into the Motions and Properties of any other Machine.

Quincy is therefore interested in explaining the “new system of *Physicks* and *Medicine*” which has been created—those new terms which indicate the conceptual basis of the new medicine. “I say Physicks and Medicine, because the latter cannot subsist without the former” (Quincy 1719b: xiii), Quincy claims. In this he differs from earlier claims such as that by John Hatchet (*Securis*) in 1566 that the basis of medicine was natural philosophy in general and that this should be in Latin: “for Aristotle saith *Vbi definit Physicus, ibi incipit medicus*, A man must first peruse naturall Philosophie, before he entre into physycke ... But ... we could neuer haue it yet in Greke and Latine perfectly ... howe thenne shoulde you haue it [in English]?” (Bi^v–Bi^r).

Quincy’s dictionary thus includes a number of terms which we would not normally associate with medicine as such, including *congruity*, *form*, *levity*, *light*, *musick*, *moment*, *regular body*, and *tide*. His view is that unless these things are properly understood, medicine will remain in a state of confusion. As he explains, “there is no Knowledge in Medicine but by such means” (1719b: xiv). The authors to whom he alludes in these general remarks are indicated by his references—Isaac Newton, Robert Boyle, Thomas Willis, James Keill,⁶ John Ray, George Cheyne, John Freind, Clopton Havers, Robert Hooke, and Richard Mead—among the English authorities who are most frequently mentioned, along with a list of foreign authorities, including Michael Etmüller, Johann Schröder and Jean Baptiste van Helmont.⁷ Very few of them represent a countervailing point of view, the glaring exception being John Woodward, his foe in the pamphlet war, whom he mentions as an authority more than once. Willis, the distinguished physician and neurologist and broadly speaking an iatrochemist, could also be regarded as taking a different view.

⁶ Not John Keill, the mathematician of the same period and James’s older brother.

⁷ It is surprising that the champion and pioneer of Newtonian medicine, Archibald Pitcairne, is not mentioned at all.

1 The innovatory *Lexicon physico-medicum*

We now turn to the actual entries in Quincy's dictionary to see whether and how he follows through on the promises on the title-page and in the preface. It is impractical however to attempt to categorise and classify lemmas by the appearance or non-appearance of such terms and ideas, since they may appear in so many different guises and may not be clearly identifiable in any one entry. The results would inevitably have been misleading. However, since Newtonianism and the notion of mechanical reasoning pervade a great deal of the dictionary, we can pick out some of the more obvious examples.

This process reveals some general points and some more particular considerations. First, the entries more likely to invoke mechanical reasoning are longer and concern the more fundamental concepts. These include *air, action, blood, centre, cohesion, colour, density, digestion, elastick, energy, fibre, heat, matter, menstruum, motion, particle, phlebotomy, projectiles, respiration, vision, and water*. Newton himself is mentioned, sometimes more than once, in at least twenty-one entries: *action, air, attraction, cohesion, collision, colour, corpuscular philosophy, density, elastick, fluidity, heart, light, muscle, nature, particle, pori, projectiles, sound, tide, vision, and water*.

A comparison between the entries marked in the *Lexicon physico-medicum* (hereafter *L P-M*) as Newtonian and the corresponding entries, or lack of them, in other dictionaries of the period is revealing. The *L P-M* was searched for entries which appeared to be Newtonian and mechanical or mathematical. Some criteria used included mention of Newton himself, an entry which had as much if not more to do with physics and mathematics than medicine, a lot to do with motion, especially of fluids and volumes of flow, matter and gravity, applications of the laws of Newtonian mechanics, and measurement of various kinds. Only the clear cases are listed here, and there are others which could arguably have been included, such as *animal secretion, artery, conatus, disease, gland, larynx, lemma, pain, palsy, refraction, renitency, and visual point*. In these cases, the Newtonian and mechanical interest seemed to play only a minor role, but this is a question of judgement.

2 Comparison with later editions of Quincy

A question to be answered is whether these terms survived in later medical dictionaries, including later versions of Quincy. It turns out that substantial changes were made in the 1722 edition, and then not until the ninth and tenth editions, issued in 1775 and 1787 respectively by Thomas Longman (1730–1797), nephew of the first

Thomas Longman.⁸ The ninth makes additions, lengthening the work considerably, but leaves most of the existing entries intact. The brief preface to this edition indicates that up-to-date terms have been added, especially those from Linnean botany. The tenth edition makes further changes. The entry for *elastick* will illustrate some basic procedures. Comparing the long 1719b entry for this word with that in the 10th edition of 1787, we find that the first page is verbatim, but that lengthy calculations and theorems, the next four pages, are omitted entirely.

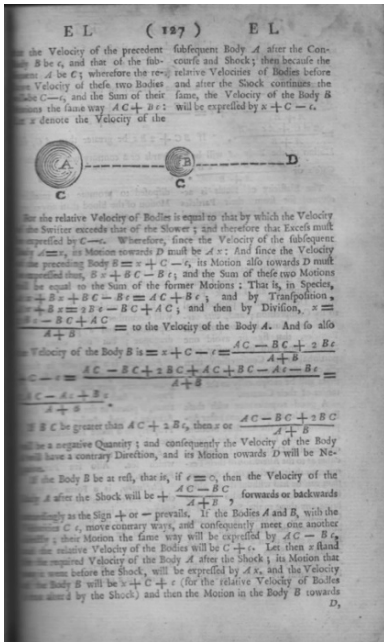


Figure 1. One of the pages of *elastick* in 1719b omitted in the tenth edition.

There is a summarising conclusion to the entry in 1719b, which is also omitted in 1787; in other words, the entry has been deleted in its entirety from the point where Quincy begins his demonstrations and equations. Exactly the same has happened to the entry for *fibre*, effectively reducing four pages to half a column, although the section omitted does not contain calculations and formulae. Nevertheless, the discussion does contain a great deal about the effect of forces exerted on fibres, their elasticity, and so on. These omissions were primarily made to allow for a larger number of head-words, rather than to update entries in detail. In these circumstances, as the anonymous editor (or the publisher) comments rhetorically, “the omission

⁸ The Longmans had been involved in every edition since the second of 1722, first with Thomas Osborne, and then alone.

of several processes merely Algebraic, will not be censured” (Advertisement 1787).⁹ An exception is *particle*, which remains a very long entry, is retained verbatim in its entirety, and retains a diagram, one of many originally included in the dictionary to enhance comprehension of the principles being explained. The one under *particle* was apparently the only one kept by the tenth edition.¹⁰ We see the familiar editorial pattern in the entry for *motion*, where the calculations and diagrams are removed, and the theorems retained. This entry also shows some minor editorial changes—occasionally in punctuation and italicisation, past tense -’d replaced by -ed, and spellings such as replacing *thro* by *through*, and *strait* by *straight*, most of these changes accomplished in the ninth edition. *Projectiles*, another very mathematics-based entry, is reproduced verbatim in edition nine, but is cut about halfway in the tenth edition, and loses its diagram. Thus some of this pruning was conducted for the ninth edition and the process was continued in the tenth.

One further conclusion from all of this is that even after the lapse of over half a century, the editor did not see fit to change Quincy’s language in any substantive way. There seem to be no serious attempts to add, simplify, reduce verbosity or repetition, and so on, as was normally the case, so that Quincy’s prose had proved clear, flexible, and durable, and his definitions and information had continued to be regarded as sound.

Throughout his writing career, Quincy demonstrated a sceptical disdain for claims that could not be based on some form of evidence or depended simply on unsubstantiated traditional notions. This cannot have pleased his opponents, let alone those who thought that an apothecary publishing on medicine was getting above himself. In the main, however, Paracelsus and the iatrochemists suffer the lash of his tongue. *Archidoxis* he defines as “a whimsical Title given to a book wrote by *Paracelsus* of Chymistry, and which *Libavius* ... says looks more like *Magick* than *Knowledge*”.

Chemists are given short shrift under *Luna*, which, “in the Jargon of the Chymists, signifies Silver, from the supposed Influence of that Planet (the Moon) thereupon. The medicinal Virtues of this metal are none at all, until it has undergone very elaborate preparation”. This doctrine of resemblances is also treated sceptically under *sputum*. Under *clavis*, we hear of the auger, a device sometimes used to relieve headaches, so that “Some Chymists also from the use of this Instrument very whimsically apply it to many things, to which they ascribe strange Virtues in opening or unlocking other Substances”. And under *spuma* “The Chymists likewise according to Custom do use it in a very whimsical manner for many things, as the *Spuma Duorum Draconum*”. The whimsy of Paracelsus is also mentioned under *confluxion*. *Whimsy* and *whimsical* seem to be Quincy’s favourite expressions of disdain.

⁹ No editor is acknowledged on the title page or elsewhere in the fore-matter.

¹⁰ Some of the tables are retained however.

“*Noli-me-tangere* ... is ... thus called from its Soreness or Difficulty of cure; but either seems upon so whimsical a Foundation, that it is not much matter which”. Another target appears under the head-word *climacterick years*, which he calls “this whimsy”.

Chemical theories and practices in medicine had already come under attack in England, particularly by physicians Quincy admired such as Freind, Keill, and Cheyne.¹¹ Although Paracelsus is a frequent target, Quincy is not above putting some of his compatriots such as Robert Boyle in their place, despite their reputations. To cite an example, he adds to his definition of *amulet* that “These were in esteem antiently amongst some Enthusiastick Philosophers, and have been last supported by the Credulity of Mr. Boyle; but now have none to appear in their behalf but Empiricks and Montebanks”. Empiricks are given similar treatment as well: “*Magisterial remedy*, is yet sometimes retained in the Cant of Empiricks, more for its great Sound than any Significancy”.

3 Quincy compared with Blancard 1708 and 1726

Some points of comparison with other dictionaries were thought to be potentially revealing. A comparison was made to see whether entries corresponding to a list of obviously Newtonian entries appeared in the fifth edition of Blancard’s *The physical dictionary* of 1708 and the edition of 1726. Thus 69 entries in Quincy were sought in Blancard’s work. Blancard’s dictionary, which appeared in its English translation in 1684, had already reached its fifth edition by 1708, and so had pretty much ruled the roost in England in medical lexicography for more than a generation before Quincy published. In this study, words were sought in Blancard, much more a Latin–English dictionary than Quincy’s, under several possible corresponding head-words where it seemed necessary. Some were obvious and straightforward but, for example, *collision* (Quincy) was searched for under *concurus*, *conflictus*, *conlisus*, *collisus*, *incursus*, and *offensus*; *heat* (Quincy) under *ardor*, *austus*, *calor*, *calefacio*, and *incendium*, and Quincy’s *power* under *vis*, *virtus*, and *potestas* in an attempt to cover the possibilities.

Table 1. Newtonian entries in Quincy 1719b. Cr = cross reference to another head-word; x = no corresponding entry; Newton = Newton mentioned.

Quincy 1722	Blancard 1708	Blancard 1726
absolute gravity		

¹¹ See Rowlinson 2007: 110.

Quincy 1722	Blancard 1708	Blancard 1726
acceleration	x	x
action	actio	actio
air (Newton)	x	x
attraction (Newton)	x	x
barometer	x	barometrum (not from Q)
baths	balnæum	balneum
blood	sanguis	sanguis
calidum innatum	calidum innatum (cr)	calidum innatum (cr)
centre	centrum	centrum
centrifugal force ¹²	x	x
centripetal force	x	x
circulation		
cohesion (Newton)	x	x
collision	collisio	collisio ¹³
colour (Newton)	x	x
corpuscular philosophy (Newton)	x	x
costae (measurement)	costæ	x
cube	x	x
cutis	cutis	cutis
cylinder	cyllindrus (diff. meaning?) ¹⁴	cyllindrus (diff. meaning?)
data	x	x
demonstration	x	demonstratio ¹⁵
density (Newton)	x	x
descent of heavy bodies	x ¹⁶	x
distillation	destillatio	destillatio
digestion animal	x	x
direction	x	x
elastick (Newton)	x	elestica
elipsis [sic]	x	x
energy	energia	energia
equable motion	x	x

¹² Note that Quincy has cross-references from *vis centrifuga* and *vis centripeta*.

¹³ This is a rare word in Latin; the sense in Blancard does not make much sense and does not relate closely to that in Quincy.

¹⁴ An oblong plaister also called a Magdaleo (Bl).

¹⁵ A far narrower definition.

¹⁶ But note that *descensus* is present.

Quincy 1722	Blancard 1708	Blancard 1726
fibre	fibræ	fibræ
fluidity (Newton)	x	fluidity
gravity	x	x
heart (Newton)	cor	cor
heat	ardor	ardor
hydrostaticks	x	x
jecur	jecur (cr)	jecur (cr)
inclination	inclinatio	inclinatio
incidence	incidentia (cr)	incidentia (cr)
levity	x	x
light (Newton)	x	x
matter	x	x
matter subtle	x	x
mechanical	x	x
medicine	medicina	medicina
menses	menses	menses
menstruum	x	menstruum
moments	x	x
motion	x	x
muscle (Newton)	musculus	musculus
nature (Newton)	natura	natura
oblique	x	x
opacity (Newton)	x	x
particle (Newton)	atomos	atomos
pori (Newton)	pori	pori
powers	x	x
precipitation	præcipitatio	præcipitatio
projectiles (Newton)	x	x
quality	qualitas	qualitas
regular body	x	x
respiration	respiratio	respiratio
semen	semen	semen
sound (Newton)	x	x
space	x	x
specifick gravity	x	x
sublimation	sublimatio	sublimatio
tide (Newton)	x	x

Quincy 1722	Blancard 1708	Blancard 1726
vision (Newton)	visus	visus
water (Newton)	x	x
wind	x	x

In all, 28 of the 69 entries were found in Blancard, often under a Latin equivalent, such as *ardor* for *heat*. This represents about 40% of this list. In some cases, the entry in Quincy was long while that in Blancard was very short, as in *particle/atomos*, and *nature/natura*. It is also apparent that Quincy prefers the English form for the head-word or an English translation in most cases. Examples include *energy*, *heart*, *precipitation*, and *vision* for *energia*, *cor*, *precipitatio* and *visus*. The somewhat surprising exception is *pori*, found in both, where for some reason Quincy has eschewed *pores*, against his normal practice of preferring English,¹⁷ a bias which may derive from Quincy's education as a dissenter, probably in a dissenting academy, and his exclusion from English universities.

Blancard has *motus conuulsivus*, but not *motus* alone for Quincy's *motion*, as happens with several other terms as well, none of which are therefore recorded as matches. Some entries were problematic—I have left *cylinder/cylindrus* on the list, but the meanings given were rather different, Quincy defining it as the geometrical figure, and Blancard as a plaster of cylindrical shape.

All in all in this modest list, only four additions were made in Blancard 1726, but all of them could be seen as under the influence of Quincy. An especially intriguing entry is that for *demonstratio* in Blancard 1726. "*Demonstratio*, hath been reckon'd rather a Philosophical than a medical Term; but since it signifies a Proof taken from certain and undoubted Evidence, as well from Sense as the Intellect, those Physicians undervalue the Art and themselves who do not think it a proper Term". While this is in no sense derived from Quincy's entry verbatim, the fact that it has been added so recently, and so pointedly picks up the question of the properness of such a term makes the Blancard entry read like a comment on Quincy, and a concession to his innovations. Quincy acerbically adds at the end of his own entry "But when this is apply'd to Purposes not attended with equal certainty, it is with great impropriety; though too often done by Persons too opinionated of their own Abilities and Speculations". This is somewhat reminiscent of the entry in Quincy for *hypothesis*, a notion he rejects as a method in medicine, which must rely on "demonstrable Principles, which our Senses are Witness to, and will not allow any thing suppositious". Another addition to Blancard 1726 is *fluidity*, a head-word which, exceptionally, has not been Latinized, which again suggests Quincy's influence even though the defi-

¹⁷ He certainly uses *pores* elsewhere; see s. v. *freezing*.

nitions are quite dissimilar.¹⁸ The inclusion of *elastick* (*elastica*) also suggests Quincy’s influence in general terms, since it is rather a term in physics and mathematics than medicine. *Menstruum* (‘solvent’), the last of these additions, is a term directly associated with the apothecary and his manufacturing processes.

4 Conclusion

It is hard to avoid the conclusion that Quincy is very consciously taking a bold step forward with this dictionary, and that his approach was immediately influential. He has a modernising agenda which is adumbrated in the preface and implemented throughout the text. He silently accepts the need to use the vernacular where possible, despite this not being consistently followed through; in this respect he is the inheritor of Nicholas Culpeper, who espoused English in his medical works. He is also critical of those who retain outdated and obsolete terminology. Quincy shows the interest in language and the niceties of meaning and semantics that one would expect of a genuine lexicographer. He saw mechanical principles as potentially explaining the structure, power, and articulation of bones, ligaments, muscles, and arteries, and the flow and regulation of bodily fluids. Unlike some earlier dictionaries, this one makes a genuine attempt to put its declared principles into practice, instantiating Quincy’s claim that *mechanical* is “a Term much of late introduced into Physicks and Medicine, to express a way of Reasoning conformable to that which is used in the Contrivance, and accounting for the Properties and Operation, of any Machine” (1719b: s.v. *mechanical*).

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¹⁸ A definition of *fluid* has also been incorporated into the Blancard *fluidity* definition, a head-word which Quincy does not have.

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Sarah Ogilvie

Paratexts and the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary*: ‘content marketing’ in the nineteenth century?

Abstract: This chapter explores the paratexts of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (OED), or *New English Dictionary*, in order to discover more about its creation, content, and context. In particular, the essay shows how the dedications and prefaces shed light on the dictionary’s history and context—especially who were its contributors, editors, competitors, sponsors, and supporters. The paratexts provide insights into the editors’ system of organization and editorial work; their views on language; comparisons with competitor dictionaries; and relationships with fellow editors, readers, subeditors, specialists, donors, and publisher. They also played a powerful role in establishing the ‘brand’ of the dictionary in the late-nineteenth and early-twentieth centuries as the most scholarly, most prestigious, and most comprehensive English dictionary in the world. To this end, we see that the editors used the paratextual materials to tell the world what they wanted the world to know, a precursor perhaps to the current phenomenon of online ‘content marketing’, a concept not defined yet in OED Online but understood in Silicon Valley as the strategic practice of creating a brand, building an audience, and selling a product by creating and distributing valuable, relevant, and consistent content.

Keywords: *Oxford English Dictionary*, *OED*, *New English Dictionary*, paratexts, dictionary prefaces, dedications, nineteenth century, content marketing, Philological Society, James Murray, lexicography, dictionary

Taken in isolation, the main text of a dictionary only gives certain clues and insights into its creators’ intellectual, attitudinal, contextual, and historical constraints. It may tell us *what* the lexicographer did, but not *why*, *how*, or *for whom*. For the reasons behind lexicographic policies and practices, we must look beyond the text to the prefaces, dedications, appendices, and archival sources such as letters, lectures, or notebooks.

These sources, labelled by Gerard Genette (1997) as ‘paratexts’, are easily overlooked and yet they may contain something that every researcher yearns for: the direct voice of the lexicographer and an insight into the interconnections which dictionaries and their compilers had with their co-creators, publishers, readership, and society in general. For Genette, paratexts are those ‘liminal devices and conventions’ both within the book (‘peritexts’ such as dedications, title pages, signs of authorship, forewords, prefaces, epilogues, and appendices) and outside the book (‘epitexts’ such as authorial correspondence, oral confidences, diaries, and pre-

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texts).¹ Paratextual sources often bring a book to life and connect us (the readers) with the human and historical aspects of the text, influencing our perceptions, interpretations, and knowledge. Hence they can also function as powerful tools to influence the views of readers and to shape the image of a text. The main focus of this paper will be the peritexts of the first edition of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*), specifically the prefaces and dedications, and to a lesser extent the epitexts and archival documents.

What does the paratextual tell us about the first edition of the *OED* that the main text cannot? Could the *OED*'s prefaces and dedications provide insights into the dictionary's history, especially the various editors' historical context; their system of organization and editorial work; their views on language; comparisons with competitor dictionaries; and relationships with fellow editors, readers, subeditors, specialists, donors, and publisher? What function did the editors see the paratexts as performing, and how did they use them to achieve these goals?

This essay will show that while the *OED*'s paratextual sources shed light on the dictionary's history and context—in particular its contributors, editors, competitors, sponsors and supporters—they also played a powerful role in establishing the 'brand' of the dictionary as the most scholarly, the most prestigious, and the most comprehensive dictionary in the world. To this end, what were the editors writing in these prefaces that they wanted the world to know? Could the dedications and prefaces of the first edition of the *OED* be seen as precursors to the current phenomenon of online 'content marketing', a concept not defined yet in *OED Online* but understood in Silicon Valley as the strategic practice of creating a brand, building an audience, and selling a product by creating and distributing valuable, relevant, and consistent content?

1 Background: the making of the *Oxford English Dictionary*

First proposed in London by the Philological Society in 1857, the *OED* was designed to be a comprehensive and definitive record of the English language. The founders envisaged that each dictionary entry would give the biography of a word: from its first use in a written source to its most recent. But the task of gathering hundreds of thousands of words, collecting millions of illustrative quotations on small slips of 4x6 inch paper, and researching each word's history and meaning, required a workforce far larger than that of a solo editor or a small group of men in Oxford.

¹ See chapters 2, 13, and 14 of Genette (1997) for more discussion on peritexts and epitexts.

Members of the public in Britain, America, and the rest of the English-speaking world, were invited to become ‘readers’ or contributors to the *OED* by reading texts and sending in selected words and quotations. So many people responded that Royal Mail installed a special red post box outside the Oxford home of the editor, James Murray (1837–1915). Murray and his team of assistants and co-editors (Henry Bradley (1845–1923), Charles Onions (1873–1965), and William Craigie (1867–1957)) incorporated the work of the public volunteers, and created the largest dictionary in the English language, which was finally published in ten volumes in 1928.

2 Fascicle Prefaces and Volume Prefaces

It took 69 years to complete the first edition of the *OED*, or *New English Dictionary* as it was known then. But rather than wait until completion to publish the text, the dictionary was published gradually in a series of alphabetical ranges. After publishing eight ‘parts’ at intervals of one to two years, Oxford University Press (OUP) decided to publish more frequently in smaller ‘fasciculi’ or fascicles, each usually sixty-four pages in length with their own title page, preface, and occasionally a dedication, essay, or appendix. Issued quarterly, the fascicles were then gathered in groups of three to five sections and re-issued as a part. Hence, subscribers could buy the dictionary in sections, parts, or volumes each with their own preface, and parts and sections could be returned for binding when the dictionary was finished.²

Beginning with the publication of the part or fascicle A–Ant (scholars now use the generic term ‘fascicle’ to refer to fascicles, sections, or parts), there was a total of 125 fascicles published between January 1884 and April 1928, averaging two or three per year.³ These were not always published in alphabetical order. For example, the final alphabetical range of X–Zyxt was actually published in October 1921, *before* the letters U, V, and W. Similarly, parts of the letter H appeared before parts of the letter G, and parts of T appeared before parts of S. This hints at a combination of factors: the speed of certain editors, sizes of certain letters in English, and extreme pressure on the editors by the publishers who were keen to get sections of the dictionary out to market regardless of alphabetical order.

On average every five years, a collection of fascicles was gathered together and published as one volume, totalling ten volumes from 1888 to 1928. The volumes and their respective prefaces were published under the names of the editors for that

² Jenny McMorris (2000:228) ‘Appendix I: OED Section and Parts’ in Linda Mugglestone (ed.) *Lexicography and the OED* Oxford: Oxford University Press. McMorris (2000:229–231) gives a full list of sections and parts with the corresponding publication dates. She notes that fascicle dates have caused confusion amongst scholars because parts have been used for dating rather than sections.

³ See Raymond (1987) for copies of the majority of these.

alphabetical sequence. Usually volume prefaces were written especially for that volume but sometimes they were reprints from the fascicles. Sometimes (but not always) both a volume preface and one or more fascicle prefaces would appear in a volume. There does not appear to be a pattern to which fascicle preface was reprinted in the corresponding volume and which was left out—usually, but not always, it is the preface of the first fascicle in the corresponding alphabetical range. This could result in a volume having a large number of prefaces. For example, volume VIII (Q to Sh) had seventeen prefaces, the largest number of all the volumes: one preface appeared for Q and R combined, and a further 16 prefaces from the corresponding fascicles.

If a volume comprised multiple letters of the alphabet, then each letter would get its own preface (e.g. Volume VI) but not always (e.g. Volume VII). Prefaces were always positioned at the front of the fascicles, but this was not always the case for the volumes. For example, Volume VI has four prefaces: two at the front (*Preface to Volume VI* unsigned and undated and *Preface to L* written by Henry Bradley dated July 1903, Oxford), and two later in the volume before the beginning of M (written by Henry Bradley dated July 1908, Oxford) and N (written by William Craigie dated August 1907, Oxford) respectively. Similarly, part I (Ti–U) of volume X contains three prefaces – two at the front of the volume (*Preface to T* written by William Craigie dated February 1916, Oxford, and *Preface to Ti–Tombac* written by James Murray, undated) and one which appears half-way through the volume at the beginning of the Letter U (written by William Craigie dated March 1926, Chicago). When a volume was especially large and split into two parts, as for Volumes IX and X, then each part (Si–St and Su–Th; Ti–U and V–Z respectively) had its own preface or prefaces.

Some volume prefaces were accompanied by an “Appendix to the Preface” which usually listed additional names of subeditors, specialists, and readers. These lists give valuable insights into the editorial system and organization of the work. Sometimes, but not always, an additional essay would also be included. For example, volume I (A and B) comprises a Preface, an Appendix to the Preface, and ‘General Explanations’ which is Murray’s famous essay outlining his method and organization of the dictionary, including a key to pronunciation and list of abbreviations and signs used in the dictionary.

3 Differences Between the Fascicle and Volume Prefaces

How do the content and structure of the fascicle prefaces differ from the volume prefaces? On the whole, the fascicle prefaces drill down into the lexicon more, giving explications on etymologies and commenting on the history of the English lan-

guage through its words. These detailed commentaries rarely make it to the volume prefaces. One is led to believe from comments in the volume prefaces that space is the main reason for this. For example, in the fascicle *Preface to Consignificant–Crouching*, Murray gives an insightful and thorough description of the history of the word *cross*, repeated here in full:

The influence of historical events on the fortunes of a word finds a remarkable exemplification in the case of *cross*. What Roman in presence of the ignominious associations that attached to its Latin original *crux*, and the expression ‘*I in cruce!*’, could have conceived that a time would come when *cross* would be one of the great dictionary words of a far greater language of his own; that besides embracing senses so distinct as the instrument of crucifixion, a decoration of an order, a piece of money, an intermixture of breeds, not to mention thirty other applications, the word would also be an adjective, a verb, an adverb, and a preposition; and in each of these capacities give rise to a multitude of compounds and derivatives, of which 284 would require treatment in the Dictionary? It will be seen that the Latin *crux* entered our language by three distinct routes, and in four different forms, and that it was the form which came by the most circuitous route that was eventually the survivor. It was not the type of the word that came to us directly from Italian monks, and gave the Middle English *crouch*, nor that which came in with the Normans and long remained as *croys*, but that which early Christianity had naturalized in Ireland, and the Irish missionary zeal had communicated to the Norsemen – the Latin-Irish-Norse-North English *cross*, that became the permanent form in our language.

None of this detail makes it into the volume preface for the letter C. Rather, as Murray explains in the volume preface, he decided to save space (which was a constant concern of the publishers): ‘To enumerate here even a tithe of the words of special interest would take too much space; to such users of the Dictionary will themselves naturally turn’. ‘But’, he continued, ‘attention may be called to the number of words connected with the history of Christianity and the Church’, listing the word *cross* as one of many such words.

While the volume prefaces tended to be more ‘big picture’ in their discourse on language and patterns in the lexicon, they still drilled down on the overall statistics throughout the lexicon by presenting tables with total counts for main words, subordinate words, special combinations, obvious combinations, as well as counts of current, obsolete, and alien words. These statistics appeared in all volumes and in many fascicles. Often when a volume preface was short, the only information it supplied was statistical (e.g. Volume X part II V–Z), which reinforced to the reader the dictionary’s impressive size and coverage.

	Main words.	Subordinate words.	Special Combinations.	Obvious Combinations.	Total ¹ .
H (516 pages)	8,900	2,145	2,260	2,708	16,013
I (530 ")	11,350	1,636	683	778	14,447
J (116 ")	1,727	402	441	419	2,989
K (112 ")	1,577	1,084	495	413	3,569
Total	23,554	5,267	3,879	4,318	37,018

Figure 1. Table in the Preface of Volume V (H–K) of the first edition of the *OED* (1901) listing the number of main words, subordinate words, and combinations per letter.

	Current.	Obsolete.	Alien.	Total ² .
H	7,061	1,463	376	8,900
I	7,847	3,333	170	11,350
J	1,361	280	86	1,727
K	1,098	267	212	1,577
Total	17,367	5,343	844	23,554

Figure 2. Table in the Preface of Volume V (H–K) of the first edition of the *OED* (1901) listing the number of current, obsolete, and alien words per letter.

4 Insights into the Editors' Context

In addition to shedding light on the contents of the main dictionary, the prefaces to the *OED* fascicles and volumes also occasionally provide a window into the historical and cultural setting of its creation. For example, Murray makes two references to the ‘white man’s burden’, an expression that appears racist to the twenty-first-century eye and prompts the researcher to probe deeper into Murray’s context. In June 1901 he notes, in the *Preface to Input–Kairine*, ‘the most familiar words from far-off languages are *Juggernaut*, *julep*, *jungle*, *junk* (sb.), and *jute*; *jezail*, *jibbah*, *jinn*, *jinnie*, *jinnricksha*, *joom*, *ju–ju* are more alien elements, as yet, of “the white man’s burden”’. And in August 1901 in the *Preface to Volume V (H–K)*, he writes:

Both letters contain a very large number of words adopted from Oriental, African, American, Australian, and Oceanic languages...Hence the ‘alien words’ in J are proportionally thrice as many as in I, and one-fourth more than in H; and in K three-and-a-half times as many as in H, and seven times as many as in I. In those pages of K which contain the non-English initial combinations Ka–, Kh–, Kl–, Ko–, Kr–, Ku–, Ky–, these exotic words may be thought to super-abound; yet it would have been easy to double their number, if every such word occurring in English books, or current in the English of colonies and dependencies, had been admitted; our constant effort has been to keep down, rather than exaggerate, this part of ‘the white man’s burden’.

Two things are striking about these references by Murray to ‘exotic words’ and ‘the white man’s burden’. First, they draw attention to an often-overlooked fact: the editors of the first edition of the *OED* included many words from beyond British shores at a time when they had for many years been under extreme pressure to delete such words—hence the apologetic tone in the prefaces. Archival materials and published reviews reveal that—from the very start of the editing process—reviewers, consultants, and the Delegates of OUP had put pressure on the editors to keep out of the dictionary the ‘outlandish words’ that they believed were ‘corrupting the English language’. For example, after revising the first draft of the dictionary for A–Ant, Murray had received instructions from the OUP Delegates to omit the loanword entries *aardvark*, *aardwolf*, *ab*, *aba*, and *abaca*.⁴ In a review of the first volume in 1889, the *Edinburgh Review* lamented: ‘they have been far too liberal in admitting to the columns of an English dictionary a multitude of words that form no part of the English language.’

Indeed, the interpolation of ‘barbarous terms and foreign words’ was seen as a sign of the corruption and decay of the English language.⁵ ‘In our eyes’, the review stated, ‘the first duty of those who devote themselves to philological studies is not only to trace the origin of language and the history of its evolution, but to defend its purity, for a corrupt and decaying language is an infallible sign of a corrupt and decaying civilisation. It is one of the gates by which barbarism may invade and over-power the traditions of a great race.’⁶ Similarly, proofreaders and consultants advised Murray to be ‘less liberal’ in ‘the insertion of words belonging to foreign languages’.⁷ But Murray and his fellow editors ignored these criticisms and pressures, and kept putting in loanwords and World Englishes.⁸

Secondly, these references in the prefaces signal a nod to popular culture at the time: Imperial Leather Soap and Pears’ Soap had been advertising that their products “lighten the white man’s burden” as originally described by Rudyard Kipling’s poem (1899). Adventure books by writers such as H. Rider Haggard and publications for children such as *Boy’s Own* told daring tales of life in the farthest reaches of the Empire. An entirely new vocabulary was being incorporated into British life and the English language – and Murray and his editors included it in the dictionary regardless of pressure to exclude it.⁹

4 OED/MISC/7/1. n.d. ‘The New English Dictionary. Suggestions for Guidance in Preparing Copy for the Press.’

5 ‘The Literature and Language of the Age’ *Edinburgh Review* April 1889 p. 344, 348.

6 ‘The Literature and Language of the Age’ *Edinburgh Review* April 1889 349.

7 MP/?/1879. Letter from Martineau to Murray, nd, but sometime in late 1879.

8 For a full exposition of the pressure to exclude foreign words that was exerted on Murray by reviewers, subeditors, and OUP Delegates, please see Ogilvie (2012: 53–103).

9 See Ogilvie (2012: 67–70 and 83–90) for a fuller discussion on Empire and the dictionary.

It is rare for editors to refer directly to current affairs in the prefaces, except through discussions about words and their usage. In the *Preface to Sullen-Supple*, published in January 1917, Charles Onions tells readers that:

Two expressions are here treated which have come into high prominence during the last few years. The phrase *a place in the sun*, which is traceable in literature to Pascal's *Pensees*, has long been familiar on the Continent, but its present currency in this country is due to its use by the Emperor of Germany in a speech made at Hamburg on 27 August, 1911. *Superman*, the invention of which is to be put down to Mr. Bernard Shaw, has now definitely superseded the earlier attempts to render *ubermensch* as used by Nietzsche, viz. *beyond-man* (A. Tille 1896) and *overman* (T. Common 1901), the second of which had for a time a considerable vogue. A recent Act of Parliament has set its seal upon a new use of the compound *summer-time*, which is duly recorded here.

5 Movement and Location of the Editors

We are able to track the movements and location of the editors through both the content and signature line of the prefaces. In 1885, Murray tells readers that production will speed up because of his move to Oxford and the appointment of extra staff: 'I hope that the result of my removal to Oxford, and of the labours of the much larger staff of assistants with which the liberality of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press has furnished me, will be to make it possible to produce the following parts of the Dictionary at much shorter intervals, and that we may reach the end of Part III, finishing B, early in 1886'.

The signature lines of the prefaces tell us where the editors are located throughout the dictionary's long history: in 1883, Murray is living in Mill Hill (*Preface to A–Ant*, November 1883); by 1885, Murray has moved his Scriptorium to Banbury Road, Oxford (*Preface to Ant–Batten*, September 1885); in 1891, Henry Bradley is living in London (*Prefatory Note to E–Every* May 1891; *Prefatory Note to E*, October 1893); by 1897, Bradley has moved to Oxford (*Prefatory Note to F*, October 1897); in 1907, Craigie is living in Oxford (*Preface to N*, August 1907); in 1919, Onions is living in Oxford (*Preface to Su–Sz*, June 1919); by 1926, Craigie has moved to Chicago (*Preface to U*, March 1926); in 1927, Craigie is (temporarily) back in Oxford (*Preface to V*, August 1927).

The *Preface to W*, written by Craigie and Onions in November 1927, gives a good summary of the working arrangements of the editors in the 1920s: 'the history of the preparation of this letter is marked by two outstanding events, the death of Dr Henry Bradley, the then senior editor, on 23 May, 1923, and the appointment in 1925 of Dr Craigie to a professorship in the Department of English at the University of Chicago, which did not, however, withdraw him from taking part in what then remained to be done to complete the work. These events, together with the allocation (since 1921) of some part of Mr Onions's time to collateral works, have been contributing factors to

a delay which has, however, in the sequel, the happy result that the publication of the concluding pages of the work falls in the year of the fiftieth anniversary of its first association with the name of James A. H. Murray as the editor under the auspices of the Delegates of the Clarendon Press.’

6 Contributors to the Dictionary

The *OED* editors clearly used the prefaces of the dictionary as a venue to acknowledge and express gratitude to the people who helped them create it: the volunteer Readers who read books and sent in citations; the Specialists who were experts in a particular subject and advised on certain words; and the Subeditors who arranged quotations, prepared definitions, and marked and corrected proofs.¹⁰

The prefaces provide a good idea of the global scope of the dictionary project. The editors often mention the location of a contributor and using that information, and gathering more independently from archival materials, we are able to map their locations and to see that they stretched across the globe from Britain and Europe to America, Africa, and beyond. In total, nearly 800 ‘Friends of the Dictionary’, as Murray called them, are acknowledged in the prefaces for their help gathering quotations, correcting proofs, checking bibliographic issues, or advising on certain subjects.

10 The prefaces do not provide an exhaustive list of contributors and therefore only give a partial picture. I am currently leading a large project at Stanford University investigating *all* those who contributed to the creation of the dictionary. See ‘Crowdsourcing in the Nineteenth Century Project’ at Stanford University for more information: <http://web.stanford.edu/group/spatialhistory/cgi-bin/site/project.php?id=1097>. Using a wide source of archival material, the Stanford project will tell us who was left out of the prefaces. For example, JRR Tolkien is not mentioned in the prefaces despite the fact that he worked on the dictionary from 1919 to 1921 and was good friends with the *OED* editor, Charles Onions.



Figure 3. Map showing the distribution of contributors to the first edition of the OED, based on the dictionary's fascicle and volume prefaces.

The reader of the prefaces becomes quite attached to the recurring names of editors, assistants, and contributors and almost feels sadness when the editor reports on the death of someone. For example, John Mitchell was Murray's editorial assistant from 1883 until his death in 1894. In the *Prefatory Note to D–Depravation*, in 1895, Murray reports in a footnote: 'The Editorial staff engaged upon this portion included the late Mr. John Mitchell, Mr. Walter Worrall, B.A., Mr. Arthur Maling, M.A., Mr. C. G. Balk, Mr. F. J. Sweatman, B.A., and Mr. A. Erlebach, B.A. Mr. Mitchell's long and valued work in the Scriptorium was, to our unspeakable grief, suddenly terminated by a fatal accident at Lliwydd, near Snowden, on 30th August, 1894'. He follows this up in the corresponding volume *Preface to D and E*: 'In the early part of the letter [D] I had the co-operation also of the late Mr. John Mitchell and of Mr. W. Worrall, B.A. Mr. Mitchell had been on the staff of the Dictionary for more than eleven years; and his sudden and lamented death, caused by a fall when climbing in the Snowden region, on August 30, 1894, was for certain departments of our work a loss which is not yet repaired'.

In addition to John Mitchell, there were many mentions of Alfred Erlebach – an editorial assistant, reader, and subeditor – who was brought onto the Scriptorium staff from Mill Hill School where Murray had been school master, working alongside Erlebach, before becoming Editor of the *OED*. Erlebach later went to be joint Headmaster of another school with his brother, but returned to deputize for Murray and was clearly valued deeply by Murray. Beginning with the first preface (A–Ant), when Murray acknowledges 'the invaluable labours of Mr. Alfred Erlebach, B.A., who has aided me in the treatment of almost every word', Erlebach is acknowledged

in sixteen prefaces. We learn in the *Preface to Volume V* in 1901 that ‘Mr. Alfred Erlebach, B. A., a valued member of the Scriptorium staff in earlier times, who continued to render occasional assistance, died on October 7, 1899.’

The *Preface to O and P*, in 1909, is particularly poignant and perhaps illustrates most tangibly how long this work was taking because many of its key editors and volunteer contributors were dying along the way. ‘The large section Pim– to Prof– was laboriously sub-edited by Miss J. E. A. Brown’, writes Murray, ‘one of the most devoted and enthusiastic of our volunteer helpers, between 1900 and her sudden death on 19 February 1907. Her work was ably continued, Profit to Pry, by the late Mr. C. B. Winchester, in 1907–8. The earlier material for Pr– to Pu– had been put in order by the late Mr. P. W. Jacob in 1885’. In addition, Murray lamented the loss of the reader and specialist Alexander Beazeley in 1905, plus five others:

Five of our most zealous helpers in this department have been removed by death during the preparation of this volume: the Right Hon. Lord Aldenham, who had sub-edited parts of C and K for the Philological Society, and had read our proofs from the beginning, died in September 1907; Dr. W. Sykes, F. S. A., who supplied most of our quotations for recent medical terms, died in September, 1906; Mr. E. L. Brandreth, who had sub-edited portions of H, K, and N, besides reading our proofs, and verifying references in the British Museum Library, died in December, 1907; Mr. C. B. Winchester, who, as reader, sub-editor, and, after the death of Mr. Brandreth, collater of quotations in the British Museum, was the most valued of our later volunteer coadjutors, died in December 1908; Mr. Chichester Hart, of Curraghblagh, Portsalon, Donegal, who added to the proofs many quotations from 16th and 17th century dramatists, died in 1908.

It would only be a few years until Murray himself also died. The section to be published a few months after his death, Standard–Stead, was preceded by an obituary that began thus:

Sir James Murray died on the 26th July, 1915. His great wish that he should live to finish the Dictionary on his eightieth birthday, in 1917, has not been fulfilled; the unceasing labour of three and thirty years has ended when less than a tenth part of the work remains to be done. Almost within a week of his death he was still hard at work

The prefaces tell us that entire families were involved in the reading and sub-editing process: for example, in 1897, Frederick Thomas Elworthy of Somerset is thanked along with ‘the collaboration of members of his family’ for subediting of D–Dely. Elworthy’s family members consisted of all women: wife Maria, and daughters Florence and ‘Miss M’. We also learn in the *Preface to U* that William Craigie’s wife, Ada, helped out during the First World War when the team was short of male staff:

The nature or the material, especially the fact that unimportant examples of Un– were scattered all through it, necessitates a complete rehandling before the articles on the prefixes could be written and the best manner of treating the more important words settled. This task of rearrangement, after further material had been added by Mr. F. J. Sweatman, was carried out by Mrs Craigie during the time when the staff was reduced by reason of the war.

Of all those acknowledged in the prefaces, 14% are female and 86% male. Most of these contributors are Specialists, followed by Readers, then Subeditors and Editors and Editorial Assistants.¹¹

7 Comparison with Competitors and Statistics on Content

The editors of the first edition of the *OED* repeatedly used the prefaces to highlight the deficiencies of competitor dictionaries, especially on issues of scholarly rigour and coverage of vocabulary. This proved a powerful strategy to advertise the sheer breadth and size of the dictionary, and to signal to users, reviewers, and competitors that their dictionary was superior. The preface was being used as a tool to establish the authority and comprehensiveness of the dictionary.

Most criticisms of competitor dictionaries related to issues of plagiarism, the inclusion of spurious words, or inadequate coverage of vocabulary. In the *Prefatory Note to Clo–Consigner*, Murray laments his competitors’ ‘uncritical copying’ from earlier dictionaries of ‘bogus words’:

In no other part of the Vocabulary have the current Dictionaries been found so deficient, or so affected with error. The great number of bogus words, originating in mistakes of many kinds and of many authors, from the early days of English lexicography onward – which have been uncritically copied by one compiler after another, until, in recent compilations, their number has become serious – has decided us to prepare a *List of Spurious Words* found in Dictionaries, to be given at the end of the work, to which list such *verba nihili* are relegated from the text.

Murray adds a footnote on one such spurious word, *cherisaunce* (cherishment), which gives an insight into his impatience with negative reviewers and his frustration with plagiarism in the work of his competitors and predecessors. ‘The need for such a list’, he explains, ‘is exemplified by the fact that a recent reviewer in the *Athenaeum* refused to accept the direct statement under *chevisance*, in Part V of this Dictionary, that there is no such word as “cherisaunce” on the ground that in certain dictionaries (of no critical or independent value on such a point) be found the *Romaunt of the Rose* quoted for “cherisaunce” in the sense of “cherishment”’.

Explaining the evolution of a scribal mistake of r for v and the reproduction of the error by ‘works laying claim to scholarly editorship’, Murray is careful not to

¹¹ Comparing these figures with the preliminary findings of the author’s Stanford project (see footnote 10), we see that Subeditors were disproportionately acknowledged in the prefaces: they were three times more likely to be thanked than Readers and Specialists. Also, every Editor and Editorial Assistant (except Tolkien) was thanked, as one might expect in a preface.

accuse his competitors directly of plagiarism but uses the opportunity to extol the precision of his work over that of his predecessors (in this case Charles Richardson's *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–37)) and to signal to reviewers that they would be called out on criticisms judged to be unfair or misinformed: '*Cherisance* is a typical specimen of a bogus word', he noted,

and an instructive example of the propagation and multiplications of error under the joint action of sequacious copying and reckless assertion. Having been incautiously included as a real word by Richardson, it has been appropriated from him (without acknowledgement and without examination) by successive compilers.

William Craigie, in the *Preface to U*, also indicates that 'previous dictionaries have freely inserted forms with *un-* of which the currency is uncertified, or of which only one instance can be cited, while omitting many which have been in real use for centuries'. Similarly, in the *Prefatory Note to F*, written by Henry Bradley in 1897, the reader is alerted to deficiencies relating to legal terms in current dictionaries:

In most of the Law Dictionaries, and hence in some dictionaries of the English language, there appear many alleged terms of early English law which have no real existence, having been evolved from misreadings or misunderstandings of the texts. It has not always been thought worth while to occupy space in recording these figments; but in a few cases (as under *fierding-court*), where the error has obtained some general currency, its origin has been briefly pointed out.

Another recurring point of comparison with competitors was the *OED*'s larger coverage of vocabulary. The editors took every opportunity to advertise that their dictionary covers far more vocabulary than other dictionaries, often more than ten times as many words. In the *Preface of Volume VI*, the reader learns that 'in several recent Dictionaries the space occupied by the part of the English vocabulary here treated amounts almost exactly to one-tenth of the whole'. Most prefaces included a series of tables comparing the number of words and quotations in the *OED* with its competitors such as Johnson's, Cassell's, Century, Funk, and Richardson's. The word counts tallied for the competitors almost always pale in comparison to the comprehensive coverage of the *OED*. Slowly but surely, the editors were establishing the dictionary as the most authoritative, scholarly and comprehensive English dictionary in the world.

	Johnson.	Cassell's 'Encyclopaedic.'	'Century' Dict.	'Funk's Standard.'	Here.	
Total words recorded	H	1,533	6,853	9,690	9,630	16,013
	I	2,012	6,630	7,575	7,846	14,447
	J	299	1,338	1,736	1,730	2,989
	K	205	1,412	2,064	2,071	3,569
Words illustrated by quotations	H	1,194	1,898	3,357	999	12,118
	I	1,640	2,762	3,961	894	12,133
	J	237	378	711	198	2,429
	K	150	322	595	177	2,474
Number of illustrative quotations	H	4,150	3,084	8,349	1,327	59,776
	I	4,451	3,907	8,301	1,412	54,730
	J	763	593	1,522	256	12,080
	K	665	557	1,505	229	12,340

The quotations in Richardson's Dictionary are, H 4,500, I 6,195, J 901, K 684.

Figure 4. Table in the Preface of Volume V (H–K) of the first edition of the *OED* (1901) comparing coverage of words and quotations with Johnson's, Cassell's, the *Century*, Funk's *Standard Dictionary*, and Richardson's.

8 Constraints of Space

There is a tension in the prefaces between the editors proudly advertising the size and coverage of their work in comparison with their competitors on the one hand, and an apologetic tone for taking up too much space on the other. A constant concern of the prefaces is the constraint of space, and one discovers from the archives that the editors were under pressure from the Delegates of OUP to save money by working faster and cutting back on definitions, quotations, and the inclusion of 'fringe' vocabulary or long etymologies.¹²

Hence, from the very first volume onwards, the treatment of words and the presentation of prefixes is explained in the prefaces in terms of space restrictions: 'The necessity of compression, in order to keep the Dictionary within reasonable bounds, has been continually present to the Editor, and has led to the employment of a condensed arrangement in groups of related technical terms of Natural History or other sciences...'. Murray informs readers in 1891 in the *Prefatory Note to Clo-Consigner* that the entry for the verb *come* 'takes up 23 columns, the largest space yet claimed by any word in the Dictionary', and we learn in volume VII, *Pennage-Plat*, that a group of 240 words related to the prefix *photo-* are 'with difficulty compressed into 15 columns'. By the letter R, we learn that 'to the Teutonic side, however, belongs the word which has required far more space than any other, viz. the verb *run*, the forms and senses of which cover no fewer than 37 columns, while many more are occupied by words derived from it, as *runaway*, *runner*, etc.' Similarly, the

¹² OED/B/3/1/2. Letter from Müller to Delegates n.d. Pressure from the Delegates to save space by cutting definitions and quotations is described by Mugglestone (2005: 62–81).

entry for the word *turn*, its 76 senses and 47 compounds, took the editors nearly three months, as Murray explained in the *Preface to Trink–Turn–down*, ‘the results, although compressed to a minimum, fill 36 columns. To enable the reader to make his way through the maze of meanings, a general index is prefixed’. In 1912, the length of the entries *run* and *turn* were surpassed by that for *set*, as explained by Henry Bradley in the *Preface to Senatory–Several*: ‘in this section the words of Old English origin are extraordinarily few, but they occupy nearly one-third of the space. The article on the verb *set* is the longest in the Dictionary, this verb having a greater variety of senses and idiomatic applications than any other word in the language’.

Murray had noticed early on in his editing that the history of a word influenced the space it took up in the text. In the preface to Volume I, he observed one main difference between his work and the work of previous lexicographers such as Bailey, Johnson, Webster, and Ogilvie: although the letter A had more words than B (12,183 and 10,049 respectively) and had always taken up more space than B in earlier dictionaries, in his dictionary the opposite was true: the letter A took up less space than B.¹³ The reason for this is central to the nature of a diachronic dictionary: space in a diachronic dictionary is determined by the historical character of the words, not the number of headwords. ‘A has a very small proportion of native English or Teutonic words, and a very large proportion of words from Latin (directly or through French), and from Greek’, he explained in the *Preface to Volume I*, and ‘B has a much smaller number of words from these sources, and a very large proportion of native Teutonic words.’¹⁴

This was articulated many times throughout the entire dictionary, as explained by Henry Bradley in the *Preface to Field–Frankish*:

By far the greater portion of the space in this part is occupied with words belonging to the oldest strata of the English vocabulary – words which have come down from Old English and Old Norse, and Romantic words of early introduction. Many of these words have developed a great variety of senses, and have therefore required to be treated in articles of more than average length.

In the *Preface to Stillation–Stratum*, Bradley again explains:

About half the space of this section is occupied with words of native English origin. It is true that the list of words actually inherited from Old English is not very long; but it includes several words which, like *stint* sb.1 and vb., *stir* vb., *stock* sb.1, *stone*, *stool*, *stop* vb., *storm*, *straight*, *strand*, *strap*, either claim extended treatment on account of the multitude of their senses, or have given rise to a large number of compounds and derivatives, many of which have themselves a long and varied history.

¹³ Murray (1888: vii).

¹⁴ Murray (1888: vii).

9 Insights into the Editorial Process

We gain insights into the editorial process, especially its laborious nature, from the prefaces. For example, in the *Preface to Volume 1 A and B*, Murray tell us that when searching for the meaning of obscure terms ‘ten, twenty or thirty letters have sometimes been written to persons who, it was thought, might possibly know, or succeed in finding out, something definite on the subject; and often weeks have passed, and “copy” advanced into the state of “proof”, “proof” into “revise”, and “revise” even into “final”, before any results could be obtained’.

By highlighting the time-consuming process of research, Murray was also of course telling the reader that his dictionary was the product of in-depth and thorough scholarly efforts unmatched by rivals, thereby strengthening the authoritative image of the text. We sense Murray’s exasperation at the time and effort required to research a word thoroughly when the result may yield little in return, especially in light of the fact that other dictionaries do not employ such rigorous methods: ‘it is incredible’, he writes,

what labour has had to be expended, sometimes, to find out the facts for an article which occupies not more than five or six lines; or even to be able to write the words “Derivation unknown”, as the net outcome of hours of research and of testing the statements put forth without hesitation in other works.

Murray follows on from this by likening his difficulties to those experienced by Samuel Johnson, as expressed in Johnson’s Preface, which he quotes at length:

These experiences have often called to mind the classical words in which Dr Johnson recounts in his Preface his similar difficulties: “When I first engaged in this work, I resolved to leave neither words nor things unexamined, and pleased myself with a prospect of the hours which I should revel away in feasts of literature with obscure recesses of northern learning which I should enter and ransack; the treasures with which I expected every search into those neglected mines to reward my labour, and the triumph with which I should display my acquisitions to mankind. When I had thus enquired into the original of words, I resolved to show likewise my attention to things; to pierce deep into every science, to enquire the nature of every substance of which I inserted the name, to limit every idea by a definition strictly logical, and exhibit every production of art or nature in an accurate description, that my book might be in place of all other dictionaries whether appellative or technical. But these were the dreams of a poet doomed to last to wake a lexicographer. I soon found that it is too late to look for instruments, when the work calls for execution, and that whatever abilities I had brought to my task, with those I must finally perform it. To deliberate whenever I doubted, to enquire whenever I was ignorant would have protracted the undertaking without end and perhaps without much improvement; for I did not find by my first experiments, that what I had not of my own was easily to be obtained: I saw that one enquiry only gave occasion to another, that book referred to book, that to search was not always to find, and to find was not always to be informed; and that thus to pursue perfection, was, like the first inhabitants of Arcadia, to chase the sun, which, when they had reached the hill where he seemed to rest, was still beheld at some dis-

tance from them. I then contracted by design, determining to confide in myself, and no longer to solicit auxiliaries, which produced more incumbrance than assistance: by this I obtained at least one advantage, that I set limits to my work, which would in time be ended, though not completed.

Murray continues his comparison with Johnson, suggesting that his efforts might even surpass Johnson's thanks to his collaboration with scholars and specialists:

If the present writer has been more successful than Dr Johnson in finding what he searched for, it has been owing to the ready good-will and helpful co-operation of many scholars and specialists, most of them men whose time is much occupied, but whose interest in this undertaking has led them willingly to place some of it at the Editor's service, and freely to contribute of their knowledge to the perfection of the work.

We learn from the prefaces that the editorial process was so thorough and comprehensive that it included specific requests by editors for readers to find evidence of targeted words. For example, the *Prefatory Note for Depravative – Distrustful* includes mention of 'Lists of Special Wants' and 'Desiderata'. Murray tells his readers:

Considering the labour devoted to the preparation of these Lists, it may here be allowable to express the wish that more use were made of them by readers and friends of the Dictionary. If every reader would make it his ambition to supply one desideratum at least, it would be of material service to the work.

The prefaces also show us that the Editor's concerns and responsibilities went beyond the editorial and ventured into the design and format of the book. In the *Preface to Volume 1*, Murray explains that 'in order to facilitate reference, great pains have been taken to make the page eloquent to the eye, by the employment of different sizes and styles of type, by arrangement of the paragraphs, and by the prominence given to the dates of quotations'. Even in design and format, we see him comparing his book to those of others and drawing attention to how his efforts are superior, in this case Emile Littré's *Dictionnaire de la langue française* (1863–72): 'Since the original scheme of the Philological Society was projected', Murray explains in the *Preface to Volume 1*,

the great French Dictionary of M. Littré has been given to the world, and has been made use of in determining some of the features of the present work. The size of the page adopted is the same as that of Littré; but the breaking up of the articles into paragraphs, the typographical distinction between explanations and quotations, and other differences, will, it is hoped be recognized as improvements.

In 1926, William Craigie explains in the *Preface to U* that the editors introduced special typographical features to save space on the page for the large section allocated to the two prefixes *un-*:

the number of actual forms, however, having claim to insertion on one ground or another, is so great that special typographical features and other devices have been introduced in this part of the Dictionary, both in order to obtain the requisite space and to indicate the relative importance of the words.

10 *OED* Dedications

A dedication performs a powerful function as an offering or token of esteem and a proclamation of relationship, whether material or symbolic. As Genette (1997: 135) puts it, naming a dedicatee is ‘a matter of demonstration, ostentation, exhibition: it proclaims a relationship, whether intellectual or personal, actual or symbolic, and this proclamation is always at the service of the work, as a reason for elevating the work’s standing or as a theme for commentary’.

What then do the *OED* dedications tell us about the material and symbolic relationships that the *OED* wanted to be seen as proclaiming? Who did they use to elevate the work’s standing?

In the first edition of the *OED*, we find three dedications that set the historical scene for the creation of the dictionary and tell us with whom the editors and press wanted to proclaim a relationship: Queen Victoria (in 1897), the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths (in 1908), and King George V (in 1928). These dedications send a clear message of the aspirations of the editors and the press: they had a strong desire to bring prestige and power to the dictionary.

During Murray’s time as Chief Editor, the nature of the British Empire had shifted and changed. The 1880s and 1890s saw imperial expansion at its height: more than a quarter of the world’s population and a part of every continent were under its dominion. The imperial-themed occasion of Queen Victoria’s diamond jubilee and parade through the streets of London in June 1897 was the perfect occasion upon which to dedicate the dictionary’s third volume (Murray’s D and Bradley’s E). After all, the dictionary was describing words used in English from every continent on earth. The lexicon represented the seemingly never-ending expansion and ‘progression’ of power. With Her Majesty’s permission it was published in August of that year dedicated to ‘the Empress of India’, along with—for the first time—the imprimatur of the University of Oxford. But the year 1897 proved to be a golden moment before the storm: no one could have foreseen that Britain’s failure in the Boer war in South Africa of 1899–1902 would shoot down the idea of never-ending expansion and progression. It did not stop the Press exploiting the royal connection: an adver-

tisement for the dictionary in the *Times* newspaper in 1899 leads with the title ‘Dedicated with Permission to Queen Victoria’.¹⁵

A decade later we see a shift in dedication from royal power to commercial power, from prestige to money, in the form of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths, the fifth of the Great Twelve City of London Livery Companies. In 1905, Henry Hucks Gibbs (1819–1907) who was a businessman, Director of the Bank of England, and a key and powerful ‘Friend of the Dictionary’ had helped broker a donation to the dictionary from Goldsmiths of 5000 pounds which helped publish Volume VI (Bradley’s L and M and Craigie’s N). The dedication leaf (embossed with the Company’s crest and motto ‘Justitia Virtutum Regina’ *Justice is Queen of Virtues*) reads: ‘This sixth volume is a memorial to the munificence of the Worshipful Company of Goldsmiths who have generously contributed five thousand pounds towards its production’. Upon completion of the dictionary, the grand and prestigious celebratory dinner with the Prime Minister was held in Goldsmiths Hall.

A matter of weeks after the success of the Goldsmiths’ donation, Murray tried his luck in approaching the Scottish-American industrialist and philanthropist Andrew Carnegie (1835–1919) for a comparable donation to support the publication of the next volume (Volume VII). Carnegie was a supporter of spelling reform. Murray was too, but Carnegie must not have known that because as reported by Elizabeth Murray (1977: 292) he refused to donate and told Murray ‘that he was satisfied with the *Century Dictionary*, and having heard that the Oxford one was to continue the antiquated spelling at present in use, he did not see that its field of usefulness could be very great’.

Alas, no more dedications appeared until the final volume in 1928, which is not really a straight-forward ‘dedication’ as much as a ‘presentation’ to King George V. It reads:

This Dictionary of the English language which was dedicated in 1897 to Her Majesty Queen Victoria is now on its completion presented by His Majesty’s gracious permission to King George the Fifth by the Chancellor Masters and Scholars of the University of Oxford.

This particular wording, especially the use of ‘presented by His Majesty’s gracious permission to King George the Fifth’ rather than ‘dedicated to King George the Fifth’, had been carefully crafted after many months of discussion between the Secretary to the Delegates of OUP and the Vice Chancellor of Oxford. Concerned about ‘depriving Queen Victoria of the dedication of the N.E.D. and re-dedicating it to the King’, the final wording used ‘presented’ rather than ‘dedicated’ to the King.¹⁶

¹⁵ “The Oxford English Dictionary.” *Times* [London, England] 14 June 1899: 3. Online: *The Times Digital Archive*. Accessed June 19, 2018.

¹⁶ OED/B/3/2/16. Letter from Pember to Chapman 5 June 1927; OED/B/3/2/17. Letter from Pember to Chapman 28 April 1928.

Based on the two meanings of the French noun *dédicace*, Genette (1997: 117) highlights the dual function of a dedication: on one hand, to proclaim a ‘material reality’ of a single copy that ratifies the gift or consummated sale of that copy and, on the other hand, the symbolic or ‘ideal reality’ of the work itself.¹⁷ This distinction is played out perfectly in the dedication of the final volume of the dictionary, thereby highlighting the powerful role that a dedication plays as a token of esteem and a proclamation of relationship, whether that be a material reality (George V) or the symbolic or ideal reality (Queen Victoria).

11 Conclusion

The *OED*’s paratexts give insights into the dictionary’s history, especially aspects of the editors’ historical and cultural context, their movements and locations, their system of organization and work, their views on language, their frustrations with reviewers and comparisons with competitors, their concerns with saving space, and acknowledgement of connection with fellow editors, readers, subeditors, specialists, donors, friends, and publisher. Nowadays, these sections are usually left out of digitized and online editions of dictionaries, and are therefore seldom read by the public or scholars, and yet much is lost without them.

We have seen that the dictionary dedications performed powerful functions as tokens of esteem and prestige, and the prefaces helped reinforce a message of scholarly rigour, comprehensiveness, and authority, which survives to the present day. Indeed, the *OED* is marketed today as ‘the definitive record of the English language’. as stated on the *OED* website. Hence, in addition to the function of sharing information about the dictionary-making process with the reader, a more powerful function of the paratexts was to establish the dictionary’s ‘brand’ of prestige, power, and authority. Without finding explicit evidence in archival sources, we will never know how intentional this strategy was, but in a world in which the Internet is driving new forms of digital content-driven marketing which aim to establish a product’s brand as an interesting, valuable, and trusted authority, perhaps online marketers could learn from Murray and his editors. To use the language of twenty-first century digital marketers, the *OED* paratexts performed a dual function of ‘brand-building’ and ‘information sharing’. In Silicon Valley, that’s called ‘content marketing’, and James Murray had it down pat whether he knew it or not.

¹⁷ Genette (1997: 117).

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Rebecca Shapiro

The “wants” of women: Lexicography and pedagogy in seventeenth- and eighteenth-century dictionaries

Abstract: Often early English dictionaries were pedagogical tools and introduced loan words to native speakers; language instruction was “grammar translation” for teaching Classical languages; indeed, English dictionaries often used Classical dictionaries as sources. Students of Classical languages translated texts from one language word-for-word into another to read or write literature or scripture, committing them to memory—but not to speak or otherwise use another language. Academics believed that the classroom was of a higher intellectual order than the marketplace or the home. Dictionaries, though, encouraged practical methods and assumed readers to be active, eager learners. Several considered women their primary audience: Cawdrey (1604), Dunton (1694), and Piozzi (1794) assert that not only were they writing for women, but the approach to the subtleties of English was what mothers would appreciate. Texts targeting women were important in early lexicography and were resources for connecting language acquisition and pedagogy. While many dictionaries focused on lexicography as a nationalist concern in the absence of an Academy, dictionaries for women empowered the home; the rise of the middle class enabled women to acquire greater literacy and therefore they were natural targets in the burgeoning field of linguistics and lexicography as readers and “users.”

Keywords: book trade, women’s literacy, Maria Edgeworth, children’s dictionaries, pedagogy, dissenters, education of women and children, grammars, gender, sexism, prescriptivism, Mary Wollstonecraft, print culture

1 Introduction: The “wants” of women

With the advent of greater literacy and access to books, dictionaries encouraged practical methods and assumed readers to be active, eager learners. Several early modern dictionaries considered women one of their primary audiences and even singled them out as patrons or readers—and as teachers of their own children. However, during the late seventeenth century and through much of the eighteenth cen-

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ture, lexicography ignored women as serious readers or scholars. Only around the late eighteenth century did women become active in lexicography, though this time their roles were as writers as well as readers. While the approach of these dictionaries was pedagogical, this time the female authors assumed that women readers would not necessarily be mothers; women authors and readers might be mothers—or they might be schoolmistresses or governesses. In short, they would have professions.

Even though James Murray's lecture on *The Evolution of English Lexicography* (1900) has been cited many times over the last century, it is not less often cited with respect to his intriguing comment linking women and education with the advent of early dictionaries and the specialization of the English language and its study during the early modern period.¹ Murray, well-known for working with and employing women on his various lexicographical projects, mentions in a lengthy aside how women figured in the history and development of the English dictionary and were in fact essential when it came to providing justification for the publication of dictionaries and thus the need for women as readers. In his discussion of early modern dictionaries, Murray explains that no lexicographer had previously seen a need for monolingual English dictionaries. Instead,

No one appears before the end of the sixteenth century to have felt that Englishmen could want a dictionary to help them to the knowledge and correct use of their own language. That language was either an in-born faculty or it was inhaled with their native air, or imbibed with their mothers' milk; how could they need a book to teach them to speak their mother-tongue? To the scholars of the Renaissance the notion would have seemed absurd—as absurd as it has seemed to some of their descendants in the nineteenth century that an English grammar school or an English university should trouble itself about such aboriginal products of the English skull, as English language and literature. But by the end of the sixteenth century, as by the end of the nineteenth, there was a moving of the waters: the Renaissance of ancient learning had itself brought into English use thousands of learned words, from Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic, and other languages, “ink-horn terms” ... and not to be imbibed from, mother or grandmother. (Murray 1900: 26–27)

Here Murray links learning the indigenous language and education with women, though it would become apparent that as the pedagogical foundation women provided in the nursery was deemed insufficient for the new world of English words. Women lacked the training to impart to their charges what was becoming essential to a proper education in a changing language and educational system as a result of increased travel and contact with speakers of other languages. He then explains how nineteenth-century English university programs began to include women, without whom these new curricula would not have been as successful:

¹ Scholars who have mentioned Murray's comments with respect to women are Juliet Fleming (1994); Sylvia Brown (2001); and Andrea R. Nagy (1999).

The higher position now taken by English studies, is intimately interwoven with the advances which have been made during the last quarter of a century in the higher education of women, and that but for the movement to let women share in the advantages of a university education, it is doubtful whether the nineteenth century would have witnessed the establishment of a School of English Language and Literature at Oxford. In connexion with this it is a noteworthy fact, that the preparation of these early seventeenth century English dictionaries was also largely due to a consideration of the educational wants of women. (Murray 1900: 30–31)

Murray makes a clear connection between the development of the dictionary with education—both for and by women. As the populace became more literate and as education became more readily accessible, especially for men, in the seventeenth century—much as it became for women during the nineteenth—then there would be a need for women to know more about English as well.

In his lecture Murray (1900) names Robert Cawdrey, John Bullokar, Henry Cockram, Thomas Blount, and John Kersey as being particularly receptive to women as readers; their respective dictionary front matter explains how women would benefit from using their works, and in several cases women are listed as desired readers. He notes, however, that

all these references to the needs of women disappear from the later editions, and are wanting in later dictionaries after 1660; whether this was owing to the fact that the less-knowing women had now come upsides with the more-knowing men; or that with the Restoration, female education went out of fashion, and women sank back again into elegant illiteracy, I leave to the historian to discover. (Murray 1900: 31–32)

Murray’s point is that women were no longer especially patrons or dedicatees of dictionaries, nor were they indicated as a particular audience; he concludes that this could be either because women’s literacy rates climbed high enough to make educated women unexceptional, or their knowledge was considered relegated solely to the nursery or drawing room and thus unimportant. What is highly significant, then, is that for some time women *were* deemed important enough to the promulgation of dictionaries—as patrons, if not as readers and students of them—but then for over a century, they disappeared, only to reappear at the end of the eighteenth century as authors of dictionaries and as pedagogues. As women’s literacy and education expanded during the rise of the middle class beginning during the seventeenth century, women’s roles subsequently contracted during the eighteenth century; the result was a decline in women’s academic accomplishment in favor of more artistic or vocational training. This “want,” as Murray so aptly put it, was rectified by the end of the eighteenth century as women revised their roles as wives, mothers, and even wage-earners to create a place for themselves in lexicography—though not so much as purported readers or patrons of dictionaries—but as lexicographers and

teachers.² The change in purpose and content of dictionaries throughout the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries reflects increased agency for women as readers and authors and this essay explores the shifts in the place of women as creators and consumers in the history of English lexicography up to the early nineteenth century.

2 Early modern dictionaries and women

Of course, Murray is right: women *were* specifically targeted by early lexicographers from Cawdrey's *Table alphabeticall* (1604)—the first monolingual dictionary in English—to John Kersey's *New English dictionary* (1702), though most of the addresses or references to women occur in the first half of the seventeenth century. After that period, however, women as readers of general-use dictionaries were not addressed specifically. If one were to treat dictionaries and other reference books (such as grammars, syllabaries, and synonymies) as varieties of linguistic or rhetorical conduct books in this period of burgeoning literacy then it will be useful to consider what kinds of conduct women were being asked to perform. In order to understand the shift for dictionary writers from appealing to women to ignoring or discounting them, it is important to place these texts in a diachronic socio-historical context of economics and gender roles as well as lexicography—none of these things can be viewed in isolation. Those changes dramatically affected women's education and their roles within the family as well as how women began to move intellectually in public.

During the seventeenth century, there were several concurrent and related trends concerning language and literacy in general and women in particular. As the idea of establishing the national language—specifically, “fixing” indigenous English—began to take hold, written English began to be codified. At the same time an increase in literacy enabled silent, independent reading as well as autonomous spirituality by some Dissenting groups. One of the reasons it became more important for readers to know a different kind of English, or for vernacular English to be codified, as Murray (1900) mentions, is that as literacy rates rose, so did the language change, both in writing and in the lexicon. Moreover, women were becoming increasingly involved in the religious life of the family, which would require a great-

² One notable female lexicographer was Ann Fisher (1719–1778), author of *An Accurate new spelling dictionary of the English language* (1773), though she was better known as a grammarian and pedagogue, particularly as an author of books on children's education. As a lexicographer, Fisher is notable for a controversy with John Entick over attribution and authorship. For an interesting article detailing the charges against her, see Alicia Rodriguez-Alvarez and Maria Esther Rodriguez-Gil (2006).

er understanding of language and vocabulary. Using Cawdrey’s treatises on catechizing and family instruction as well as his dictionary as guides, it is easy to trace many of the changes for women as readers of dictionaries based on their access to education and also their roles as wives and mothers, especially in light of Jürgen Habermas’s (1989) definitions of “public” and “private” spaces. For Habermas, “public” means commercial and “of the marketplace” and “of the political order,” whereas “private” refers to having unofficial status or sanction within the home. Habermas writes,

The public’s understanding of the public use of reason was guided specifically by such private experiences as grew out of the audience-oriented [...] subjectivity of the conjugal family’s intimate domain [...] To the degree to which commodity exchange burst out of the confines of the household economy, the sphere of the conjugal family became differentiated from the sphere of social reproduction. [...] The status of private man combined the role of owner of commodities with that of head of the family, that of property owner with that of “human being” *per se*. (Habermas 1989: 29)

Neither the private space nor the newly-evolving space within the home, however, afforded women much power or independence. But during the time of which Habermas (1989) writes, the early modern period and the eighteenth century, there was the beginning—an opening of the public within the private—which ultimately created the opportunity for women to gain access to the public, first within the family and then gradually outside it. Despite becoming more active outside the home by attending school, engaging in entertainment activities, working, and even occasionally preaching, women did not attain public status at the same time as men did—even the “less-knowing” men—and had to wait for a more liberal economic, political, and social climate.³

About the “more-knowing women,” however, it is difficult to know how much women read, and how well they were able to read. Also, it is hard to gauge the extent of women’s literacy because so little work has been done in this area. It has been easier to demonstrate the writing practices of women because they leave more obvious traces. Because reading and writing were often taught separately during the early modern period and the eighteenth century, it is possible that a woman could read but not write, so there is less evidence to find and catalogue. However, as books became more readily available, it became more advantageous for authors and publishers to appeal to women readers, be they consumers of sermons or poems or reference books. One such way to understand the kinds of reading women were doing or the books that they might be interested in is to document the number of

³ For scholarship on the roles of women with respect to literacy and having roles in public spheres, see works by Polly Bull, J. G. Barker-Benfield, R. A. Houston, K. Sharpe and S. Zwicker, among others.

books addressed to women. As Suzanne W. Hull has observed, “books addressed to women readers reached a peak between 1570 and 1640, when 85 percent of the 163 books in 500 editions addressed to women were published” (1982: 1). While literacy rates for men were increasing at a fast rate during this period, they were not doing so for women. Like readership, literacy rates are difficult to measure though one way to do so is by a census of signatures. Laura Gowing writes about court cases: “even in London women’s literacy remained low until later in the seventeenth century, and only 13 per cent signed their names to their depositions in the 1630s, most of them gentlewomen” (1996: 53). Those in the book trade who stood to profit from a growing female audience were still ambivalent about women readers.⁴ Authors who directly appealed to women as readers and as potential purchasers of their books confronted potential censure because a woman who read was a woman who could interpret on her own. It is perhaps easier to imagine that authors of dictionaries—books that promoted fixity of meaning—would fare well with women readers, since the declared purpose of dictionaries was to stabilize meanings of words and determine the proper grammar, spelling, and pronunciation of the English language. These were features women would need more as they and their families became more economically comfortable.

3 Cawdrey, catechizing, and female literacy

The title page of Robert Cawdrey’s dictionary provides an excellent introduction to the kind of prescriptivism that has marked lexicography ever since, and it also engages with many of the social concerns of the day: women readers, increased literacy, private reading, and independent religious thought. He writes that his book “contain[s] and teach[es] the true writing and understanding of hard usual English words, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greek, Latin, or French, &c. with the interpretation thereof by plain English words, gathered for the benefit and help of Ladies, gentlewomen, and all other unskillful persons ...”⁵ As a “lady” was the female head of a household and a “gentlewoman” was a woman of high birth or rank, these terms were not synonymous and they denote separate categories of readers. Moreover, the dedicatees of *A table alphabeticall* were women representing prominent families, some decidedly Dissenting, which could have affected who bought or read the book. Cawdrey continues that a primary goal for his readers is pedagogical, “whereby they may the more easily and better understand many hard English words, which they shall hear or read in scriptures, Sermons, or else where, and also

⁴ On the potential dangers of female readers, see Lamb (2008).

⁵ In this and all other early modern usage that follows, I modernize spelling and punctuation.

be made able to use the same aptly themselves.” Cawdrey’s use of the term “table” in his title reveals his pedagogic intent and his interest in presenting English-English definitions in an orderly manner. The *Oxford English Dictionary* defines a “table” as ‘a schematic arrangement of information’ organized in a ‘systematic arrangement of numbers, words, symbols, in a definite and compact form.’⁶ It is easy to imagine that Cawdrey, a schoolmaster and theologian trying to control language and behavior, would be unimpressed by men who returned to England from abroad with strange new words. In the preface Cawdrey disparagingly refers to men who “powder” their speech with foreign terms, such that their own mothers would not understand them.

Cawdrey establishes the acceptable role of women reading and teaching the Bible at home in several of his other works in which he not only exhorts parents to teach their children scripture, but explicitly mentions how it is the job of pious women to instill in their families the word of God.⁷ In *A short and fruitfull treatise, of the profit and necessitie of catechising* (1580), Cawdrey writes, “And we have not alone the examples of godly men in this behalf set forth for us to follow but we read also that divers zealous and Christian gentlewomen, who as they have been forward and earnest in the love of the truth ... they have diligently laboured ... to have virtuous and Christian families” (1580: 7). Later, in that same work he insists that it is impossible for women to enter into marriage properly or carry out the duties of a godmother without knowing scripture. He makes a specific reference to how women, after hearing the Apostle Paul preach, would discuss Paul’s teaching with him. Cawdrey declared that

many of the chief women believed the Apostle Paul his preaching, and that there was daily conference of the scriptures, whether the things were so, which exercise if it were used with us in our households after sermons, it were to be hoped that our children and servants, which now are rude and ignorant, would then become both more dutiful and also more religious (1580: “To the reader”)

Cawdrey further details the responsibilities of a wife and mother: to speak intelligently and on equal terms with her husband and to teach her children as well as her husband would. His disregard for overly cultivated men, together with the structure of the book, reflects why women, educated neither in fashionable inkhorn

⁶ One of the *OED*’s first-known usages of “table” in this manner combines Cawdrey’s two interests. It cites the concordance to Wycliffe’s Bible, “Man’s mind ... is greatly relieved by tables made by letter[s] after the order of the a, b, c.”

⁷ Cawdrey’s *A table alphabeticall* is the first important dictionary in English to mention women, and it is also significant to note that while he did not have a university education, he did become a clergyman as well as a schoolteacher. An uncooperative and apparently testy priest, he ran afoul of the governing body of the Church, was censured and ejected from the Church of England for his radically Puritan beliefs, finally becoming a schoolmaster and author of several religious treatises.

terms nor abroad, were Cawdrey's preferred readers; they were more likely to have retained a "genuine" English and be receptive to religious programs and teaching tools, and the more literate women were, the more likely they would teach the Bible to their children and servants. Thus, within the context of his time and culture, Cawdrey's appeal was to women as independent thinkers who could act separately from their husbands or masters.

4 Babel and the mother tongue

Following Cawdrey's goal of educating and promoting a native English that incorporated common words, hard words, and obsolete words, other early lexicographers who explicitly mentioned women in their prefaces or dedications were William Bullokar in *An English Expositor* (1616), Henry Cockeram in *An English dictionarie* (1623), and Thomas Blount in *Glossographia* (1656), and J. K.—almost certainly John Kersey—in 1702.⁸ They generally appealed, in Blount's words, to the "more-knowing women and less knowing men"⁹—which is a significant distinction, as women were limited in ways that did not provide for them the public roles granted to men such as being clerks and students, the other intended audiences of early dictionaries. In each case, though the lexicographers express their wish that women will read their books, this expectation is not borne out by the selection of content material. Because so much dictionary content deals with the public sphere, it is possible to conclude that in practice there is no clear expectation that women readers would be able to apply the knowledge, whereas men would have been able to do so.

Bullokar's dictionary is the most explicit after Cawdrey's to address women. In his dedication he not only names Jane, Viscountess Mountague, but he announces that "by [her] patronage [his dictionary] shall ... find favourable entertainment, and perhaps gracefully admitted among greatest Ladies and studious Gentlewomen" (Bullokar 1616). Yet, assuming the posture of false modesty, a familiar literary topos, he calls his book a "trifle." In the preface, he refers to his readers as "ignorant" peo-

⁸ Starnes and Noyes barely discuss J. K.'s authorship being anyone other than Kersey; they comment, "The author of this dictionary has never been determined; but the most persistent and plausible suggestion is John Kersey," and they later carefully write, "Indeed, under the circumstances of early eighteenth-century lexicography it seems not unlikely that this work is Kersey's" (1965: 69).

⁹ This is the front matter to which Murray's speech refers (1900: 32). It is difficult to determine the extent to which women were in fact purchasers or readers of these dictionaries. One possible research source might be subscription lists. A search in the database Early Eighteenth Books Online reveals that subscription lists during this period were primarily used for medical, scientific, governmental, poetic, and biblical literature—generally, authors who sold books by subscription were either in need of funds up front to undertake their work, as Samuel Johnson was, or who needed to subsidize particularly large or beautifully illustrated or multi-volume works.

ple who desire to “be understood,” and presumably, he can help them, though it is also clear that he is hedging, for his dedicatees and many of the readers would have been neither ignorant nor unreceptive to the dictionary, as it was a reference book for acquiring additional knowledge for those already clever and literate. To return to his patron, the Viscountess Mountague was an interesting choice for Bullokar, as she was a member of a prominent and pious Roman Catholic family, as was his fellow lexicographer Blount. As such, they belonged to a religious minority that was to a great extent excluded from public life—legally and socially. Learned ladies, though still in the minority, included both Protestants and Catholics and while English Catholics, especially women, were severely constrained, the Viscountess Mountague’s recusant family was subject to punitive laws and prejudices, but nonetheless retained sufficiently high status to be patrons of writers.¹⁰ Moreover, it might have been strategically useful for Bullokar to request such an important patron; Sylvia Brown (2001), in an article on Cawdrey’s religious writing, connects female literacy with godliness, and Mountague qualified on both counts:

On the one hand, filling the same niche as the children for whom godly catechisms were written, women were also to perform the (necessarily rhetorical) labor of instructing their own families—reforming their own children into godly subjects and so reproducing the body of Christ ... the targeting of women as readers of edifying tracts indicates that moral and religious reformers understood [the malleability of women’s minds]. (Brown 2001: 144)

By appealing to the authority of a female patron, Bullokar and other early lexicographers were explicitly expanding the circle of readership to include a middle-class audience. Bullokar, according to Andrea R. Nagy, was concerned with “‘cultural literary’ that attempted both to describe for the uneducated reader the established prestige culture and to prescribe a standard of eloquence by promoting recent borrowings and coinages” (1999: 452). This goal is particularly relevant for women who are less likely to have traveled and heard words that English borrowed and then incorporated into the “mother tongue,” as several early lexicographers refer to English as a first language.

Cockeram’s title page reference is significant, though scant, because his text, like Cawdrey’s, singles out “Ladies and Gentlewomen” first, and then follows with other users in descending order of learning and status: “young schollars, clarkes, merchants, and also strangers of any nation.” What is valuable about Cockeram’s work is that many of his words are distinctly “hard,” even obscure, so if he does mean to include women as users of his dictionary, then they would have to be learned. Nagy (1999) notes that Cockeram included Latinate terms and borrowings

10 Members of the Blount and Montague families were recusant, though it is not entirely clear that Thomas Blount was himself a recusant. For a recent discussion of the term, how it was applied, and who suffered under anti-Catholic discrimination, see John Spurr (1998).

in his dictionary and provided one of the earliest examples of elocutionary texts, so while he tries to “fix” the language by establishing rules for pronunciation, he also acknowledges the difficulty users might have, for example, if they never left England to hear or use “hard” words. Cockeram implies that women’s access to education and language ability do not measure up to that of most English men, or even foreigners. He therefore marks women as being in a non-standard class of their own. However, the volume includes a short prefatory poem by John Crugge, who asserts that those who read Cockeram’s book and apply his elocutionary exercises will see that each word has conferred upon it a “real currency.” This use of the term “currency” suggests that those who use Cockeram’s book to learn English properly could learn to use the language as if it were more fungible and its benefits transferrable. This argument allows for additional audiences; by making women a discrete readership and giving them agency, Cockeram acknowledges the possibility of expanding economic opportunities for women, though in practice, that argument does not hold weight, as education and economic opportunities for women remained few.

Like other lexicographers, Blount contrasts the female users of his dictionary, even the “more knowing,” with several categories of male users who seem to be his primary audience. He provides examples of how men could use his work to provide access to “Law-terms necessary for every Gentlemen of Estate,” and he likewise provides terms from heraldry, archery, and the like. Otherwise, female readers are not addressed except in a dedicatory poem by J. S. following Blount’s preface, and only in a metaphorical, domestic, and yet important sense. For J. S., the human family was once nurtured by the pure, mother language; but after the nations created the Tower of Babel language degenerate[d]: “each fixt Colony became a Nation / Chance and Design in time more licenc’t grew / And Dialects the Original ensue / Which by degrees degenerate from their Mother.” Thus, the only time language was “chaste,” was when it was born and mothered, and this is also the only time there was a true vernacular. In contrast to how Blount’s preface presents symbolic, biblical readers and characters, Juliet Fleming (1994) observes how the various constituencies of apparent, actual readers Blount gathers together and

allows old distinctions to be redrawn. By multiplying the available choice among apparently synonymous terms [of readers] the extension and regulation of the lexicon creates opportunities for new social and linguistic discriminations; and an increasingly complicated set of rules for its “correct” use will function to produce exclusion clauses within the general franchise that the national standard seems to offer. (Fleming 1994: 310)

To Fleming, once standards are set and applied, groups will qualify and stratify others based on how well they adhere to linguistic standards. While the national language according to early lexicographers is “mothered,” another kind of Babel

emerges in that users of incorrect English—in the case of Cawdrey’s English, “un-
godly”—will remain ignorant, and this is where and how women will be excluded.¹¹

Another example of such distinctions between pure language and adulterated language—as well as between female and male users of language based on their social standing or education—occurs when J. S. praises Blount at the end of his poem. Blount and his work offer “what’s merited / By rendring our hard English Englished; / What, when our Tongue grew gibberish, to be the National Interpreter to Books and Men.” That is to say, Blount’s book reduces the Babel-like confusion that exists when words are destabilized and when people do not share a common lexicon. To J. S., Blount elegantly injects clarity and understanding into chaos, whereas to Fleming (1994), Blount provides an opportunity for further linguistic and social divisions. Providing access for only some to codified and correct English excludes the variety of Englishes that had been available to all. And as women figure primarily and increasingly during the seventeenth century as readers of scripture and teachers in the nursery, men control and organize language through “science”; yet the distinctions of which Fleming (1994) writes were present long before the advent of early English lexicography and continued long after the end of the seventeenth century. Women who sought to be scholars and use their minds for other than domesticity or the study of devotional texts were often considered freaks or unchaste. There were a few learned women such as Bathshua Makin and Margaret Cavendish who found it difficult for their ideas and work to be taken seriously. Likewise, in light of philosophical, even biological, claims of women’s inferiority distilled in the pamphlet wars earlier in the seventeenth century,¹² lexicographers found it necessary to establish literacy as a vital part of a woman’s life, not subversive but supportive of chastity and true femininity. Otherwise, they ran risks in naming them as readers or their ideal audience.

11 For a reference by a woman writer about travelers returning home, having lost their Mother Tongue, see Margaret Cavendish’s (1671) poem “Humanity, Despair, and Jealousie, express’d in three Persons” in which she writes in the second stanza,

Much thoughts keep back the words from running out;
The tongue’s ti’d up, the sluice is stopt no doubt:
For Fancy’s quick, and flies such several ways,
For to be drest in words it seldom stays.
Fancy is like an Eele, so slippery glides,
Before the tongue takes hold, away it slides.
Thus he that seldom speaks, is like to those
That travelling, their Mother-tongues do lose.

Natures picture drawn by fancies pencil to the life, being several feigned stories, comical, tragical, tragi-comical, poetical, romanical, philosophical, historical, and moral: some in verse, some in prose, some mixt, and some by dialogues (London: Printed by A. Maxwell 1671), 55–56.

12 On the antifeminist pamphlet wars of the seventeenth century, see Henderson and McManus 1985, and Lerner 1993.

5 *The Ladies dictionary* and defining femininity

During the seventeenth century and throughout the eighteenth, as economic advances allowed the middle class to focus less on the work of women outside the home and more on their refinement, their literacy was still rising, and women's literacy grew exponentially in London, a hub of the book trade. John Brewer (1997) writes that for women in the metropolis, "literacy grew especially fast, rising from 22 to 66 per cent between the 1670s and 1720s." It made sense to publish more books that would appeal to women, since more women were reading (Brewer 1997: 168). Brewer (1997) also emphasizes that during the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, the kinds of reading changed from "intensive"—as books were expensive people would primarily have available to them books that were devotional or reference in nature—to "extensive," in which readers were allowed more freedom in their choices of topics as well as media. These choices included not only scriptures and devotional texts, but also periodicals dealing with everything from current events to the latest novels (Brewer 1997: 169). This freedom of choice was available to women as published material became more readily available, and cheaper.

As economic success engendered climbing literacy rates, there was a social movement toward "sentimentality." The theory of sentimentality dictated that women were emotionally fragile and intellectually inferior, and these ideas began to redefine and constrain the roles of women both publicly and privately. Bridget Hill (1984) writes that

Farmers, tradesmen and skilled artisans ... found themselves enjoying a far higher standard of life than earlier. With such standards went aspirations to a way of life for its womenfolk more in keeping with that of women of the upper classes. Such aspirations were accompanied by an awareness of social class and what were regarded as fitting and seemly occupations for the class to which they aspired [and] were to lead to a steady withdrawal from labour and a deliberate cultivation of a life of leisure. (Hill 1984: 4–5)

Thus, as the middle class achieved some economic flexibility, women became more educated, but they were also confined to roles that reified domesticity and physical appearance. Whereas women might have previously had their own jobs or assisted husbands in their professions, they were now meant to focus on refinement and their activities now reflected these new pursuits. Women were active participants in the new circulating libraries and frequent attendees at opera and the theater, and so the new consumer culture that focused on women's needs enabled new reading habits and desires. Several periodicals primarily targeted women; some of the most famous were the *Ladies mercury*, the *Athenian mercury*, and *Town and country*; such periodicals were often more concerned with the domestic and less with the intellectual.

Fleming contends that the “dictionary becomes the ground on which this new inequality may be staged: for *how* one uses it can now function as an index of status” (1994: 310). When women began to be excluded from intellectual and educational life, just who a dictionary is for must be considered. One text that appears to target women, ostensibly addressing their household and amatory needs, is John Dunton’s 1694 *The ladies dictionary: being a general entertainment by the fair sex*. This work is profoundly derivative, appropriating definitions from earlier sources. Moreover, it is not really a dictionary, though at that time it was published, the idea of what exactly comprised the proper content of a dictionary was still fluid. The reality is that this work poses as a dictionary or guide for women, but in fact it is neither; it does not contain relevant information or advice that actual women would want to know. Once there is a dictionary expressly for ladies, then it becomes marked for female use and all other dictionaries become unmarked and for use by men. This is not to say that women could not use other dictionaries, but as this text was expressly for women, the justification for using another dictionary was diminished. Instead, *The Ladies Dictionary* is an almanac and encyclopedia, with household advice and information to make women more attractive to men. Put another way, the author writes *about* women but not *for* women. In the introduction to their facsimile edition, John Considine and Sylvia Brown cast doubt on the claim that the dictionary is really for women: “Why for instance, the repeated interest in men’s sexual relations with men, hence ‘buggery,’ ‘catamite,’ Ganymede,’ ‘Hylas,’ and ‘sodomy’” (2010: xxx). Later, they remark that “It is clearly not enough to say that these entries map a women’s world: they map the ideas of one or more men as to what made up the world of women” (Considine/Brown 2010: xxxi).

The author and publisher of *The ladies dictionary*, John Dunton—best known as a satirist and publisher of periodicals for women, including the *Athenian mercury* and the *Ladies’ mercury*—claims in the preface that his book will be “a Compleat Directory to the Female-Sex in all Relation, Companies, Conditions, and States of Life ... from the Lady at the Court, to the Cook-maid in the Country.” The content, however, mainly comprises advice on love affairs and marriage, recipes for “Domestick affairs, beautifying,” and topics like cookery and housekeeping, and “physick,” entries are more satirical than serious. Even though Dunton acknowledges many of his words are taken directly from Blount, Gertrude Noyes (1942) demonstrates that Dunton plagiarized from numerous other works, namely conduct books and dictionaries of biographies and Biblical terms and names. The book contains some alphabetization, though it “was alphabetical only in the loosest sense of the word. Items beginning with *A* are usually found under *A* but without regard to the sequence of letters following the initial *A*” (Noyes 1942: 132). As Noyes (1942) considers in her article the letter *A*, it might be useful to look at the adjacent letter *B*: Amidst the many biblical and female names—popular and historical—there are

entries for terms such as *bachelor*; *bawd* (meaning a “pimp”); *bigamy*, a marriage of two wives.¹³ Other terms spawn whole essays and span several pages: “Beauty in General,” “Beauty in Charm,” “Beauty in Women”—discussions of historical beauty as well as kinds of beauty valued by women such as harlots and gentlewomen, even recipes for cosmetics—how women should appear to men, as for example the message that “Beautifying for honest purposes (then); not being proved a sin, we see no reason to forbid it, when God and Nature has allowed it” (Dunton 1694: 57). It is revealing that under the entry for *books* Dunton admonishes, “It is not necessary then to read many Books, but to read the best, and especially never to be curious of such, whereby we cannot Learn any thing without the danger of becoming Vitious,” particularly novels and naughty pamphlets (Dunton 1694: 68). It is worth noting that the entry on *beauty* covers more than twenty pages, while the entry on *books* takes up less than two pages.

Just as other dictionaries were conduct books insofar as they tried to form an emerging national vernacular for middle- and upper-class readers, so *The ladies dictionary* was a conduct book aimed to regulate women’s public and private behavior. As one reads, it becomes obvious that Dunton’s book was not meant for women at all, but for men and the sentimental idea that women were to refine the more brutal aspects of men is belied in the salacious headwords and satirical entries. The editorial approach of *The ladies dictionary* is in marked contrast to the front matter and dedications of the early seventeenth century dictionaries. In those books authors and publishers must have been convinced, given the literacy levels and the mostly gender-neutral content that some serious and learned women would read or purchase their works. *The ladies dictionary*, however, is gender theater; that is to say, it is a distinct representation of male power, expressing an imperative to marginalize women socially and intellectually. *The ladies dictionary* was a harbinger of how the public lives and roles for women during the eighteenth century were to become. Kathryn Shevelow (1989) writes that

During the eighteenth century, as upper- and middle-class Englishwomen increasingly began to participate in the public realm of print culture, the representational practices of that culture were steadily enclosing them within the private sphere of the home. That is, at the same historical moment that women were ... becoming visible as readers and writers, the literary representation of women—whether as members of an intended audience, as writing subjects, or as textual objects—was producing an increasingly narrow and restrictive model of femininity. (Shevelow 1989: 1)

It becomes clear that even as women became more literate and active outside the home, they were by no means granted the same kind of public legitimacy as men;

¹³ Curiously, though the *OED* definition includes both women and men having more than one spouse, all of the examples refer to men until the late twentieth century.

when middle-class women did achieve more public, or independent, status, it was limited to professions like governess, teacher or, at the end of the century, occasionally, professional author.

6 Hester Piozzi and semantic shifts in *British synonymy*

Instead of enjoying the same external mobility that men experienced, women in the eighteenth century functioned within a kind of double bind in which they had more access to books, education, social spaces, even the publishing world. As they became more learned, open shows of their erudition were often disdained as being unfeminine,¹⁴ and a common insult for learned women was (and still is) “bluestocking.”¹⁵ Even so, literacy and education rates for women steadily climbed and it became more acceptable for women to take on intellectual roles and engage in learned discourse. Women were not only reading books, but they were editing periodicals, writing articles and books—even publishing them. Many of the works women wrote were novels or dealt with pedagogy, typically not considered challenging to a male-dominated literary establishment, though definitely providing them with a new kind of agency.¹⁶ One such bluestocking was Hester Piozzi, a friend and some-time protégée of Samuel Johnson, and who wrote one of the first synonymies in English. The

14 See for example, Samuel Johnson regarding a woman who preaches: “Sir, a woman’s preaching is like a dog’s walking on his hind legs. It is not done well; but you are surprised to find it done at all.” These sentiments against public displays of religious authority are all the more remarkable since Johnson did indeed promote various women writers and enabled many of them to enter the publishing world.

15 Whereas it was still uncommon for women in the seventeenth century to be literate, much less exceedingly learned, it was not always something they shied away from. For example, according to Ian Lancashire (2014) in private correspondence, John Minsheu’s dictionary of 1617 has two women subscribers, “Lady Margaret Wotton and the Lady Francis Boteler. Minsheu’s was an astounding if flawed achievement, and the women who bought his work knew it was the new century’s lexicographical *piece de resistance*. They were suggesting that they knew how to read Greek and Hebrew.” On Minsheu’s dictionary as the earliest English publication by subscription, see Williams (1948). Examples of women disparaged for learning abound; the best known early eighteenth-century case is Alexander Pope’s attack on Lady Mary Wortley Montague in *The Dunciad* and in the latter part of the century is Richard Polwhele’s 1798 attack on learned women, particularly scientists, “The Unsex’d Females.” In a modern case of taking back a negative term, authors Paula A. Treichler, Ann Russo, and Cheris Kramarae retitled their *A Feminist Dictionary* (1985) *Amazons, Bluestockings and Crones: A Feminist Dictionary* (1992).

16 For a cogent and insightful account of how literary production was gendered and class-based during the eighteenth century, see Linda Zionkowski (2001).

only daughter of a Welsh family, she received an excellent Classical education and was particularly proficient in languages.

After her first husband died leaving her wealthy, Piozzi was free to do whatever she pleased, including write books and letters. Despite social and personal pressures after her marriage to Italian musician Gabriel Piozzi, she combined her new interest in all things Italian with her life-long love of language and philology to produce *British synonymy or an attempt at regulating the choice of words in familiar conversation* (1794). The book initially drew praise for its entertaining and yet erudite style; while it is not technically a dictionary, a synonymy defines and explicates meaning by considering what words are like and what they are not like, distinguishing words from each other by creating relationships between and among words (Berglund 2010: 69). Like many other lexicographers of her time, Piozzi has more than one purpose: first, she aims to regulate speech by limiting or confining it. Second, she explains what the best or most appropriate words are in certain circumstances, namely “familiar talk” (Piozzi 1794: ii). Unlike many male lexicographers of her time—and despite her prodigious linguistic knowledge—Piozzi does not assert herself as an authority. Piozzi is both prescriptive and descriptive when writing about how most appropriately to converse in a natural or informal setting and her rationale for focusing on “colloquial language” and not formal, academic language is apparent when she asserts that she will leave the latter to be taken up by experts in grammar and philology. As do many authors, she hedges on her fitness as a writer and the fitness of her subject, arguing that her work is “intended chiefly for a parlour window, and acknowledging itself unworthy of a place upon a library.” She explains that her book is meant to be a starting point for readers who will move on to texts written by experts, who will be men (Piozzi 1794: iv). In the front matter of her book Piozzi contends that “women should learn rhetoric in order to persuade their husbands,” though perhaps this skill would likewise please women themselves (1794: v–vi). Either way, she argues that women should use linguistic means to attain traditional goals: education for marital satisfaction.

While framing her text in such a way might seem like a concession to a twenty-first century reader, such arguments were common, for some scholars during that time considered English to be gendered not only by grammar but also by sex. Carolyn D. Williams (1998) writes that in *British synonymy* Piozzi “recalls Johnson’s dictum that there was a ‘sex in words.’” Williams likewise explains how Piozzi illustrate[s] this principle when she states that women

Have seldom occasion to act WISELY and JUDICIOUSLY – adverbs which imply a choice of profession or situation – seldom in their power; active principles of industry, art, or strength, with which they have seldom ought to do; although by managing PRUDENTLY and DISCREETLY those districts which fall particularly under female inspection, they may doubtless take much of the burden from their companion’s shoulders, and lighten the load of life to mortal man. (Williams 1998: 106)

Piozzi’s discriminating between language used differently by women and men echoes Cawdrey’s admonition about men coming home with new-fangled and “inkhorn termes” (1604: 3). In fact, Piozzi maintained there were different purposes for women and men with respect to language learning and grammar: women instilled primary language skills in the nursery and men taught the more rigorous skills of rhetoric, ancient languages, and other learned disciplines.

While *The ladies dictionary* clearly reinforces sexist definitions and language about women, Piozzi in contrast, finds subtle ways to do the opposite. She twice refers to Samuel Johnson’s notion that words are sexed, and throughout her book she herself sexes words; or, rather, she re-sexes words. The first instance is her entry on “Parts, Powers, Mental accomplishments, talents, genius, faculties of mind.” There she writes, “Dr. Johnson always said there was a sex in words,” but she then goes on to provide examples of both women and men who have the qualities being discussed (Piozzi 1794: 106). Here Piozzi implicitly refutes Johnson by showing how the terms apply to both sexes. In the second instance, Piozzi more clearly relates her terms to Johnson’s idea: she opens her entry to “Wisely, Judiciously, Discreetly, Prudently” by asserting,

If Dr. Johnson’s notion of a sex in words be just, the two first of these naturally belong to men, the last women for they, placed happily for them by Providence in “Life’s low vale, the foil the virtues like,” have seldom occasion to act wisely and judiciously—adverbs which imply a choice of profession or situation—seldom in their power; active principles of industry, art, or strength—with which they have seldom ought to do; although by managing prudently and discreetly those districts which fall particularly under female inspection, they may doubtless take much of the burden from their companion’s shoulders, and lighten the load of life to mortal man. (Piozzi 1794: 366–367)

Lisa Berglund has observed that “Piozzi formally accepts the gendering of words and the hierarchy that subordinates feminine language, but in practice throughout *British synonymy*, some feminine words emerge as alternatives, rather than inferior, to masculine language” (231). Piozzi also provides examples of how women are prevented—not by biology but by social conditions—from fulfilling the same roles and being defined in the same ways as are men. Throughout her text Piozzi defines terms in new ways so that women, their language, and their behavior are made more active and even sometimes superior to men. She likewise claims for women a space that previously had been denied them: the public sphere. In the entry, “to bustle, to be busy, to be employed or stirring, to be notable, Piozzi writes, “These all seem female qualifications, or at highest—commercial ones” (1794: 83). Berglund asserts that “Piozzi manipulates discrimination of words to facilitate social and political commentary. By linking ‘female qualifications’ with ‘commercial ones,’ she effectively claims a place in the masculine public sphere for female domestic virtues” (2013: 232). Likewise, when Piozzi might have chosen to perpetuate patriarchal stereotypes about women in language, she often does not. In several entries, “sly,

artful, cunning, crafty, insidious, knowing”; “silly, ignorant, senseless”; “malapert, saucy, impertinent”; “sentiment, thought, notion, opinion,” rather than providing examples that negatively pertain to women, instead she discusses the terms either gender-neutrally or uses examples from both sexes. In these ways, Piozzi revises the semantic content of words and their relationship to women or men; thus, she both sexes and unsexes words. She cautiously enters the rhetorical field by ceding much authority to men, but at the same time she judiciously provides examples of female agency and superiority.

7 Unsexing the language in Maria Edgeworth’s pedagogy

Women writers during the eighteenth century were more likely to be socially and even intellectually tolerated when they wrote about pedagogy, especially children’s pedagogy.¹⁷ Mitzi Myers calls this period a “transitional time” for women writers in terms of their “culturally assigned roles” as the “female persona frequently speaks through pedagogy” (1988: 193). Women’s pedagogical texts link the personal and the professional and manifest in such genres as “novels of education, children’s books, expository manuals of instruction and advice” as “educational genres necessarily treat in depth issues crucial to the period’s female self-definition: the difficult relationships between nurturance and autonomy, community and independence, reason and feeling” (Myers 1988: 194). One of the most important authors of children’s literature—both for and about children—is Maria Edgeworth, who, along with her father Richard Lovell Edgeworth, published many educational treatises as well as novels. One of her first works was *The parent’s assistant* (1796), a book of stories for children, and in 1801 she published *Early Lessons* (1801), a multi-volume work

¹⁷ Much like the work of women writers of other genres during the eighteenth century that had to be rehabilitated during the twentieth century, Sarah Hoem Iversen (2012) pointedly shows how lexicographers in the twentieth century hardly considered children’s dictionaries either, and that in fact, previous histories of dictionary-making typically disregarded the existence of children’s dictionaries before the publication of American educationalist Edward Thorndike’s *Thorndike-Century Junior Dictionary*. Children’s dictionaries are not mentioned by Osselton (1983), Green (1997), Hartmann, ed. (2003), Mooijaart and Wal, eds. (2008), or in the two-volume *Oxford History of Lexicography* (Cowie 2009). Only Landau (2001) explicitly refers to the existence of dictionaries for children before Thorndike, but he does so in order to dismiss their distinct identity as a separate genre of dictionaries (Myers 1988: 613).

encompassing many types of stories, essays, and dialogues, but which, germane to this discussion, also included a glossary.¹⁸

The general introduction to *Early Lessons* is addressed to mothers and educators, though the glossary entries themselves are written to children. In the brief front matter to the glossary, Edgeworth presents the typical disclaimer: she understands it is difficult to define words fully, so instead she promises to provide the “popular” definition of a word, to describe it as accurately as possible, and to give its derivation because she is as much concerned with what children learn as with how they learn. With that in mind, she then instructs mothers, “This Glossary should at first be read to children, a little at a time; and it should be made a subject of conversation with them; afterwards, they will read it with more pleasure” (Edgeworth 1801: 62). So, even as children are given a dictionary of their own, the role of women remains as catechizer and reinforcer of moral and intellectual lessons. The entries are succinct and simply written, addressed to both girls and boys, even when the words defined might be considered less commonly associated with feminine pursuits. In contrast to the entries in *The ladies dictionary* or even *British synonymy*, Edgeworth rarely sexes language; the language is largely gender-neutral insofar as it provides educational direction. The glossary contains entries for *air-pump*, *barometer*, *mould*, *globe*, *lever*, *microscope*, *orrery*, *thermometer*, and Edgeworth explicitly addresses many entries to “my little boy, or girl,” or “my little pupils.” Indeed, not a single word glossed in the thirty-three pages concerns what would be considered sex-specific activities. In fact, several entries instruct children of both sexes to try an activity, as in the entry for the word *attraction*:

My little boy, or girl, ask the person who teaches you, to show you a magnet, or to let you try these experiments, or *shadow*: My little friends!—hold a book, or anything else, between a candle and a wall, or between the sun and a wall, and you will see, that what is so held prevents the light of the candle, or of the sun, from going to or reaching the wall ... The shadow you perceive is not a thing; but only the want of light on some place. (Edgeworth 1801: 89–90)

Here, Edgeworth writes against the assumption that women and girls should be interested in and learn only certain subjects commonly coded as feminine. In addition, she does not distinguish between what little boys or little girls should know; she repeatedly and explicitly addresses them as the example above shows, as if reminding them that she is speaking directly to them in dialogue mode. It is similarly significant that Edgeworth addresses the majority of the introduction to *Early*

¹⁸ This is not the first example of Edgeworth writing a linguistic or reference text; she wrote a long and serious sociolinguistic treatise on Irish English, *Essay on Irish bulls* (1798), and in 1800, she wrote *Castle Rackrent*, a short satirical novel mocking Anglo-Irish landowners, which she frames with such meta-discursive commentary as preface, notes and glossary—all ostensibly written by an “editor” for English readers. See Rebecca Shapiro (2003), “Educating the English: Maria Edgeworth’s *Castle Rackrent* and *Essay on Irish Bulls*,” *Women’s Writing*, 10.1 (2003): 73–92.

Lessons to women, be they parents or teachers. She is careful to explain the need for girls to be better educated and she implies that women can have professions, such as teacher.

Edgeworth writes that her book is meant to lay the groundwork for reading learned books later on. Central to her philosophy is the idea that simple language and lessons from a child's point of view instill moderation and thoughtfulness. She means to help children become attentive learners who will enjoy the process of attaining knowledge, who would have the tools to read and understand unfamiliar words themselves, and who would simultaneously acquire moral lessons at an early age. To provide moral models, she refers to authorities, other literary writers and those representing other disciplines. For example, Edgeworth includes quotations from Johnson's *Dictionary* several times, though her versions of Johnson's definitions are brief: an *experiment* is merely, "A trial. The word trial sometimes means only a trial in a court of justice" (1801: 73). Edgeworth is not really defining the word or connecting it with the pedagogic and scientific content of the rest of the glossary, but nonetheless her definitions introduce children to the influence of the adult world. Likewise, Edgeworth does not present grammatical rules or extensive derivations of words, though she does include several morphemes. Writing in the entry for *disappointment*, she notes that "several words in English begin with the syllable *dis*: this syllable *dis* sometimes means different from; as in dis-appointment, dis-inclination, dis-join, dis-prove; and sometimes it means different ways, as in dis-sever and dis-play" (Edgeworth 1801: 71). At the end of the work, she asserts simply (even simplistically) that English is related to Greek, Latin, French, and German, and that when her young readers learn those languages they will understand English better. Here again, Edgeworth takes it for granted that girls will grow up learning what boys do. While none of the words in her glossary are exclusively directed toward either boys or girls, it is true that her examples do offer "more complex images of masculinity for young boys" than for young girls (Iversen 2012: 614). Edgeworth's pedagogical texts are fundamentally optimistic, presenting mothers, instructors, and children with positive images and models for learning. She takes cues from Locke's and Rousseau's philosophies of language and education by encouraging children to be independent, to experiment with language and learning, to practice it—as her title suggests—and to learn how to distinguish words and their meanings for themselves. Even so, it is important to note that as gender was being constructed during the eighteenth century as something that was naturally opposite and divergent for males and females, Edgeworth did not make such distinctions in her children's literature, which meant that children raised by her methods would receive the same education. In fact, as Iversen concludes, she "contested some of the limitations placed on feminine identity" (2012: 613) in her pedagogical works by using herself as a model for female instructors and also for girls as they matured as scholars. Finally, though it is necessary to explain that as Edgeworth worked to

open educational opportunities to women and girls, she was not so democratic with her philosophy of language.

Edgeworth’s early educational works such as *Practical Education*, *Moral Tales*, and some of the *Early Lessons*, reject the vernacular in a broad way, which is why she uses the term “popular” in the preface to the glossary, making a distinction between the “vulgar” and the “commonly used” (1801: 61). So while she was giving opportunities to women, she was interested in a certain kind of woman who would teach children a certain kind of language available only to the middle classes and above.

8 Conclusion: What women want

It seems obvious that as long as the “more knowing” women were at best on the same level as the “less knowing” men it would be hard to understand how most women would use dictionaries or reference books. And yet, since the purpose of word lists and definitions of hard words was understanding and acquiring learning in fields previously limited to a few men, it would have been necessary for lexicographers to acknowledge that women would benefit from the same learning and education as well. Ultimately, what is most crucial to understand with respect to women and lexicography, is that as they acquired greater literacy, they could think, read, and write for themselves, they could do these things within the home and without—and, more importantly, they could be alone when they did them. It is clear that the relationship between women and lexicography has changed over time in direct correlation to women’s access to education as well as to their ability to enter into and engage with public life and the ability to read English, literature, and the Bible—alone—conferred a kind of power on women that enabled them to be independent when it came to the power of literacy

But as women were still tied to men economically, it similarly behooved them to increase their status as attractive partners by their ability to read and teach in the home; their sociability was dependent upon their education, which in turn enabled them to be more independent. Like Piozzi before her, Mary Wollstonecraft would write in *A vindication of the rights of women* (1792) that women who became better conversationalists and engaged in intellectual pursuits for and with their husbands would gain status and economic freedom, so in a sense, strategic retirement within the private sphere became the way into the public sphere. Even Edgeworth, however, who was much more accepted for her writing than Piozzi or Wollstonecraft were for theirs, confined her non-novelistic oeuvre to pedagogy. But over the course of the nineteenth century, women began to demand and receive educations, and professional lives. And so we come back to James Murray’s (1900) lecture, when he asserts that the development of the modern university system—as it began to teach

the vernacular as a serious course of study—was coterminous with women earning university degrees. When Murray explains that the “wants” of women in small part occasioned the early modern dictionaries, he just as accurately and justly mentions that by the time of his writing, the “wants” of women were finally being realized: receiving an equal education as well as the opportunity to write their own books, in their own words.

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Gabriele Stein

Claudius Hollyband: A lexicographer speaks his mind

Abstract: Modern lexicographers strive for total objectivity and the suppression of personal views in their work. This was not the case in earlier dictionaries as we all know from many of Dr. Johnson's definitions in 1755. Rather like Johnson, the French Huguenot Claudius Hollyband (Claude Desainliens), an outstanding language teacher in London during the second half of the sixteenth century, is very outspoken in his *Dictionarie French and English* of 1593. His choice of headwords, explanations and examples reveal a strong-minded protestant-humanist who did not disguise his personal views on such matters as religion, women, etc. so that one may wonder who he envisaged as his readers.

Keywords: Claudius Hollyband, authorial stance, eating and drinking, sexual relations, women, the Catholic Church

The *OED Online* defines a *lexicographer* as "A writer or compiler of a dictionary" and the product of such compilation, the *dictionary*, as

A book which explains or translates, usually in alphabetical order, the words of a language or languages (or of a particular category of vocabulary), giving for each word its typical spelling, an explanation of its meaning or meanings, and often other information, such as pronunciation, etymology, synonyms, equivalents in other languages, and illustrative examples. (*OED Online*, sense 1.a.)

Users of present-day general-purpose dictionaries usually assume that the information provided in a dictionary is correct, e. g. the specifications on grammar, pronunciation and spelling, well-founded on the scientific and linguistic knowledge available, and totally objective with respect to the currency, meanings and connotations of the lexical items. They little think of the compilation process because of the availability of huge digital text corpora which nowadays are exploited and analysed by teams of lexicographers, not by a single compiler. The one-author dictionary has become a rarity. Users rarely reflect on the challenges and intrinsic difficulties of the writing process which lexicographers face in the endeavour to describe the meaning of words in an easily understandable and unprejudiced way. Certain types of lexical items are difficult to explain in a brief and fully explanatory paraphrase. Words referring to natural kinds, plants and animals, for instance, may call for more complex technical terms to make their description unambiguous. In the case of lexical items relating to belief systems, e. g. philosophy, religion, political and sociological theories, special care as well as explanatory expertise and subtlety of linguistic

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expression are required to achieve adequate and non-judgemental descriptions. The advantages of a team of lexicographers with special expertise in different knowledge areas, working together in the performance of these complex tasks, are obvious.

Two and a half centuries ago, Dr Johnson defined a *lexicographer* as “A writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing the signification of words” (Johnson 1755). The definition in his big two-volume *Dictionary of the English language* (1755) highlights the hard and long-drawn-out compilation work for which he had the help of a number of amanuenses who copied texts for him. It is difficult to know whether the long years (1747–1755) which it took him to complete his ambitious project had filled him with an overwhelming feeling that the work was drudgery the outcome of which he assumed would be non-consequential, playing down the intellectual and social role of a lexicographer. Was he merely slaving away for the booksellers? Yet the phrase “a harmless drudge” might also be taken as one of the instances of subjective irony which we find in his dictionary. Other examples, often quoted because of their undisguised prejudice, are the definitions of *oats* and *pension*:

- (1) OATS [...] A grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.
- (2) PENSION [...] An allowance made to anyone without an equivalent. In England it is generally understood to mean pay given to a state hireling for treason to his country.

Such evidently biased meaning descriptions are anything but “harmless”; offensive to some, entertaining to others. It might be more appropriate to take the “harmless drudge” as a sarcastic utterance by a proud mind who had a clear view of what he wanted to achieve for his country: an authoritative institution on linguistic usage and correctness. Johnson will have thought of himself more as “an efficiently diligent man of learning” as Freeman Twaddell put it in his rejection of the “sardonic Johnsonism”, emphasizing that “[a] lexicographer is mightily beneficent, not merely harmless; he is not a drudge, but an efficiently diligent man of learning” (Twaddell 1973: 220).

The social role of the work produced by lexicographers has taken clearer shape during the history of English lexicography and is well reflected in the common reference to the work as **the dictionary** which puts it on the same authoritative pedestal as **the Bible**. The status associated with the dictionary’s social role has led to challenging expectations of content and treatment by the general public. What may happen when these expectations are not met is well documented by the angry uproar caused when *Webster’s Third New International Dictionary (W3)* was published in 1961. An account of the protest levelled at Philip Gove, the lexicographer responsible for the approach, and Merriam Webster, the publisher, is given in James Sledd

and Wilma Ebbitt's book of 1962 with the telling title *Dictionaries and THAT Dictionary: A Casebook on the Aims of Lexicographers and the Targets of Reviewers*. What clearly emerges from the fiercely fought battle of reviewers of *Webster's Third New International Dictionary* is that we need more research into the social role and impact of dictionaries. How such research might be carried out is superbly shown by the different investigative approaches taken in Allen Walker Read's and Randolph Quirk's studies (Read 1973: 69–75/Quirk 1974: 148–163). But see also the articles by John Algeo (1989a/1989b), Raven I. McDavid (1979) and Ladislav Zgusta (1989).

Johnson's dictionary is a notorious example of a lexicographer personally intruding into his dictionary. The ways in which the lexicographer's persona enters his or her work vary and they have changed not only with respect to individual lexicographers but also over the centuries of dictionary production. In content, three types of authorial concerns and attitudes can easily be recognized which we might call

1. the autobiographical type: it provides information on the lexicographer's regional origin, age, family, professional circumstances, etc.;
2. the scholarly (or discursive) one: dictionary entries include references to different scholarly opinions on the names of plants, animals, illnesses, etc. and the author states his own view;
3. the personal one: dictionary entries reveal the author's likes and dislikes of things, persons, institutions, beliefs, behaviour, etc.

These three types of authorial involvement are already present in early English dictionaries. The first printed English dictionary, the *Promptorium parvulorum* of 1499, for instance, includes a passage in which the compiler tells his readers that he is a friar in Lynn in Norfolk and therefore the English is given in the form he knows best, in the “modum anglorum orientalium” (1499, ai^v). In A. L. Mayhew's manuscript edition of 1908 the relevant phrase is *modus loquendi norfolchie* (Mayhew 1908: 3). John Palsgrave, the first English lexicographer known to us by name, informs us in *Lesclarcissement de la langue francoyse* (1530) under the verb entry “**I Pronostycate** *I shewe thynges to come*” in his illustrating example “*I haue sene the booke y' dyd pronostycate y^e coming of Luther twenty yere or he was borne*” (Palsgrave 1530: Book III, fo. ccc.xxiii^v). Sir Thomas Elyot liked to draw his readers' attention to his earlier work, *The Boke named the gouernour*, in his Latin-English dictionary of 1538 (see the entries *Festina lentè* (H.[iv.]^r) and *Publicus* (T.[v.]^v)). In addition, he gives us a report on an investigation during which he accompanied his father under the entry *Gigas* in the second edition of his dictionary (Elyot 1542: Q. iij.^v). For more examples, see Stein 2014, Chapter 3. The last instance to illustrate the autobiographical type of authorial involvement is taken from Thomas Cooper's *Thesaurus linguae Romanae et Britannicae* (1565). In its second part, the *Dictionarium historicum et poeticum* Cooper refers under the lemma *Wallia* to an earlier publication and defends himself

against malicious interpretations and accusations. After a lengthy description of the country of Wales he writes:

- (3) This haue I here put, not because I thynke it is vnknownen to any Englysh man, but to take an occasion to clere my selfe of an vniust and false suspicion, that by malicious and naughtie tongues hath been spredde of me, as though I should not beare good mynde vnto that countrey, and that I haue wrytten against it in a Chronicle, that before tyme I haue sette forth. [...] (Cooper 1565: R 4^r)

Dictionary entries with a scholarly (or discursive) type of authorial involvement usually take the form of mini-discourses. The compiler has found that the source texts consulted offer different translation equivalents or explanations which he dutifully records and then states his own view. The scholarly type therefore occurs above all in dictionaries for which the compiler provides a list of names of writers and texts which he consulted for his work. But a scholarly approach is also taken in such cases in which the compiler is doubtful whether the translation or explanation suggested is the right one or adequate. Here are some examples:

- (4) Tympanū, a tymbrel, a tabour, or drumslade.
Seruius calleth it a couered charyotte or carte, other doo suppose it to be the strake of a carte whele. I suppose that it may be taken for that, whyche is callyd the corse of a charyotte or horse lytter, made with bayles or bourdes ioyned, whiche is not moche from the opnyon of Seruius. (Elyot 1538: Dd.[iv.]^v)
- (5) Hepatica. **The hearbe Liuerworte after some, but I thinke it rather to be Agrimonie.** (Cooper 1565: Kkk [vi]^r)
- (6) Partheniū, **is supposed of some well lerned men to be tansye, whiche opinion I thynke to be beste.** (Elyot 1538: Ll.[v.]^v)

And finally, there is the type of authorial involvement which tells us something about the personal interests, likes and dislikes of the lexicographer, his stance with respect to the objects, people, activities and events described. Qualifying adjectives and adverbs, for instance, often reveal the author's attitudes or feelings towards the characteristics of the kind of object, human being or animal referred to. Here is an example from Thomas Elyot's Latin-English dictionary:

- (7) Dromedarius, **a beaste lyke to a camell, but of a wonderfull swifteness.** (Elyot 1538: F.[vi.]^v)

Wonderful is one of Elyot's favourite words to express admiration (cf. Stein 2014 Chapter 3: 70–99).

Yet the assessment is not always easy: the use of adjectives, above all in their superlative form, may reflect a general opinion held at the time (which the author shared) as in:

- (8) Vlysses, **the most eloquent and wise prince of the Grekes, which came against Troy.** (Elyot 1538: Ee.[iv.]^v)
- (9) Pythagoras, **an excellente Phylosopher, whose Phylosophye was in mystycalle sentences, and alsoo in the Scyence of noubers.** (Elyot 1538: V^r)

Occasional comments inserted after an explanation provide a much clearer image of an author's personal view as in the following example:

- (10) Disciplina, **lerning as it is perceyued of the scholer. It is also a good forme of lyuing.** (Elyot 1538: F.[v.]^r)

The above statement may be taken as a piece of advice. In other entries the comment may come close to a warning as in the case of the malicious accusations against Bellerophon which made Elyot add the comment: "Note here the malice of harlots" (Elyot 1538: Hh.[iv.]^v).

Authorial involvement of the personal type is on the whole rare in early English dictionaries of the sixteenth century. This makes Claudius Hollyband's lexicographical approach all the more striking. Claudius Hollyband is the anglicized form of the French name Claude de Sainliens. The Bourbonnais Huguenot (1534/5–1597) came to England in 1564/5 and soon established himself as one of the leading foreigners teaching French, Italian and Latin. His teaching was so successful and sought after that he was able to open a private school of his own in the capital. Producing his own textbooks facilitated his teaching, giving him an enormous advantage over his competitors. The teaching material for French comprised two textbooks, a treatise on French grammar, a book on French pronunciation and a bilingual French-English dictionary. The textbooks and the dictionary were the most successful. The first textbook, *The French Schoole-maister*, came out in 1573 and was still being printed in 1668 (reaching twenty-one editions). The other similarly popular textbook, *The French Littelton*, was published in 1578 and last printed in 1630. Two years after the publication of the *French Littelton*, his bilingual dictionary appeared under the title *The treasure of the French tong* (1580). This work was expanded to some 20,000 entries (Kibbee 1991: 179) and was published thirteen years later as *A dictionarie French and English* (1593). This last work, in a way Hollyband's last words, will be the focus of the present study. During the time between the publication of

these two dictionaries Hollyband had for some seven years (1586–1593) accompanied the eleventh baron Harringworth, Edward la Zouche (1556–1625), on his travels in Europe. His richer life experience can easily be sensed in the *Dictionarie French and English* when he was nearly sixty years old (and not in his mid-forties as in the *Treasurie*).

The earliest comprehensive study of Claudius Hollyband is Lucy E. Farrer's classic monograph of 1908 *La vie et les oeuvres de Claude de Sainliens alias Claudius Holyband*. His achievements in the context of teaching French in England during the latter part of the sixteenth century are well investigated by Kathleen Lambley in *The Teaching and Cultivation of the French Language in England during Tudor and Stuart Times* (1920) and D. A. Kibbee's monograph *For to Speke Frenche Trewely: The French Language in England, 1000–1600: Its Status, Description and Instruction* (1991). Laurent Bercé's recent study *Claude de Sainliens, un Huguenot Bourbonnais au temps de Shakespeare* (2012) excels in the biographical research on Hollyband in Shakespeare's time and the relation between the author and his work. The contributions to foreign language teaching made by Huguenot refugees in England are the topic of F. Watson (1911) and M. C. Cormier and A. Francoeur (2004a/2004b). The chapter on Hollyband in my 1985 book *The English Dictionary before Cawdrey* focuses on his lexicographical work. At the centre of this study is one particular aspect of his lexicographical work, his personal views and attitudes towards people, contemporary society, manners and politics as they emerge from the lexical items selected for his dictionaries, their explanations and the illustrations of their use.

The present research is based on a close reading of the two dictionaries. The dictionary entries show

1. very few instances of an authorial involvement of the scholarly type;
2. a substantial number of entries of the autobiographical and personal type;
3. within the personal involvement type the attitudinal scale spans from appreciative enjoyment to dislike and outspoken sentencing. Disapproval greatly outweighs approval.
4. "likes" and "dislikes" tend to be related to certain objects, institutions, activities and ways of behaviour.

We begin our review with a common saying which Hollyband criticizes and which indicates what the Protestant Huguenot did not regard as a general philosophy of life, before we turn to more specific vocabulary areas. His view has not changed between 1580 and 1593:

- (11) Chacū pour soy & Dieu pour tout,
est vn mauvais prouerbe, *euerie*
man for himselfe, and God for vs
all, is an euill prouerbe. (1593: Aa[5]^r)

It is the only instance in the dictionary in which the linguistic categorization of a proverb is qualified as “mauvais/evil”. Hollyband’s readers are left to reflect on the reasons for the author’s criticism.

Hollyband’s main source was Robert Estienne’s *Dictionnaire francois-latin* in its various editions. The title page of the augmented 1573 edition produced by Dupuys advertises as its new features the inclusion of “mots de Marine, Venerie & Faulconnerie”. This accounts for the rather unusual coverage of such specialist terms in a general dictionary of some 20,000 entries. There is a striking contrast between these and the largely common core vocabulary which is often very close to the French colloquial idiom and the many examples given in direct speech. Such spoken utterances often occur in first person singular forms. The lexicographical device creates an immediate relationship with readers who may have the impression of being part of a conversation or sharing a confidence. The confessions of the *I*-person invite interpretation. Many are simply everyday utterances as for instance: “Ie le vous avoye prédit, *I did tell it you afore*” (Aa[6]^v) or “Ie n’ay point de regret d’avoir fait cela, *I am not sorie, or I repent not that I have done that*” (Ddⁱ). Others are autobiographical, as for instance “I’ay vescu cinquãte huïct ans, *I have liued fiftie and eight yeares*” (Ii4^v) (which indeed was Hollyband’s age in 1593), and many are on that borderline between personal utterances and mere illustrations of the spoken idiom, as in “Ie suy bien logé, *I am very well lodged*” (S[7]^v), “Ie vous remercie, que à vostre Pourchas, j’ay esté enrollé au service du Roy, *I thanke you, that at your suite I have beene enrolled at the Kings seruice*” (Aa[5]^v). In looking for appropriate examples Hollyband’s mind seems not to have stepped back as a detached compiler, but remained an author intricately involved in his writing.

A thematic area which shows a rich coverage is the one relating to food, eating and drinking. The lexical items included in the dictionary, their explanations and illustrations suggest that Hollyband took a keen interest in food, and was something of a gourmand. He shows a detailed knowledge in the preparation of dishes and sauces:

- (12) Vn Pasté en pot, *chopped meate with spices made with potage or broth, a gallimaufrie, an hotch-pot, a minced pie made in a pot.* (1593: [8]ⁱ)
- (13) Vne saugrenée, f: *a kind of porredge made with peason and broth halfe sodden, put in a dish with sops, salte, sallet oyle, and some vinegar.* (1593: Ee[5]^v)
- (14) Saupicquet, *any kinde of sauce, but properly made with vinegar, onions, and mustard, or such as they dresse for roasted porke: m.* (1593: Ee[5]^v)

He retains in 1593 the descriptions for *sivé* which “*is a kind of sauce or broth where with wee doe dresse in France the fore parte of an Hare*” (Ff3^v), and *sou* described as “*hogges feet kept in brine, or greene sauce made with greene Rie*” (Ff5^v). The dictionary even includes a lexicalization for a lover of a particular sauce. After the noun “*Salmingondins: m: a kind of sauce vpon mince meate*”, the derivative *Salmingondinois* is paraphrased as “*louing such sauce*” (1593: Ee4^v). He includes (in 1580 and 1593) the names of some common dishes: “*Collops and egges, des oeufs au lard*” (1593: F3^r), “*Riblettes, as des oeufs à la riblette, collops and egges*” (1593: Dd[8]^v) and “*Des pieds de mouton à la vinaigrette, trotters with vineger*” (1593: Ii[6]^r). Closeness to the compiler’s mind and palate is suggested by the introduction of direct speech when in 1593 he illustrated the use of the verbs *couper* and *entamer* and the nouns *moruë* and *galete*. The *I*-person seems to be sitting at table and waiting to be served:

- (15) *Coupez ces perdrix, cut vp or winne these partridges.* (1593: H[8]^r)
- (16) *Entamez ceste espaule de mouton, cut vp, or begin to cut the first piece of this shoulder of mutton.* (1593: M4^r)
- (17) *Croyez vous que la moruë soit bonne au beurre? doe you beleeeve that greene fishe is good with sweete butter?* (1593: V[5]^r)
- (18) *Donnes moy de vostre Galete, giue me of your thinne Cake.* (1593: P[5]^r)

This last request may be seen in the context of the illustrations for the noun *patisserie* added in 1593. The sense of *patisserie* as a place is (only) shown in a direct command: “*Allez voir qui est en la Patisserie, goe & see who is in the pastrie*”. The sweet objects produced in this place are then described in the following sentence:

- (19) *Il besogne fort bien en toute sorte de Patisserie, he worketh very well in all kinde of bake meat.* (1593: Y[8]^r)

We are given a third-person statement which includes high praise of the work carried out. And finally, the baked products, the *patisserie*, “*all kinde of bakemeate*”, is exemplified in another request: “*apportez nous la Patisserie, bring vs the bakemeat*” (1593: Y[8]^r). The Protestant gourmand lists these three examples in the reverse order: he first wants the speaker’s wish for some cakes to be satisfied, he then mentions a good patissier, and finally sends someone to check who is in the *patisserie*. It thus looks as if Hollyband himself had a sweet tooth. This may also account for the other new entries in 1593:

- (20) Vne galette: f: *a broad thinne cake: see Gasteau.* (P4^r)
 (21) Gasteau gingimbré ou bien où il y a du gingembre, *ginger cake.* (P7^r)
 (22) Vn pasté de poires, *a peare-pye.* (Y[8]^r)
 (23) Pourfiterolle, f: *a Cake baked vnder hoate imbers: see Proufiterolle.* (Aa[5]^v)

We note the praise given so generously to the referent, the *patissier*, in the above example. Such an approving comment is rare, and the one that occurs is pleasantness to the palate:

- (24) Melons, *a fruite growing as Cucumbers doe, but hauing a very pleasant and sweet taste, sugred or musked, a melon.* (1593: T[8]^r)
 (25) Pompon, or pepon, *a kinde of fruite like a round pompion, but very pleasant to eate rawe with salte and meate a muske Milion: m.* (1593: Aa2^v)

Criticism with respect to something eaten is more common. What came to Hollyband's mind when he had decided to show the use of the nouns *viande* ('meat'), *sauge* ('sage') and the verb *cuire* ('to cook')? He came up with complaints which everyone has experienced: overdone, tasteless and underdone food. The examples which he provided in 1580 and then retained in 1593 are: "La viande est brulée & havié, *the meate is burned*" (Ii[5]^r), "Il n'ya ne sel ne sauge, *it is an vnsauorie thing*" (Ee[5]^v) and "Ce pain n'est pas bien cuict, *this bread is not well baked*" (I3^v). A new 1593 entry to illustrate the use of the noun *l'espargne* ("scarcitie") is rather surprising:

- (26) Couper du fromage à l'espargne, *to cut cheese sparingly, niggardly.* (1593: N3^r)

Here we are given the infinitive form of the verb, a general observation is made, but the second adverb *niggardly* makes one think of a reproachful watcher who would have liked more cheese than he was given. A more sweeping complaint is expressed in the unusual combination *Mau-soupé* added as the last example to show the use of the prefixal element *mau-* ('mal-'). The translation is "*that hath ill supped, or had an ill supper*" (T[7]^r). A second example is "*Mau-disné, that hath not well dined, that hath an ill dinner*" (Ii[6]^v). Who would think of having supped poorly? Obviously only someone used to supping well. Hollyband's insertion of these lexicalizations (in 1580 and 1593) may be an indication of his own status. Stronger dissatisfaction is

voiced in the example provided for the noun *rebut* ('scrap'), translated as "casting out, leavings, cullers, or robbers" (Cc[5]^v). Hollyband has again chosen the form of the first person singular in both editions:

- (27) *Ie n'ay eu que le rebut des autres, I
have had but th'other leavings, the
cullers.* (Cc[5]^v)

The *I*-person may not only be unhappy about not having been well served. There is another side to him which reveals strong emotional reaction. This is what Hollyband tells his readers as an explanation of the noun *vileté*:

- (28) *Vileté, la vileté de sa personne m'a
gardé de manger de la viande
qu'il avoit touchée, the vilenesse or
foulenesse of his person hath let me
to eate the meate which hee had
handled: f. (1593: Ii[5]^v)*

In whose company had the Huguenot Protestant been eating to be driven to such an example? He inserted it in 1580, but his retaining it in 1593 suggests that his disgust was undiminished.

What emerges from the last examples is that during the thirteen years between the publication of the *Treasurie* (1580) and the *Dictionarie* (1593) Hollyband had not mellowed with increasing years. His critical stance with its culmination in the illustration of *vileté* has remained unchanged.

So too with drinking. We do not know whether Hollyband's French family background had anything to do with the cultivation of wine, but his detailed expert knowledge of the growing of vines, the production and conservation of wine is quite astounding (cf. Berec 2012: 258, 371).

The lexical items selected for his dictionaries also provide some insights into the consumption of alcohol at the time. In 1593 this vocabulary area is further expanded from its 1580 coverage. The types of wine-drinkers become more differentiated. In 1580 we have the "bibber, tippler" (*biberon*), and the "good drinker" (*croque la pie*). In 1593 *biberon* is provided with a further translation equivalent ("a quaffer" (E3^v) and two new lexical items are added which relate to the amount of alcohol consumed: "Petit Buvereteau, m: a little drinker" (E4^v) and "Vn grand Avaleur de vin, m: a swallower of wine, a great drinker" (D4^v). In the 1580 *Treasurie* the verbs for *to drink* apart from *boire* are *buveter* "to sip whole glasses full, to drink often" (Eiiij^v) and *piailler* "to drinke at large" (Nniiij^v). Excess is expressed by *enyvrer* (R^v) and *yvrongner* (Hhh^v). In the *Dictionarie* of 1593 we have four additions. The entry *buveter* is extended by *buvotter* and the translation *to bibbe* (E4^v). The new, more pictur-

esque verbs are *crapuler* “to play the drunkard, the vse of too much drinkinge” (I^v), *grenouiller* or *buvotter aux tavernes* “to play the drunkard in a tauerne” (Q2^r) and the verbal phrase *boire à Tirelarigaud* “to tipple and drinke carouse” (Hh^r). Alcoholic beverages become more differentiated. Apart from *bière* and *wine*, the *Treasurie* lists *beuvette* described as “*Vin de despence, small household wine*” (Eiiij^r) and *despence* (the second sense of which) is slightly more specific: “*also smal wine mingled with much water*” (Niiij^r). There is also *le vin des valets*, “*seruantes wyne*” (Ggg^v) and *vinot, vinet, petit vin* “*Small wyne*” (Gggij^r). Additions in 1593 are *petite bière* “*small beere*” (E3^r) and *double bière* “*double beere*” (E3^r), *vin* or *boisson drogué* “*wine or drink mixt, brued with sugar, spices and such like [...]*” (L3^v).

The nouns referring to the amount of alcohol dispensed remain the same (*pinte de vin, poinson de vin, quarte de vin, septier*), the only change being the expansion of *traïct* in 1593 to cover any liquid taken: “*Vn traïct d’eauë, de vin, de bière, a draught of water, wine, beere*” (1593: Hh4^r).

The effect produced by drinking too much alcohol is captured in a number of expressions with little change between the two editions. *Entrebeu* is said of someone who has drunk a bit too much and is half drunk. *Un home forbeu* has “*drunke more then measure, ouerseene in drinke*”, and *saoul* and *yvre* both mean drunk, with *yvre* also occurring in a stronger phrasal idiom “*Il est yvre comme vne soupe*” for which his equivalent is “*he is drunke as a toste, or as a rat*” (1593: Kk2^r). In this example, as in the illustration of *entrebeu* and the entry *home forbeu*, the drinker is a male. There is one new example in 1593 and that refers to a woman, “*she is drunke*” (Ee[5]^r). So drunkenness is observed in other people, not in “me”. The only first person singular example occurs after the verb *entester*, “*ce vin m’enteste, this wine troubleth my head*” (4^r). Hollyband’s exemplification in this subject field of drinking is scarce and we perhaps learn the reason for this from himself:

(29) *Ie haïs les yvrongnes & les suis cõ-
me la peste, I hate and shunne such
drunkards as the plague.* (1593: Kk2^r)

The order in which the relevant headwords are listed lends further strength to his unrestrained hatred and disgust. There are three entries for the noun *yvrongne*. The first is not the noun which is then shown in use in the next. The first entry is an emotional outburst:

(30) *Et va yvrongne va, goe, goe drunken
beast.* (1593: Kk2^r)

This first utterance of disgust is followed by the “hate declaration” and then only is the noun *yvrongne* listed. In 1593 Hollyband inserted the lexical item *yvrongness*

(“Vne Yvrongnesse or yvrongne, a woman drunkard” (Kk2^r), thus including women as well as in the case of *saoul*.

One of the places where alcohol could be bought and drunk is

- (31) Berlans, *common tipling houses, houses of ill rule or gaming*. (1593: E2v)

The singular form *brelan* is described as “*the place of dicing and carding*”, the phrase *tenir le brelan* as “*to keepe an open house for whoremongers*” and *hanter le brelan* as “*to frequent such places*” (E[8]^r). Sexual behaviour is a recurrent theme in Hollyband’s dictionaries and to this we shall now turn.

The basic vocabulary that is needed to describe a loving relationship between human beings is well covered in the *Treasure* and the *Dictionarie*. What one might have less expected are expressions for endearments. (listed in 1580 and retained in 1593) as:

- (32) M’amie, *my loue, my she friend: the Masculine is: Mon amy, my lover, or my friend*. (1593: T3^v)
- (33) Ma mignonne, *my minion, my trul, my sweeting: my darling: f.* (1593: V3^r)
- (34) Mon petit Cueur, *my little heart, my sweete hart*. (1593: I3^v)
- (35) Vn Marjolet, *as c’est vn petit marjolet, he is a fine darling: m.* (1593: T5^r)

A further addition in 1593 is

- (36) Ma petite mignarde, *my pretty and wanton: my darling: f.* (1593: V3^r)

The intensity of feeling, of love is captured (in 1580 and 1593) by entries like “Languissant d’amour, *forespent with loue*” (1593: S3^v), “Se passionner, *to forment himselfe, also through ioy to be as it were out of his wit*” (1593: Y[8]^r) and “Estre eschauffé, *to be warmed, to bee chafed to be burnt in filthy lust*” (1593: M[8]^r). There are entries for “L’amour conjugalle” (1593: H2^v) and the behaviour expected of a wife towards her husband “Meffaire envers son mary” (1593: T[7]^v). Hollyband was well aware that a marriage might have its difficulties and he covers both sides with an example. The adjective *saoul* prompted him to the remark:

- (37) Il est saoul de sa fame, *he is weary of his wife*. (1593: Ee[5]^r)

An explanation could be an entry showing the use of the adjective *muet* in 1593:

- (38) Il desire que sa fame fust muette, ou
bien que luy mesme fust sourd:
*he wisheth his wife dumbe, or he
himselſe deaffe: m. (1593: V[8]^v)*

This is a stronger version of the author's ironic question (under the verb *taire*) in the *Treasurie*:

- (39) Sçauroit-on faire taire vne fame?
*can one make a woman for to hold
her peace? (1580: Ccc^v)*

The wife's feelings are described under the entry *seulette*:

- (40) Seulette, *a woman alone, as j'aime-
roye mieux dormir seulette, Que
d'avoir vn fascheus mary, I had
rather to sleepe alone, than to haue
an yrkesome husband: f. (1593: Ff2^r)*

In a general dictionary of some 20,000 items, entries which reveal male sexual pre-occupation may come as a surprise. Here are the examples which came to Hollyband's mind when he thought of showing the use of the noun *appétit* ('appetite') and the verb *suffire* ('to satisfy'):

- (41) Tout faire à l'appetit d'une fa-
me, *to do all thinges after a wo-
mans fansie. (1580: C^r)*
- (42) Suffire à vne femme, *to satisfie a
woman. (1580: Bbbij^v)*

Both are cited in the uninflected form, the infinitive.

The seedy side of sexual behaviour is described and also illustrated in examples, and Hollyband's reaction and comments show his disapproval or even disgust. The definition of the verb *prostituer* "to set open to euery man that commeth" (1580: Qq[iv]^v) is not complete, as if an emotional reaction prevented the lexicographer from describing the details. The following example then shows its full meaning, but the choice of words, "sa fille, sa femme", "abandon", "to be abused" and "every man" suggests a disapproving attitude in the compiler:

- (43) il a prostitué sa fille, sa fame, *he hath*

abandoned his daughter, his wife, to be abused in hir body by euery man. (1580: Qq[iv]^f)

The exemplification in the third person is not restricted to the male. The second example is predicated of a female:

- (44) Elle s'est prostituée a tous ve-
nans, *she hath giuen hir selfe to*
be abused of all commers. (1580: Qq[iv]^f)

Paillard and *paillarde* are also exemplified for each sex, but there is an interesting difference in the attributive adjectives. The nouns themselves are translated as follows: “*Paillard, a whoremonger, a brothel, a knaue, a villain*” and “*Vne paillarde, a whore, a harlot*” (1580: Lliij^f). The male’s behaviour is called “*fin*” or “*fort*” (“*crafty*”):

- (45) C'est vn fin paillard, *he is a crafty knaue.*
(46) Cest vn fort paillard, *he is a craftie knaue.*

The example for a *paillarde* includes a superlative and reads as follows:

- (47) Cest la plus forte paillarde de
Lödres, *she is the strongest whore*
in London. (1580: Lliij^f)

Some of these ladies of the oldest profession may have some notoriety, but in Hollyband’s other examples the disapproval cannot be overlooked. The example for *punaise* is an annoyed reaction:

- (48) Ostez moy ste punaise de devāt
moy, *awaye with this stinking*
whore out of my presence. (1580: Rrij^f)

And for *putain* a general action to be taken is suggested:

- (49) Se deffaire d’vne putain, *to be rid*
of a whore. (1580: Rrij^v)

As to a whoremonger, “*Putier, a whoremonger, a whorehunter, a Ruffian*”, Hollyband explains another common name: “*a whore master is also called Putoir, for commonly such villaines do stinke and smell strong*” (1580: Rrij^v).

Hollyband's lexicographical practice of looking at both sexes in describing sexual behaviour also holds for the "grosse vérole, *The Frenche pockes*" (1580: Fff iij^v). He informs his readers on the origin of the disease which "is called also le mal de Naples, bycause the frenchemen were first infected of that disease at the siege of Naples, Anno, 1 5 2 8" (1580: Fffijj^v). The two example sentences are given in order of the affected (he) and the affecter (she):

- (50) Il est vray gentil-home, il a sué
la vérolle neuf fais [sic], *he is a right
Gentleman, for hee hath swea-
ted of the Frenche pockes nyne
tymes.* (1580: Fffijj^v)

That Hollyband's definitions may occasionally be ironic in style has been noted by Stein (1985: 252).

- (51) Elle luy a baillé la vérolle, *she
hath giuen him the frensh pockes.* (1580: Fffijj^v)

Sexual promiscuity is strongly condemned (in 1580 and 1593) in the example under the noun *banier* which attacks the Roman emperor's notorious behaviour:

- (52) Ce taureau banier Nero, *that
cõmon bull Nero: that is, whore-
monger.* (1580: D[iv]^r)

It is not clear whether Hollyband's choice to illustrate the use of the noun *tare* has to be seen in this context of the use and abuse of women or whether it was meant as some kind of offensive mockery:

- (53) Chevaux, vin, & vne fame, est
marchandise de tare, *Horses,
Wine, and a Woman, is a ware or
Merchandise of waste.* (1580: Cccijj^r)

The entry is retained in the *Dictionarie*. The 1593 expansions in this particular vocabulary area are quite striking. The author is thirteen years older and has had some seven years of travelling and experiences abroad. This can be sensed in the additional lexical material, its explanation and exemplification as well as in the extension of the entries already listed. First person singular examples expressing love or possessiveness seem to suggest greater self-confidence and intensity. The first two examples to illustrate the pronoun *mien* are: "Elle est mienne, *she is mine*" (1593: V3^r) and "Ce n'est pas la tienne, mais la mienne" (1593: V3^v). The illustration of the

adverb *intimement* refers to a male, not a female: “Ie l’aime Intimement ou entierement, *I loue him innerly or intirelye*” (1593: R[8]^r). Distress in love is mentioned: “C’est vn Bruvage amer d’aimer sans estre aimé, *it is a bitter kinde of drinke, to loue, and not be loued againe*” (1593: E4^v), “Destrainte & angoisse d’amour, f: *distresse in loue, one ouerpassioned by loue*” (1593: K[7]^r). Lovers may not only kiss (*baiser*), but also kiss often (*Baisotter*) (1593: D[7]^r) or kiss again (*Rabaiser*) or even kiss and kiss again (*Rabaisotter*) (1593: Cc[5]^r). The effect produced by strong desire is not only described in the entry *estre eschauffé* (listed already in 1580), but in the following entries:

- (54) Estre trop excessif ou trop fresle au deduict d’Amour, & ainsi finir sa vie, *to bee earnest, hoate, or weake in fleshly lust or venerie, and so to end his dayes through too great pleasure.* (1593: P2^r)
- (55) Emmartelé des furieus assaults d’amour, *intrapped, caught, bewitched with the furious assaults of loue [...]* (1593: L[6]^r)

And our widely travelled compiler even inserts the name of an enhancing drink: “Philtre, *amorous potions making men mad for loue*” (1593: Z[5]^r).

There is a notable increase in entries that refer to women in the 1593 *Dictionarie French and English*. They describe their physical appearance and their relationship to others. The differentiated picture given—*soigneuse* (‘careful’), *scrupuleuse* (‘scrupulous’), *rebaudie* (‘frolick’), *pensive* (‘pensive’), *poureuse* (‘fearful’), *bonne compaigne* (‘good companion’)—agrees with Hollyband’s illustration of the adjective *susceptible*:

- (56) Susceptible, *as l’ame de la fame est susceptille de vertu, aussi bien que celle de l’home, soules of women-kind are as able to receiue the print of virtue, as &c.* (1593: Gg2^{r-v})

Some observations not only ring true but entertain at the same time, as the example provided to show the use of the phrase *être enchainé*:

- (57) Elle est Enchainée et entourée d’affiquets, comme si elle tenoit boutique d’orfevre, *she is with her chaines and Iewels as &c.* (1593: L[8]^r)

But there are also other characteristics of womankind in Hollyband's dictionary entries. The strongest criticism is the generalization found under *despitonné*:

- (58) Despitonné, *squeamish, as les femmes*
sont, de nature, Despitonnées, *women be of nature squeamish*. (1593: K[5]^v)

Hollyband's greater life experience and self-confidence may have led him to single out and illustrate the following characteristics for women in 1593: *effrontée*, *eshontée* ('shameless') (L[5]^v), *liberalle* ('liberal') (S[5]^v), *mondaine* ('worldly') (V[5]^v), *nonchalante* ('careless') (X4^v), *tempestative* ('tempestuous') (Gg[6]^r), and *voluptueuse* ('voluptuous') (Ii[8]^r).

The preoccupation with sex continues in 1593, leading Hollyband to make the following claim as one of the examples for the verb *voir* 'to see':

- (59) La fame entre en chaleur, quand
elle est veuë, *the womans flesh is*
moued, when she is seene. (1593: Ii3^r)

New entries are more focused on physical, fleshly details. Besides the lexical items *tette*, *tetin*, *tetine*, *mammelle* for the female breast, Hollyband introduces *tetasse* translated as "*a long, vile, foule withered dug*" (1593: Ii[8]^r). For an old breast the adjectives *long* and *withered* might have been adequate. *Vile* and *foule* reflect an observer's disgust and give the description a nasty tone. Another, in this case admiring, subjective assessment by Hollyband is the insertion of the adverb *meruailously* in the explanation of *estiomené*:

- (60) Estiomené, Saint Antonies fire, *whē*
the member of ones body is meruailously
enflamed. (1593: N[5]^v)

New additions are the verbs *arresser* ("*when a mans yard is vp*", and its derivative *arressement* ('stiffnes of that action') (1593: C[8]^v). Other verb additions are *forniquer* "*to commit fornication*" (1593: O[8]^r) and *faire la chosette* "*to do a thing which I dare not say, name or tell*" (1593: C4^r). A woman's physical lust and satisfaction are openly addressed in the following entries. The first is the only example to illustrate the verb *fournir* 'to furnish':

- (61) Fournir à l'appointement charnel
d'vne fame, *to fill the carnal lust of*
a woman. (1593: P^r)

In the second case, Hollyband's keen involvement seems to have again run away with him as lexicographer. He does not list the verb *raquoyer* 'to still one' first and then provide the example (which would also maintain alphabetical order). Instead, the example in a determined first person singular form comes first:

- (62) *Ie la Raquoiseray, s'il y a home qui
le puisse faire, I will still or asswage
her, if any man can doe it. (1593: Cc4ⁱ)*

The uninhibited directness which we find here in the *I*-person's sexual prowess occurs in another new entry. The phrase *estre en ses gogues* is described as follows:

- (63) *Estre en ses Gogues, or else avoir v-
ne Dame en ses goguetres [sic], to haue
his ladie at his own wanton or flesh-
ly will. (1593: P[7]^v)*

That the lemma does not always agree with the item illustrated is not unusual in Hollyband's work. The *I*-person's self-confidence is also shown in the advice given:

- (64) *Donne-toy garde qu'elle ne te pen-
de en ses Basses-fourches, take
heede shee hang thee in her lowe-
forkes. (1593: D[8]^v)*

Lexical items such as *basse-fourche*, *être en goguette*, *tétasse* and *faire la chosette* strike one as colloquial, even coarse, expressions which might have been common in a company of men, as for instance the La Zouche group. In such company jokes about virgins may have been made and enjoyed. Hollyband was obviously familiar with an anecdotal expression which he chose to include in 1593:

- (65) *Pucelle de Marolle, a nicke name gi-
uen to corrupted or defiled maiden,
it is supposed that a that Village
named Marolle, a virgine of fif-
teene yeeres of age is hard to be
found. (1593: Bb [5]^r)*

In the context of these examples it is not surprising that Hollyband chose to illustrate the verb *debaucher* in 1593 ("Home, Desbauché, fame Desbauchée" (K^v)).

As we have seen, in 1593 Hollyband's descriptions of sexual behaviour have become more detailed, on occasion very frank and uninhibited, and colloquial or coarse in tone. At the age of nearly sixty years he thinks he knows where the source

for the liberal moral behaviour lies. He gives his views in the form of a statement and, as in many other instances, strings one argument to another so that the sequence suggests an emotional or personal involvement. After the noun *aprentissage* he provides the following explanatory example:

- (66) Le Theatre des jouëurs est vn ap-
prentissage de toute impudicité,
lubricaté, paillardise, ruse, finesse,
meschanceté: *the theatre or stage*
of players is a lesson or learning of
all lecherie, hooredome, guyle, craft,
wickednes. (1593: C 7]^v)

In the treatment of homosexuality there is a noticeable and marked change in 1593. More lexical items which so refer are included and Hollyband speaks out. Apart from *bougre* included already in 1580, the dictionary lists *bougrerie* (“buggery”), *bouiron* (“a buggerer”), *bouironner* (“to commit buggery”) (1593: E[6]^r), *sodomite* (“a buggerer”), *sodomie* (“the act of buggery”) (1593: Ff3^v) and *bardache* (“an Italian worde: he which the Italians doe abuse in buggery”) (1593: D[8]^r). Then there is the noun *petarasse*, *patarasse* which is paraphrased as “a striking vpon ones buttocks” (1593: Z4^r). This spelling variant of *pedarasse* calls up another dictionary entry which is already listed in the *Treasurie*: “Fessiffier, to doe the office of buttocks, to play with his buttocks” (1593: O4^v). In 1580 *bougre* was explained as “he that committeth buggery” (E[iv]^r). There was no translation equivalent. In the *Dictionarie French and English* the tense form changed to the past, there is an English translation equivalent and the act committed is provided with a moral assessment and in an additional comment the compiler calls for action. Here is what Hollyband tells his readers:

- (67) Bougerie, *buggery*: f. (1593: E[6]^r)
(68) Bougre, *he that committed such a*
fact and sodomite villanie: a bug-
gerer: burne them all. (1593: E[6]^r)

The condemnation could not be uttered more strongly, and it is not the only one in Hollyband’s lexicographical work. There is another which is included in the *Treasurie* and retained in 1593. It occurs in a rather unusual dictionary entry in which it is not entirely clear what the headword entry is and what the explanation. There is no English translation equivalent at all:

- (69) Pendras, meschans, meurtriers, dig-
nes de mort, ou de quelque autre

griéve punition, *that haue deserved hanging*: m. (1593: Z2^r)

In the *Treasurie* the headword is given as *Pendars* (1580: Mm[iv]^v).

The additions and changes introduced in the *Dictionarie French and English* reveal that Hollyband had not cooled off with advancing age. His travelling, his exposure to other countries and cultures, his greater life experience, it is true, show a more differentiated picture of human nature, but some of his moral views have become stronger and are voiced with no inhibition whatsoever. So what happened with his religious convictions? He had fled his country for them and become a Protestant Huguenot refugee in England. At the publication of the *Treasurie of the French tong* in 1580 he was in his mid-forties and had spent some fifteen years in his adopted country. The religious vocabulary included in his lexicographical work covers different faiths and their teaching, a good number of their institutions and representatives, their practices and the objects related to them, Christian holidays, occasionally teachings of the Bible (as “Aime ton prochain comme toy mesme, *loue thy neighbour as thy selfe*” (1580: Qqij^r)) and some common phrases (as “A Dieu ne plaise que cela advienne, *God forbidde this shoulde happen*” (1580: Oo^rv)).

One might expect that Hollyband the person comes through in the selection and treatment of lexical items relating to the Catholic Church. It does indeed. He tells his readers that “*the discipline of the auncient Church is much decayed*” (1593: L^r *La Discipline*). The “auncient Church”, the Catholic Church is referred to as the “Church of Rome”. Its officials are termed “the Papists”. As to the relational adjective *papistical*, one has to note that it is associated with hostility. The functions of the individuals and objects present in the service and rituals of the Catholic Church tend to be described in an objective and dispassionate way. The nouns in question rarely have a translation equivalent, but they are usually provided with explanatory paraphrases (in 1580 and 1593). Examples are:

- (70) *Breviaire, the seruice booke of priests of the Church of Rome*: m. (1593: E[8]^r)
- (71) *Vestiaire, the vesterie, where the papisticall Priests doe laye vp all their church apparel*: m. (1593: Ii4^v)
- (72) *Vne estole, a Stole as Priests haue about their neckes in the Romish Church*: f. (1593: N[6]^r)
- (73) *Inquisiteur de la foy, an officer amongst the Papists, that inquireth of ones belief*: m. (1593: R[6]^v)
- (74) *Penencier, or penitencier, he that appoynteth a punishment for offen-*

ces committed towards God appointed by the Pope in Churches at Rome, as in Santa Maria majore, and others: m. (1593: Z2^r)

- (75) *Vn profez, hee that hath made a vow of some sect or religion among Papists. (1593: Bb2^v)*

Examples for practices common in the Roman Church are:

- (76) *Indulgences, as gaigner les indulgences, such pardons as the Pope giueth. (1593: R[5]^r)*
- (77) *Iune enjoint par penitence, a fasting appointed for a satisfaction or punishment for his sinnes, as is vsed among Papists. (1593: Z2^r)*
- (78) *La Neufaine, a vowe among the Papistes during nine days ceremonies [...]. (1593: X3^v)*

New entries in 1593 which describe objects and institutions relating to the Catholic Church are:

- (79) *Vne Crosse, a Crosiers staffe, such as Bishops vse among the papists: f. (1593: I3^r)*
- (80) *Reliquaire, a place where the relickes of Saints be kept, as the Papists doe vse: m. (1593: Dd2^r)*
- (81) *Conclave, m: an inner parlour: the secret chamber where the Cardinals doe meete to chuse the Pope. (1593: H^r)*

But Hollyband does not refrain from attacking the Papists and their practices. These attacks take different forms. There is mockery and ridicule as in the following entries included in the *Treasurie* and repeated in the *Dictionarie*. As in other cases, he seems to be transported by the jibe in his example. The noun *mule* is first illustrated before the lemma itself is listed:

- (82) *Il va sur mule aussi bien que le pape, he rideth vpon a mule as the Pope: this is spoken in mockerie by those which haue kibes. (1593: V[8]^v)*

The same noun inspired him to another comparison:

- (83) Il boit & mage [*sic*] à ses heures comme
la mule du pape, *he doth all things*
at this houre as the popes mule doth. (1593: X^v)

The *paternoster* is not given in its usual phrase *to recite the paternoster* but in a version that is the very opposite:

- (84) Dire le patenostre à l'envers, *to*
curse one: f. (1593: Y[8]^v)

The Eucharist is at the centre of the difference between the Catholic and the Protestant beliefs. Hollyband directs a biting attack on transubstantiation and on the practising officials of the Catholic Church and uses the noun *gobe-quinault* for it:

- (85) Vn Gobe-quinault, *the Priest swallowing his god made of wafer: m.* (1593: P [7]^v)

In addition, he introduces the jocular name which Protestants use to refer to the host, the consecrated wafer:

- (86) Ian le blanc, or l'oiseau Saint Martin, *a rauening birde or a kinde of Hauke killing hennes in the cuntry houses: the Protestants doe call the God of the Papists made of paste,* Ian le blanc. (1593: R^v)

The similarity in the French pronunciation of *tres-passez* 'the dead' and the phrase *traicts passez* 'draughts drunk' is used to attack a further Catholic practice:

- (87) Il pisse pour les Tres-passez, Rabelais, *doubtfully spoken, for it may be taken as it is pronounced, he pisseth for the dead, alluding to the custome of the Papists, sprinkling the graues of the dead with holy water to clense their soles: but indeed it should be written, Il pisse pour les traicts passez, that is, he pisseth for, or because of the draughtes of Wyne or drinke which he hath swallowed downe.* (1593: Hh[6]^r)

The retention of the examples quoted above in 1593 amply illustrates that during the thirteen years between the publication of the two dictionaries Hollyband's scorn for whatever has to do with the teachings of the Catholic Church remained strong and vocal. Among the new additions in 1593 are the verbs *messiffier* and *quaresmer*, paraphrased in a dispassionate style: “*messiffier, to say or sing a masse*” (V2^r) and “*Quaresmer, to keep and obserue Lent as the papists doe*” (Bb[6]^v). The verb *to excommunicate* (*excommunier*) was already listed in 1580. In 1593 there is more information on the results of the inquisition undertaken by officials of the Catholic Church. Those who reject the teachings of the Church of Rome are branded as “*Infecté d’heresie, infected with heresie*” (1593: R[5]^v). The punishments pronounced are different kinds of *reaggravations*: “*Reaggravations, f: the second or thirde excommunications against the rebels of the Roman church*” (1593: Cc[5]^r). Some lexical items seem to have been selected to draw attention to what Hollyband regards as vacuousness of behaviour shown by Catholic priests or to customs maintained within the Church of Rome:

- (88) *Briborions, mumbling wordes, as the priests of the papists doe vse in their prayers for the dead: m.* (1593: E[8]^v)
- (89) *Agyos or agios, blessings and crossings which the papisticall priests doe vse in their holy water, to make a mearlew muse: f.* (1593: C^v)

Murlimews is defined as ‘foolish gestures, antics’ in the *OED2*. The *Dictionarie French and English* includes three new entries which refer to relics (*feriale* (O 4^r), *reliquaire* (Dd2^r) and *rogatons* (Ee^v)). Under the headword *Rogatons* Hollyband reveals what he is really thinking of the institution of relics within the Catholic Church:

- (90) *Rogatons, vn porteur de rogatons, a bearer of the Popes Bulles, or relickes of Martyrs to bee worshipped, and so to gette money by them: m.* (1593: Ee^v)

As we can see, he first provides an explanation of the French phrase *vn porteur de rogatons*, and then at the end of the entry he goes on the attack by drawing attention to the financial interest of the Catholic Church.

Compared to the *I*-person's very frank and uninhibited statements with respect to excesses in eating, drinking and sexual behaviour, the criticism levelled at the Church of Rome seems more cautious, couched mainly in the form of mockery, irony and ridicule. Yet there is one dictionary entry that stands out in its direct accusation

and attack. This is the new entry *le reveille-matin des Francoys*, which is not found in Hollyband's main source. It refers to the horrendous events of the St. Bartholomew massacre of 1572 and a publication of 1574 which is attributed to the French physician and alchemist Nicolas Barnaud:

- (91) Le reveille-matin des Francoys,
the booke shewing the falsehood of the
authors of the massaker or slaugh-
ter traitrously committed on the
persons of the most noble & faith-
full christians of Fraunce, An-
 no 1 5 7 2. (1593: Dd[6]^v)

Here we have the French Huguenot refugee who in 1593 quotes the title of a controversial book of 1574 and summarizes its contents. That the terrible massacre of 1572 may have been imprinted on Hollyband's mind is easily understandable. What is less clear is why he did not include the entry in the *Treasure of the French tong*. The date 1580 was closer to the atrocities committed and the publication of the book dealing with them. We do not know when he learned about the book. Since many of his outspoken views and strong condemnations are already included in the *Treasure* a deliberate exclusion does not seem likely. His travels with Baron la Zouche on the continent may have brought the infamous massacre back to his memory and in his advancing years he may have felt that a reminder of the facts some twenty years after the events might be good for his readers.

This takes us to the question of who Hollyband envisaged as his readership and what he was trying to achieve with his last lexicographical work. The close reading of his two dictionaries reveals a lexicographer who does not fit the mould of a disengaged observer and neutral recorder of the word stock selected for explanation. The lexicographer continues to wear the teacher's gown. This manifests itself in the overall size of the dictionaries, the predominant common core vocabulary, and above all in the exemplification of lexical items in idiomatic actual speech. The examples establish an immediate relationship with the readers who he identifies in the preface as "the Students of the French tongue" (1593: A[4]^r). One feels transported into the classroom where the teacher explains an unknown word and then puts it into a context for his learners, often providing several examples. Hollyband wants them to understand French when reading texts in the foreign language (1593: A[4]^r). The decoding lexicographical approach is helped by the teacher's encoding illustrations. In this quasi-oral teaching role, the use of first and second person pronouns is normal. The role easily leads to uttering personal views, likes and dislikes, and as we have seen with Hollyband's complex personality to strong criticism and forthright opinion. The appeal and the immediacy of direct speech generate an interest in the dictionary which goes beyond mere consultation and invites reading. The en-

gaged teacher encourages learning by providing entertaining teaching material. This professional side, which characterizes Hollyband's earlier works, the *French schoole-maister* and *The French Littelton*, is also manifest in his dictionaries. It accounts for the lack of consistency in lexicographical method and content when for instance alphabetical or morphological order is not followed, when examples are provided before the headword in question is listed, and when there is no headword at all, just examples. In the 1593 edition these inconsistencies are not eliminated, which clearly shows that the word-selecting compiler and the word-explaining and illustrating writer had the upper hand in Hollyband the lexicographer. The writer openly speaks his mind when things are close to his heart and convictions. Did he think of the impact which his outspoken views might have on his readers? The reading of his work suggests that his persona was too involved. Hollyband's *Dictionarie* was succeeded by Randle Cotgrave's acclaimed *Dictionarie of the French and English tongues* (1611). Further research will have to establish whether aspects of Hollyband's outspokenness survived his work.

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Seija Tiisala

Subscribers and Patrons: Jacob Serenius and his *Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico-Latinum* 1734

Abstract: This article is a study of the circles in which the Swede Jacob Serenius moved in London 1723–1735, how they reflect the customs and thinking of the time, and how they influenced his work as lexicographer, clergyman and politician. The primary source is the paratextual part of his dictionary from 1734.

Keywords: paratexts, Britain, Sweden, London, cultural connections, commerce, trilingual lexicon, Royal Society

1 Introduction

Jacob Serenius (1700–1776), clergyman, politician and lexicographer, was born and grew up in a Sweden undergoing profound political, commercial and social changes. The 18th century in Sweden, as in the rest of Europe, was a period of new ideas in culture, science, politics and trade, giving opportunities for energetic, gifted people to use their capacity in different fields irrespective of their social origin or education. Sweden needed all the human resources it could muster in trying to make the country prosperous and respected again, which led to social mobility of unusual speed and extent.

The new way of thinking gave impetus to reformed curricula at the Swedish universities and to increased scholarly activities, leading to international contacts and fame, and to practical applications. Parallel to this modern scientific and utilitarian thinking, the old ideas of the ancient origin of Swedish lived on, leaving traces in the otherwise serious efforts to standardize the language. The paratext in Serenius's first lexicon is a good example of this movement.¹

Jacob Serenius was born in 1700, the son of the vicar of Färentuna near Stockholm, studied at the University of Uppsala (MA 1722, DD 1752), served as pastor to the Swedish congregation in London (1723–1735), Dean in Nyköping, and Bishop of Strängnäs from 1763. Serenius was an influential member of the Estate of the Clergy (1738–1772), and was hated and often criticized by his political opponents for his “free thinking and rude ways, adopted in England” (Baron Ehrensvärd in Geijer 1843: 104). But Ehrensvärd conceded that his dictionary was quite good, and that he was impeccable as a clergyman; his sermons, especially at the openings of the Diet, being much praised. He was a member of the Bible Committee pondering a new

¹ The Swedish term is “*göticism*”, going back to the Gothic roots.

official translation of the Bible,² and had the opportunity to present his views on how Swedish should be developed.

2 Jacob Serenius as lexicographer

Serenius's roles in the Swedish church and in politics are well documented, but his lexical work has not interested modern historians, some of whom do not even mention it.

During his stay in London, Serenius must have realized how important practical knowledge of English was for the Swedes, not only for keeping up closer clerical and scholarly relationships, but also in international business contacts. The refugees and international merchants were important assets in inter-regional trade, but multilingual Swedes were needed as well. Serenius understood the importance of proper learning materials and of a new type of dictionary in which Latin functioned as a language of explanations only. Edmund Gibson, Bishop of London, stimulated Serenius to begin writing the lexicon. During one of their frequent discussions, Gibson expressed his wish to own an English-Swedish lexicon, and when Serenius gave him a draft of the planned lexicon, Gibson spurred him on to continue with the work (Westén 1814: 63).

3 Serenius's lexicons

Serenius's work began a new era in Swedish lexicography, his dictionaries being the first with English and Swedish taking the main role, meant to be used in everyday communication as well as scholarly contacts and commercial life, both in decoding and encoding.

Lena Rogström (1998) has written a detailed study of Serenius's dictionaries (*Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico-Latinum* (1734), *Dictionarium Suetichico-Anglo-Latinum* (1741), and *An English and Swedish Dictionary* (1757)), their lexicographic structure and vocabulary and the models he used. Rogström mentions Abel Boyer, whose *The Royal Dictionary* went through 23 editions, the last one 67 years after his death, as the most important model. According to Rogström, the most likely edition Serenius used was that of 1729 (1998: 13).

Serenius's *Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico-Latinum* was printed in 1734 by Rudolph Beneke in Hamburg, where Serenius stayed in order to supervise the printing. The paratexts in the dictionary consist of a dedication, a subscriber list, Bishop Eric

² The committee sat from 1773 to 1917, when the new official translation was published.

Benzelius's *Praefatio* (sig. A–B2/1–12) and Serenius's *Dissertatio* in his first dictionary, *De veterum Sveo-Gothorum cum Anglis usu et commercio* (sig. B3–D3/13–32).³ A table of terms of trade and navigation/*Sjö- och handels-register* was added as an appendix (sig. Qqq2^r-R113^v).

The second edition, *An English and Swedish dictionary* (1757), was printed in Sweden by Peter Momma, who had opened a new printing office near Serenius's home in order to make it easier for Serenius to do the proofreading himself (Rogström 1998: 34). In the second edition there are more etymologies and more lemmas, and a bilingual list of common flowers and herbs is appended,⁴ but in other respects the second edition is based on the first, without signs of influence from his Swedish-English dictionary of 1741 (Rogström 1998: 152). In the preface, written in English, Serenius says that Johnson's dictionary and Edward Lye's edition of Junius's Anglo-Saxon etymologies had inspired him to increase the number of etymologies considerably (Rogström 1998: 182). The innovations appear mainly in the latter half of the lexicon, because Serenius must have begun the revision before 1755, the year Johnson's dictionary was published.

The *Dictionarium Svethico-Anglo-Latinum*, printed in 1741 by Peter Momma in Stockholm, is based on the vocabulary in the 1734 English-Swedish dictionary, with the languages in reverse order. However, the semantic and structural differences between the languages have been taken into consideration (Rogström 1998: 161–166). The dictionary is dedicated to the Diet and the leaders of the Estates. In the dedication, which is in Swedish, Serenius asks the Estates to use their legislative power to promote the firmness and stability of their mother tongue (sig. *****2^v). There is a list of rules for pronunciation before the dictionary text (sig. *****3^r), and after it *Sjö- och Handels Register/A table of terms of Trade and Navigation* (1741: sig. 276–284).

The dictionaries of 1734, 1741 and 1757 were the only English-Swedish-Latin lexicons until Sjöbeck's dictionary, based on Serenius's work, was published.⁵ Serenius's dominance lasted until 1788, when Widegren's dictionary, based on Sahlstedt's *Svensk ordbok*, was published (Rogström 1998: 5).⁶

³ "The Old Sveo-Goths' relations and commerce with the Anglo-Saxons".

⁴ According to the archives of SAOB (The Swedish Academy Dictionary) the list stems from Linnaeus.

⁵ *Engelskt och Swenskt Samt Swenskt och Engelskt Hand- Dictionaire, 1774–1745*.

⁶ *Svenskt och engelskt lexicon efter Kongl. Sekr. Sahlstedt's svenska ordbok*.

4 Swedish and English in Sweden in the first half of the 18th century

The increasing scholarly and clerical contacts with England and the growing trade with the Mediterranean countries and the Far East increased the demand for practical knowledge of modern languages, especially English. One indication of the wish to raise the status of English in Swedish eyes is Bishop Erik Benzelius's *Præfatio in Serenius* (1734: 5), where he praises in Latin the richness of the English language, its shared Gothic roots with Swedish and its importance in scholarship and in trade.⁷ The common origin aspect is repeated in Serenius's first dictionary. In his next dictionary, *Dictionarium Suethico-Anglo-Latinum* (1741), Serenius stresses the equality, if not the superiority, of Swedish to English; he calls English a daughter-language of Swedish, in spite of the strong influence of Norman French (*Normanna Franskan*) on English.⁸ English is a mixture of "all both living and dead languages in Europe", which gives it a larger vocabulary and some thousands more elegant expressions than Swedish has. Nevertheless, Swedish can, in spite of its "old simplicity", be a match for English in the choice of the equivalents (sig. *****2^v).

This pride in three old roots of Swedish did not prevent the scholars in the late 17th century from realizing the need for standardization in Swedish, which showed considerable variation in morphology and orthography. In the first half of the 18th century, an increasing number of grammarians worked on the modernization of Swedish, one of them being Serenius's teacher, grammarian and lexicographer Jesper Swedberg, whose *Grammatica svecana* was published in 1722. On returning from London, Serenius participated in this work as clergyman, politician,⁹ and lexicographer. Lexicographers like he and Sahlstedt¹⁰ were central figures in creating a new shape and role for Swedish. In the preface of his Swedish-English dictionary, Serenius calls himself the first to put the Swedish language into an order never seen in print before, and combine it with English, one of the most famous languages in the Christian world.

English was not part of the university curricula when Serenius studied in Uppsala. The teaching of English at the university started in 1736 when an unsalaried

⁷ German and especially French had already high status among the Swedish educated classes. Sweden's connections with France culminated in the middle of the 18th century, and French became the language of conversation at the court and of the educated classes during the reign of Gustav III. This left its marks on the written Swedish, the number of French loanwords growing significantly towards the end of the 18th century.

⁸ Serenius and his party (the so-called Caps) were no admirers of French and the French culture.

⁹ As a member of the Bible Committee and the Diet.

¹⁰ Sahlstedt's grammar (1769) and dictionary (1773) influenced the written language over several decades.

teacher of English was appointed. English was taught sporadically until 1831, when a teacher of English and French was engaged. In other words, Serenius didn't learn his English at the university before moving to London. He might have learned English in Sweden either from private tutors or German textbooks in English, but there is no direct evidence of this (Rogström 1998: 40–43).

5 Serenius in London (1723–1735)

Serenius was a 23-year-old graduate when he was appointed pastor at the Swedish congregation in London, recommended by his professors, who had been impressed by him during his studies.¹¹ The Swedish congregation was established in 1710, but it took 18 years before it got a church of its own at Princes Square, to a great extent as a result of Serenius's efforts and effectiveness in getting the money for the building.¹² The Wapping area had become attractive to the wealthy Scandinavian timber merchants, embassy folk, sailors, artisans and shopkeepers (St-George-in-the-East: Swedish-Lutheran Church, Princes Square 1729–1911), and the church was a central meeting place for the Nordic inhabitants. Serenius was greatly appreciated by the parishioners, because he took his clerical work seriously. He was one of those who wanted to bring the Church of England and the Lutheran Swedish church closer to each other. They failed because of doctrinal differences, except in one detail, the confirmation, which Serenius later introduced first in his parish, then in his diocese, and finally throughout Sweden through his influence in the Diet. The London period was not, however, unalloyed bliss for Serenius, who didn't try to avoid conflicts with his Swedish superiors when fighting for something he considered important for his congregation (Trolle 1948).

Serenius was not interested simply in church matters but also in the increasing Swedish overseas trade, the growing industrialization, and the development of agriculture. He translated a booklet into Swedish about sheep-farming in England (*Engelska Åker-Mannen och Fåraherden*), and published it when he was in Stockholm in 1727,¹³ the year Jonas Alström's text on the same subject came out.¹⁴

11 The most important ones were Jesper Swedberg and Erik Benzelius, both having contacts with their English colleagues. Swedberg wrote *En fullkomlig svensk ordabok*, a comprehensive dictionary of Swedish, published in 2009.

12 Serenius went to Sweden in 1727 and collected 8000 thaler; he also got help from the Lutherans in Holland and northern Germany (Westén 1814: 60).

13 The Diet held its session in 1727 and discussed farming problems; Serenius's timing was perfect and made his name known in the Diet.

14 The weaving industry needed more local raw material.

6 The Royal Society and Freemasons

The 18th century was a time of societies right across Europe, for different purposes and with varying prestige and entrance qualifications. There was ample opportunity in London to make contacts with people who studied and taught theories in philosophy, natural science and technology at an academic level outside the universities. Their public talks, such as Desaguliers's lectures (see below), were enormously popular. The infrastructure was there in the form of coffee houses, clubs and societies, either open to all or more exclusive, like The Royal Society. In 1731, Serenius became a Fellow of The Royal Society, which opened the door to new important connections and new knowledge for him (Rogström 1998: 32). Many people belonged to several societies at the same time; a number of the subscribers to Serenius's dictionary were members of The Royal Society, The Society of Antiquaries and various masonic lodges. Masonic lodges were popular meeting places, and the Royal Society meetings could be organized the same day as the meeting of some lodge, making it easier for the shared members to participate (Berman 2010: 184).

A study of the lists of Fellows from the beginning and middle of the 18th century shows that the reason for bestowing a fellowship was not necessarily scientific excellence: royalty and prominent artists were accepted as members; a recommendation from a credible person or a membership of the Society of Antiquaries for instance could be enough. Others were needed in the administration of the society's activities and were therefore elected as members. But the hard core was the wide range of intellectuals and scholars from several nations sharing their ideas and research, discussing them at the meetings and publishing them in the society's series of *Philosophical Transactions*.

The Royal Society was also attractive as a political power centre with a great number of members in high positions, many in direct contact with the court. Another power factor in the early 18th century, practically all over Europe, was Freemasonry, attracting many Royal Society Fellows.¹⁵ The lodges were, as Richard Berman points out, "crossing points for contacts and relationships across a range of social and professional networks", and the membership was socially broader than any other early 18th century club's (Berman 2010: 184). Immigrants and refugees were welcomed and had considerable influence within both Freemasonry and learned societies.

Richard Berman has called English Freemasons architects of the Enlightenment, pointing out that half of the London-based Fellows of the Royal Society are identifiable as closely related to or members of masonic lodges (2010: 70). Within the Royal Society, the Freemasons occupied the key positions of Secretary 1714–1747, Presi-

¹⁵ One of them was Desaguliers, playing an active role in founding Lodges in England.

dent 1740–1758, and had a substantial presence on the Council and in the Vice-Presidency 1714–1770. The only Presidents who were not Freemasons were Newton and Sloane (2010: 106).

7 Serenius's dictionary of 1734 and his London connections

The cost of printing Serenius's first dictionary was at least partly covered through subscription, a system known from the early 17th century.¹⁶ It flourished during the 18th century but became rare in the 19th century. The works that were published this way were usually expensive scholarly books, but fiction and poetry also had their subscribers. The subscription-gathering process, the reasons why people gave their support, and subscriber lists as sources for research are described in Emily O'Flaherty's thesis (2013) about Mary Barber's efforts to get her poems published. Serenius's lexicon and Mary Barber's book were published the same year, and even though their social situations were different, the subscription procedure was the same in principle: prominent persons were needed to attract others from various sections of society to subscribe, and it was important to have somebody who helped the author in the practical work, contacting potential new subscribers. In Mary Barber's case, this helping hand was Jonathan Swift, and in Serenius's it was Bishop Edmund Gibson, according to Westén (1814: 63). Some prominent names in Serenius's subscriber list also come up in connection with Mary Barber.¹⁷

The main sources for the study of Serenius's London connections are the dedication and the *Anglia* part of the subscriber list in the *Dictionarium Anglo-Svethico-Latinum*, 1734. The quantity of information available about the subscribers varies: some were central figures in politics, church and science, and consequently there is an abundance of written material about them, while others were less well known. If they had quite frequently occurring names, it was difficult to decide which one of all the possible choices was the actual subscriber, and therefore some subscribers have been left out. The purpose is to show the subscriber's position and status around the 1730s, the time when Serenius was leaving London and the main part of his dictionary had already been written. In some cases, the subscriber's life has been described in more detail and beyond the 1730s in order to illustrate remarkable careers and the atmosphere of the time.

¹⁶ The first book allegedly printed in England with a subscriber list is John Minshew's polyglot lexicon *Ductor in linguas, or The guide into tongues*, London, 1617.

¹⁷ Lord Carteret, Richard Mead, (Barber's physician), Edward Harley, and the Earl of Pembroke.

8 The dedication

The choice of the dedicatee and writing the dedication itself was a delicate matter. A dedication is an expression of gratitude to the patron, and signals a connection between the writer and the dedicatee, who had to be asked in advance whether he wanted to offer his name as guarantee for the quality of the work. Balancing between excessive and appropriate praise in the dedication text was a delicate task.

Serenius dedicated his dictionary to William Prince of Orange, Fellow of The Royal Society, described as an approachable person, so that Serenius had the opportunity to ask for his consent in advance. The explanation for the choice can be found in the dedication:

To facilitate these great Designs, providence has procured You the advantages of being nearly allied to Two powerful Houses in Europe engaged of Themselves effectually to concur in Your grand and glorious Views. SON IN LAW to the King of GREAT BRITAIN, Elector of HANOVER, NEPHEW to the King of SWEDEN, Landgrave of HESSE, and Born to GOVERN the GREATEST COMMON WEALTH in the world...(1734: sig. *2^v)

William, Prince of Orange and *stadtholder* of the seven Dutch provinces was the son of John William Friso, Prince of Orange and Marie-Louise Hesse-Kassel, whose brother was Fredrik I, king of Sweden and landgrave of Hesse. William married Anne, Princess Royal (1709–1759), daughter of George II and Caroline of Ansbach. George II was also elector of Hanover. William's belonging to the "two powerful Houses in Europe", Hanover and Hesse-Kassel, are an advantage in his work for the "*Protestant Religion and the Ballance of Europe*" (sig. *2^v). That William had great prestige in both the Netherlands and the Protestant world in general is reflected in Serenius's address. One more reason for the choice of William must have been his position in the business world as Director-General of the Dutch East India Company. He represented many things important to Serenius, including defence of the Protestant religion and the political balance in Europe, near relations to the courts of Sweden and England, and his experience of commercial life.

9 The list of subscribers

Nomina Subscribentium.

Serenissimus PRINCEPS ARAUSIONENSIS.

In ANGLIA.

Ayloff Joseph. Baronet. Equ. Aurat.

Alstrøm Jonas, Reg. Suec. Consul.

Alt *Henricus*.
 Bartels *Matth. Rutger*.
 Bellman *Jac. Mart. Merc. Gadii*.
 Bentley *D. Rich. Coll. Trin. Cantab. Mag.*
Biblioth. Advocat. Edinb.
Biblioth. Acad. Abredon.
Biblioth. Decani & Capit. Dunelm.
 Biehusen *Conrad. Merc.*
 Brander *Carolus, Merc.*
 Browne *Thomas*.
 Busk *Jacob, Merc.*
Baro de CARTERET, Par Angliæ.
 Campbel *Johannes*.
 Creswick, *D.D. Decan. Bristol.*
 Creyke *Joh. S.T.P.*
 Dahl *Michael*.
 Desaguliers *Joh. Theoph. LL.D.*
 Dillenius, *Joh. Jac. M.D.*
 Dobson *Joh. Armig.*
 Drake *Samuel*.
 EDMUNDUS, *Episc. Lond. & Consil. Reg.*
 Fairham.
 Frese, *Merc. Gadii*.
 Gordon *Alexander*.
 Hackson *Henricus*.
 Hainworth *Wilh. Merc.*
 Howard *Hugo. Armig.*
 Hutchinson *Wilhelm. Merc.*
 Hysing *Hans*.
 Jones *Wilhelm. Armig.*
 Leyel *Balth. Soc. Ind. Orient. Dir.*
 Lindberg *Abrah. Merc.*
Baro de LOVEL, Par Angliæ.
 Logie *Georg. Reg. Suec. Cons. Mauriti.*
 Mangey *Thom. LL. D. Can. Dunelm.*
 Mead *Rich. Med. Reg.*
 Mead *Sam. Armig.*
 Norris *Henr. Merc.*
Comes de OXON & MORTIMER, Par Angliæ.
 Oldecop *Auberry, Armig.*
Comes de PEMBROCK, Par Angliæ.
 Palm *Henricus, Eccl. Germ. Past.*

Poulsen *Severin, Eccl. Dan. Past.*
 Poyntz *Steph. Ser. Ducis de CUMBERLAND Præc.*
 Sloane *Hans, Bar. Soc. Reg. & Coll. Med. Pr.*
 Spieker *Johannes, Merc.*
 Theobald *Jac. Armig.*
 Toutin *Joh. Valent.*
 von Heinen *Salomon.*
 von Utfall.
 Victorin *Laur. Merc.*
 Ziegenhagen, *ad Aul. Reg. Conc. Augustan.*

The first subscriber is the dedicatee, William Prince of Orange, here called *Serenissimus*¹⁸ *Princeps Arausionensis*. The rest of the subscribers follow in strict alphabetical order, not according to their social status, as was often the case in these lists. They are placed under the names of the countries where they lived at the time, not according to their nationality. The countries are *Anglia, Hollandia, Germania, Svecia* and *Gallia*. All subscribers from France are Swedes, and there are many Swedish names among the subscribers from England, Holland and Germany as well. The *Anglia* subscribers I have placed into five subgroups: commerce (merchants, industrialists), diplomatic corps (diplomats, consuls), artists, clergy and scholarly circles (scholars, collectors). Almost all groups overlap, because practically all subscribers are representatives of the time's relaxed attitude to strict boundaries.¹⁹

10 Commerce

The biggest group consists of merchants and industrialists; nine of them were or had been Swedish citizens, representing the internationally oriented sector of Swedish commercial life. Most moved to England and stayed there,²⁰ preferably in London or Leeds, and were quite successful economically and socially.²¹ They have varied national backgrounds, and their moving abroad was for political, religious or

18 An honorific adjective used of princes.

19 After most names there is an indication of the status of the subscriber (*Armig(er)*, 'Esq.', *Merc.*, 'merchant'), but I have not been able to identify some of the names lacking such a designation reliably.

20 The one who came back and died in Sweden was Jonas Alström.

21 The commercial centres in Sweden were Stockholm and Gothenburg. *Skeppsbroadeln* (the merchant upper class in Stockholm) and *Göteborgsfamiljerna* (the Gothenburg equivalent) are frequently used terms.

commercial reasons. There are people of French,²² Scottish, German, Dutch, and English origin, and they were important factors in the growing Swedish trade of the time.

Merchants of Scottish origin played an active role in Swedish commercial life at this time, one being **Balthasar Leyel** (1672–1740), who was born in Stockholm but died in London. He and his brother Henry were both directors of the English East India Company. Their father was one of the four brothers Leyel,²³ who moved to Stockholm in 1638 and became important merchants and factory owners, especially Adam, who was the largest importer of goods into Sweden by 1670 (*Svenskt biografiskt lexikon* XXXII).

Johan Valentin Toutin (1709–1736) was born in Sweden of French Huguenot parents; his father was a merchant and owned a silk factory, while his aunt was married to the Scottish merchant Robert Campbell, an associate of Henry Norris. **Henry Norris** (1671–1762), was the London agent of Abraham Spooner, the largest ironmonger in the West-Midlands. Norris was successful in getting contracts, being not only a Royal African Company (RAC) supplier but also the sole bar iron contractor for the Navy Board in 1727–1732 (Paul 2014: 139). Swedish iron was mostly exported through Hull, whose merchants formed an iron trade cartel, but Norris and Robert Campbell, who bought the iron directly from the producers, competed with the cartel (*Brittiska handelsmän i Göteborg*).

Conrad Biehusen (1697–1758) was born in Gothenburg (*Göteborgssläkter*); in 1740 he was a merchant in Livorno, and was nominated to the position as Swedish consul by George Logie (see below).

Karl Brander (1681–1745), who was one of Serenius's first merchant contacts in London, was born in Åbo (Turku) in the Grand Duchy of Finland, but left for London in 1712 after his marriage to Margaret Spieker, where her brother **Johannes Spieker** (1685–1775), also born in Åbo, already lived permanently. Both Karl Brander and Johannes Spieker got rich as merchants and bankers in London, and both were active and generous members of the Swedish congregation. Brander bought the building site for the Swedish church, and Spieker, "the richest Swede who ever lived in Britain", left a great sum of money to the poor in Åbo in his last will. He had married the sister of Jonas Alström, made a considerable fortune and became a director of the Bank of England (*Wittfooth Descendants of Jakob Mesterton*).²⁴ His nephew, Gustav Brander, was also a director of the Bank of England, and a Fellow of The Royal Society and The Society of Antiquaries (Bell 2008: 126–178).

²² Often from Huguenot families.

²³ Leijel, Leijell, Lejel, Lyell, Leyl, Leylle, Leiel.

²⁴ The Spiekers were of Scottish origin; the grandfather had come from Edinburgh via Hamburg to Åbo in the middle of the 17th century.

Jacob Busk was born in Sweden, moved to England in 1712 and became a prosperous merchant in Leeds (Wilson 1971: 22).

Lars Victorin and his brother Anders were well-to-do Swedish merchants in London during the first half of the century (Angerstein 1753–1755: footnote 21).

The most remarkable member of this group is **Jonas Alström** (1685–1761), who is a perfect example of the social mobility in Sweden during his lifetime. He was born in a little town, Alingsås; the family was so poor that he could not get any formal education, and so he was self-taught. After having worked some years in the local shops he moved to Stockholm, where his employer appreciated his skills and engaged him as a book-keeper in an enterprise planned to be opened in London.

When the enterprise failed, Alström set up a successful business as ship-broker, and changed nationality. After travelling around Europe, he came back to London, where he was appointed Swedish consul. Wanting to do more for his native country, he went back to Sweden and founded a textile factory in his home-town in 1724, with financial support from the King and other influential people. He was full of ideas, but his problem was his inability to take economic and marketing facts into consideration when establishing new factories in the most varied fields. This led to crippling debts, and he repeatedly had to ask the state for help, which he got. He was a typical child of the Age of Liberty (Heckscher 1918), and was appreciated for his spirit of enterprise in spite of his failures, as his rising social status shows.

In 1739 he became a member of the Council of Commerce, was awarded the Royal Order of the North Star, and was ennobled at the coronation in 1751. He was also one of the founders of the Academy of Sciences and a member of its council consisting of six men, including Linnaeus and Mårten Triewald, who had studied in England and was an active member of The Royal Society and a friend of Desaguliers.

11 Diplomatic corps and consuls

11.1 Diplomats

The three diplomats proper in this group had contacts with both Sweden and the English Court. The most important one for Sweden was **John Carteret** (1690–1763), 2nd Earl of Granville, who also had the closest relationship with the Court. He studied at Christ Church, Oxford, and proceeded Doctor of Civil Laws, but his interests were classical and modern languages and literature. He took his seat in the House of Lords in 1711 and was active in politics to the end of his life. Being practically the only English nobleman at ministerial level speaking fluent German gave him a strong position at the court, because George I spoke only some English. In 1719, Carteret was appointed ambassador extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary to the Queen of Sweden, Ulrica Eleonora, and played an important role in peace-

making in North Europe. He also succeeded in getting commercially favourable agreements concerning the right of freedom of trade and navigation in the Baltic Sea for British ships and contributed to the further development of the cultural contacts between Sweden and Great Britain.

In 1721, he became a member and president of the Privy Council, a position he kept until his death. In 1724, Robert Walpole sent him to Ireland as Lord Lieutenant, probably hoping to weaken his position at the court Britain (Dunaway 2013/2015: 44–51).

Stephen Poyntz (1685–1750), MA from Cambridge, entered diplomatic service and was commissary to James, 1st Earl of Stanhope, Secretary of State; he became Envoy Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary to Sweden in 1724. Later he was tutor to the second son of George II and was the Prince's trusted adviser for the rest of his life, and a good friend of Queen Caroline (Stephens/Lee 1891: n.p.).

Jost Heinrich Alt (1698–1768) was born in Kassel, worked at the legation of Hesse-Kassel from 1725 until his death. By 1734 he had advanced to become private secretary of the Hessian Envoy of Sweden (Johnson 2005: n.p.).

11.2 Consuls

The system with consular services goes back to the Mediterranean in the Middle Ages, the purpose being to offer help both in economic, diplomatic and political questions and to report developments in the consular area to the mother country (Müller 2006: 2). The Swedish consular services expanded considerably after 1721. The consular corps consisted mostly of merchants as honorary consuls, but the Swedish consuls in North Africa also had a diplomatic function, because the appointment of a consul to the area was considered as a kind of diplomatic recognition of the state (Müller 2011: 255–275).

A consul who stayed in his difficult post almost thirty years was **George Logie** (1694–1776). He was born in Scotland but moved to Sweden, and became a Swedish citizen. He had worked as shipper and merchant in the Mediterranean area, becoming well acquainted with the trade, culture and customs in the Mediterranean and North Africa. Logie was asked to start secret peace negotiations with the Dey in Algiers and was appointed Sweden's first consul to North Africa in 1729. He played an important role in keeping up the good relations between Sweden and the Osman rulers. He negotiated a peace and trade treaty between Sweden and Algiers in 1729, which was officially signed by Jean von Utfall, the official Swedish emissary for Algiers (Müller 2004: 58). Later he moved to Livorno, using the town as a base for successful negotiations with Tunis and Tripoli, the peace treaties being signed by him in 1736 and 1741.

Logie was also involved in releasing Swedish seamen taken prisoner and sold as slaves in North Africa, and it was said that he was a gatekeeper in this process, be-

cause the Deys and the officers listened to him. After thirty years as consul in North Africa, he moved back to Sweden in 1758 (Müller 2004: 126).

Jacob Martin Bellman (1706–1786), merchant, uncle of Carl Michael Bellman, moved to Cádiz in 1732, was Swedish consul 1744–1766, and remained in Cádiz until his death.²⁵ As consul, he cooperated with George Logie in the efforts to release Swedish captives sold as slaves in the Mediterranean area. Like most consuls, he also sent reports to Sweden; for instance, about the wartime influence on shipping, and the importance of using the neutral Swedish flag in order to avoid trouble with the local war-lords (Müller 2006: 6). The Swedish merchant **Frese** was sent to Cádiz to assist consul Bellman, because the growing trade had made Cádiz an important port of call for Swedish ships.

Henrik Hackson was appointed an official Swedish representative in Smyrna in 1736. The consulate was established at the same time as the Swedish Levant Company, and **Jonas Alström** was Swedish consul in London in 1734.

11.3 Artists

Two Swedish painters, **Michael Dahl** and **Hans Hysing**, both had contacts with the Court. Michael Dahl (1659–1743) studied painting in Sweden, and left Sweden for England in 1682, where he met painters who acquainted him with the London art world; one of them was the portrait painter Godfrey Kneller, who showed him “what the public really wanted from artists and how to get paid for the work” (Nisser 1931). In 1685, Dahl began a journey through Europe and worked in Paris and Rome where the Swedish Queen Christina, who had abdicated, lived. She was known to help Swedish artists, and she saw to it that Dahl could show his work to Pope Innocent XI. The Pope was impressed, and Dahl got a golden medal from him, which added to his reputation in Europe.

The Duke of Somerset appreciated the portrait of him painted by Dahl in 1696, so much so that he kept him on as painter of the family portraits for over 20 years. He also did the portraits of Queen Anne and her future husband. His life as a favourite painter in court circles ended when Dahl refused to paint the two-year-old Duke of Cumberland, because he was not interested in painting children.

Dahl is described as a hard-working, skilful painter, and as an art collector was an expert member of The Rose and Crown Club, the most important collectors’ socie-

²⁵ *Gadit.* in the list of subscribers is an abbreviation of *gaditanus* (sp. *gaditano*). Cádiz originally had both a Greek and a Latin name with an initial /g/, changing under Arab influence to the voiceless /k/ (Merisalo, personal communication, 2016).

ty. He was one of those who were said to have kept English portrait painting alive until the next great generation came.²⁶

Hans Hysing (1678–1752), a Swedish portrait painter, was Michael Dahl's assistant, who became quite successful among the nobility, and was patronized by the Royal family (George II).

Hugh Howard (1675–1737) was an Irish painter and collector, who travelled with Thomas Earl of Pembroke in Europe, studied painting in Italy and worked as a portrait painter in Dublin before he moved to London and was appointed Keeper of the State Papers in 1714. Viscount Percival writes in his diary in February 1732: "Mr. Howard is or was Keeper of the Paper Office, and I think has since a better employment. He is of Ireland, and of good family, but was obliged to paint in order to support himself like a gentleman" (Percival 1729–1749: 225–226).

Alexander Gordon (1692–1752) was a singer with an MA from Aberdeen, who abandoned singing and made a new career as a writer and antiquarian (Morey 1965: 332). He was also secretary of The Society of Antiquaries and of the Society for the Encouragement of Learning.

11.4 Clergy

Samuel Creswick (1693–1766) was Dean of Bristol (1730),²⁷ Dean of Wells (1739) and Chaplain in Ordinary to the King.

John Creyke (1713–1757), considered an eminent divine, was chaplain and librarian to the Earl of Winchelsea (Burke 1838: 26). He is thanked in the *Dissertatio* in Serenius 1734 for his friendship.²⁸

Samuel Drake (1686/87–1753), clergyman, antiquary and philologist (ODNB), brother of the historian Francis Drake, is one of the subscribers to Bowyer's *Eboracum* (1736),²⁹ the names on that list including Sir Joseph Ayloff, the reverend Mr. Creyke, Dr. Mead, and the reverend Mr. Serenius of Sweden.

Edmund Gibson (1668–1748), FRS, was a classical scholar, antiquary, jurist and theologian, who became Bishop of Lincoln in 1716 and Bishop of London in 1723, which was a position of enormous power and prestige. His publications in-

²⁶ They were mostly foreigners: Anthony van Dyke and Sir Peter Lely, Dutch, and Sir Godfrey Kneller, German.

²⁷ The Dean of Bristol is the Head of the Chapter of the Cathedral Church of the Holy and Undivided Trinity, Bristol.

²⁸ "quem ...liberalitate & amicitiae reverendi & Clarissimi *Johannis Creykii* debemus" (Serenius 1734: 21) Other English scholars mentioned in the *Dissertatio* are Wilhelm Malmesbury (17), Wilhelm Nicholson, George Hicckes (20), Edmund Gibson, and Rudolph Thoresby (21).

²⁹ *Eboracum* is the Roman name for York.

clude editions of classical authors, *The Saxon chronicle* (1692),³⁰ ecclesiastical law, and his own sermons and pastoral letters. Both as a scholar and cleric he was interested in creating and keeping up contacts with foreign colleagues. He was also politically active, as was his friend and protégé Serenius later. He had a close relationship with Sir Robert Walpole, who consulted him on ecclesiastical affairs, and as Dean of the Chapel Royal he had connections with the Royal family.

Thomas Mangey (1688–1755) was a clergyman and scholar born in Leeds, who became Fellow of St. John’s in Cambridge in 1715. In 1719, he proceeded LL.D., and D.D. under Richard Bentley’s supervision in 1725. He published an edition with commentaries and a translation into Latin of Philo Judaeus. Eric Benzelius had seen a Philo manuscript at the Bodleian and later collected more material for an edition of Philo’s works, but gave them all to Mangey, who gave him “a very inadequate acknowledgement of the generous aid” (Sandys 1903: 347).

Friedrich Michael Ziegenhagen (1694–1771), Lutheran court preacher at the Royal Court of King George I, had studied in Halle and Jena and had been a private tutor in Count von Platen’s family near Hanover.

11.5 Scholars, collectors and patrons

This is a mixed group consisting partly of supporters and patrons of scholarly and cultural activities, and partly of more full-time scholars.

11.5.1 Collectors and patrons

Joseph Ayloff (1708–1781), FRS, baronet, was a Fellow of The Royal Society and of The Society of Antiquaries, of which he later became the vice-president. He has been called a distinguished antiquarian writer of the eighteenth century, concentrating on editing the works of others (Rose 1848: 407–408).

Thomas Coke (1697–1759), FRS, was an art collector, who became a peer as Baron Lovel in 1729, and he obtained the titles of Earl of Leicester and Viscount Coke in 1744. From 1733 until his death, he was Postmaster-General.

Edward Harley (1689–1741), FRS, 2nd Earl of Oxford and Mortimer, the only son of Robert Harley, who was an important politician,³¹ but unlike his father he avoided politics and became a book-collector and patron of the arts. This was made

³⁰ Anglo–Saxon studies were made popular through the reputation and teaching of Dr Hickeys, whom Eric Benzelius mentions in his *Praefatio* in Serenius’s 1734 dictionary as a scholar and as his friend.

³¹ Speaker of three successive parliaments and secretary of state, sat two years in the Tower waiting for a trial, accused of High Treason, but was acquitted.

possible with his wife's money, because his inheritance was not great because of his father's honesty. It has been said that the difference between the two most influential and greatest politicians of the first half of the eighteenth century was that Harley "left the national office no richer than when he entered", while Walpole accumulated riches (Jones 1989: 124). The Harley Collection was formed by Robert Harley, and his son Edward Harley extended his father's collection of books and manuscripts, which is now one of the foundation collections of the British Library.

Henry Herbert (1693–1749/1750), FRS, 9th Earl of Pembroke, studied at Christ Church, Oxford, and was appointed Lord of the Bedchamber to the Prince of Wales (later George II). In 1733, he was created Earl and appointed colonel of the King's Own Regiment of Horse, and Privy Councillor in 1735. His role in national politics was minor, his main interest being architecture.³²

John Dobson, Esq., can be found as a subscriber to books in history, such as Bishop Burnet's *History of his own time* (1734), which included some names from the list in Serenius's dictionary: the Prince of Orange, John Campbell, Dr. Creswick(e), Richard Mead, Samuel Mead and the Hon. Edward Carteret.

Samuel Mead, FRS, lawyer at Lincoln's Inn, Richard Mead's modest brother who obviously wanted to avoid publicity. In a letter (1714) to Thomas Hearne, who had wanted to "prefix" both his and his brother's name to Leland's *Collectanea*, Samuel Mead refuses the offer, writing: "Fortune has placed me in a very low rank and station in the world", declaring that a lawyer like him would make "an odd figure among the soft *Muses*" (Aubrey 1813: 298). His name can be found in subscription lists together with his brother's and some other names in Serenius's list.³³

11.5.2 Scholars

Richard Bentley (1662–1742), FRS, a classical scholar, called the founder of historical philology, began a new era in textual criticism through editions of classical texts with comments and careful emendations.

Bentley's lectures in popular form on Newtonian physics led to contact and correspondence with Newton. In 1695, he became Royal chaplain and Fellow of The Royal Society, and Doctor of Divinity (DD) in 1696. As curator of the royal library he had rooms at St James's palace and came into contact with the royal family. He became Master of the Trinity College in Cambridge in 1700, where he antagonized the Fellows with his new ideas and demands for change. Thirty years of formal com-

³² Wikipedia, https://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Earl_of_Pembroke

³³ One of these cases is the list of subscribers to Bishop Burnet's *History of his own time* 1734, including John Campbell Esq, Dr. Creswicke, John Dobson Esq, Hugh Howard Esq, The Honourable Edward Carteret, Henry Norris of London, merc., and Sir Hans Sloane.

plaints did not stop him, and he succeeded in keeping his position, partly because he had influential friends who defended him. Bentley was both admired and detested as a person, but as scholar he was highly appreciated (Murray 1842).

Johann Jacob Dillenius (1684/1687–1747), FRS, a German botanist, was educated at the University of Giessen. Consul William Sherard, passionately interested in botany, met Dillenius while travelling in Europe in 1721, and asked him to move to England.³⁴ Sherard became his friend and patron, and left the university 3000 pounds, his library and herbarium in his last will, on the condition that Dillenius would become the first Sherardian professor of botany, which he did in 1736. Natural history was of lowly status in the first half of the century, and it “was frequently regarded with mild ridicule”, as Thomas Martyn, FRS, professor of botany in Cambridge (1762–1825) wrote in a letter, continuing “We were looked upon as no better than cockle-shell pickers, butterfly hunters, and weed gatherers” (quoted in Gascoigne 2003: 74). This was the climate in which Dillenius, considered as one of the greatest names in botany, succeeded in keeping the discipline alive (Thomson 1812).

William Jones (1675–1749), FRS, a self-taught mathematician, worked in a merchant’s counting house in London at the beginning of his career, where he became interested in navigation. He sailed to the West Indies and taught mathematics aboard ship (Quarrie 2006: 5–24). In the battle of Vigo (1702), the English seized a Spanish-French treasure fleet, and the seamen-fighters began to plunder the ships, but for Jones “the literary treasures were the sole plunder that he coveted”, as Baron Teignmouth writes in his memoirs in 1807 (quoted in Rothman 2009: n.p.).

Later he made his living by teaching mathematics, and from his mathematics books. His *Synopsis*, in which he explained mathematical innovations including Newton’s methods for calculus attracted Newton’s attention, leading to a life-long relationship. Jones was the first to introduce π into the language of mathematics as the symbol for “the Platonic concept of pi”, and in 1712 he was “firmly positioned among the mathematical establishment” (Rothman 2009: n.p.).

One of his former pupils had introduced him to Sir Thomas Parker, who became Lord Chancellor in 1718. He had broad scholarly interests, and was “a generous patron of arts as well as sciences” (Rothman 2009: n.p.). In 1721, he was ennobled as the Earl of Macclesfield, and Jones’s close relationship to the Parker family lasted to the end of his life.³⁵ Jones’s connections with important mathematical, scientific and political characters of the 18th century, and his role as the creator of one of the century’s greatest scientific libraries and mathematical archives are remarkable.³⁶ He

³⁴ Sherard had been the English consul at Smyrna, where he had collected a herbarium with 12,000 plants.

³⁵ Jones left his books and archives to George Parker in his will (Rothman 2009).

³⁶ The library remained in the hands of his patron’s family Macclesfield for nearly 300 years, and was sold at the beginning of 2000 at Sotheby’s.

was active in the Royal Society, first assisting the official secretary on mathematical subjects, and as vice-president from 1749.

Richard Mead (1673–1754), FRS, was a physician specializing in transmissible diseases. In 1707, he proceeded DM at Oxford. Among his patients were King George II, Isaac Newton, the Prime Minister and Bishop Burnet. He also worked at hospitals, and founded the Foundling Hospital, where he was governor and adviser on medical questions. Mead was a Fellow of the Royal College of Physicians (Munk 1861, vol. 2), became a member of the Royal Society in 1703, and its vice-president in 1707. He was also a Freemason. His great wealth allowed him to collect paintings and rare books, but he was also generous and supported people who needed help. The writer of the commemorative text in *Lives of the Fellows, Royal College of Physicians* (Munk's Roll. vol. 2: 40) states that Mead "excelled all the nobility of his age and country in the encouragement which he afforded to the fine arts, and to the antiquities". He had an enormous circle of friends; the most intimate of whom was Richard Bentley.

John Desaguliers (1683–1744), FRS, was born in France to a Huguenot family. In 1694, the family moved to London, and Desaguliers studied at Christ Church, Oxford, following the usual classical curriculum, but he also attended lectures about Newtonian natural philosophy. He got his Master's degree in 1712, and was ordained as a deacon at Fulham Palace in 1710, but in 1712 he returned to London and began to give public lectures in English, French and Latin on mechanics, hydrostatics, pneumatics, optics and astronomy, and various subjects in experimental philosophy, an activity he continued until his death. The lectures were published later in two volumes. In 1714, Isaac Newton, the president of the Royal Society, invited him to act as demonstrator at the society meetings, and soon after he became a Fellow of the Society. In 1717, the first Duke of Chandos appointed him as chaplain, "as much for his scientific expertise as his ecclesiastic duties"; the latter were not his priority, nor his employer's, who was more interested in Desaguliers's experiments in electricity and engineering. In 1719 he was granted the honorary degree of Doctor of Civil Laws at Cambridge.

One important aspect of Desaguliers's life is his central position in Freemasonry. He belonged to the group that established the first Freemason Grand Lodge in London, becoming "a prime mover in the 'new' Hannoverian Masonry",³⁷ and being "at the centre of mechanical and political developments that had significant Masonic ramifications" (Keith Schuchard 2012: 125–126).

James Theobald (1688–1759), FRS, merchant and natural historian, started his career in the family's timber business. He met Sir Hans Sloane when he needed

³⁷ The London Grand Lodge sent him to The Hague in 1731 to a special masonic meeting arranged by the British ambassador Lord Chesterfield. He was also chaplain to Prince Frederick, who became a Freemason in 1737.

medical help for a worker; the two became friends, and on Sloane's recommendation Theobald became a Fellow of the Royal Society in 1725. In 1726, he became a member of the Society of Antiquaries, and its secretary in 1727. He belonged to the Council of the Royal Society and played a practical, leading role in the society's Repository Committee that took care of donations. He supplied both his societies with knowledge about Scandinavian natural history, ethnography and antiquities.³⁸ He introduced Anders Celsius to both societies, and Celsius became a Fellow of the Royal society in 1736. Theobald was an active member for 30 years, giving 121 introductions, and dealing with the correspondence and transmitting information to the society.

Theobald was a director of the Bank of England, governor of the Merchant Seamen's Corporation, secretary and vice-president of the Society of Antiquaries and of the Society of Arts. In his last will, Hans Sloane made him one of the trustees of his natural history collection. Theobald had a collection of his own, including coins, medals, and noteworthy Scandinavian and German specimens.

James Theobald combined practical business acumen with artistic flair and a considerable propensity for natural history, contributing to the Royal Society's knowledge and activities for over 33 years. A good organizer ... whose significance has been overlooked (Appleby 1996: 179–189)

Hans Sloane (1660–1753), baronet, FRS, of Scottish origin, born in Ireland, physician, naturalist and collector, studied botany, medicine, surgery and pharmacy in London, and became MD in 1683 at the University of Orange-Nassau after travelling around Europe. In 1683, he was elected a Fellow of the Royal Society and of the College of Physicians in 1687. The same year, he went to Jamaica for some time where his wife had sugar plantations. In England he had a successful practice as physician among the upper classes and at the court.

In 1693, Sloane was appointed honorary Secretary of the Royal Society and editor of the *Philosophical Transactions*. In 1727, he succeeded Newton as President of the Royal Society, and retired in 1740, after having influenced the Royal Society's activities significantly. Unlike many other members of the society, he was not a Freemason.

He was a “collector of anything”, and could afford it, having become wealthy, partly through his wife's fortune from Jamaica, but mostly through his lucrative practice and wise investments. His library contained about 50,000 volumes and manuscripts, and all his vast collections now belong to the British Museum (Munk's Roll, vol. 1: 460).

³⁸ Theobald read letters from a Norwegian pastor Peder Kinck (1691–1757) about “Norwegian Finns, or Finlanders” at the society's meeting in 1729.

12 Summary

The social spectrum of the subscribers in Serenius's dictionary 1734 is broad, but there are contact points between many of them, kinship, shared interests, relations with the court, and membership of the Royal Society and other societies. Subscription is a type of patronage, and there are several people on the list that represent a new type of it: middle-class people willing and able to support cultural activities, and wealthy enough to do so, such as successful merchants, industrialists and bankers, helping the writers to be less dependent on their patrons (O'Flaherty 2013: 10).³⁹ All Serenius's subscribers are men, but there are a few women subscribers; for instance, in popular works in history from the same time. In 1741, when the Swedish-English dictionary was published, Serenius was no longer a young pastor abroad: he had a parish of his own and was member of the Estate of the Clergy, and so he did not need subscribers. He had all the names of the members of the Estates of the Diet printed before his preface functioning as dedication—and succeeded in persuading the Diet to declare it obligatory for the two universities and all gymnasiums to buy a certain number of the dictionary each.

It is likely that Serenius knew most of the subscribers personally, from congregation activities (clergymen, merchants, e.g., Brander and Spieker), through contacts with the legation (diplomats, consuls, the artists Dahl and Hysing), through friends like Edmund Gibson and, after 1731, through the Fellowship of the Royal Society. A more intellectually inspiring and politically influential circle with extensive expertise at a high level generously shared at the meetings and in the society's publications, a young, unknown lexicographer and future politician could not find. Serenius's political career in Sweden lasted from 1738 until 1772, and his time in London deeply influenced his political thinking, even within church politics. He never shirked justifiable fights or showed reverential fear of those in high positions, not even as a young clergyman, and the discussions at the Royal Society meetings must have refined his oral skills in argument. No wonder that as the opposition party leader he was called "the bitter-tongued and formidable Serenius" (Roberts 1986: 119). His example in the 1734 dictionary of the use of the word *society* can be seen as a token of gratitude: *The royal society in England*.

³⁹ According to O'Flaherty, the merchant classes wanted to distinguish themselves through collections of art and literature, and thus opened new markets for books and works of art.

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Jukka Tyrkkö

“Weak Shrube or Underwood”: The unlikely medical glossator John Woodall and his glossary

Abstract: The barber-surgeon John Woodall, best remembered as the first surgeon general of the East India Company, lived a rich and varied life that saw him adventuring abroad several times, building a successful medical practice in London and investing overseas. His guide book for young sea surgeons, *A surgions mate* (1617), was the first book of its kind and it and its subsequent editions remained in use for more than half a century. The book included an influential three-part medical glossary, which borrowed from earlier lexicons but also introduced new headwords and definitions that were picked up by later medical lexicographers. This article recounts the history of Woodall’s life and books, and illustrates how the paratextual features of his publications reflected his growing professional stature.

Keywords: Woodall, barber-surgeon, military, naval, glossary, title page

1 Introduction

John Woodall (1570–1643) was a Paracelsian barber-surgeon, a military man, medical innovator, the first surgeon general of the East India Company and a successful businessman. Over a long life full of twists and turns Woodall learned several languages, had many adventures and served in various roles of great responsibility both in Britain and on the Continent. In addition to all these things he was also the author of the first manual of naval medicine in English, *A surgions mate* (1617), and the compiler of a small but influential medical glossary. The present article aims to give an account of John Woodall the man,¹ his publications and his contribution to

Work for this study commenced under the aegis of the Research Unit for Variation, Contacts, and Change in English (VARIENG) at the University of Helsinki, was largely carried out at the Institute for Advanced Social Research at the University of Tampere, and completed at Linnaeus University in Växjö, Sweden. An early version of the paper was presented at the symposium ‘East India Company and Language’, organised by Samuli Kaislaniemi and Anna Winterbottom at the British Library on June 15, 2010. At the University of Tampere, Hanne Juntunen helped me with the cross-lexicographical analysis of headwords and their definitions, for which I am very grateful. The primary sources were consulted at the British Library and Wellcome Trust Library. The facsimile images generously provided by Wellcome Images are used under Creative Commons Attribution license CC BY 4.0

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medical lexicography. The paratextual details of the front matter in Woodall's books will be used to inform our understanding of his rising fame and influence, and the lexicon will be analysed with particular reference to its relationship with both earlier and subsequent medical lexicons.

2 John Woodall

John Woodall (also Woodhall and Udall), son of Richard Woodall and Mary Ithell, was born in Warwick most likely in the year 1570.² In 1586, he was apprenticed to the barber-surgeon Thomas Hobbins in London. Nothing more is known about his earlier years, but it seems likely that Woodall had not completed his apprenticeship when he joined Lord Willoughby's regiment in 1589 as a young surgeon on a campaign against the Holy League in Normandy. Although the campaign lasted for only a year, the young Woodall did not return home. Over the next 11 years, he spent time in Poland, Germany, Holland, and France,³ maintaining medical practices from 1591 to 1599, and again from 1601 to 1602, somewhere in Europe—the exact details are not known.⁴ Woodall himself notes in the preface to the 1639 edition of *The surgeons mate* that he spent “divers yeares in travell in forraigne nations, for the gaining of knowledge and experience in [his] calling”. During the long years abroad, Woodall also gained a reputation as a capable interpreter, serving both Elizabeth I and James I in that capacity (Pelling 2003: 120). The most contemporaneous account of Woodall's life was written by G. Dunn in the preface to the posthumous 1655 edition of the *Surgeon's mate*, quoted here in full:

Who fortie eight yeares since, or there about In those renowned battels bravely fought, By Francis, Fourth King Henry; Surgeon went Vnder Lord Willowbies stout Regiment. Forty yeares since lived in Polonia A Traveller, his practice to display; After that liv'd at Stoad in Germany:

1 Woodall's life and career have been discussed by several medical historians, most notably Foster (1909), Moore (1918), Keynes (1967) and (1974), Appleby (1981), Longfield-Jones (1995), and Hazlewood (2003), and the account given here relies on their work to a great extent.

2 A gap of no less than twenty years exists in scholarly estimates of Woodall's year of birth, ranging from 1549 to 1570, and the story of our protagonist changes considerably depending on the starting point to which we subscribe. Foster (1909: 7) cites Moore's entry in the *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* on Woodall in giving his year of birth as 1556; Keynes (1967: 15) agrees. This would make Woodall 78 at the time of his death and 33 when he joined Willoughby's campaign. Ballingall (1830) gives Woodall's birth even earlier as 1549, which cannot be correct because it would have him entering apprenticeship at 37. According to Appleby (1981: 251), “documents of two legal cases at which Woodall gave evidence in 1621 and 1638 prove that he was born in 1570”.

3 See Foster (1909: 7) and Keynes (1967: 15). Woodall states in the introduction to the glossary that he spent eight years in “foreign lands”.

4 See ODNB.

In the English Merchants sweet society; And by them highly honoured for his Art And well experienced stout heroisk heart, Employed also (whiles he abroad abode) By some Ambassadors sent to Stoad, By Queen Elisabeth, then to assist As their interpreter, acute linguist of the Germane language. And return'd again After that blest Queens death. And in the reign Of late King James was to Polonia sent, There to negotiate business of moment Touching the Commonwealth; And for the space Of foure and twenty yeares enjoy'd the place Of Surgeon Generall to the East Indies, And Hospitall of Bartholmew likewise... (*Surgeon's mate* 1655: 19–20)

Whether Woodall studied abroad is not known. Anecdotal evidence suggests that he lived in Holland with a landlord who “earned a dishonest living by making mithridate of nine instead of seventy-five ingredients and by concocting a false Venice treacle put up in pewter boxes” (Power 1918: 618); in other words, Woodall lived with a quack. What makes this interesting is that upon returning to London a few years later, Woodall first established himself by selling a miracle cure for the plague called *aurum vitae*. Although the cure was sold for several decades, the recipe was never disclosed—a telltale sign of quackery (see Porter 2000: 120–122). Woodall was formally admitted to the Barber-Surgeons’ Company on March 24, 1600/1601, soon after returning to London.⁵ According to Foster (1909: 7), he earned a good reputation during the 1603 plague outbreak applying the skills he had learned on the continent.⁶ He married Sarah HENCHPOLE at St. Peter’s in Cornhill on 18 December, 1603 (Appleby 1981: 252). With a solid reputation and a lucrative medical practice established in Wood Street in London, everything looked set up for Woodall to settle down into a comfortable life.

Soon, however, Woodall’s life took another turn. In 1603, James I established an embassy in Poland and soon thereafter the 34-year-old John Woodall was invited to join the British delegation as a surgeon. He accepted the position and ended up spending the next nine years in Poland, working as both a surgeon and a translator. During this time Woodall came to the attention of Sir Thomas Smith, the British ambassador to Poland and Russia, and also Governor of the East India Company, founded in 1600. Anecdotal evidence from the ambassador’s travelogue to Russia, *Sir Thomas Smithes voyage and entertainment in Rushia with the tragicall end of two emperors* (1605),⁷ makes it clear that the English diplomats had little in the way of language skills or cultural competence, and a man like Woodall, with previous experience in the region and knowledge of the local languages, was soon put to good use regardless of his original job description. On the other hand, there is no reason to think that a skilled surgeon would have served as an ordinary translator of the kind we might associate with the term today, and it may be best to take the contem-

⁵ The official records show Woodall’s name as “Udall”; see Appleby (1981: 252–253). DNB cites 1599, as do Keynes (1974) and Hazlewood (2003).

⁶ Longfield-Jones (1995: 13) suggests *aurum vitae* was invented in 1636; this may be the first time the cure was marketed under that name.

⁷ Woodall is not mentioned in the book.

porary references to his language skills as evidence of just how extraordinary such skills were, rather than as testament of his professional activities. It is also prudent to keep in mind that knowledge of foreign tongues was not common among contemporary English medicos. Fellows of the College of Physicians were required to know Latin—the language of both tuition and examinations—but as noted by McConchie (2002: 272–273), by the end of the sixteenth century very few physicians had sufficient command of Latin to produce anything original in the language. Surgeons like Woodall, having no university education at all, were typically unable to read and certainly to write Latin. Against this background, it is thus particularly noteworthy that Woodall’s linguistic interests are attested repeatedly in both his own writing and in contemporary references to him. For example, when discussing the plague Woodall writes:

The Disease may fitly be called, (Flagellum Dei pro peccatis mundi,) The rod of God for the sins of the world; and even the word, Plague, if derived from the Latine word Plaga, which is a wound, a stripe, a stroke or a hurt, is a just definition of this horrid disease, for who so hath this disease, he is wounded, he is plagued, he is stricken yea, and that by the Almighty. (*The Surgeons mate* 1639: 323)

This speculation on the origins of “plague” attests in small part to Woodall’s interest in languages, although we must be wary of reading too much into this as such forays into etymology were relatively common in medical books of the period.⁸ Woodall does not discuss word origins as a rule, and his discourse is almost entirely devoid of translations into Latin or Greek. This is somewhat of a departure from contemporary tradition, particularly for texts on *materia medica*, and we can only speculate that the reason could be a combination of Woodall’s lack of formal credentials in the area and, more pragmatically, the make-up of his intended readership of young shipboard surgeons. The subsequent 1639 and 1655 editions, written for a more learned and authoritative readership, feature more frequent use of Latin, particularly in the front matter.

One anecdotal piece of evidence from Woodall’s first book deserves attention. At the end of the preface we find a German poem (without naming the source) and a translation of the same (1617: A4):

Wems g'libt, gefelt, vnd nutz sein wird,
Demselvig'n sey es preparirt:
Wer aber vnwill hat darvon,

8 By the late sixteenth century, the proliferation of foreign terms in medical writing had led to considerable confusion particularly when it came to the correct identification of plants and other medical substances. Terminological discussions, including etymologies and translations, were a relatively common feature of medical and apothecary writing from the mid sixteenth century.

Der b'halt sein gelt, vnd lasz es stan.

In English thus.

Who likes, approves, and usefull deems
This work, for him 'tis wrought:
But he that light thereof esteems
May leave the book unbought.

This short verse speaks volumes not only of Woodall's personal experiences on the continent, but also of his willingness to showcase his linguistic prowess and, quite possibly, also his Paracelsian sympathies. Unlike a similar verse in Latin, one in German needed a translation, and Woodall demonstrates good judgement in not attempting a transliteration but rather opting for a clever adaptation.

Woodall finally returned to England in 1612 and was soon hired by Sir Thomas as the East India Company's first surgeon general.⁹ The East India Company fleet rivalled any contemporary national fleet in size and performance, and the ships, known as the East Indiamen, were heavily armed. Neither injuries from combat nor accidents were uncommon, and outbreaks of contagious diseases could jeopardize entire ships. According to Longfield-Jones (1995: 11–12), the severe health problems and accidents aboard the company's ships over the first few years led the governors to set up the position of surgeon general, both to oversee shipboard health care and to treat patients at the Company's depots in Deptford, Blackwell, and Erith. According to Kaislaniemi (2009: 219), knowledge of foreign languages was “one of the primary qualifications for finding employment with the English East India Company”, and although Woodall undoubtedly also possessed the necessary surgical skills, his appointment also highlights the Company's policy regarding language skills and experience abroad.

However, although Woodall had spent more than twenty years of his life on the continent, sources disagree as to whether or not he ever left Europe—or indeed spent time on naval vessels. The differing opinions largely revolve around disagreements about Woodall's age and interpretation of his writings. In general, earlier scholars appear to have had few doubts about Woodall's naval experience, taking his personal notes as direct evidence. Thus, Ballingall (1830: 32) wrote:

⁹ According to Foster (1909), Woodall is first mentioned in the records of the East India Company on September 23, 1614. Appleby (1981: 253) cites Rev. A. H. Johnson's *The History of the Worshipful Company of the Drapers of London* (86) which suggests the existence of a document claiming that Woodall was “a surgeon in the army” in 1612. This seems wrong, unless Woodall's service in Poland is described as an army posting.

It is to be inferred from several circumstances, that [Woodall] was employed some considerable time as a sea surgeon, and in that capacity made one or more voyages to the East Indies, but at what period of his life this happened cannot be ascertained from his writings.¹⁰

Both Keynes (1967: 17) and Longfield-Jones (1995: 11) also believe that Woodall's writings demonstrate that he has personal experience of the rigors of long voyages at sea. By contrast, Hudson, pointing to the complete lack of documented evidence, suggests that Woodall had no experience of practising medicine outside Europe and that his authority relied entirely on his early years as a military surgeon in Europe (2007: 26). Not one of Woodall's books makes any direct claims about personal experience at sea or in the colonies.

Whatever the truth may be, by the time Woodall was hired by the East India Company his long years of travel were over for good. His responsibilities as surgeon general ranged from practical treatment of injured sailors in the dockside hospital at Blackwall (later called The Poplar) to training naval surgeons. *The lawes and standing orders of the East India Company* gives the following description of the surgeon general's duties (Keynes 1967: 23):

The Said Chiurgion and the Deputy shall have a place of lodging in the Yard, where one of them shall give Attendance every working day from morning until night, to cure any person or persons who may be hurt in the Service of this Company and the like in all their Ships, riding at Anchor at Deptford and Blackwell, and at Erith, where he shall also keepe a Deputy with his chest furnished, to remaine there continually until all the said ships have sayled and appointing fit and able Surgeons and Surgeon's Mates for their ships and services, as also the fitting and furnishing of their Chests with medicines and other appurtenances thereto.

Each EIC ship carried two surgeons and a barber. The surgeons performed all medical duties, including those performed by physicians on land. In characteristically apologetic manner, Woodall (1617: 227) comments explicitly on this issue. In the following quote, he apologises to the College of Physicians for giving advice on the use of *laudanum*, a strong anaesthetic:

excusing my selfe that I haue done it meereley for the behoofe of young Sea-Surgeons in the remote parts of the world, where they otherwise haue used *Opium* in common, without understanding the danger or dose thereof, to the losse of many mens liues.

The post of surgeon general did not prevent Woodall from also pursuing his surgical career elsewhere. He had applied for a position at Saint Bartholomew's in 1610, while still in Poland, and was finally appointed on June 19, 1616, following the death of surgeon Richard Mapes (Keynes 1974: 111; see also Power 1918). Woodall's

10 Ballingall (1830) refers specifically to Woodall's personal experience of "having seen feet cut off" in the East Indies. While there is no doubt that Woodall had witnessed such scenes as a military surgeon, it is not at all certain or even likely that he ever travelled to the East Indies.

position at the most important London hospital of the early seventeenth century also reflected on the East India Company by aptly demonstrating that the Company’s surgeon general was not some journeyman surgeon, but a well-known and influential figure in the profession. Woodall’s appointment to St. Bartholomews may have been connected with, if not as a direct result of, many of the East India Company’s governors sitting on the board of London hospitals.¹¹

Woodall attended St. Bartholomew’s twice a week, on Monday and Thursday, dividing the rest of his time between the East India Company, work at Christ’s and Thomas Sutton’s hospitals, and his personal business endeavors (see Power 1918 and Appleby 1981: 257–158). Woodall’s most famous colleague at St. Bartholomew’s was the surgeon and anatomist William Harvey, twenty-two years his junior, who delivered the first of his historic lectures on blood circulation the same year Woodall started there (see, e.g., Power 1928).¹² In one particularly interesting passage of *The surgeons mate*, Woodall alludes to Harvey and a medical substance from the East Indies.

C Ambogiae is a purging medicine, newly found out in the East-Indies, and thence brought, to us; it is not much unlike Stibium in working: it is already in use by divers reverend Physitians, amongst which, Dr. Harvy useth it in Saint Bartholomews Hospital, and calleth it Crocus purgans. I find by my practice it purgeth well the head, and that it is good to open obstructions, that it is also good against the yellow Jaundise: It openeth well the spleen and liver, and purgeth more downwards then Stibium doth: the dose is 12. grains. (*The surgeons mate* 1655: 66)

As Keynes notes, Woodall was a highly regarded and innovative surgeon, able to save patients others could not thanks to new methods of amputation and trepanning, and that Woodall had a reputation as a humane surgeon (1974: 112–113). Although the issues of pain relief and the avoidance of unnecessary suffering were not entirely unknown during the early modern period—for example, both Thomas Gale and William Bullein discussed the topic (see Payne 2007: 3–4)—Woodall’s views on the topic may be considered particularly enlightened.

As the years passed, Woodall came to acquire more prominence in society. At the Barber-Surgeons’ Company, Woodall was elevated to Examiner in 1626, Junior Warden in 1625, Warden in 1627, and finally Master in 1633.¹³ He is recognised as one

11 This point was raised by a member of the audience at The East India Company and Language (1599–1857) symposium. On the topic of East India Company directors and London hospitals, see Lawrence (2002: 50).

12 Harvey was appointed in 1609. Keynes (1974: 111) notes that Harvey and Woodall were colleagues for most of their active years and according to Power (1918: 619) both surgeons dedicated their books to Charles I.

13 Foster (1909) notes that according to the *Visitation of London 1633–1635*, Woodall claimed the right to use the arms of the family Uvedall around the same time. As noted elsewhere, Woodall was

of the leading figures, along with Vicary and Clowes, in the Company's fight for broader recognition for surgeons (Power 1923: 47). In 1626 Woodall was given the responsibility of supervising the medical chests for both the Army and the Navy,¹⁴ and a year later, the Company charged him with the task of organising a detachment of sixteen of the best military surgeons for Charles II's relief effort for the siege of Rochelle. This resurrection of the military aspect of his life was also reflected in Woodall's books. *The surgions mate* (1617), originally a small surgical manual written for the merchant fleet of the East India Company was quickly re-issued in 1639 as *The Surgeons mate, or military & domestique surgery, discovering faithfully and plainly the due contents of the surgions chest*.

As a prominent and busy surgeon Woodall was already a wealthy man, but his many other activities and investments assured an even greater fortune. Fitting out the surgeon's chests for the East India Company's fleet was potentially very profitable for the man responsible, and by all accounts this opportunity did not escape Woodall's notice. As a result of both his own actions and the frequently changing rules at the EIC regarding acquisitions and accounts, the famously cantankerous Woodall found himself propelled from one dispute to another (see Appleby 1981: 254–255). He invested the sum of £1,000 in EIC stock in 1620.¹⁵ To put the sum into perspective, Woodall's annual salary from St. Bartholomew's was £30 (Appleby 1981: 257). He was also a shareholder in the Virginia Company,¹⁶ and the Somers' Islands Company. According to Appleby, Woodall had already invested in several adventures in the Americas at the time, and his appointment as Surgeon General likely came about at least in part as a result of personal connections and financial influence (1981: 253–254, 261–263).¹⁷ Over the years, Woodall dispatched several servants and agents to Virginia, including the surgeons Christopher Best and Richard Wake. Woodall appears to have suffered near constant trouble with his holdings in the colonies, ranging from his representatives not sending back reports of items of property going missing and his long-distance requests of various kinds being ignored.

entered into the Barber-Surgeon's register as Udall and later at least his son Thomas would go by Woodhall.

¹⁴ See Longfield-Jones 1995: 12–23.

¹⁵ ODNB, s.v. "John Woodall" by Moore. A thousand pounds in 1620 converts to roughly £96,000 today according to the National Archives online historical currency converter (<<http://www.nationalarchives.gov.uk/currency/>>].

¹⁶ The Virginia Company, also known as the London Company, was a company under royal charter for the exploration of North America.

¹⁷ According to Wilson (1917), Woodall was "a charter member of the Virginia Company of London in 1609, and the owner of shares in the division of the Somers Isles or the Bermudas in the 'Tribe' (division) of Lord William Paget. To have owned shares in the Company reveals the fact of the possession of some wealth, though very few of the Company ever visited Virginia in person."

Although by all accounts a successful man, Woodall was never particularly well liked by his peers. On two occasions charges were brought up against him for abusive language at the Barber-Surgeons’ Company and he was briefly imprisoned several times for discrepancies in his financial dealings concerning his properties in Virginia, and was embroiled in numerous other legal cases. He was also frequently in trouble at the East India Company, accused of over-charging his apprentices for tuition, stocking medical chests with inferior medicaments, being guilty of irregularities with the accounts, and having assigned young unskilled boys as naval surgeons (see Appleby 1981: 253). Although Woodall was eventually found not guilty, it did little to improve his reputation. He was briefly imprisoned several times in the 1620s (see Appleby 1981: 263–264), and he finally lost his position as surgeon general in 1635 although he retained the lucrative privilege of providing the contents of surgeons’ chests. The minutes of the Court of the East India Company note that on May 8, 1640, Woodall petitioned to have his salary reinstated, claiming he had cured over 50 people during the intervening five years as well as written a surgical book for the good of the East India voyage, a reference to the 1639 edition of *Surgions mate*. He received the sum of £60 as total payment for all services rendered over five years since December 1635.

As a medical man Woodall is best known through his books, a subject we shall move to shortly. Like many of his fellow surgeons, Woodall was a Paracelsian and thus well versed in chemical medicine, though his interest appears to have been much more profound than most (see Wear 2000). His acquaintances included the polymath John Dee (1527–1608) and the Paracelsian Rychard Bostock (1530–1605).¹⁸ Seo (2011) notes that Woodall and Bostock had access to John Dee’s extensive library (see also Roberts/Watson 1990: 41–44).¹⁹ Upon Dee’s death, his library was acquired by John Powntys, Vice-Admiral of Virginia from 1621, whom Woodall knew both personally and through mutual business. According to Appleby (1981: 264), Powntys died on his return voyage from Virginia to England in 1624, and before leaving England he had made his will, appointed his cousin his executor and given Woodall and a Dr. Patrick Saunders his valuable collection of books and £5 each. Woodall thus came into possession of Dee’s extensive library in the early 1620s.

Historians of medicine have described Woodall as an important figure for several reasons (see Hazlewood 2003). He was an innovator in surgical techniques, most importantly trepanning, the drilling of holes into the skull to relieve pressure, and he developed a treatment for gangrene, was one of the earliest practitioners to pre-

¹⁸ Bostock is often identified in literature simply by the initials “R.B.”; see McConchie (1997: 128–129).

¹⁹ Woodall came to know Dee through his eldest son Arthur Dee, who was ten years younger than him (ODNB; s.v. “Dee. Arthur”). Like Woodall, Arthur Dee had spent years in Europe and spoke several languages, including German, French and Polish. Dee’s influence on Woodall can perhaps be seen in the gallery of symbols that precedes the glossary in *Surgions mate*.

scribe lemon juice as an effective regime against the scurvy,²⁰ and an effective medical administrator. He was also known for his treatments for gunshot wounds and for introducing a new method for amputation which made the procedure much quicker and less painful. Perhaps surprisingly for a former military surgeon, Woodall was also an early advocate of humane medicine and pain relief. Time and again he emphasizes the necessity of treating patients with kindness, and there are frequent disapproving remarks about surgeons who lack compassion for their patients. In particular, medical historians highlight his role in the prevention of the scurvy, a horrific disease that played a profound role on long sea voyages. The significance of scurvy is attested in early East India Company correspondence, and it was one of the most important medical calamities the ship's surgeon had to be prepared for. Woodall devotes no less than 23 pages of the *Surgions mate* to scurvy. He writes:

... sometimes wee finde this disease proceedeth to sea men onely, through long being at sea without touch of land, as it is seene in East India voyages, our men have it betwixt *England* and the Cape *de bon sperance*, as they terme it, & at their comming to land there they presently grow strong again ... (*The Surgions mate* 1617: 179)

Some controversy surrounds the claim that Woodall discovered the cure for the disease.²¹ Keynes (1974: 112) believed this to be the case, claiming that Woodall deserves the credit. However, according to Carpenter (1988: 1–29), scurvy was then well-known as the “explorer’s disease”, and lemon juice was an established cure and a preventative measure against it, though not extensively covered in contemporary medical literature.²² Woodall himself writes that “the use of the juice of lemons is a precious medicine and well tried” (1617: 186). According to Carpenter, lemon juice was a standard part of onboard supplies on East India Company ships until 1625, at which time a dispute with a particular supplier over price led to new arrangements being made (1988: 21).

Woodall died in 1643 at the age of 73, two years after his wife Sarah. He left behind a considerable fortune, mainly in real estate. His son Thomas Woodhall followed in his footsteps to become a surgeon, but he did not leave a mark in the history of medicine. He worked at St. Thomas and was appointed a royal surgeon in June 1660, taught anatomy at the Barber-Surgeons’ Company and died in 1666 in a drunken brawl at Somerset House (Furdell 2001: 181). Even less is known about his

20 According to Sinclair (1970: 119–120), lemon juice was in fact already used for the prevention of scurvy by captain James Lancaster, the commander of the first East India Company voyage, at least two decades before Woodall joined the company. See also MacDonald (1954).

21 See, e.g., Irving (1845: 91).

22 However, see, e.g., ‘The observations of Sir Richard Hawkins, knight, in his voyage unto the South sea. An. Dom. 1593’ (1622, STC 12962).

other two sons, John, also a surgeon, and Richard, and about his daughter Margaret Eaton, who served as executrix of his will (Appleby 1981: 252).

3 Woodall's books

John Woodall may not rank among the most prolific or important medical authors of his time, but his influence should not be overlooked. Counting the 1639 edition of the *Surgeons mate* as a second edition rather than a new book, Woodall wrote six books.

- 1617 *The surgions mate, or a treatise discovering faithfully and plainly the due contents of the surgions chest*
- 1628 *Woodall's viaticum: The pathway to the surgions chest*
- 1629 *Treatise of Gangrena*
- 1639 *The surgeons mate, or military & domestique surgery, discovering faithfully and plainly the due contents of the surgions chest.*
- 1640 *The cure of the plague by an antidote called aurum vitæ*
- 1655 *Surgeons mate, or the military and domestic surgery*

When Woodall's first book, the 348-page surgical manual entitled *The surgions mate, or A treatise discovering faithfully and plainly the due contents of the surgions chest* was published in 1617, it was the first book-length treatise ever published in English on the topic of maritime and tropical medicine (see Churchill 2005: 391).²³

23 Probably the first book in English on tropical illnesses was George Wateson's *cvres of the diseased, in remote regions* (1598). Hudson (2007: 26) described the book as the first covering “British imperial medicine”. Power (1928) describes Woodall's *Surgions chest* as the first book devoted to ship's surgeons.

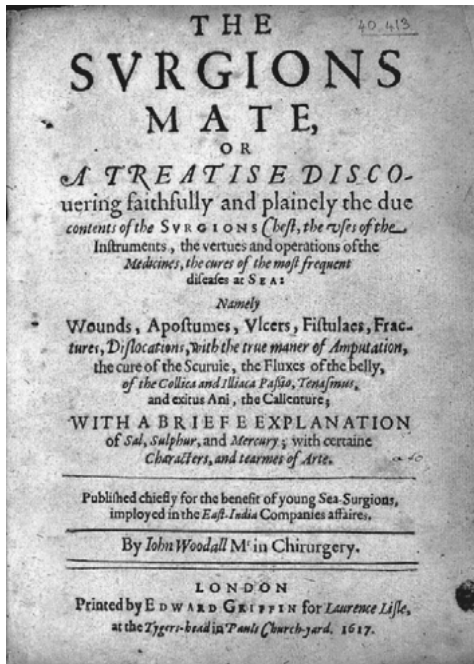


Figure 1. Title page of *The surgions mate* (1617); Wellcome Trust Library

As Irving notes, “The *Chirurgeon’s* [sic] *Mate* was drawn up on the occasion of Mr Woodall’s appointment as Surgeon-General to the East India Company, and was intended for the use of junior medical officers of that service” (1845: 90), a fact that probably also makes it one of the first corporate training manuals in existence. Woodall himself was quick to make the point that the book was something he was expected to write as part of his new duties. He notes in the dedication to the masters of the Company:

It was the necessity of my calling urged mee thus rashly on the suddaine to put my selfe forward, and in this weake manner to shew forth my homely extempore altogether undigested; My desires climbing not so heigh as to attempt any worke worthy your acceptance, neither will my education (as you know) afford it, for I esteeme my selfe amongst you as a weake shrube or underwood, desirous to be shrouded from terrible blasts by great Cedars: If therefore by my iust and unfained acknowledgement my unworthie labours may fine a fauourable passage, and be acceptable, I haue attained my desire with comfort. (*The surgions mate* 1617: 6)

Although apologetic and self-deprecating remarks were part and parcel of early modern preliminaries, in Woodall’s case there may have been unusually much genuine sentiment behind the words. Despite the fact that he was 48 years old, a veter-

an of several military campaigns, a successful surgeon, a noted polyglot and the newly appointed surgeon general of the East India Company, he may have felt genuinely uneasy about writing a book that might expose his lack of formal training. His close personal associations with unorthodox practitioners such as Arthur Dee, Francis Anthony, Nicholas Culpeper and Richard Napier made him a potential target of criticism and censure by the College of Physicians and the Barber-Surgeons’ Company (see Pelling 2003: 98).

The surgions mate covers the duties of a ship’s surgeon and his mate, the proper stocking of the eponymous surgeon’s chest, provides a long encyclopaedic account of medicinal substances, discusses the most important medical and surgical techniques, and ends with a glossary. Woodall’s style is distinctly collegial, his writing reflecting the wisdom of an experienced surgeon without ever succumbing to the didactic and condescending style favoured by many of his contemporaries. Although he makes occasional references to contemporary medical authorities, such as the famed French ophthalmologist and surgeon Jacques Guillemeau and his own colleague William Harvey, as well as to the ancients like Galen, allusions are clearly less common in Woodall’s books than they would have been in surgical textbooks of the era.²⁴ The book ends with a brief epilogue which alludes to other topics the author wanted to include but had no time for, and the promise that upon favourable reception a second part would follow. It was never published.

However, *The surgions mate* was not merely a surgical manual for warships. Woodall attempted to address a wide range of issues that an East India Company surgeon might come across overseas, including women’s diseases, which are discussed extensively in the section outlining the uses of medical substances. Woodall’s discussion makes it clear that he was no stranger to treating female patients.

MEnthae or Mints, are hot and dry, do profit the stomack, appease the hickok, stop vomiting, cure chollerick passions, griping pain of the belly, and the inordinate course of menstruall issue, ease women in their travel of child-bearing, soften breasts swolne with milk, and keep the milk from curdding therein. (*The surgeons mate* 1655: 83)

In 1628, two years after Woodall had become the surgical supervisor for the army and navy, a small quarto edition *Woodall’s viaticum: The pathway to the surgions chest* was published “by Authoritie”. The book, a specialised treatise on wounds, was specifically produced for young military surgeons employed by the Crown in

²⁴ Woodall (1617: 123–124) lists 24 names, both classical and contemporary, as principal authorities consulted for the section on *materia medica*.

the war with France (cf. Irving 1845: 91). The following year, a similar small volume entitled *Treatise of gangrena* saw the light of day.²⁵

The second, enlarged edition of *The surgions mate* was published in folio “under Authoritie” in 1639 with the expanded title *The surgeons mate, or military & domestique surgery, discovering faithfully and plainly the due contents of the surgions chest*. Woodall’s success in the La Rochelle campaign had earned him royal favour, and the renewed connection with military medicine was reflected in the second and third editions of the *Surgeons Chest*. The 1639 edition was printed by Robert Young for Nicholas Bourne,²⁶ and its dimensions and quality clearly reflect Woodall’s newfound importance. At 412 pages it is 70 pages longer than the first edition, the added length coming from a much-expanded front matter, additional sections on alchemical medicine and distillation as well as two pamphlets on gangrene and the plague. Five picture plates depicting medical instruments were also added. However, the most noteworthy feature of the book is the title page engraved by George Glover, former apprentice of John Payne and a specialist in portraiture. Two columns of portraits flanking the central text area form a medical pantheon of eight of the most important ancient medical authorities including Aesculapius, Avicenna and Galen. Woodall’s own portrait is placed centrally at the bottom and notably in a slightly larger size than the others. Pelling (2003: 120) notes that among the miniature portraits is the first known depiction of Paracelsus printed in England. At the top of the page, a graphic central feature depicts the Holy Trinity surrounded by a circular inscription that reads “luminis gratiae bonum infinitum”. The symbolism on the title page is as unmistakable as it is powerful: the “weak shrube” has been transformed into a venerable master surgeon, now on equal footing not only with the masters of the company, whom he addresses in familiar terms as “brethren”, but with the revered ancient masters of surgery.

25 The 1940 edition of the *Viaticum* and *Treatise of gangrena* are not recorded in the ESTC. Both are bound with the 1655 edition of *The surgeon’s mate*.

26 Nicholas Bourne and his partner Nathaniel Butter dominated the London newsbook business in the early seventeenth century (see Somerville 1996: 22–23). Bourne was master of the Stationer’s Company and a prominent businessman. The fact that Woodall’s second edition was produced by Bourne underlines the growing importance of both Woodall and his book.



Figure 2. Title page of *The surgeons mate* (1639); Wellcome Trust Library

Appended to the original text is a “Treatise of a cure of the plague”, presented “for the service of his Majestie and of the commonwealth”. Irving (1845: 91) notes:

[the treatise on the plague] does not satisfy our estimate of what might have been expected from one who had so much experience of the disease, both on the continent and in London. It chiefly consists of an enumeration of antidotes for the plague, copied from other authors; and one of his own, called *Aurum Vitae*, the preparation of which he does not divulge.

The book is otherwise mostly a reprint, with some slight additions particularly on topics of military significance such as more comprehensive discussion of the treatment of gunshot wounds. There is also less focus on the hardships of long sea voyages.

The following year, Woodall published a chapbook entitled *The cure of the plague by an antidote called aurum vitæ*. For a noted master surgeon to return to peddling a nostrum from nearly four decades earlier may be seen as an act of desperation. The title-page plays up his credentials as surgeon general or the East India Company and a master of the Barber-Surgeons’ Company, and the book comes with two certifications by the authorities of the parishes of Westminster and Northamp-

ton, both dated 1638, testifying to the efficacy of *aurum vitae*. The plague treatise ended up being Woodall's final book.

The third and final edition of *Surgeons mate, or the military and Domestic Surgery* came out posthumously in 1655 during the Anglo-Spanish War, twelve years after Woodall's death (see Hudson 2007: 26). Perhaps the most curious aspect of the book is the dedications. The dedication to Charles I, which already appeared in the 1939 edition, is signed "John Woodall, surgeon of your Highnesse Hospital of St. Bartholomewes, and Surgeon general of the East India companie". The epistle to the masters of the Barber-Surgeons' Company is dedicated to six men: William Clowes,²⁷ William Lingham, George Dan, Henry Watson, Richard Watson and Michael Andrews. Clowes died in 1604, more than ten years before the first edition of the book. The book's preliminaries would merit some additional attention as well for the emphasis Woodall suddenly affords to religious matters. References to God are rife in the preface, much more so than in any of Woodall's earlier books.

Although several books on military medicine appeared over the course of the seventeenth century, including some that were claimed to be of use to "sea-chirurgians",²⁸ Woodall's manual remained the authoritative text on naval medicine for more than fifty years.

4 The lexicon

From the lexicographical perspective, John Woodall's main legacy is the lexicon that he compiled for *The surgions mate* and which was reprinted verbatim in the two subsequent editions. The lexicon comprises three sections: "characters and their interpretations", "certain chymical verses, or good will to young artists, from the author" and "the tearms [sic] of Art". Although only the third and final section is a glossary in the strictest sense, the first section is in fact much more than a simple gallery of alchemical symbols. There are 137 items in all, each illustrated by two symbols, sometimes nearly identical, occasionally markedly different. The section begins with the seven planets and then proceeds in alphabetical order, starting with *acetum* and ending with *vrina*. Each entry begins with the name of an element, medicine, or mineral in Latin, followed by the two symbols, then by a simple translation into English, and finally a short definition. The more traditional glossary provides 124 definitions, which means that depending on whether or not we count the list of

²⁷ This would be William Clowes the younger, surgeon to Charles I. His father, also William Clowes, is the more famous of the two men; he served as surgeon to Elizabeth I.

²⁸ See Richard Wiseman's *Severall chirurgicall treatises* (1676). Wiseman served as a royal surgeon with John Woodall's son, Thomas Woodall (see Furdell 2001: 180).

characters as a part of the glossary, Woodall gives definitions of either 124 or 261 lemmas.

Although the glossary was by no means the first in a vernacular medical book, it is noteworthy for several reasons. Firstly, glossaries were not particularly common in contemporary medical books and many of them were smaller than Woodall's. Schäfer (1989) lists 113 medical lexicons that predate the one in *The surgions mate*, and with the exception of the few stand-alone dictionaries, only very few had more headwords than Woodall. Furthermore, all five of the monolingual medical glossaries included are considerably less expansive than Woodall's: Recorde's *Vrinal of physicke* (1547) has 39 headwords, Lloyd's *Treasury of health* (1550) has 46, Bullein's *Bulleins bulwarke* (1562) has 43, Bastard's *Chrestoleros* (1598) only 10 and Markham's *Cheape and good husbandry* (1614) has 74.

The definitions are generally short, two lines on average, although when necessary the author expands them to give more thorough explanations. The same pattern is always followed, the definition forming a single long sentence with the headword at the beginning.

Inhumation is the setting of two pots (the head of the uppermost being very well covered and luted, but his bottome boared full of little pin-holes, and sure fastened to that which is vnderneath in the ground, and burying them with earth to a certain depth, hauing a circular fire made for distallatory transudation *per descensum*.

The definitions frequently feature words and phrases which themselves would probably benefit from explanation. Consider the definition for *lutation*:

Lutation right worthy the name of *Sapientia*, is a medicine thin or thicke according to the heat and continuance of the fire, which stoppeth most exactly the *orificium* of the vessel, if no vapour must pass out.

Woodall manages to include several features that were quite innovative for early modern vernacular glossaries. Cross-referencing, for example, was not widely practised yet, but Woodall makes use of it here and there. Some definitions seem quite superfluous, merely repeating the headword in slightly different words:

Cementation, is gradation by cementing.

The distribution of headwords illustrates “alphabet fatigue”, a typical pattern observed in many early lexicons (see Osselton 2007). The headword count gradually diminishes as the lexicographer grows weary of writing definitions, and consequently the vast majority of the headwords is found under the first five letters of the alphabet (Figure 2). It goes without saying that such a pattern does not at all reflect either the distribution of words in English or of potential medical headwords.

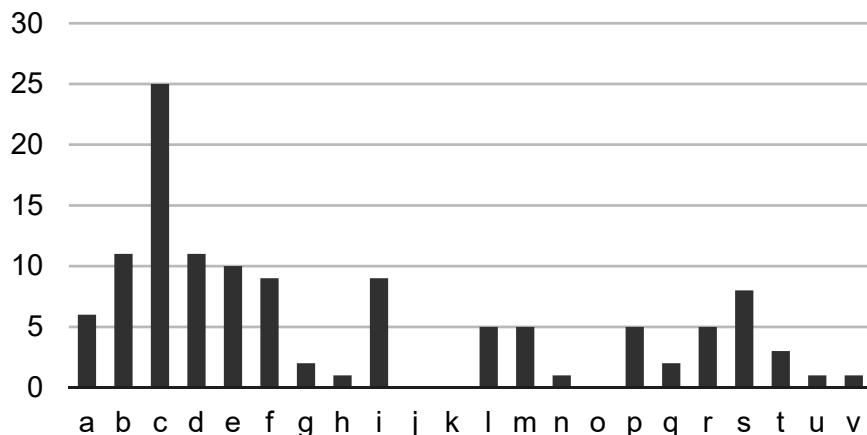


Figure 3. Headwords by letter of alphabet in the glossary

All the headwords are names of illnesses, medical conditions and medical procedures; medical substances and names of body parts are not included in the glossary at all. The glossary offers no great surprises in terms of Woodall's linguistic prowess, unless one counts the existence of the glossary itself as evidence of the author's interest in languages and translation. Virtually all of the terms are of Latin or Greek origin, and Woodall's definitions come across as matter-of-fact explanations of the main points. The terms are not translated into other languages. Out of the 124 headwords in Woodall's glossary, 40 appear for the first time as a headword in a lexicon. Three of these are unique to Woodall, appearing in no later lexicon. No less than 25 of the 40 words are seen the next time in *A Physical Dictionary* (1657), the first English medical dictionary; more about this connection a little later.

When it comes to headwords that had appeared in an earlier glossary, 22 are first found in *Ortus Vocabulorum* (1500), seven in Thomas Elyot's *The Dictionary of Sir Thomas Elyot* (1538) and 16 in Thomas Thomas' *Dictionarium Linguae Latinae et Anglicanae* (1587). There are nine headwords that first occurred in Randle Cotgrave's *A Dictionary of the French and English Tongues* (1611),²⁹ four that occurred in Claude Hollyband's *A Dictionary French and English* (1593) and four in *Pliny's History of the World* (1601). Several of Woodall's definitions can also be found in John Heydon's *The English Physician's Guide or the Holy Guide* (1662).

Three of Woodall's headwords seem not have been included in any other lexicon either before or after: *ceratio*, *mundisication* and *imbutio*. Searching the 1.3-billion-word Early English Books Online TCP v3 corpus for evidence of sixteenth and

²⁹ The headwords that match Cotgrave are *sublimation*, *precipitation*, *coadunation*, *corrosion*, *humectation*, *coloration*, *subtiliation*, *difflation*, and *prolectation*.

seventeenth century English,³⁰ we find four occurrences of *ceratio*, two of *mundisication*, and five of *imbution*. Not one of the four occurrences of *ceratio* is medical and the term may have been an inkhorn term of Woodall’s creation at least in the medical sense. Mundisication is found once in Alexander Read’s *The chirurgicall lectures of tumors and vlcers* (1635) and once in Paracelsus, his *Archidoxis comprised in ten books* (1660) by an anonymous author. The first occurrence of *imbution* in EEBO is found in Thomas Adams’ sermon *Mysticall bedlam, the world of mad-men* (1615). Adams was a Calvinist preacher and although it is possible that Woodall may have picked up the term from him, it seems more likely that it was a very low frequency word with some currency among medical practitioners. However, the next occurrence of the word, which incidentally is also the only citation given in the OED, is particularly interesting. It is found in Jean Renou’s *A medicinal dispensatory, containing the whole body of physick* (1657). Consider the following extract:

Those that are washed in a medicinal liquor, should lie in the same a certain space, according to appointment, as a whole night, or the space of some hours, that they may attract the greater power from the liquor, or loose their malignant quality: This preparation is injuriously called by Sylvius, A Lotion, when it is rather an Infusion or Maceration, or rather as another hath it, an Imbution, Imbutio quid. (53)

What makes this interesting is that Woodall’s definition for *imbution*, written 18 years earlier, uses exactly the same synonyms, the entire entry reading “see infusion and maceration”. The translation of Renou’s book included a large medical glossary which was published independently in the same year under the title *A Physical Dictionary* (1657); this was the first vernacular English medical dictionary (see Tyrkkö 2009). It was printed by Gertrude Dawson, the widow of John Dawson, the printer of *Woodalls Viaticum* in 1639,³¹ and as it turns out, the unknown compiler of *A Physical Dictionary* included no less than 90 of Woodall’s 124 headwords and on closer examination we find that most of the definitions bear a clear similarity to those in Woodall’s glossary (cf. Schäfer 1989 and Tyrkkö 2009).

30 Early English Books Online corpus, version 3. Access to the corpus generously granted by Lancaster University’s University Centre for Computer Corpus Research on Language (UCREL).

31 The epistle in *A Physical Dictionary* contains a reference to a “Ralph Woodall, chirurgeon”, an otherwise unknown surgeon who almost certainly must have been a relation of the late John Woodall. Whether this Ralph Woodall played any role in introducing John Woodall’s glossary to the compiler of the *Physical Dictionary* is unknown at this time.

5 Concluding remarks

The visual and symbolic contrast between the title-pages of the 1617 edition of *The Surgions mate* and the 1639 *Surgeon's mate* could not be more pronounced, and the fact that they serve to advertise essentially the same book highlights the importance of taking the paratext into consideration when assessing the book. In Woodall's case, the difference between the two title-pages, one unadorned and descriptive, the other elaborate and even excessive in symbolism, tells the story of a man—a “weak shrube”—who picked up the pen reluctantly, but gradually came to accept and embrace the success that came to him after long decades of hardship.

From the perspective of early lexicography, the story of John Woodall is a sobering reminder that not all early lexicographers were schoolmasters or men of letters. As I described him in the title of this article, Woodall was an unlikely medical glossator: a military surgeon, medical innovator, adventurer and businessman who almost by accident ended up writing the first manual of naval surgery and, in doing so, compiled an early glossary that made an impact on several subsequent glossaries and on the first separately published medical dictionary.

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Appendix. Terms in the glossary of *Surgeons mate* (1617)

Albation, Ablution, Alcolismus, Amalgamation, Aromatization, Attrition, Buccellatio, Calcination, Calfaction, Cementation, Cementum, Ceratio, Cinefaction, Circulation, Clarification, Coadunation, Coagmentation, Coagulation, Coction, Cohobation, Colation, Colliquation or Colliquefaction, Coloration, Combustion, Comminution, Complexion, Composition, Concretion, Confriction, Confusion, Congelation, Conglutination, Contusion, Corrosion, Cribration, Deliquation, Deliquium, Descension, Despumatation, Distillation, Difflation, Digestion, Dissolution, Distraction, Divaporation, Dulcification, Duration, Elaboration, Election, Elevation, Elixation, Elution, Evaporation, See Divaporation, Exaltation, Exhalation, Expression, Extinction, Extraction, Fermentation, Ferrumination, Filtration, Fission, Fictation, Fraction, Friction, Fulmination, Fumigation, Fusion, Gradation, Granulation, Humectation, see Irrigation, Ignition, Illiquation, Imbibition, Imbutio, Inceration, Incineration,

Incorporation, Infusion, Inhumation, Insolation, Irrigation, Levigation, Limation, Liquefaction, Lotion, Lutation, Maceration, Maturation, Mistion, Mollitio, Multiplication, Mundisication, Nutrition, Precipitation, Probation, Projection, Prolectation, Purgation, Putrifaction, Quartation, Quinta essentia, Rasion, Reduction, Repurgation, Resolution, Restinction, Reverberation, Section, Segregation, Separation, Siccation, Solution, Subduction, Sublimation, Subtiliation, Stratification, orstratum, superstratum, Torrefaction, Transmutation, Transudation, Vitrification, Ustion

Ruxandra Vişan

A “florid” preface about “a language that is very short, concise and sententious”

Abstract: The Preface to the second edition of Nathan Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1736) has been described in the history of lexicography as an enlargement of the Introduction to Bailey’s *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. This article sheds light on two significant sources that Nathan Bailey’s enlarged Preface of 1736 draws upon: several entries in Ephraim Chambers’ 1728 *Cyclopaedia*, and, via Chambers, a dialogue in Dominique Bouhours’s *Les Entretiens d’Ariste et d’Eugène* (1671). Focusing on the interplay between decontextualisation and recontextualisation in the 1736 Preface, this chapter examines the complex way in which (a) new excerpts are combined with previous excerpts from the 1721 Introduction to *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*; (b) excerpts from Chambers’ encyclopedic entries are reintegrated into Bailey’s prefatory matter; (c) excerpts that were originally included in an exaltation of French and of its superiority over other European languages are transposed from Bouhours’s text, first into Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* entries, and finally into Bailey’s 1736 Preface, becoming part of an exaltation of the English language.

Keywords: eighteenth-century lexicography, recontextualisation, image of English, language and nation correlation, cultural translation, Nathan Bailey, Ephraim Chambers, Dominique Bouhours

1 A “florid” preface

In one of the best-known histories of English lexicography, *The Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson*, De Witt Starnes and Gertrude Noyes deplore a text such as Nathan Bailey’s 1730 *Dictionarium Britannicum* not possessing a preface: “It is indeed surprising and disappointing that such an important work lacks a preface” (1991: 118). The word list in the 1730 edition is preceded only by a dedication “to the Right Honourable Thomas, the earl of Pembroke and Montgomery”, signed by both Nathan Bailey and George Gordon, Bailey’s collaborator concerning the “Mathematical Part” of the dictionary.

The lack which Starnes and Noyes note concerning the 1730 *Dictionarium Britannicum* was remedied in its second edition, published in 1736. This edition, which famously served as a working basis for Samuel Johnson’s 1755 *Dictionary*, adds a preface, which Starnes and Noyes incline to attribute to one of Bailey’s collaborators, the etymologist Thomas Lediard: “The preface now added is an enlargement of that in the *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* in florid style, which may well

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be the product of Lediard's pen, and bridges the whole history of language from Babel to its climax in the English tongue" (1991: 121).

Just like the adjectives "surprising" and "disappointing", employed by Starnes and Noyes to emphasise the absence of prefatory material, the evaluative label "florid" may be seen as suggesting that the preface added to the 1736 edition deviates somehow from the stylistic expectations harboured by twentieth-century historians of lexicography concerning the forematter of a dictionary. A closer examination of Starnes and Noyes's comment upon Bailey's 1736 text suggests an image of excess; apart from "florid", Starnes and Noyes use words and phrases such as "enlargement", "whole history", and "climax".

With deep roots in the rhetorical tradition, the label "florid" preserves nowadays the same connotation of stylistic excess that it carried in the eighteenth century. Borrowing from an entry in Ephraim Chambers' 1728 *Cyclopaedia*, Bailey's 1736 *Dictionarium Britannicum* defines a FLORID DISCOURSE as an 'affected style', which is, according to Longinus, "quite contrary to the true sublime".¹ Indeed, the rhetorician Longinus rejected a florid or bombastic style, which he considered to be the false sublime, opting for a discourse closer to the simplicity advocated by the supporters of the Attic style (see Longinus 1890: 7.3–7.4).² However a label such as "florid" does not carry simply the negative connotations associated with rhetorical excess. Neither Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* nor Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* dwell only upon the negative representation offered by Longinus. In fact, before the reference to Longinus, the entry in the 1728 *Cyclopaedia* defines "florid style/florid discourse" as 'that enrich'd and heighten'd with Figures and Flowers of Rhetoric'. Moreover, the *Cyclopaedia* explicitly relies on "florid" as a keyword in the entry for FLORILEGIUM, defined as 'a name the Latins have given to what the Greeks call ... Anthology, viz a Collection of choice pieces, containing the finest and most florid Things of their kind'.

Can Bailey's Preface to the 1736 edition of the *Dictionarium Britannicum* be described as "florid", as Starnes and Noyes label it? And, if so, do we perceive this "floridness" in its negative connotation of affectation and excess, or its positive association with an anthological dimension, which implies a collection of "the fin-

¹ The 1728 *Cyclopaedia* includes a reference to Longinus in its definition for "florid style": "Longinus uses the terms florid and affected style indifferently, and lays them down as quite contrary to the true sublime. See Style, and Sublime". It is a reference that Bailey first integrates into the 1730 *Dictionarium Britannicum* in his entry for "florid discourse" in order to expand his definition. This expanded definition did not appear in the 1721 *An universal etymological English dictionary*, which did not include the reference to Longinus and defined "florid discourse" only as "full of rhetorical Flowers in which a great deal of eloquence is displayed". This 1721 definition was maintained in the later versions of *An universal etymological English dictionary* (for example in 1790).

² Longinus criticises a florid style, which he sees as decadent, in a manner similar to the Atticists. However, he is also critical of extreme Atticism (Longinus 1890: 32.8–36.4).

est” excerpts? If we look beyond these polarised connotations and beyond the evaluation that they imply, we are simply left with the literal sense of “florid”, that of a rhetorically enhanced discourse and, finally, with the image of a text that has been expanded. Indeed, the Preface to the 1736 edition of the *Dictionarium Britannicum* appears as “an enlargement” of that to the 1721 *Universal etymological English dictionary*. The text emerges as a revision of the 1721 Introduction, as Starnes and Noyes underline, although there is no indication whether the Lediard was involved in this revision. It is a text that relies on addition rather than selection, preserving most of the 1721 material:

Bailey 1721 (Introduction)

From the Esteem and valuable Properties of any particular language, by which we endeavour to imitate this or that Tongue, as the more *Learned, Elegant, Copious, or Expressive*. So Learned Men all over *Europe* embrace *Latin* and the *Greek* Tongues, as the Treasuries of all Science; Christian divines reverence the *Hebrew* and *Greek*; the *Turks* and *Mahometans* the *Arabic*, as the Mistress of Religion; the *Dutch, Germans, and English*, the *French*, for its Softness and Smoothness of Expression, the *Danes* and *Swedes*, the *Teutonic* as more copious.

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

From the Esteem of valuable Qualities of any particular Language, by which we endeavour to imitate this or that Tongue as more *Learned, Elegant, Copious or Expressive*. Hence the Learned in all Parts of *Europe* use the *Latin* and *Greek* Tongues, and the Treasuries or rather the properest Vehicles for the Conveyance of Science; so the Christian Divines reverence the *Hebrew* and *Greek* as the Introductorys of Knowledge of the divine Oracles: several Nations of *Europe* the *French* for its softness and smoothness of Expression; the *Danes*, and *Swedes* the *Teutonic*, as more copious.

The new Preface rearranges the 1721 text, interspersing it with newly added material. What Bailey notably omits in the 1736 Preface are the 1721 remarks on his method, which focussed chiefly on etymology. Bailey’s Preface to the *Dictionarium Britannicum* no longer perceives as necessary an explanation of the lexicographical method employed, emphasising that the target readers’ horizon of expectation had been already set by the copious number of dictionaries published since the first edition of *An universal etymological English dictionary*:

Enough having been said as to the Original, Mutations, and Qualities of the *English* Tongue, what remains seems to be some account by Way of Introduction to the Book itself; but as to the Method of it, being after the Manner of Dictionaries in Common, so generally understood, and besides there being so many 1000 of them already abroad in the World, publish’d since the Year 1720 these have rendred this not necessary. (Bailey 1736: Preface)

As suggested by the subtitle, “A More Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary than any Extant”, the *Dictionarium Britannicum* certainly relies upon the text of the earlier *Universal etymological English dictionary*. Moreover, the 1736 edition is advertised on its title page as “the second edition with numerous additions and improvements”.

“Enlargement” is a keyword that has been employed not only by Starnes and Noyes concerning Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum*, but also by more recent historians of lexicography. In the 2009 *Oxford History of English Lexicography*, the folio *Dictionarium Britannicum* is described, by comparison with the previous *Universal etymological English dictionary*, as a text that “is greatly enlarged, in range as in treatment” (Osselton 2009: 151). The text employed to augment the 1730 *Dictionarium Britannicum* on both a macrostructural and microstructural level is Ephraim Chambers’ 1728 *Cyclopaedia*: “Making use of the recently published Cyclopaedia of Ephraim Chambers (1728), Bailey achieved an impressive *enlargement* of technical terms (music, printing, cookery, stage plays, painting, hieroglyphs, etc.), and there is almost everywhere a *dramatic expansion* of the information provided” (Osselton 2009: 151, emphasis mine).

Just as Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* includes “the whole vocabulary of his earlier dictionary”³ (Osselton 2009: 151), enlarging it, the Preface to its second edition incorporates most of the text of the Introduction to *An universal etymological English dictionary*, adding a series of new excerpts to it. However, while historians of lexicography noted a significant expansion of the body of the *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1736), the forematter of this popular eighteenth-century dictionary was not examined in its relation to the 1721 text. For a long time, apart from Starnes and Noyes’s remarks, there was no exploration of the sources employed in Bailey’s prefatory material or the changes undergone between 1721 and 1736. Bailey’s 1721 and 1736 prefaces have been more recently examined, along with other dictionary prefaces, in Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez’s 2009 article and Rebecca Shapiro’s 2017 historical anthology of applied English lexicography, *Fixing Babel*. Both Rodríguez-Álvarez and Shapiro have discussed some of the sources Bailey employs, particularly William Camden, whose *Remaines ... concerning Britain* (1605) is quoted by both prefaces (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 196/Shapiro 2017: 124/135).

Apart from Camden, Bailey references several authors in his 1736 Preface (see also Shapiro 2017: 144). Some of these appear in the 1721 text, but several others, such as Jonathan Swift and the French grammarian Claude Buffier, appear only as part of the “new material” added to the 1736 version of the Preface. While Bailey includes references to several authoritative sources in order to consolidate the credibility of his prefatory text, there is a further significant source that the 1736 Preface relies upon, which Bailey fails to acknowledge and which has remained unexplored by previous scholars.

³ Osselton underlines that the *Dictionarium Britannicum* includes the whole vocabulary of *An universal etymological English dictionary*, with the exception of English native names, which are “relegated to an appendix” (Osselton 2009: 151).

2 An unacknowledged source

Perhaps not surprisingly, the source of most of the new material added to the 1736 Preface derives from Chambers’ 1728 *Cyclopaedia*. However, it is not Chambers’ complex, well-crafted Preface that is used as a source, but three of his entries, namely LANGUAGE, ENGLISH, and, to a lesser extent, FRENCH.⁴ A comparison between the text of Chambers’ entry for LANGUAGE and the text of the 1736 Preface reveals that excerpts from Chambers’ entry are used either *ad literam* or make minor changes:

Chambers 1728 (LANGUAGE)

LANGUAGE, a Set of Words which any People have agreed upon, in order to communicate their thoughts to each other.

The first Principles of all Languages, F. Buffier observes may be reduced to Expressions signifying, 1st. The Subject spoke of 2dly, The Thing affirmed of it. 3dly, The Circumstances of the one and the other (...)

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

Language is a set of words that have been agreed upon by any people for the Communicating their Minds to each other.

F. Buffier observes that the first Principles of all Languages may be reduc’d to the Expressions signifying

1. The Subject spoken of.
2. That which is affirm’d or deny’d of it.
3. The Circumstances of both the Subject and what is affirm’d or deny’d of it.

As we see, the reference to the grammarian Claude Buffier, a French Jesuit of the early eighteenth century, is present in Chambers’ 1728 text. In fact, many of the authorities that appear in the 1736 text and are not included in the 1721 Introduction are not directly quoted by Bailey. Most are in fact borrowed from Chambers’ entries.

It is, of course, not uncommon that the preface of a dictionary should be indebted to previous authors without acknowledging the debt. A notable example is, after all, Robert Cawdrey’s Preface to his 1604 *Table alphabeticall*, which relies on unacknowledged excerpts from Thomas Wilson’s 1553 *Arte of rhetorique*. In fact, all

⁴ Most of the material newly added to the revised excerpts from the 1721 Introduction comes from two of Chambers’ entries (LANGUAGE, ENGLISH). The information comes mostly from the entry for LANGUAGE, but the information in Chambers’ ENGLISH is also considerably drawn upon. The material that Bailey adds from other sources, which will be discussed in the last section (Rapin de Thoyras’s *History of England*, a 1735 essay originally published in *The prompter*) is far less consistent than the material coming from Chambers’ entries. I have been unable to identify the provenance of only one newly added excerpt, which refers to an account of “the Confusion of Tongues at Babel” offered by “the learned linguist Bodiger”. The source does not appear to be Chambers, although Bailey relies on Chambers for the other new general remarks on language. In her critical edition of the 1736 Preface, Shapiro notes that the unidentified Bodiger is quoted in Thomas Lediard’s *Grammatica Anglicana critica* (2017: 163).

dictionaries may be seen as based on a double process of decontextualisation and recontextualisation, since the words and phrases they rely upon are excerpted from their context and placed within the new dictionary context (Anderson 1996/Reddick 2010).⁵ By listing a word, the dictionary removes it from its discourse, and automatically reintegrates it as part of new discourse (Anderson 1996: 80), since “any decontextualisation of words is simultaneously a recontextualisation”.

Dictionaries such as Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* choose to rely significantly on recontextualisation not only at the level of their body, but also at the level of their forematter. Bailey’s 1736 Preface is a good example of the way in which “old” material is reintegrated as part of a “new” lexicographical text. It is essential to focus upon the recontextualisation of the “old” material in order to understand this “new” prefatory material and the part it plays within the whole text of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, in itself essentially a “new” dictionary based on “old” dictionaries. It thus becomes relevant to see how the lexicographer combines the material from the 1721 Introduction with the new excerpts from the *Cyclopaedia*. However, before attempting to examine this recontextualisation process, we need to underline an important dimension which characterises it: material initially intended as part of the body of the dictionary is transferred to a dictionary paratext. This means that the newly added excerpts do not preserve their original function, becoming part of the rhetoric of a different type of text.

In her 2009 article concerning the prefaces of several eighteenth-century dictionaries of English, Alicia Rodríguez-Álvarez points out that these prefaces share a similar structure, underlining that they “include an introduction into the nature of language, offer a brief discussion on the origin and diversity of languages in the world, refer to the naturalness and inevitability of change and provide a list of reasons for this process to happen, occasionally extended, as in the case of Bailey (1736)” (2009: 190). Like other contemporaneous texts, Bailey’s 1736 Preface begins with general remarks on “language, language diversity and language change” (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 186). In order to supply the information for the section on general remarks on language, Bailey consults Chambers’ encyclopaedic entry for LANGUAGE and employs several excerpts from it. The general language section which results in the 1736 Preface thus emerges as considerably more detailed than that in the 1721 Introduction.

In the first half of the eighteenth century, the general remarks on language were meant to serve as an introduction to the concise histories of English which were part of such dictionary prefaces (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 185–186). The history of English in Bailey’s 1736 Preface preserves most of the information already employed in

⁵ See Judith Anderson’s view of Renaissance dictionaries (1996: 72–80), as well as Allen Reddick’s discussion, with reference to Samuel Johnson, of the partial recontextualisation taking place in dictionary entries (2010: 209).

the 1721 Preface, but supplements it with excerpts from Chambers’ entry for ENGLISH:

Bailey 1721 (Introduction)

(...) and after that the Whole was conquered, as far as to the Friths of *Dunbarton* and *Edinburgh*, by *Agricola* in the Time of *Domitian*, and the Remains of the unconquered *Britains* retired to the West Part, called *Wales*, carrying their Language with them over the Mountains, where they have preserv’d it to this Day.

Britain being thus become a Roman Province, tho’ still suffered to be governed by Kings of its own, as Vice-Roys under the *Roman* Emperours, the *Roman* Legions residing in *Britain* for the Space of above 200 Years, undoubtedly disseminated the *Latin* Tongue (...)

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

(...) and in the Time of *Domitian* the *Romans*, under the Conduct of *Agricola*, made themselves Masters of other Parts, as far as to the Friths of *Dunbarton* and *Edenburgh*; upon which the Remains of the unconquered *Britains* retired to the Western Parts of this Island, now called *Wales*; where carrying with them their Language over the Mountains, there they have preserv’d it to this Day.

As the *Roman* Empire extended itself to the Western Parts of *Europe* and possess’d it self of *Gaul* and *Britain*, they in the same Places propagated the *Roman* Language by causing their Edicts in Relation to publick Affairs, to be designedly written in the *Latin* Tongue.

Britain being thus become a *Roman* Province, tho’ still suffered to be govern’d by Kings of their own Nation as Viceroys under the *Roman* Emperors, the *Roman* Legions residing in *Britain* for the Space of upwards of 200 Years did without doubt disseminate the *Latin* Tongue (...) (Emphasis mine)

Comparing the description of Roman Britain in the 1721 Introduction with the 1736 Preface shows that the later text preserves all the information in the earlier version. However, the 1736 version adds a paragraph which the 1721 text does not include. Predictably, this paragraph (emphasised above), comes from Chambers’ entry for ENGLISH. Since Bailey’s 1736 text preserves most of the information in the history of English initially offered in 1721, the historical outline in Bailey’s Preface emerges as longer and more detailed than the more concise history forming part of Chambers’ encyclopaedic entry. Bailey’s consultation of encyclopaedic entries in order to expand his prefatory material confirms that, in 1736, general information on topics such as “language” and “English” was expected of the prefaces of eighteenth-century dictionaries of English (see Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009).

3 “A language that is very short concise and sententious”

In her study of the lexicographic prefaces of eighteenth-century English dictionaries, Rodríguez-Álvarez also notes that these texts were meant as “tributes to the achievements of the English language” (2009: 203). Indeed, like other lexicographic texts of the time, in presenting the “Original, Mutations and Qualities of the English language”, Bailey’s text stresses the perfections of English and its superiority over other European languages. In order to underline the superiority of the English over other rival nations, Bailey’s 1736 text offers a correlation between language and national character. The comparison below, between Bailey’s text and that of the 1728 *Cyclopaedia*, shows in fact that the source for this ideological representation of language is Chambers’ entry for ENGLISH LANGUAGE:

Chambers 1728 (LANGUAGE)

There is a sound and constant Resemblance between the Genius or Natural Complexion of each People and the Language which they speak. Thus the *Greeks*, a polite but voluptuous People, had a *Language* perfectly suitable, full of Delicacy and Sweetness. The *Romans*, who seemed only born to command, had a *Language* noble, nervous, and august; and their Descendants, the *Italians*, are sunk into Softness and Effeminacy, which is as visible in their *Language* as their Manners. The *Spaniards* is full of that Gravity and Haughtiness of Air which make the distinguishing Character of the People. The *French*, who have a World of Vivacity, have a *Language* that runs extremely brisk and lively.

And the English, who are naturally blunt, thoughtful and of few Words, have a language exceeding short, concise, and sententious.

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

Some have remark'd that there is a constant Resemblance between the Genius of each People and the Language which they speak, and thence

The *French* who are a People of great Vivacity have a Language that runs extreme Lively and Brisk, and the *Italians* who succeeded the *Romans* have quite lost the Augustness and Nervousness of the *Latin* and sunk into Softness and Effeminacy, as well in their Language as their Manners.

The *Spaniards*, whose distinguishing Character is a haughty Air, have a Language resembling their Qualities, yet not without Delicacy and Sweetness.

The *Romans* who seem'd to be a People design'd for Command, us'd a Language that was noble, august and nervous.

The *Greeks* who were a polite but voluptuous People, us'd a Language exactly adapted thereto.

The *English* who are naturally Blunt, thoughtful and of few Words, use a Language that is very short, concise and sententious

There are no significant differences between these two texts, the only noticeable alteration being the fact that Bailey disregards Chambers’ chronological order, which begins with the Greeks and culminates with the English. Bailey’s text chooses

to begin with French, reversing the order of the languages, but maintaining the English language as the culmination of this comparison.

Such generalisations certainly have roots earlier than the eighteenth century, going back to well-known treatises on the eloquence of the vernacular,⁶ as well as to the apologies whose main point “was to stress the riches, abundance and copiousness of one language and the poverty of its rivals” (Burke 2004: 66). The phrase “the genius of language” brings to mind Herder’s *Sprachgeist* and its Romantic correlation with the soul of the people. However, according to previous scholars, ideas of this kind, which we usually associate with the Romantics, were anticipated by the seventeenth-century French authors, among whom the grammarian Bouhours, who made an explicit correlation between *le génie de la langue* and “the genius of the nation” (Gambarota 2011: 61–62).

It is important to note that Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* explicitly quotes the French Jesuit Dominique Bouhours (1628–1702) in several of its entries. One of these entries, FRENCH, which is also employed by Bailey as a source for a smaller excerpt in the 1736 Preface, mentions Bouhours as a significant linguistic authority:

For a critical Acquaintance with what regards the *French Tongue*, see the *Remarques* of M. Vaugelas; and the Observations M. *Corneille* has made on those *Remarks: The Remarques* of Fa. *Bouhours*; and the *Doubts of Bas-Breton Gentleman by the same Father: The Conversations of Ariste and Eugene: The Observations* of M. *Ménage*, and his *Etymologies*; with those of M. *Huet: Fa. Buffier’s French Grammar*; and that of Abbe *Regnier*. And the two Discourses of the Abbe *de Dangeau*; one on the Vowels, and the other on the Consonants. (Chambers 1728: FRENCH)

Chambers’ entry lists three of Bouhours’s works on the French language, namely *Les Entretien d’Ariste et d’Eugène* (1671), *Remarques nouvelles sur la langue française* (1674) and *Doutes sur la langue française proposez à Messieurs de l’Académie Française par un gentilhomme de province* (1675). Like Claude de Vaugelas and Gilles Ménage, Bouhours was an oft-cited authority on the French language. This is by no means the first time that an English lexicographical text mentioned Bouhours. Abel Boyer’s 1699 bidirectional Royal Dictionary for English and French specifies on its title page that the French part of the work is “taken out of the Dictionaries of Richeliet, the Dictionary of the Great French Academy, and the Remarkes of Vaugelas, Ménage and Bouhours”.

Previous scholars have shown that the works of Bouhours were actually well-known to the British and that key personalities in the discourse underlying the ideology of Standard English, such as Chesterfield and Addison, appreciated the

⁶ Henri Estienne’s 1579 *Precellence de la langue française* or Richard Carew’s *On the Excellency of the English Tongue* (c. 1595) come to mind (see Burke 2004: 65–70).

French grammarian's works. Bouhours's *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène*,⁷ a work consisting of six dialogues on various topics, was never translated into English, but was almost as well-known as another of his works, *La Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* (1687), which had been the object of two English translations (Elledge and Schier 1960: 102).⁸

While Chambers does not refer to Bouhours or to any of his works in his entry for LANGUAGE, a comparison between Chambers' text and that of the second dialogue of Bouhours's *Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène* (entitled "La Langue Française"), which dwells upon the supremacy of French over other European languages, shows that the *Cyclopaedia* entry for LANGUAGE in fact employs a translation of several excerpts from this dialogue. The passage that Bailey uses as a source for a generalisation concerning the classical and the "popular languages" (as Chambers refers to English, French, Italian and Spanish in his *Cyclopaedia*) relies in fact on the translation of the French text:

Bouhours 1671 (Les Entretiens d'Ariste et d'Eugène)

car le langage suit d'ordinaire la disposition des esprits ; et chaque nation a toujours parlé selon son génie. Les Grecs, qui étaient gens polis et voluptueux, avaient un langage délicat et plein de douceur. Les Romains, qui n'aspiraient qu'à la gloire, et qui semblaient n'être nés que pour gouverner, avaient un langage noble et auguste; ce qui a fait dire à un Père de l'Eglise que la langue latine est une langue fière et impérieuse, qui commande plutôt qu'elle ne persuade. Le langage des Espagnols se sent fort de leur gravité et de cet air superbe qui est commun à toute la nation. Les Allemands ont une langue rude et grossière; les Italiens en ont une molle et efféminée, selon le tempérament et les mœurs de leur pays. Il faut donc que les Français, qui sont naturellement brusques, et qui ont beaucoup de vivacité et de feu, aient un langage court et

Chambers 1728 (LANGUAGE)

There is a sound and constant Resemblance between the Genius or Natural Complexion of each People and the Language which they speak. Thus the Greeks, a polite but voluptuous People, had a Language perfectly suitable, full of Delicacy and Sweetness. The Romans, who seemed only born to command, had a Language noble, nervous, and august; and their Descendants, the Italians, are sunk into Softness and Effeminacy, which is visible in their Language at their Manners. The Language of the Spaniards is full of that Gravity and Haughtiness of Air which make the distinguishing Character of the People. The French, who have a World of Vivacity, have a Language that runs extremely brisk and lively. And the English, who are naturally blunt, thoughtful and of few Words, have a Language exceedingly short, concise, and sen-

⁷ This dialogue was well-known, not only in France but also internationally. It is the subject of a famous cultural and literary dispute at the beginning of the eighteenth century, the Orsi-Bouhours polemic, placing the French Bouhours in opposition to Gian Gioseffo Orsi, a champion of Italian culture (see Gambarota 2011: 60–61).

⁸ Elledge and Schier (1960: 102) show that Bouhours's *La Manière de bien penser dans les ouvrages d'esprit* had two English versions, a 1705 translation by an anonymous translator, and a popular adaptation in 1728 by John Oldmixton, *The arts of logick and rhetoric*.

animé, qui n'ait **rien de languissant**. Aussi nos ancêtres qui étaient plus **prompts** que les Romains, **accourcirent** presque tous les mots qu'ils prirent de la langue latine ; et pour les monosyllabes, qui ne peuvent être **abrégés**, ou ils n'y changèrent rien du tout, ou ils les changèrent en d'autres **monosyllabes** (...) (Bouhours 1671: 70–71. Emphasis mine)

tentious. (Emphasis mine)

Chambers' translation of Bouhours⁹ here involves cultural transplantation, to borrow a term from translation studies (see Hervey and Higgins 1992), and recontextualises remarks initially meant to show the superiority of the French language. While Chambers employs a close translation of the remarks on other “popular” languages, the text relies upon free translation when it comes to listing the attributes of English and French.

English is not even mentioned among French's rivals in Bouhours's original text. In order to describe English's virtues and to represent its superiority over other languages perceived as potential rivals, Chambers borrows and repeats some of the virtues that Bouhours ascribes to French. The French terms *court* and *prompt*, originally listed among the positive attributes of the French language, are translated by English equivalents such as “short” and “blunt” in the portrayal of English, while the representation of French is considerably trimmed. Perhaps not randomly, German, which is envisaged by Bouhours as *rude et grossière* (a phrase which could be translated as ‘rough and coarse’) is also conspicuously absent in Chambers' text. Chambers' omission of German could be also part of the transplantation that he makes of Bouhours's text. Since in the eighteenth century the Germanic heritage had already become a significant part of the representation of English, Chambers might have avoided the association of a Germanic language with negative attributes

Examining another excerpt from Chambers' 1728 entry for LANGUAGE, we perceive a similar process of cultural transplantation:

Bouhours 1671 (*Les Entretien d'Ariste et d'Eugène*)

Chambers 1728 (LANGUAGE)

Mais **la langue française est comme ces belles rivières** qui enrichissent tous les lieux par où elles passent, qui, sans être ni lentes ni rapides, roulent majestueusement leurs eaux et ont un

The French resembles one of those beautiful Streams that always run briskly, but at the same time smoothly and equally; without much Noise or Depth. **The English, like the Nile**

⁹ It would be interesting to examine whether this translation was especially made for the *Cyclopaedia*. It is quite possible that, even if a full translation of *Les Entretien d'Ariste et d'Eugène* did not exist in England (according to Elledge and Schier 1960), translated excerpts from Bouhours's text already circulated at the time the *Cyclopaedia* was compiled.

cours toujours égal (...) Ainsi, pour ne parler que de leurs génies, sans rien décider de leur naissance, il me semble que la langue espagnole est une orgueilleuse qui le porte haut, qui se pique de grandeur, qui aime le faste et l'excès en toutes choses. La langue italienne est une coquette toujours parée et toujours fardée, qui ne cherche qu'à plaire, et qui se plaît beaucoup à la bagatelle. **La langue française est une prude, mais une prude agréable, qui, toute sage et toute modeste qu'elle est, n'a rien de rude ni de farouche. C'est une fille qui a beaucoup de traits de sa mère, je veux dire de la langue latine.** (Bouhours 1671: 78, emphasis mine)

preserves a Majesty even in its Abundance; its Waters roll rapidly, notwithstanding their Depth; it never roars but when its Banks are too narrow, nor overflows without enriching the Soil. The *Latin* is the common Mother of the three former, but the **Daughters** have very different Genius's and Inclinations. The *Spanish*, a haughty dame, that piques herself on her Quality, and loves Excess and Extravagancy in every thing. The *Italian*, a Coquette, full of fine Airs; always appearing dress'd, and taking all Occasions of shewing her Finery; to be admired, being all she aims at. **The French, an easy Prude, that has her Share of Modesty and Discretion, but on occasion can lay them both aside. The English is of a more Masculine Temperament. 'Tis not only a different Family from others, but appears of a different Sex too:** Its Virtues are those of a Man: indeed 'tis the Product of a **colder** Climate and a **rougher** People, and its Features may be somewhat coarser than those of its neighbours; but its Faculties are **more extensive**, its Conduct **more ingenious**, and its Views **more noble.** (Emphasis mine)

Bouhours's text relies upon the image of languages as rivers (which is part of a larger French excerpt that the *Cyclopaedia* translates), as well as the well-known anthropomorphic metaphor of the mother tongue and her daughters. Chambers preserves Bouhours's representation of languages as rivers. He also takes over the metaphor of the Latin mother and her daughters, only to make significant changes and additions to this representation.

Maintaining the rhetorical ideal of decorum upon which Bouhours relies in his description of French, Chambers keeps the grammarian's image of French as a "beautiful stream", but adds a representation which surpasses the decorous image of French: the hyperbolic image of English as the Nile. He also keeps Bouhours's personification of French as a "prude", but alters its positive connotations by using an oxymoron: "an easy prude". It is also to be noted that Bouhours's text, which concentrated on the naturalness and simplicity of French, did not include a representation in terms of masculinity. Using gender-based imagery, Chambers' text contrasts the female characteristics of the Romance languages with the male virtues of the Germanic English. The excerpt referring to English's "masculine temperament" is identically preserved in Bailey's 1736 Preface, as is Chambers' of the River Nile simile. However, Bailey's text relies upon a truncated version of Chambers' translation of Bouhours. The 1736 text does not preserve either the extended river

simile for language or the extended anthropomorphic image of Latin and of her daughters. Instead, Bailey chooses to divide these passages into smaller units, keeping only certain fragments and rearranging them.

Interestingly, while Italian and Spanish are still envisaged in the same terms as in Chambers’ translation (Italian is still a “Coquette” and Spanish is still “a haughty Dame”, as well as a “muddy and turbulent” river), French does not benefit from the culturally adapted metaphoric labels ascribed to it in the *Cyclopaedia*. The excerpts likening French to a “prude” (albeit an easy one) or to a “beautiful stream” are omitted. However, the representation of English is preserved in its entirety, its depiction in terms of masculinity (no longer juxtaposed with the female nature of its rivals) being preceded by several other encomiums (which also come from Chambers’ translation of Bouhours’s remarks concerning French) and immediately followed by the excerpt likening English to the River Nile:

As to the Qualities of the present *English Tongue*, **it is allow’d to be the closest, clearest, most chaste and reserv’d in its Diction of all the Modern Languages; and also the most just and severe in its Ornaments**, and also the honestest, most open and undesigning: **it will not bear double Meanings**, nor can it palliate or hide Nonsense; bad Sense and good *English* being inconsistent.

It is thus characteriz’d; **it can be gay and pleasant upon Occasion**, notwithstanding all its Sublimity, Nervousness and Majesty, but its Gaiety is moderated and restrain’d by good Sense; it hates excessive Ornaments, seeming rather to chuse to go naked for the greater Simplicity, never using more Ornaments of Dress than Nature requires.

The *English Tongue* is of a masculine Quality; it is not only of a different Family from the *Italian, French, &c.* but appears to be of a different Sex too.

The *English Tongue* has been by some compar’d to the River Nile, in that it preserves a Majesty even in Abundance; its Waters roll rapidly notwithstanding their depth, and never roar but when their Banks are too narrow, nor overflow without enriching the Soil. (Bailey 1736: Preface, emphasis mine)

4 An encomium to English

Dismembering and truncating the metaphoric images which opposed English to other languages, Bailey’s text seems less cohesive than Chambers’ translation of Bouhours. There is also a cumulative effect which characterises the representation of English’s positive attributes. As illustrated by the excerpt in the section above, Bailey opts to enumerate the qualities of English, which appeared in Chambers’ text as part of more extended paragraphs that placed English in comparison with other “popular languages”. The effect of this enumeration is one of copiousness: English is ascribed a rich list of positive attributes. This copious representation of English is accompanied by the omission of some of the attributes of French which Chambers had preserved (and adapted) from Bouhours’s original text. Chambers’ entry for LANGUAGE, which culturally transplants a language ideological representation

devised by a French grammarian, replaces the supremacy of French with English. However, while Chambers relies upon a clear image of English superiority, reversing French's positive representation and portraying this language as an "easy prude", the *Cyclopaedia* does not put the same emphasis as the 1736 Preface on the rivalry between English and French or on the "Perfections of English".

There is a discernible difference between the representation of the Norman Conquest and its linguistic consequences in the 1736 Preface, and the way the Conquest is depicted in Chambers' text:

Chambers 1728 (ENGLISH)

But *William I*, and his *Normans*, having got Possession of England, an Alteration was soon attempted: **The Conquest was not compleat, unless the Conqueror's Language, the French, or Franco Gallic, were introduced;** and accordingly all his Acts, Diploma's, Edicts, Pleadings, and other Judicial Matters, were written, &c. in that Tongue. See FRENCH

But his Attempts prov'd unsuccessful; the number of his *Normans* be brought over, being very small in comparison of the *English* with whom they were incorporated, they lost or forgot their own Language, sooner than they could make any Change in the *English*. (Emphasis mine)

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

...that *William Duke of Normandy* call'd the Conqueror invading *Britain* about the Year 1067 and having vanquish'd the *Danish King Harold*, made an intire Conquest of *Britain*; **and as if he thought his Conquest not compleat unless he also introduc'd his own Language the French or Gallic, as further Monument to his Conquest he endeavoured to yoke the English under his Tongue as he had their Persons under his Command; by compelling them** to have their Children taught in *Norman Schools* nothing but the *French Tongue*, by publishing Edicts and Laws in *French*, **and by enforcing them** most rigorously in judicial Matters to plead and be impleaded in the Tongue, for the Space of about 350 Years; by which Means the Language of *Britain* became a Dialect of a little *Welsh*, the *Latin*, the *Danish* and the *Norman French*, which are at this Time the Bases of the present language of *Great Britain*. (Emphasis mine)

In the case of the Norman Conquest, the 1736 text preserves an excerpt from the 1721 Preface, which represented Norman French as attempting to "yoke the English language". In the 1736 Preface, Bailey also uses an excerpt from William Camden's *Remaines ... concerning Britain* (already employed in 1721) concerning the "glory of the English tongue before the Norman Conquest". Rodríguez-Álvarez has already noted that Bailey's representation of the Norman Conquest follows a pattern similar to other eighteenth-century dictionary prefaces, which relied upon antiquarian ideas (2009: 184). The image of French yoking the English language is decidedly not present in Chambers' text, and the antiquarian quotation from Camden, which underlines the greatness of English before the Normans "despoil'd" it, is certainly absent. Not only does Bailey's text preserve the antiquarian dimension that charac-

terised the 1721 Preface, but also increases the number of quotations proclaiming the “excellency” and superiority of English.

To emphasise the “Perfections of English”, Chambers’ entry for English quotes Leonard Welstead, as well as James Greenwood.¹⁰ However, along with these quotations, Chambers’ entry lists the “Objections” to English in detail, as well as Jonathan Swift’s well-known account of its imperfections in the 1711 *Proposal for correcting, improving and ascertaining the English tongue*. Bailey’s 1736 Preface does not pay as much attention to the disparagement of English as Chambers’ encyclopaedic entry does. Although he concedes that, after the “several Encomiums to English”, he has to mention “what some of the Criticks have objected against it”, Bailey is far more concise than Chambers concerning the objections against English. He summarises arguments which Chambers presents in detail, and only briefly mentions Swift’s *Proposal*, which Chambers’ entry evokes more extensively.

Nevertheless, while the objections to English which are present in Chambers’ entry are treated concisely by Bailey’s, “the Encomiums to English” are not similarly truncated. Bailey’s text includes Chambers’ quotations from Welstead, which portray English as having reached the peak of its maturity, as well as from Greenwood’s praise of the perfections of English.¹¹ These quotations are added to those already in the 1721 Introduction, which also focussed on the “Qualities of English”. The 1736 text preserves the remarks of Peter Heylyn (who proclaimed English to be superior to French and Dutch and “little inferiour to Greek”) and William Camden, according to whom English’s perfection springs from its having been “beautified or enriched out of other Tongues”.

Bailey does not however confine himself to a list of excerpts previously quoted in the 1728 *Cyclopaedia* and the 1721 Introduction. He also appends two new quotations concerning the perfections of English. The first, which explicitly names the author, has a Frenchman proclaiming the “great value” of the English tongue. This consists of the translation by Nicholas Tindal of some of Rapin de Thoyras’s remarks from “A Dissertation on the Language of the Anglo-Saxon”, which is part of the 1726 *The history of England as well ecclesiastical as civil*.¹² The second quotation is ascribed to “a late Author”. Indeed, the quotation turns out to be part of an essay

10 These quotations are also present in Bailey’s 1736 text. In her critical edition of Bailey’s 1736 Preface, Shapiro identifies the Welstead excerpts that the 1736 Preface employs as coming from the 1724 *A dissertation concerning the perfections of the English language and the state of poetry, &c.* and those from James Greenwood as having been borrowed from the *Essay towards a practical English grammar* (1711).

11 According to the quotation from Greenwood which appears in both Chambers’ and Bailey’s texts, the perfection of English is due to the fact that it is: 1. strong and significant; 2. copious; 3. musical and harmonious.

12 Rapin had been already mentioned by Daniel Defoe in the 1697 *Essay upon Projects*, regarding the exaltation of the English language.

which first appeared in *The prompter* no. 72 (1735), and was republished in *The gentlemen's magazine* in the same year, just before the 1736 edition of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*. The anonymous author lauds the copiousness of English, proclaiming it to be

The anonymous author lauds the copiousness of English, proclaiming it to be “a rich and inexhaustible *Treasury*, collected from the *Excellencies of Every other Speech*: But so aptly and sweetly *improved, upon incorporating*, that it as infinitely *exceeds* any of those Tongues which *contributed* to its Fullness, as *Honey* the Juice of those common *Field weeds*, which the Bee's labour drew it from” (Bailey 1736: Preface).

This encomium brings the label “florid” to mind, since keywords such as “treasury”, “collect”, “bee”, “honey” or “juice” create the image of a copious language. The essay employs the topos of language as a thesaurus, its motto also clearly drawing upon another English commonplace of the time: the superiority of the English over the French. This motto is also quoted by Bailey, who refers to it as if it were a direct source. It is Lord Roscommon's famous evocation,¹³ in his *Essay on Translated Verse* (1684), of the weight of the sterling line, in order to disparage the French language and eulogise English:

Vain are our NEIGHBOUR'S *Hopes*, and vain their *Cares*.
The *Fault* is more their *Language's* than *Theirs*:
The weighty *Bullion of One Sterling Line*,
Drawn, to *French Wire*, would thro' *whole Pages Shine*
(Roscommon 1684, cited in Bailey 1736: Preface).

Quoting Leonard Welstead, Chambers represents English as a language whose “Teutonick Rust is worn away”, and whose “Savageness” has been refined:

Chambers 1728 (ENGLISH)

Mr *Welstead* is fully of Opinion that the *English* language is not capable of a much greater Perfection, than it has already attain'd: We have trafficked, he observes, with every Country for enriching it: The Ancients and Moderns have both contributed to the giving it Splendor and Magnificence; the fairest Scyons that could be had from the Gardens of *France* and *Italy*, have been grafted on our old Stocks, **to refine the Savageness of the Breed; we have laid** aside most of our harsh, antique Words, and retain'd

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

He also is of Opinion, that the *English* Tongue is not capable of a much greater Improvement and Perfection than it has already attained: we have having already trafficked with every Country for enriching of it.

The Ancients and Moderns have contributed to both the Giving of it Splendor and Magnificence: we have inoculated the fairest Grafts of *France* and *Italy* into our old Stocks, **to refine upon the wild Breed**; having laid aside most of the harsh and antique Words and retain'd few

¹³ Lord Roscommon's famous lines had been previously employed by Daniel Defoe's 1697 *Essay upon projects*.

few but those of good Sound and Energy: The most beautiful Polish is at length given our Tongue that it will bear, without destroying, and altering the very Basis and Ground-Work of it: **its Teutonick Rust is worn away:** and little or nothing is wanting, either of Copiousness, or Harmony. (Emphasis mine)

but such are of good Sound and Energy.

There has been the most beautiful Polish given to our Tongue that it will well bear, without destroying and altering the very Basis and Ground Work of it; and little or nothing is wanting either as to Copiousness or Harmony. (Emphasis mine)

While Bailey reuses the quotation from Welstead, he omits the explicit reference to “Teutonick Rust”. In my opinion, this is an excellent example of how Bailey recontextualises the material from Chambers: by opting not to include the negative image of “Teutonick Rust”, the text maintains a eulogistic representation of the Germanic heritage (also present in the 1721 Introduction) and preserves a triumphantly nationalistic tone, further enhanced by the increased number of quotations proclaiming the perfection of English.

It is relevant that Bailey’s text quotes Rapin, a Frenchman, in order to praise “the Qualities of the English Tongue”. While both Chambers and Bailey proclaim the superiority of English over other European languages, it is certainly Bailey’s text that makes more allusions to the rivalry between English and French. Significantly, Bailey also appropriates, at another point in his text, material from Chambers’ entry for FRENCH for a more extended comparison between the two languages.

One significant fact is that, while Chambers underlines English’s advantages over French in his entry, he offers a counterbalance to these observations by also listing some of the disadvantages of English:

Chambers 1728 (FRENCH)

It must be added, however, that, as to the Analogy of Grammar, and the Simplicity wherewith the Moods of Verbs are form’d; the English has the Advantage, not only over the French, but over all the known Languages in the World: **But then the Turns, the Expressions, and the Idioms of the English are sometimes so quaint, and extraordinary, that it loses a good deal of the Advantage which its grammatical Simplicity gives over the rest.** See ENGLISH. (Emphasis mine)

Bailey 1736 (Preface)

But then again the *English* tongue has the advantage of the *French* to the Analogy of Grammar, and the Simplicity with which the Moods of Verbs are form’d, nay even over all the known languages in the World.

Predictably, Bailey’s text preserves only that part of Chambers’ entry depicting the advantages of English, which are seen to arise from its analogical grammar and its simple verbal system. He however expunges the part which refers to English’s disadvantages, whose source, according to Chambers’ entry, is its idiomatic constructions.

5 Conclusion

The 2009 *Oxford History of English Lexicography* mentions the comprehensiveness of Nathan Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum*: "Nathan Bailey's folio *Dictionarium Britannicum* was easily the most comprehensive English dictionary of its day" (Osselton 2009: 151). "Comprehensive" is decidedly a label that also applies to the 1736 Preface, which incorporates not only the material from the 1721 Introduction, but also passages borrowed from several of Chambers' encyclopaedic entries. The concluding remarks to Bailey's 1736 Preface stress that the *Dictionarium Britannicum* aims to be an "enrichment" of previous lexicographic material: "I shall only add, that there has been Pains taken to enrich this Edition with Words and Phrases that I apprehend any Additions to future editions cannot be very considerable".

Employing a figurative representation commonly evoked regarding anthological texts,¹⁴ in his entry for PLAGIARY, Ephraim Chambers likens lexicographers to "bees", stressing that their "Occupation is not pillaging but collecting Contributions" (Chambers, cited in Yeo 2003: 69). If, beyond the suggestion of "plagiarism", we look at Nathan Bailey's 1736 Preface in the terms that Chambers applies to lexicography, we perceive a text which relies on a collection of contributions by previous authors, in a manner similar to the dictionary entries that were employed as its sources. The 1736 text includes several explanatory sentences which are meant to unify and order the various excerpts that Bailey rearranges. Sentences such as "I shall next observe something on the Mutation of the English Tongue" or "I shall close what I have to say as to the English Tongue with the following Remarks as to the Excellency and Perfection ascrib'd to the English Tongue" are meant to reinforce textual continuity, but, in spite of such attempts, Bailey's 1736 Preface still emerges as a collection of choice excerpts.

The way in which Bailey's Preface recontextualises material from Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, a text which also relies on a recontextualisation of previous excerpts, emphasises the dimension of copiousness: Bailey's text amplifies the representation of English, even truncating the representation of other "popular" languages English is set against, and significantly increases the number of its encomiums. By comparison with the 1736 Preface, Chambers' initial text, that of encyclopaedic entries, is more balanced and more cohesive and, ultimately, less effusive in its representation of English.

Certainly, the amplification characterising Bailey's text forms part of the rhetoric of the preface into which Chambers' text is recontextualised. One essential function of prefaces, Gérard Genette notes in his *Paratexts*, is that of *amplificatio*,

¹⁴ See Richard Yeo's discussion of the relation between Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* and commonplace books (2003).

demonstrating the importance and the usefulness of its subject (1997: 199). As the preface to a dictionary of English, Bailey’s text fulfils its function as *amplificatio*, duly eulogising English. The 1736 Preface also fulfils another basic structural function which, according to Genette, also characterises prefatory texts: that of accounting for their title (1997: 213). Just as the subtitle of Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* calls this text a “more Compleat” dictionary than “any extant”, the text of the Preface, based on a collection of previous excerpts, prefigures the copious collection of words and phrases which make up the body of this dictionary.

The exploration of the text of the 1736 Preface has certainly led to a better understanding of Bailey’s lexicographical work and of the full text of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*. The examination of the previously unexplored connection between the Preface of the 1736 dictionary and Chambers’ *Cyclopaedia* highlights even more clearly Chambers’ impact on Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum*. The *Cyclopaedia* was consulted and employed in order to enhance the information in the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, and the significant influence of Chambers’ text on the subsequent editions of Bailey’s dictionary (1736 and beyond) is not restricted to the body of this dictionary, but can be also perceived in the forematter.

Dictionaries have been envisaged as vehicles of standard language ideology (Milroy and Milroy 1999) and the myth of linguistic superiority (Watts 2011) perceived as playing an essential part in the creation of this ideology. Certainly, Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* does not assume the role of correcting and proscribing, which Johnson’s famous Preface to the 1755 *Dictionary* lists among a lexicographer’s duties. Nevertheless, the rhetoric of the 1736 Preface underlines values which are an essential part of the representation of a standard language, such as linguistic superiority and continuity. The comparison between Chambers’ less encomiastic representation of the English language in his encyclopaedic entries and Bailey’s copiously adorned image in the dictionary forematter confirms that, as previous scholars have noted, one significant function of eighteenth-century prefaces to dictionaries of English was that of “tributes to the achievements of the English language” (Rodríguez-Álvarez 2009: 203).

Just like the body of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, Bailey’s “florid” preface presents readers with a copious collection of choice excerpts. The exploration of this rich text and of its connection with previous sources (lexicographical or otherwise) has also opened new research paths which certainly need further exploration. I shall list below some of the interesting research directions that the further examination of the “florid” Preface and of its sources could take:

1. Because of the copious collection of excerpts that it offers, both as part of its Preface and of its entries, Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* may be seen as continuing the Renaissance tradition of commonplaces, which, according to previous researchers, has significantly impacted the history of lexicography (see Yeo 2001 and 2003 for a discussion of the relation between encyclopaedias and the commonplace tradition).

2. Since material from lexicographical entries has been included into a continuous text, the Preface to Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* does not appear as very distinct from the body of a dictionary, emerging as different from eighteenth-century lexicographical prefaces such as those of Chambers, Martin or Johnson, which focus chiefly on the method and role of the lexicographer.
3. Last but not least, this article has revealed Bouhours's direct influence on Chambers' account of the English language, as well as the indirect influence of a continental model on the representation of English in a popular eighteenth-century dictionary. Further research into Bouhours's influence on Chambers' *Cyclopaedia*, as well as into the cultural transplantation of Bouhours's linguistic ideas on English soil, may illuminate the historical development of the discourse underlying the ideology of Standard English, and, also keeping in mind that Chambers' *Cyclopaedia* was a significant influence on the *Encyclopédie Française*, the relationship between English and French lexicographical texts.

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