

### Samuel Johnson's Unpublished Revisions to the *Dictionary of the English Language*

This edition makes available for the first time the largest collection in existence of unpublished material by the great eighteenth-century writer and lexicographer Samuel Johnson. For the revised fourth edition (1773) of Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*, Johnson and his amanuensis annotated more than 120 interleaved folio pages of the first edition, but the printer for unknown reasons failed to include the corrections. These pages, including hundreds of authorial additions and changes to the text, are reproduced here in facsimile, along with a transcription, an extensive commentary and notes. This extraordinary archive offers a unique record of Johnson's methods of revision, his collaboration with his assistants, and the preparation of printer's copy in general. Johnson's deletion and editing of hundreds of new quotations, notes and definitions contributed by others sheds much new light on his intentions for his work and his attitudes towards language and literature.

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Edited by Allen Reddick

Frontmatter

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Samuel Johnson's  
Unpublished Revisions to the  
*Dictionary of the English Language*

A Facsimile Edition

Edited by

ALLEN REDDICK

With the collaboration of

Catherine Dille,

and assistance from

Regula Bisang and Antoinina Bevan Zlatar



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Furthermore, she was responsible for finding and putting into place the software and typefaces and helped to develop the format of transcription; much of the dull but difficult work of transcribing was hers as well. Most of the sourcing was carried out by Catherine, involving countless trips to the British Library and the Bodleian; she also contributed to many other aspects of the project, including liaising with the reproductions department of the British Library and with the design team at Cambridge University Press. Much of the intelligence and elegance of the transcription is a result of her attention and design. I am greatly indebted to her, her exceptional abilities, and her willingness to embark on this grand project.

Regula Bisang worked tirelessly on all aspects of the transcription. Her eye for design and precision, together with her technical expertise in PageMaker, led to the format of drawn stylised lines, one of the most challenging aspects of the transcription. Time and time again, when faced with the complexities of representing the B material, Regula came up with effective solutions. Her skill with textual matters (learnt from her own research on the texts of *Hamlet*) averted many a mistake in this realm. Regula stepped in to assist me in countless ways.

Dr Antoinina Bevan Zlatar applied her expertise particularly to the footnotes, to making sense of the transcription and notes, and to my own commentary. Going far beyond conventional assistance, Antoinina proposed many points pertaining to Johnson's intentions that influenced my thinking throughout. Her ear for careful and accomplished prose style saved me from numerous errors and infelicities, as did her understanding of early modern English sources.

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My thanks go as well to Dr Peter Swaab, who reminded me that all of the characters in 'The Hunting of the Snark' have names beginning with the letter B.

Allen Reddick  
Zürich, Switzerland

## The annotated materials

## Introduction

The aims of this volume are as follows:

- (1) to reproduce in photographic facsimile 122 printed pages from the first edition of the *Dictionary* (with accompanying interleaves), covered in handwritten additions and corrections prepared by Johnson and an amanuensis as printer's copy for the revised fourth edition of the *Dictionary*, but never published;
- (2) to provide the reader with a transcription that represents the changes graphically in an attempt to elucidate Johnson's intentions for the printer's copy;
- (3) to reconstruct the history of Johnson's revision of the *Dictionary* and provide examples from the working papers (including illustrations and discussion of evidence from the Sneyd-Gimbel copy at Yale) which enable this history to be told;
- (4) to provide an analysis of and commentary on some of Johnson's proposed changes that enable an understanding of his process of revision and intentions;
- (5) to discuss Johnson's changes in the context of his comments on language and literature.

On 28 November 1754 Samuel Johnson wrote to his friend Thomas Warton at Oxford, 'I am glad of your hindrance in your Spenserian design, yet I would not have it delayed. Three hours a day stolen from sleep and amusement will produce it, let a servitour transcribe the quotations, and interleave them with references, to save time. This will shorten the work, and lessen the fatigue.' The precise nature of the 'design', never realized, to which Johnson refers remains uncertain (Warton observes on a later occasion that it involved 'publishing a volume of observations on the best of Spenser's works'; it could possibly also refer to a new edition of his *Observations on Spenser's Fairy Queen* published earlier that year).<sup>1</sup> It is also unclear precisely what he is recommending (should the amanuensis copy out on to blank leaves quotations from the printed text of Spenser, then write the references to the passages on extra leaves inserted between these leaves? This system would presumably give Warton sufficient space for his 'observations'). Whatever the case, the forthrightness with which Johnson recommends the use of interleaving and copying by an amanuensis in an adaptation or revision of an author's own work is striking, especially as the practice he describes seems to be similar to one he himself would later use in the one major revision of his *Dictionary*. For the preparation of printer's copy for the fourth edition, Johnson employed an amanuensis to copy proposed additions to the text on to interleaves facing first-edition pages of the *Dictionary*. These additions were then altered, screened and tailored by Johnson, then keyed into the desired place in the facing printed text, or simply deleted. Johnson apparently told Boswell that 'it was remarkable that when he revised & improved the last [fourth] edition of his Dict[iona]ry the Printer was never kept waiting'.<sup>2</sup> Certainly, it was the material he had his amanuenses gather, copy, gloss and annotate, that enabled him to proceed quickly and

smoothly. His advice to Warton indicates his commitment to such a process of assistance from amanuenses copying on to interleaves and his determination to use this means, with such a large project, to 'shorten the work, and lessen the fatigue'.

To understand Johnson's process of revision, it is necessary to review the history of the original composition of the *Dictionary*.<sup>3</sup> In 1746–47, Johnson began the compilation of his *Dictionary* by establishing criteria for multiple definitions and word usage, and he proceeded to locate quotations illustrative of different words in printed works. He marked passages in literary, theological, humanistic and historical, as well as technical and other types of works, mainly written during the period between Sir Philip Sidney and Alexander Pope. These passages, marked in pencil usually with vertical lines indicating the beginning and end of the quotation, with the word illustrated underlined, and the first letter of the word written in the margin, would later be copied out by the amanuenses (at different times he had six in his employ) on to blank paper eventually cut into slips. The quotations would subsequently be organized and the passages copied into notebooks in the appropriate places in the wordlist. Eventually, in late 1749 or 1750, however, Johnson determined this procedure to be unworkable, for it left little room for accommodating the variety of usage he encountered. He had also mistakenly allowed the text to be copied on to both sides of the page in the notebooks, unsuitable for printer's copy. For these reasons, he abandoned the handwritten notebooks, recopying his material (in some cases clipping it out) into a more flexible form, allowing the selected quotations to determine his wordlist and definitions, eventually producing his printer's copy.

The abandoned manuscript in notebooks was not discarded, however, and was probably retained in Johnson's working materials for twenty years until he began his revision of the *Dictionary* for the fourth edition (the second and third editions had appeared in 1756 and 1765, respectively, each with very few authorial changes from the first edition).<sup>4</sup> It would appear that Johnson instructed one of the amanuenses still assisting him, probably the Scot William Macbean, to search through this material for the purpose of selecting quotations, originally gathered for the first edition, to be recycled under other head-words in the fourth edition. As with the original composition of the work, the revision centred around the incorporation of illustrative quotations. The reasons they used the manuscript rather than printed leaves probably involved the following factors: the manuscript versions of quotations were longer and fuller than the printed, edited and sometimes truncated versions; the manuscript notebooks provided blank spaces to copy out quotations and other material; and printed first-edition leaves may not have been available for use. (Fragments from these manuscript notebooks, some retaining portions of text from the early manuscript, are preserved among the slips in the

<sup>1</sup> *The Letters of Samuel Johnson*, ed. Bruce Redford (Princeton: Princeton University Press), vol. I, pp. 88–9.

<sup>2</sup> Boswell's *Note Book*, reproduced in *The R. B. Adam Library Relating to Dr. Samuel Johnson and His Era* (London, 1929), vol. II, between pp. 51 and 52.

<sup>3</sup> See Allen Reddick, *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary, 1746–1773* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, rev. ed. 1996), ch. 3, for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>4</sup> See Reddick, *Making*, ch. 5, for a more detailed discussion.

*The annotated materials*

Sneyd-Gimbel materials at Yale.)<sup>5</sup> The amanuensis selected quotations for reuse (probably making selections himself, rather than as directed by Johnson), copied them on to clear portions of the notebooks, added in most cases a head-word, note on etymology or usage, and/or a definition, then clipped out the slip. These slips are preserved in the Sneyd-Gimbel copy. In the following stage, another amanuensis, probably V. J. Peyton, copied out the text verbatim from the slips on to blank leaves inserted between leaves of the first edition opposite the printed text to which the annotation belonged.<sup>6</sup> Next, Johnson reviewed this material, altered and deleted parts and excised entire proposed additions, added new material, and keyed in the prepared text to its precise location in the printed text. He also wrote numerous corrections and additions directly on the printed pages: rearranging material under entries, consolidating multiple entries, adding, altering, or deleting etymologies, notes on usage, and definitions, deleting or editing existing illustrative quotations, and correcting errors of various sorts. From an examination of the entire text of the fourth edition, it is clear that he altered this procedure slightly in other parts of the wordlist, and augmented the new additions with other illustrative quotations marked anew in printed books. However, it appears that he used interleaves prepared in this or a similar manner throughout the wordlist.

The material contained in this facsimile edition provides key evidence for reconstructing Johnson's procedures; furthermore, it offers hundreds of new Johnsonian readings for the *Dictionary*, never before published. It is necessary to account for its existence and the role it plays in the history of the revision.<sup>7</sup> The first-edition pages, comprising the wordlist of the *Dictionary* from the last page of the letter A through the letter B ('BYSTANDER'), are interleaved in the manner described above, with precise keys for the printer, alerting him to how and where the new material should be incorporated. If it is clear that these changes were intended to be made in the printed text, it remains uncertain why they were not in fact used. Most probably the materials were mislaid, in Johnson's workroom, at the printer's, or elsewhere. Their disappearance may coincide with Johnson's decision to augment the new recycled material with fresh quotations marked in other sources; when he returned his attention to the material, the pages may have been misplaced. Whatever the cause, it is clear that once the materials were unavailable, Johnson quickly turned to other sources to supply material for revising this part of the text. George Steevens, Johnson's collaborator on the revised edition of Shakespeare, which also appeared in 1773, had prepared and annotated his own interleaved text or partial text of the *Dictionary*, using third-edition leaves (1765). It is unknown whether Steevens intended his annotations and changes to be incorporated, or whether he was asked to prepare them by Johnson, but it is clear that when his own carefully prepared materials were no longer available, Johnson turned to Steevens's interleaved materials for this portion of the text. Johnson appears to have augmented Steevens's changes with a series of new quotations freshly gathered (almost exclusively through the use of Alexander Cruden's *Concordance to the Holy Scriptures* (first published 1737) and his 'Verbal Index' to *Paradise Lost* (first published 1741) and from the poems of Edward Young), and then submitted these sheets to the printer. The remainder of

Steevens's annotated interleaved sheets (for letters A, C–Jailer) are bound together with the B materials in the British Library copy. His annotations and changes in these pages were not (except in a very few scattered instances) incorporated into the fourth edition. Johnson's B material owes its continued existence to the fact that it was never used as printer's copy, which would have been discarded thereafter. This material takes the place in the British Library copy of Steevens's annotated interleaved material for the letter B, which was used and discarded.

### The British Library copy: description and provenance (with the Sneyd-Gimbel copy)

The material presented in this volume, comprising the last page of 'A' and all of 'B' (sigs. 2N1–3U1), interleaved throughout, is bound within the first volume of a three-volume interleaved partial copy of the *Dictionary* in the British Library's collections (BL C.45.k.3).<sup>8</sup> The copy consists of printed leaves from the first and third editions, as described above. Johnson's and the amanuensis's handwriting (possibly that of V. J. Peyton) is limited to this first-edition portion, which was prepared by Johnson to be used as printer's copy for setting type for the fourth edition. The extensive annotations and alterations by George Steevens are limited to the third-edition portion. The only other hand in the copy is that of Charles Marsh, a later owner, who added an occasional note to the third-edition pages. The text of this partial copy stretches from entries A through JAILER (gatherings B–11R) with a few missing leaves: leaf 3U2, the last page of text for the letter B and the first page of text for C, and leaves 6E1, 6E2, and 6F1, constituting the last four pages of C and the first two of D. After almost every leaf with printed text, an interleaf is bound in; the interleaves in the section for the letter B and last page of A have the Strasbourg Lily watermark, and 'VI' or 'VJ' countermark, while the other interleaves have only an 'EVH' mark. One of the interleaves, between 2L2 and 2M1, is misbound and should precede 2N1, for its one annotation pertains to the first-edition text of page 2N<sup>r</sup>; the handwritten material (relating to the entry AZURE) from this interleaf is reproduced in this volume. There are three worm holes in the top inside margin of these first-edition leaves, not found in the interleaves or the third-edition leaves. This would indicate, as would be expected, that the first-edition leaves were stored for some period of time in a batch apart from the third-edition sheets before being interleaved.

The printed sheets and interleaves are bound in three volumes as follows: volume I, A through the middle of BYSTANDER (B–3U1, followed by an interleaf); volume II, CABIN *n.s.* 4

<sup>5</sup> For a more detailed discussion of this and other aspects of the Sneyd-Gimbel materials, see the Appendix to this volume and Reddick, *Making*, Appendix A.

<sup>6</sup> It is known that William Macbean and V. J. Peyton worked on the revision of the *Dictionary*, and the handwriting on the slips in the Sneyd-Gimbel material appears to be that of William Macbean. Peyton's hand may be that on the interleaves, but a firm identification is not yet possible. At this stage, I have made only tentative identifications, refining and correcting some of the conclusions concerning the activities of these amanuenses in *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary*; subsequent analysis may confirm, contradict or revise these identifications.

<sup>7</sup> See Reddick, *Making*, ch. 5, for a more detailed discussion.

<sup>8</sup> See Reddick, *Making*, Appendix B and C, pp. 190–94.



through the middle of EAGLE, def. 1 (3X–7R1, preceded by an interleaf); and volume III, from the middle of EAGLE, def 1 through JAILER (7R2–11R2, followed by an interleaf). The materials were almost certainly unbound when they came into the possession of the British Museum, and divided into six or possibly seven sections or fascicles, each consisting of the complete or nearly complete pages for one or two letters, as the pattern of stamping of the accession date '13 JA 54' (13 January 1854) throughout the leaves makes clear. This date appears to have been stamped on the outside leaf of almost all the individual unbound fascicles. The stamping of the accession date on the interleaf now located between 2L2 and 2M1 is an indication that the British Museum binders misplaced it there, for when it arrived at the museum, it appears that the interleaf was on the outside of a fascicle, preceding 2N1 (which, on its recto, contains the beginning of text for the letter B). The present binding, probably the first, dates presumably from the late nineteenth or early twentieth century.

The provenance of this material is intertwined with that of the Sneyd-Gimbel materials (see Appendix for description). Both sets were apparently sold, unbound, with the rest of Johnson's library in 1785. The Sneyd-Gimbel materials, listed in the sale catalogue as Lot 644, and the materials now in the British Library, listed as Lot \*649, were described respectively as '13, of Dr. Johnson's dictionary with MSS. notes' and 'Six of Dr Johnson's dictionary' (sold with 'a parcel of reviews and magazines'). Presumably the first description refers not to thirteen letters, for the Sneyd-Gimbel copy contains twelve, but to fascicles, one of the larger letters being broken up into two; similarly, the second description refers not to six letters (for the British Library copy consists of eight letters), but probably to six separate fascicles, each presumably sewn together. The purchaser of both sets was Charles Marsh (1735–1812), Fellow of the Society of Antiquaries. At the sale of his library on 7 February 1816, these sets, listed together as item 954 and described more accurately, though still incorrectly, as 'Johnson's Dictionary, Letters A. to L. N. & P. interleaved with MS. additions and Observations, and A. B. C. E. F. G. with additions by Johnson', were bought by Richard Heber. Auctioned in May and June of 1835 with the rest of Heber's library, the materials were offered in Part VII of *Bibliotheca Heberiana* as: '3581 Johnson's (S.) Dictionary, twelve parts, containing the Letters A to G, I, K, L, N, and P, with a great number of additions in the hand-writing of Dr. Johnson, chiefly consisting of quotations'. And '3582 – Third edition, the Letters A to H interleaved, with additions, some in the hand-writing of Dr. Johnson, 7 parts, – 1765' (probably counting as two parts the large section comprising entries for C and D).

The London bookseller Thomas Thorpe purchased both items and apparently immediately sold the set now in the British Library to John Hugh Smyth Pigott, of Brockley Hall in Somerset, in whose collection it remained until 1853, when it was bought for the British Museum at the sale of Smyth Pigott's library. Once the materials arrived at the museum, they were divided into six principal parts, divided fairly exactly by the alphabetical entries as follows: A, B, C–D, E, F, G–H. Thorpe probably sold the set now known as the Sneyd-Gimbel copy to Ralph Sneyd of Keele Hall, where it remained until it was sold by his descendant, Col. Ralph Sneyd, at Sotheby's in 1927, to Col. Richard Gimbel. The

materials were not heard of again publicly before 1955, and they remained in the estate of Col. Gimbel until 1973, at which time they were given to Yale University.

## The printer's copy for the letter B

The new material copied on to the interleaves in the B material (2N1–3U1) consists of quotations, recycled from other entries in the first edition, illustrating both new and existing words in the wordlist; a few quotations gathered anew; completely new entries; notes on usage, especially Scottish and 'rural' words; new etymologies, notes on derivation, and definitions; and commentary on quotations.<sup>9</sup> Johnson's review and editing of these texts is frequently severe. He deletes many proposed additions entirely, including the great majority of definitions and notes on usage supplied by the amanuensis;<sup>10</sup> he alters quotations, frequently adds a new definition or some other clarification, then carefully marks the edited material for inclusion in the appropriate place in the text of the facing printed page. He normally adds a key beside the writing on the interleaf, usually a letter followed by a double-dagger, then he places the same key on the facing printed page in the spot where the material is to be inserted, usually accompanied by a line drawn to the spot. Johnson also makes frequent marginal additions and corrections to all parts of the text on the printed pages themselves; the amanuensis's hand is found only on the interleaves.

The British Library materials for the letter B also contain four slips, all with quotations written in the hand of the amanuensis, intended for inclusion in the fourth edition. Each slip was cut from an interleaf within the materials because the quotation had been written on the wrong interleaf. It was removed by Johnson or the amanuensis and glued to the margin of the printed sheet beside the entry to which it refers. The hole left in the interleaf after the slip was cut away has, in each case, been carefully patched in an apparent attempt to keep the printer's copy as neat as possible for the compositor. The slips, each keyed into the text by Johnson, are attached to the following pages: 2T<sup>r</sup> (two slips, illustrating BEAR *v.a.*, defs. 2 and 3, respectively); 2T<sup>v</sup> (BEAR *v.a.*, def. 29); and 2Z<sup>v</sup> (BEND *v.a.*, def 2). The annotations in the hand of the amanuensis are all in a light brown ink, while Johnson's are in a dark brown, nearly black ink. In one case, Johnson uses a purplish ink (2T2<sup>r</sup>, under the entry To BEAR *v.n.* 4) also found in isolated cases in the Sneyd-Gimbel materials.

## George Steevens and Samuel Johnson

When Samuel Johnson began revising his great *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1771, he was at the same time engaged in revising his *Edition of the Works of William Shakespeare*, originally published in 1765. Both works would eventually appear in 1773,

<sup>9</sup> See Reddick, *Making*, Appendix B, pp. 190–91.

<sup>10</sup> Of approximately 309 proposed quotations and independent notes on words (i.e., those with separate Sneyd-Gimbel slips of their own), Johnson deletes 170 completely.

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both assisted by the scholar George Steevens. Steevens provided the main impetus for the new edition of Shakespeare and performed the bulk of the work on the edition, including seeing it through the press. The extent of his involvement in the revision of the *Dictionary* has only recently been recognized; an examination of his work on both editions is crucial for understanding the nature and the very existence of the material contained in the British Library copy.<sup>11</sup>

George Steevens was a prodigious scholar, particularly of English Renaissance drama, and was recognized as such by his contemporaries. His collaboration on Johnson's *Shakespeare* commenced no later than 1765, when Steevens contributed some textual notes and other commentary to Johnson's edition. The cross-fertilization between the revised *Shakespeare* and the revised *Dictionary* has been documented by Arthur Sherbo and Carter Hailey, demonstrating the ways in which changes and additions in the revised *Dictionary* were probably prompted by Steevens's commentary in the edition of Shakespeare. Furthermore, Hailey has shown that a few of Steevens's annotations in the British Library copy, especially concerning Shakespeare, were adopted by Johnson in some form or may have inspired an alteration in the fourth edition. His handwritten annotations continued to have some effect on scattered changes made even in later editions of the *Dictionary*, and Steevens himself may have taken on an anonymous editorial role in editions published after Johnson's death. It is uncertain why only scattered suggestions from Steevens were incorporated. Some may have been passed on verbally between the men. It is known that Steevens and Johnson saw each other frequently at this time, and Steevens often visited Johnson's workroom.

In previous accounts of the British Library materials, it has been difficult to determine the relation of Steevens's annotations in the third-edition portion to Johnson's and the amanuensis's annotations in the first-edition portion covering the letter B. It now appears likely that Steevens undertook the annotating of the third-edition sheets to assist Johnson in his revision. Whether or not Steevens acted at Johnson's behest, once the material Johnson had prepared for the printer for the pages covering the letter B was lost or otherwise unavailable, he turned to Steevens's material and used his annotated interleaved third-edition sheets as the basis for

the revision of the text for the letter B. Steevens's annotated pages are now absent from the materials precisely because they were used as printer's copy. Once Johnson's unused portion of first-edition annotated sheets were rediscovered, they were inserted among the materials in the place covering the letter B, vacated by the portion used by the printers for the fourth edition, Steevens's annotated third-edition sheets.

Many of the alterations that were made in the 1773 text for the letter B reflect the kinds of changes Steevens makes elsewhere on the interleaves (especially alterations of, and commentary on, Shakespearean texts), and a collation of the editions clearly reveals that this part of Johnson's fourth-edition text, uniquely, was set from third-edition sheets. The revision of the letter is anomalous in other ways as well. The section covering B is the only letter shorter in the revision than in the first edition (it is shortened by four pages). Compared to other letters in this part of the *Dictionary*, for the entries under B, fewer than half the number of new illustrative quotations are added. No quotations from the usual authors added to this part of the wordlist, such as Bacon, Spenser and Sir Thomas Browne, are incorporated. Yet if Johnson's B-material annotations and changes had been incorporated, the types and number of changes would be similar to those made to the other letters in this part of the *Dictionary*.

Unfortunately, there is no way to know with certainty why the B material prepared by Johnson and his amanuensis was not used by Johnson or the printer. It is important to understand that the full collaboration he allows from Steevens is probably accepted only in exigent circumstances, for it is only for the letter B section, with his own prepared material lost, that he incorporates Steevens's changes wholesale. Otherwise, Steevens's proposed changes in the third-edition British Library materials remain for the most part ignored.

<sup>11</sup> For a discussion of the relationship between Johnson and Steevens, see John Middendorf, 'Steevens and Johnson', in James Engell (ed.), *Johnson and His Age* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard University Press, 1984), pp. 125–35. For the relation between the two revised editions, see Arthur Sherbo, '1773: The Year of Revision', *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 7.1 (1973), pp. 18–39. For the valuable reassessment of Steevens's role in the revision of the *Dictionary*, to which my understanding of the British Library materials and the following paragraphs are much indebted, see Carter Hailey, "'This Instance Will Not Do': George Steevens, Shakespeare, and the Revision(s) of Johnson's *Dictionary*", *Studies in Bibliography* 54 (2001), pp. 243–64.

## Notes on selected changes and annotations

### Introduction

The annotations on the B material provide important clues about Johnson's method of revising, the extent of collaboration, and his attitudes towards his text. They also reveal something of the character of the amanuenses working with him. Johnson's editing and preparing of the transcribed material on the interleaves is particularly noteworthy. Because his preferences and indications to the printer are clearly marked, the manuscript material is unusually unambiguous in its record of his intentions and his relationship to the work of others involved in the project. He had presumably set one amanuensis, probably William Macbean, the task of selecting material from the first edition to be reused for other head-words. Yet Johnson severely truncated or deleted many of the quotations, definitions and notes eventually transcribed on the interleaves. The fact that so much transcribed material is rejected, and that much of it is atypical of Johnson's text and his desires for it, strongly suggests that the quotations were originally chosen, gathered and proposed by the amanuensis, and that all of the definitions and commentary he included were his own. This amanuensis writing on the Sneyd-Gimbel slips took the liberty of providing many notes on dialect, Scots usage, custom and history, as well as quotations and notes from Thomas Tusser's *Five Hundred Points of Husbandry* involving rural and antiquated words. Yet in *every case* the notes, as well as Tusser's verses, are excised by Johnson. It would appear that Johnson turned his amanuensis loose to gather material, presumably fully intending to take advantage of his linguistic and literary expertise, then severely curtailed and edited his proposed additions. Judging from the final result, it is hard to believe that Johnson encouraged this particular type of addition, though he must have at least given the amanuensis the freedom to make independent decisions on what would be proposed. Johnson's treatment of the text on the B material interleaves shows how he moves away from the collaborative, rejecting every single usage-note proposed by the amanuensis, and exhibits his firm control over the final form of the work.<sup>12</sup> It seems that the amanuenses were given more freedom in gathering and presenting material for inclusion in the text than has previously been thought; yet the evidence also demonstrates that they were allowed no say in the final copy. It is not overstating the case to conclude from the evidence in the B material that Johnson adopts a hostile attitude towards the amanuenses' material. The evidence presented in this unique source leads one to conclude, in fact, that Johnson's control of his final text is more strongly reserved to himself than could previously be demonstrated.

The evidence concerning Johnson's treatment of Scots and dialect usage is of considerable importance in that it supports the view that, at least in the revision of the *Dictionary*, Johnson tends to suppress linguistic difference within English, actively and repeatedly rejecting dialect or regional variations which pluralise the conception of the national and accepted language.<sup>13</sup> This has been a point of interest to linguists and critics of Johnson's attitude towards the 'national tongue' and its many variations, in particular Scots dialect. The astonishing fact that so many of Johnson's helpers on the *Dictionary* were themselves Scots (five) seems to open up the possibility that they were employed not only for their obvious skills, but also in an attempt to include a wide range of linguistic variation. Scottish writers and critics such as Robert Fergusson and Archibald Campbell savaged Johnson's *Dictionary*, in part for including so much Latinate English and excluding Scots usage.<sup>14</sup> The amanuensis, in the course of the revision, may well be trying to address criticisms of the *Dictionary* by proposing material from Scots dialect and quotations from Scottish authors. In October 1769 Johnson even insists that Boswell should 'complete a Dictionary of words peculiar to Scotland, of which [Boswell] shewed him a specimen . . . By collecting those of your country, you will do a useful thing towards the history of the language.'<sup>15</sup> Whether or not he thought of Boswell's efforts as related to his own lexicographic project, the revision of which would begin less than two years later, he demonstrates, at least, that he is aware of the importance of Scots dialect in its historical relation, if not its current relevance, to English.

<sup>12</sup> See the discussion of the amanuenses' attempts, and Johnson's treatment of the handwritten passages on the interleaves, within the context of collaboration, in my 'Revision and the Limits of Collaboration: Hands and Texts in Johnson's *Dictionary*', in Jack Lynch and Anne McDermott (eds.), *New Perspectives on Johnson's Dictionary* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); concerning usage-notes proposed by the amanuensis transcribed onto the interleaves, two cases might be borderline: Johnson accepts 'break fast' as an additional use of BREAK as well as a comment on Dryden's use of 'boisterous' under that entry. Otherwise, from the handwritten commentary (i.e., not quotations), he accepts very short definitions for twenty-seven different entries and three simple 'etymologies' (e.g., 'bonjour [French]').

<sup>13</sup> Janet Sorenson, *The Grammar of Empire in Eighteenth-Century British Writing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), ch. 2, contains the most recent and in many ways most articulate expression of this view. For a different perspective, see Nicholas Hudson, 'Johnson's *Dictionary* and the Politics of "Standard English"', *Yearbook of English Studies* 28 (1998), pp. 77–93. See also James G. Basker, 'Scotticisms and the Problem of Cultural Identity in Eighteenth-Century Britain', *Eighteenth-Century Life* 15 (1991), pp. 81–95.

<sup>14</sup> Robert Fergusson, 'To Dr. Samuel Johnson: Food for a New Edition of his Dictionary', and 'To the Principal and Professors of the University of St. Andrews on their Superb Treat to Dr. Samuel Johnson', in *The Poems of Robert Fergusson*, vol. II, ed. Matthew P. McDiarmid (Edinburgh and London: Blackwood and Sons, 1956), pp. 204–06; Archibald Campbell, *Lexiphanes, a Dialogue* (London, 1767).

<sup>15</sup> James Boswell, *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.*, ed. G. B. Hill, rev. L. F. Powell, 6 vols. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1934–64), vol. II, pp. 91–92.

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The two most likely amanuenses involved in this project were apparently capable in their own right. William Macbean later proposed to publish a supplement to Johnson's *Dictionary*, claiming to have collected a great deal of material to supply the 'deficiencies' of the work. The second amanuensis, whom I have tentatively identified as V. J. Peyton, was the author of works on the English language and apparently knew several modern languages.<sup>16</sup> The first amanuensis had clearly the more important responsibility of selecting quotations for reuse and contextualization. The next amanuensis had to be neat and careful, copying the text from the slips to the interleaves; he very rarely intentionally deviates from the handwritten material he copied. The occasional lapses put into relief the consistency with which he copied accurately; however, the slavishness with which he copies even obvious errors, or incoherent passages, suggests either a limited understanding or a simple dedication to copying verbatim.

Johnson's patterns of attention to certain aspects of his text and to the language itself are revealed in these materials. These patterns include: the expansion of the number of definitions under certain head-words, the consolidation of others, and the shifting of quotations to illustrate different definitions, usually in response to a reading or re-reading of the illustrative quotations, both existing and proposed; comments on usage, prompted by the quotations, especially 'not in use', 'antiquated', 'obsolete', 'elegant', 'proper' and 'a low word'; altering of definitions and notes in response to re-reading of existing quotations or incorporation of new; the editing and tightening of entries for concision and coherence, particularly through the deletion or abbreviation of quotations; the substitution of proper names for third-person pronouns, pointing a few quotations more directly towards theological and ideological connotations; and the active interest in accounting for phrasal or particle verbs.

Furthermore, Johnson's efforts illustrate the extent to which his *Dictionary* is an extended exercise in literary critical acumen, a

glossary, in a sense, of the words in the works of writers in English. Johnson's attentions are engaged as much in literary as in philological expertise; the two overlap where Johnson attempts to delimit the words' semantic range. This is one reason Johnson is so exacting in his criticism of poetry (specifically the language of poetry) in the *Lives of the Poets* and elsewhere: at its basis runs a philological drive for attention to etymologically based, logically derived meaning, along with a commitment to meaning based on literary and other types of written usage. These impulses are sometimes contradictory. It is in this area that the B material reveals Johnson's critical and lexicographical processes most interestingly. The reading of new quotations – each considered for inclusion, altered slightly or radically, or simply deleted – the tailoring of those that survive to fit the existing text with new definitions or notes, and the revising of the existing text to accommodate the new passage, together provide, on page after page, the handwritten evidence for Johnson's literary and linguistic concerns and responses that embodies his *Dictionary*. Of the approximately 309 proposed new quotations and independent notes on the interleaves in the amanuensis's hand, 170 are completely excluded.<sup>17</sup> By any standard, this reflects stringent demands for inclusion, and with the nearly complete exclusion of proposed notes on usage and definitions, the treatment of the transcribed material provides a showcase for Johnson's attitudes towards language, literature and lexicography.

The notes that follow concerning selected changes do not attempt to address every noteworthy or interesting aspect of the materials, but rather they suggest patterns within the material and implications thereof.

<sup>16</sup> See Reddick, *Making*, pp. 62 and 211 n. 20.

<sup>17</sup> I have counted quotations from Tusser's *Notes* that are transcribed with quotations from Tusser's verse as one proposal. Notes on a word's use or derivation copied on a separate Sneyd-Gimbel slip I have counted as one. There are also eight quotations or notes written by Johnson on the interleaves and printed pages.

## Notes

BABION *n.s.*

This note is taken from the *Dictionnaire de Trévoux* and is translated either by Johnson or the amanuensis. The note reads as follows: 'BABIL, s.m. { . . . } Ménage veut qu'il vienne de *bambinare*, qui a été fait de *banbino* [sic], Italien, diminutif de *bambo*, lequel est dérivé du Syriaque *babion*, qui signifie *enfant*, d'où on a fait aussi *babiole* & *bimbelots*, signifiant des *poupées*.'

BABY *n.s.*

This note on Scottish usage ('Baby [Babee] In Scotland denotes a halfpenny, as alluding to the Head impressed on the Copper Coin') is the first of several examples in the BL materials. The addition is almost certainly supplied by the Scottish amanuensis William Macbean from his personal knowledge. Johnson deletes every example of material concerning Scottish usage proposed by the amanuenses. His reluctance to consider such material is a result of the fact that it is based on oral rather than written sources and that it involves dialect or regional variations, which Johnson tends to exclude. Other examples include BANDOGE *n.s.*, To BELIEVE *v.n.*, To BETOKEN *v.a.*, To BLOW nails, BODLE *n.s.*, To BROADEN *v.a.*, and BUSINESS *n.s.*

BACCIVOROUS *adj.*

Johnson corrects this definition from a noun ('A devourer of berries') to an adjective ('Feeding on berries'). This obvious error in the first edition is corrected in the fourth to 'Devouring berries'.

BACHELORS *Button.*

In this instance, Johnson follows a procedure, which he repeats throughout the fourth edition, of shortening encyclopaedic passages from Phillip Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary* which serve as definitions for plants. The expansive passages (signed 'Millar') in the first edition are often shortened drastically or deleted entirely. The deletions made room for additional material, especially new quotations, and also contributed to the general tendency towards conciseness of entries in the revised edition. The other instances of this kind of excision occur under BALM/BALM *Mint*, BALSAM *Apple*, BARBADOES *Cherry*, BARBERRY, BARLEY, BASIL, BASTARD *Cedar Tree*, BAY *Tree*, BEAD *Tree*, BEAN, BEAN *Caper*, BEAR'S-BREECH, BEAR'S-EAR (2), BEECH, BEST, BEET, BELFLOWER, BENJAMIN, BERRY-BEARING *Cedar*, BETONY, BINDWEED, BIRCH *Tree*, BIRDSEYE, BIRDSFOOT, BIRTHWORT, BISHOPSWEED, BITTERVETCH, BLACK-BRYONY, BLACKBERRIED *Heath*, BLADDER-NUT, BLESSED *Thistle*, BLOODFLOWER, BORAGE, BOTTLEFLOWER, BOX, BRAMBLE, BRASIL/BRAZIL (from Ephraim Chambers), BRYONY, BUCKSHORN PLANTAIN, BUCKTHORN, BUCKWHEAT, BUGLE, BUTCHER'S BROOM and BUTTERBUR.

BAIL *n.s.*

Johnson's addition to the quotation from John Cowell displays a careful reading of the passage for coherence, an attentiveness to the precision of legal language, and a familiarity with the circumstances described.

To BAIT *v.a.*

With his addition, 'to furnish with allurement of any kind', Johnson extends the definition ('To put meat upon a hook, in some place, to tempt fish or other animals') from the specific reference (fishing) to the figurative sense of setting a trap through enticement, necessitated by the three quotations already present under def. 1, two from Shakespeare, one from Gay.

BAIT *n.s.*

Again relying upon the word 'allurement' ('allurement, commonly to crimes or misery'), Johnson sharpens the definition ('A temptation; an enticement'), emphasizing ill consequences as well as intentions, as illustrated in almost all of the supporting quotations.

BALANCE *n.s.* 7

Johnson's changes to the definition accentuate the condition of the mind understood in the use of the word 'balance' in the Pope quotation which follows. The quotation is particularly illustrative, and the addition necessary, given that the quotation refers both to the 'balance' of emotions ('Love, hope, and joy' vs. 'Hate, fear, and grief') as well as to a balanced state of mind, exemplified by the parallelism of the lines. Johnson retains the definition 'equipoise' (defined as 'Equality of weight; equilibration; equality of force') and augments it with 'even state; equal[il]ity'.

BALDRICK *n.s.*

This represents a case in which the first amanuensis specifically offers his own expertise as a way of assisting in clarifying uncertainties and filling in missing information in the printed text. In the first edition of the *Dictionary*, under the entry BALDRICK *n.s.*, def. 1, Johnson had provided the following: 'A girdle. By some *Dictionaries* it is explained a *bracelet*; but I have not found it in that sense.' The annotation on the interleaf offers more confident (though partly incorrect) information on the word and its derivation: 'Baldrick, is very probably derived from the inventor or first wearer of this belt, who was called Balderic, baldric. It was worn by women as well as men across the breast.' The quotation from *The Faerie Queene* then follows. Johnson remained unimpressed with the entire proposed text, however, and struck through it. This is consistent with his general practice in the fourth edition of not adding new discursive pieces of information, particularly related to dialect or word derivation in English, and instead abbreviating existing notes under some entries. This is a patent indication that the amanuenses' efforts and interests were often contrary to Johnson's own sense of his work.

The annotation for BALDRICK is also the first of other instances in which the amanuensis quotes Spenser in passages which focus lingeringly on the female breast. In this passage, recycled from the entry To FORLYE *v.n.* in the first edition, the quotation mentions the baldrick's position 'Athwart her snowy breast', then details the condition of the breasts ('her dainty paps'), their comparison to 'young fruit in May/Now little gan to swell', and their appearance 'through her thin weed'. The amanuensis attempts to justify and in a way to gloss the quotation with the comment, 'It was worn by women as well as men across the breast.' Another instance occurs under BARK *n.s.*, 'Fair when her breast

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like a rich laden bark/With precious merchandize she forth doth lay' (from Spenser's *Amoretti*); this quotation, hardly illustrating the head-word, was recycled from either To DARK *v.a.* or MERCHANDISE *n.s.*

It is worth noting that two new quotations are offered for the entry BREAST itself, one from *Coriolanus* ('the breast of Hecuba/When she did suckle Hector lookd not lovelier/Than Hectors forehead when it spit forth blood/At Grecian swords contending'), the other from Prior's 'Alma: Or the Progress of the Mind' ('Round their lovely breast & head/Fresh flowers their mingled Odours shed'); each of them is explicitly admiring. The Shakespeare quotation is a favourite in the *Dictionary* (in the first edition under FOREHEAD *n.s.*, LOVELY *adj.*, To CONTEND *v.n.*, and To SUCKLE *v.a.*) and is in fact represented in the Sneyd-Gimbel material for B with two slips.

BALL *n.s.*

Johnson probably translated this passage (which provides the derivation of this word for the first edition) himself; no published English translation of William Baxter's Latin *Glossarium antiquitatum Britannicarum* (1719) existed. His explicit handwritten citation here suggests a special interest in the work. In other cases in the B material it seems more likely that the amanuensis carried out his own translation while recycling material from the first edition.

BANDOG *n.s.* See note on BABY *n.s.*

BANKRUPT *adj.*

In the printed fourth edition, Johnson's correction of the Italian form is incorporated and the following text added: 'It is said, that the money-changers of Italy had benches probably in the bourse or exchange, and that when any became insolvent his *banco* was *rotto*, his bench was broke. It was once written *bankerout*. *Bankerout* is a verb.' This note is followed by two new lines from a quotation from *Love's Labour's Lost* already existing in the first edition on the same page, illustrating To BANQUET *v.a.*: 'Dainty bits/Make rich the ribs, but bankerout the wits. *Shakespeare*.' These notes are typical of the contributions of George Steevens, and it is most likely that he added the note on Italian usage in the materials he prepared that were used to revise the letter B. He probably took the quotation from the entry BANKEROUT in the adjacent column when preparing his annotations. It might be considered, however, that Johnson's knowledge of the correct Italian form 'bancorotto', rather than 'bancorupto', implies that he, too, might have been capable of adding the note on Italian money-changers; since he did not insert it in the B materials, however, it was probably added by Steevens.

BARBARITY *n.s.* See note on To BEFORTUNE *v.n.*

BARBARLIE *adv.*

This case is very interesting because it exhibits either Johnson or one of the amanuenses censoring the passage in question from Thomas Tusser. The indelicate lines are heavily inked out on the Sneyd-Gimbel slip making them completely indecipherable, the only case in both the Sneyd-Gimbel materials and the BL materials of such assiduous blacking-out. The complete quatrain reads as follows:

If sheep or thy lamb, fal a wrigling with tail,  
go by and by search it, whiles help may preuaile:  
That barbarlie handled, I dare thee assure,  
cast dust in his arse, thou hast finisht the cure.

To BARK *v.a.*

This example demonstrates Johnson's careful process of adapting illustrative material for use in the printer's copy and the amanuensis's problems in adequately glossing the quoted material. The amanuensis has provided the following definition, copied from the Sneyd-Gimbel slip, to accompany the quotation from *Hamlet*: 'To cover with bark, to encase with bark; to encrust.' The definition is incorrect, however, as the ghost of Hamlet's father is not describing his being actually covered with bark, rather his being in a state of encrustation as if covered with bark. The amanuensis copying on to the slips badly misunderstood the passage he had found (probably under TETTER *n.s.*), a mistake presumably impossible for one familiar with the Ghost's speech. Johnson, attentive to the possibilities provided by the quotation, simply corrects the definition on the interleaf to the following: 'To cover as with bark.'

BARRIER *n.s.*

Johnson's note, 'It is used by Pope indifferently', referring accurately to Pope's use of the word with the accent on the first syllable in his first two quotations (from *Pope's Odyssey* and *Pope's Statius*) and the accent on the second syllable in the third (from *Pope's Essay on Man*), is an attempt to tighten the entry, clarifying in the fourth edition his observation concerning accent in the first. This example demonstrates the care with which Johnson reviews the evidence of usage presented by existing quotations and relates definitions and notes on usage to the quoted material.

BASILISK *n.s.*

In some copies of the first edition of the *Dictionary*, the page with this entry was printed without the *beta* at the beginning of the Greek word; it would appear that this is the case here (the inking from Johnson's pen is too thick to be sure), and that Johnson adds the missing letter for the compositor.

BAY *n.s.*

Although the final rearrangement of elements constituting this entry is not entirely clear, Johnson's efforts reveal an attempt to separate distinctions of the word beginning with the actual bark of the dog as distinct from a more figurative application to those pressured or endangered, or who apply pressure. The new quotation from *Titus Andronicus* (recycled, probably, from To UNCOUPLE *v.a.* in the first edition), literally invokes the baying of hunting dogs. The amanuensis writing on the Sneyd-Gimbel slip intends this association when he supplies the etymology, '2 abboi', before the quotation, drawing attention to the etymological note stating that '*abboi* [is] the barking of a dog at hand'. The quotations from Denham, Dryden's *Aeneid* and *Virgil*, each intended to illustrate 'The state of any thing surrounded by enemies, and obliged to face them by an impossibility of escape', emphasize the use of the term applied to the victim of aggressive pursuit in battle. The use of 'bay' in the quotation from Swift refers

back to the aggressor and implies pressure, rather than the immediate threat implied in the hunting usage – thus the new sense 2: ‘It is used of those that press another.’

In deleting the quotation from James Thomson’s poetry illustrating BAY *n.s.* (‘He stands at *bay*,/And puts his last weak refuge in despair.’), Johnson follows a pattern running throughout the fourth edition of deleting quotations from this author (for another example, see the quotation from ‘Autumn’ under BLOSSOM *n.s.*). Thomson is dropped more than any other author between the first and the fourth editions, probably because of his increased association with ‘liberty’ causes and what Johnson considered his strange poetic diction. In this case, one reason the quotation illustrating BAY is deleted may be the apparent vagueness or incoherence of ‘put[ting] refuge in despair’. In the B materials, the amanuenses even propose two new Thomson quotations under To BLUSH and To BROADEN, but Johnson, predictably, crosses them out.

BE- See notes on To BEFORTUNE *v.n.* and To BETEEM *v.a.*

To BEAR *v.a.* and *v.n.*

The entries for To BEAR, both *v.a.* and *v.n.*, are significantly altered by Johnson.

The two slips attached to 2T<sup>r</sup> provide an opportunity to observe a particular detail of the preparation of printer’s copy. These slips bearing quotations from Pope and Sidney, as well as the slip with a quotation from *The Faerie Queene* originally attached to 2T<sup>v</sup> (now detached, visible on the interleaf facing 2T<sup>v</sup>), originally formed part of the interleaf between 2T and 2T2. These quotations, illustrations of transitive uses of the verb, had been mistakenly written down facing the entry for To BEAR *v.n.* on 2T2<sup>r</sup>. Once the mistake was discovered, they were clipped from the interleaf and attached to the printed pages in relation to the appropriate entries for To BEAR *v.a.* The interleaf has been carefully patched. Johnson’s insertion lines run from the printed page on to the slips (or *vice versa*) indicating clearly that the slips were glued in place before Johnson reviewed the material.

To BEAR *v.a.* 6

The brief passage from Dryden’s ‘Annus Mirabilis’ (‘Their Ensigns belgic lions bear’) prompts Johnson to adapt the amanuensis’s note (‘In heraldry to bear any thing in a Coat’) to add the very specific sense of the word as used in heraldry (‘to carry in coat armour’) to the thirty-eight other senses covering *v.a.* The other definitions are otherwise sufficient to cover the use of the word in the new quotations from Shakespeare (sense 23) and Spenser (29).

To BEAR *v.a.* 29 and 35

Johnson’s efforts under To BEAR *v.a.* and *v.n.* exemplify his continuing interest in phrasal or particle verbs. In the Preface to the *Dictionary*, he specifically cites the importance of ‘the combinations of verbs and particles’; the care he promised to take of this aspect of the language is evident in the changes he makes to these entries. Under def. 29, for example, he marks verb phrases to be italicized (‘*born down*’) and moves the two Swift quotations under the new definition for sense 35 (‘To bear down. To overpower’). Initially, he reads the Dryden quotation (‘Now with a noiseless gentle course . . .’) as belonging under sense 35 (as it

contains the words ‘*bears down*’), but then he reconsiders, deeming the instance more appropriate to sense 29 (‘To impel; to urge; to push’). In this case, he determines that the verb is independent of the ‘particle’ and not in a phrasal combination. For both Swift passages, the new definition (‘To overpower’) for *To bear down* is a much nearer gloss than the former ‘To impel; to urge; to push’, for To BEAR accompanied by the adverb ‘down’.

To BEAR *v.n.* 12

Johnson adds the marginal comment, ‘*Bear up* and board her Shakesp.’, a citation from *The Tempest*, either after encountering the quotation under OUT *adv.* in the first edition (‘When the butt is out we will drink water, not a drop before; bear up and board them’) or possibly, and uncharacteristically, recalling it and adding it from memory. For a similar case, see Johnson’s marginal note, ‘The spiry fir, and shapely *Box* Pope.’ on 3L2<sup>v</sup>.

Johnson’s changes to ‘*To bear up*’ (senses 10–12) further reflect his intention to expand on his treatment of phrasal combinations. He divides the single sense in the first edition into three senses in the fourth, adding three new gradations of usage. The re-reading of the quotations from Broome and Atterbury (signalled by his addition of ‘to endure without terrour, or dejection’ to the definition) accurately reflects the psychological aspect of ‘bearing up’ under extreme misfortune, virtually absent from the existing definition ‘To stand firm without falling’; neither the quotation from *The Winter’s Tale* nor the quotation from Swift obviously illustrate ‘Not to faint; not to sink’. The new definition ‘To advance’ accommodates the brief added Shakespeare quotation.

Cursive ‘I’ (2T2<sup>v</sup>, 3L2<sup>v</sup> and 3M<sup>r</sup>)

The cursive ‘I’s written by Johnson at the top of 2T2<sup>v</sup>, 3L2<sup>v</sup> and 3M<sup>r</sup> are nearly identical and appear to be unrelated to the printed text and not intended for the compositor. The most likely explanation is that Johnson is testing his pen nib and ink.

BEATITUDE *n.s.*

Identifying Mahomet as the subject of this quotation illustrates Johnson’s attention to the review of quotations, his desire for clarity (especially in theological matters), and his knowledge of the source texts. Inserting the name of Mahomet allows Johnson to emphasize, by implication, the superior nature of the Christian faith. See similar examples, specifically citing Protestant valour, under To BEHEAD (Laud) and To BRAND (Luther).

BEAUTY *n.s.*

With his marginal annotation, ‘it is used of whatever delights the eye or mind’, Johnson aligns a particular aspect of beauty with its effects on the viewer (similar to the collective effect of beauty of def. 1). This change reflects a philosophical or aesthetic shift from the quality of beauty inherent in a thing or person to ascertaining beauty according to its effect on the perceiver. The alteration effects a more complex reading of the two illustrating quotations from Dryden and Addison.

BEAVOIR *n.s.* (interleaf facing 2U<sup>v</sup>)

In this instance, the amanuensis copying on to the Sneyd-Gimbel slip attempts to make sense of a difficult passage in reusing a quotation from the first edition. The passage in Fairfax’s translation

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of Tasso, and as quoted under To VAIL *v.a.* in the first edition, reads as follows: 'The virgin 'gan her beavoir vale,/And thank'd him first, and thus began her tale.' The amanuensis appears to propose the meaning of 'face' for the word, in the sense here of 'veiling the face'; in fact, the word is associated with a visor or part of a helmet, and 'vale' or 'vail' means 'to doff or remove as a sign of respect or submission'. He then attempts to make clearer the obscure wording of the passage and the sequence of events described. In the process, and presumably unconsciously, he entered the citation as 'Spenser' rather than 'Fairfax', perhaps because the quotation resembles the archaizing quality of other Spenserian passages. The query symbol written on the Sneyd-Gimbel slip presumably signals his uncertainty over the meaning of the word and the accompanying quotation. From the pattern of cross-out strokes on the interleaf, it is likely that Johnson first crossed out the head-word and note on derivation and usage with horizontal strokes, then considered the quotation for inclusion, and only later crossed through it with vertical strokes.

BECAUSE *conjunct.*

Johnson's pointing hand, index or fist is not intended as an instruction to the printer or amanuensis. He uses it as a marginal sign in his books where he wishes to draw attention to a passage of particular religious significance for himself. In this case, Johnson points out Hammond's eloquent statement of the redemptive power of Christ's sacrifice and the requirement that a sinner reform in order to enjoy it. This reflects a prevalent concern for Johnson regarding the nature of sin, the fact of Christ's suffering, and the hope of redemption. In Johnson's marked copy of John Norris's *Meditations*, he draws the pointing hand in the margin next to a meditation on the passage of the soul after death and writes 'Father' just above it.

BEETLE *n.s.* and To BEETLE *v.n.*

Johnson's alterations on 2X<sup>v</sup> reflect a reconsideration of the derivation of these words. His alteration of the etymological note for To BEETLE, 'I know not the ground of this signification', reflects his thinking on the derivation of the noun to mean a mallet or hammer: 'This is probable corrupted from beatle of beat.' In the fourth edition, no etymological change is incorporated in either entry.

To BEFORTUNE *v.n.*

To the entry for the intransitive verb To BEFORTUNE, Johnson has added the note, 'elegant but not in use', illustrated by a quotation from Shakespeare's *Two Gentlemen of Verona*. He had previously demonstrated his interest in this particular kind of prefix formation in his note on the interleaf facing 2U2<sup>r</sup>: 'Be is an inseparable particle placed before verbs of which it seldom augments or changes the signification as to bedeck, and before nouns which it changes into verbs. As dew, to bedew.' This usage is virtually restricted to poetry and written use.

The epithet 'elegant' in Johnson's note may best be understood in relation to Johnson's critical insistence (voiced in the *Lives of the Poets* and elsewhere) that poets should follow logically derived semantic coherence to maintain propriety of sense and expression. His complaints against Gray and Thomson, among others, reflect

this insistence, specifically his censure of what he considers incoherent, careless and unjustified semantic uses or poetical extensions. The term 'elegant' is central to Johnson's discussions of language and reflects the importance of precise, 'minute' gradations of meaning and expression ('pleasing by minuter beauties', as he defines 'elegant' in the *Dictionary*). In the 'Life of Gray', Johnson comments that Gray's 'epithet "buxom health" [in 'The Prospect of Eton College'] is not elegant; he seems not to understand the word'. Johnson's objection is based on his conviction that Gray's use of the word is not justified by rules or patterns of semantic derivation. Under BARBARITY *n.s.* 3, he adds to the definition ('Barbarism; impurity of speech') the marginal 'or inelegance [of speech]', equating inelegance in language with barbarism and the detrimental influence of other languages.

To BEGUILE *v.a.*

When Johnson alters the reference from the specific play (*Hamlet*) to the name of the author, he follows the general tendency in the fourth edition of shifting references from the work to the author.

To BEHEAD *v.a.*

Drawing attention to the subject of the passage ('Laud') and what was referred to by his followers as his martyrdom, Johnson reflects his political sympathies. He includes a disproportionate number of new quotations in the fourth edition from writers who were considered 'Laudians' and who were followers of Archbishop Laud's views and example. Laud supported the King against the Commons and enforced unity in the Church of England. His execution in 1645 was taken in succeeding generations as an example for nonjurors and others of conservative political and ecclesiastical views of the suffering necessary for those of faith in a just cause. See related examples under BEATITUDE (Mahomet) and To BRAND (Luther).

To BELIE *v.a.*

Johnson's careful rereading of the passage from Shakespeare's *Cymbeline* necessitates the addition of an expanded metaphorical sense of the word, 'To fill with lies'. His note, 'Not in use', emphasizes the unusual literary occurrence of the word in this sense.

BELIEF *n.s.* 3

When Johnson specifies 'the true faith' and incorporates the illustration from Blackmore from the interleaf ('A bold opposer of divine belief/Attempts religious fences to subvert/Strong in his rage, but destitute of art'), he takes the opportunity to alter the entry in such a way that he emphasizes the strength of the Christian faith under persecution.

To BELIEVE *v.n.*

This is one of several instances in which the amanuensis has apparently selected a new quotation from Tusser's *Husbandry* and along with it a note from the editor Daniel Hillman's annotations to the volume. (In these cases the quotation appears under no other word in the first edition and there exists no relevant Sneyd-Gimbel



slip.) In this instance, however, the amanuensis has included his own comment on Hillman's note, challenging his interpretation. Tusser's work was useful to the process of adding material to the *Dictionary* because of its use of dialect or 'rural' words, and Hillman's notes were crucial because they explained their meaning. Yet Johnson in nearly every case crosses out the Tusser quotations and notes on usage written on the interleaves. This case is also interesting in its final note on Scottish usage and the word's Germanic root. It appears that this passage was copied from a different manuscript source (though no Sneyd-Gimbel slip exists), since the note on Scottish usage has nothing to do with the somewhat garbled comments on the supposed Germanic origin, presumably supplied from another source. See also note on *BABY n.s.*

#### BELLEGARDE *n.s.*

This quotation ('Upon her Eyelids many graces sat/Under the shadow of her even brows/Working bellguards and amorous retrait/And every one her with a grace endows') is almost certainly recycled from a quotation illustrating *RETRAIT n.s.* in the abandoned first-edition manuscript. The passage is identical to this in the first edition, but without the precise location of the passage ('F.Q. 2.3.25') as given on the interleaf. Presumably this information was provided in the manuscript version from which it was culled. The example displays the amanuensis's complete confusion: the word, defined accurately as 'A soft glance; a kind regard', is already in the wordlist as *BELGARD n.s.*, illustrated by this quotation; however, the amanuensis copying on to the Sneyd-Gimbel slip proposes 'pretty bower or retreat' as the meaning of the word, and it is copied in this form on to the interleaf. Johnson deletes the proposed material.

#### To BEND *v.a. 2*

The passage from Raleigh is of interest because it is an unusually full quotation, much longer than necessary, reflecting a conviction of religious 'certitude' as well as a distrust of 'the Act [or art] of education'. The passage was clipped from the interleaf, the interleaf carefully patched, and the slip glued to the relevant printed page. In this case, the way Johnson's pen-stroke and writing proceed from the printed page to the slip, it is clear that the slip was in place before the printed pages were annotated. In other words, this instance supplies further evidence that the amanuensis prepared the interleaved pages, copied passages and other material on to the interleaves, and then turned the materials over to Johnson for his annotations and alterations.

#### To BENUM *v.a.*

Johnson's moving of the South quotation ('It seizes upon the vitals, and *benums* the senses; and where there is no sense, there can be no pain') from def. 1 ('To make torpid; to take away the sensation and use of any part by cold, or by some obstruction') to def. 2 ('To stupify') reflects a subtle rereading of the quotation and a differentiation of meaning between the various passages. By associating the South quotation with the stupefaction of the senses, rather than the simple numbing of a part of the body, Johnson elicits the metaphorical qualities latent in South's prose concerning the effects of doubt and sin.

#### To BESIEGE *v.a.*

Both cases of proposed new material for this entry represent particular readings of a new quotation, and Johnson rejects both in favour of the more comprehensive definition already present in the text: 'To beleague; to lay siege to; to beset with armed forces; to endeavour to win a town or fortress, by surrounding it with an army, and forcing the defendants, either by violence or famine, to give admission'. In the process, he insists upon the military meaning of the word, enriching particularly the quotation from Pope: the hearses not only 'attend' and 'crowd' the gate, as the amanuensis had supposed, they lay siege to it, demanding the inhabitants give up their bodies. The preceding line in Pope's poem, 'On all the line a sudden vengeance waits', provides the violent prelude inviting the 'hearses' in the next.

#### To BESPEAK *v.a.*

Robert Dodsley's 'Agriculture', the first part of his *Public Virtue: A Poem. In Three Books*, was first published in 1753, yet quotations from the work were included in the first edition of the *Dictionary*, much of which was already being printed by the time the poem appeared. This source was probably used to extract quotations late in the process of compilation. Johnson seems to have turned to Dodsley's poem and marked only quotations that illustrate words beginning with the letter T (*TEMPERANCE n.s. 1*, *THRESHER n.s.*, *TINKLE v.n. 1*, and *TWIRL. v.a.*), attempting to fill up gaps in the text. All of these passages come from a 62-line portion of the poem, ll. 66–128, on pages 5–8. One of the amanuenses (the hand is different from that usually found on the slips) copied them directly out on to a piece of paper, one beneath the other, then cut them into slips. The passage illustrating *To TWIRL*, part of which is visible at the bottom of the Sneyd-Gimbel slip for *THRESHER*, occurs in the poem eight lines after the passage extracted for *THRESHER*. In this case, the slip used for *THRESHER* in the first edition appears to have been simply recycled by crossing out the word 'thresher' and underlining 'bespeak' in the passage.

#### To BETEEM *v.a.*, To BETHRAL *v.a.*, To BETIDE *v.n.*

Frequently for the entries comprising 'Be-' prefixed words, Johnson writes in the margin that the uses are 'obsolete' (*To BETEEM*), 'not in use' (*To BETHRAL*), or 'not in use' and 'somewhat antiquated' (*To BETIDE*), to cite a few examples on one page alone. He seems to be unusually interested in this type of 'be-' construction (see Johnson's note on 'Be-' on the interleaf facing 2U2'), while fully aware that it is almost entirely restricted to pre-1700 literary works. The comments on obsolescence, in light of his positive remarks on the use of 'Be-' as a prefix (see note on *To BEFORTUNE* above), may reflect a certain regret at the passing of this particular construction in active use.

#### To BETOKEN *v.a.* See note on *BABY n.s.*

#### BIG *adj.*

Johnson's marginal annotation in this case, '8. Loud sounding not exile; not slender', referring to the Shakespeare quotation on the interleaf, is more clearly understood with reference to the definition he provides for *EXILE*: 'Small; slender; not full; not powerful. Not in use, except in philosophical writings.'

*Selected changes and annotations*BIGGIN *n.s.*

Johnson's commentary on Shakespeare's use of the word, 'It seems to mean in Shakespeare coarse cloath', reflects a more careful rereading of Shakespeare's lines and metaphor.

BLASPHEMOUS *adj.*

Noting that Sidney, as well as Milton, accents 'blasphemous' on the second syllable in the quotations that follow, Johnson displays a careful re-reading of the lines and also implies a line of influence in poetic practice between the two.

BLAST *n.s.*

Johnson's alterations to these entries (noun and verb) represent a vivid example of his efforts at making his entries coherent, particularly in the relation between definition and illustration and the delineation of multiple meanings. His addition of 'the power of the wind' to the definition 'A gust, or puff of wind' removes the random or occasional aspect of the definition, supplying instead the idea of a constant and destructive force. Understanding the aspect of power in the word 'blast' is necessary for a coherent reading of the two Shakespearean quotations, one from *Richard III*, the other from *King Lear*, which follow. The addition of '2 A particular wind' glosses the Dryden quotation not in terms of chance gusts, but of a determinate and identifiable wind, blowing with predictability and force. Inserting Dryden's lines written on the interleaf, 'If envious eyes their hurtful rays have cast,/More powerful verse shall free thee from their blast', to illustrate the existing definition, 'The stroke of a malignant planet; the infection of any thing pestilential', effects a witty, if hyperbolic, reading of Dryden's couplet.

To BLAST *v.a.*

Johnson's addition to To BLAST *v.a.*, def. 2, 'to wither before the time', accurately reflects the usage and binds together the quotations from the 'Book of Genesis' and Dryden. He reverses the order of senses 3 and 4 in order to maintain the continuum of definitions from the literal and graphic to the more metaphorical. In particular, the first three definitions pertain to a force that blights or plagues, especially plants or living and maturing things (particularly defs. 2 and the reordered 3). For the new def. 4 and the existing def. 5, the effect is more general and impersonal.

BLEMISH *n.s.*

Johnson's careful rearrangement of elements under this entry displays a substantial re-thinking of various aspects of the relation between definitions and quotations. The addition of the word 'disgrace' to def. 3 ('A soil; turpitude; taint; deformity') shifts the emphasis of this sense from an understanding of the word as an effect or mark upon oneself, to the effect pertaining to the observation or apprehension of a taint in relation to others, bringing it into the world of social control and perception. Presumably Johnson makes the change primarily to account for the quotation from Hooker, which pertains to others' perception of the Church and the Church's effects upon observers.

To BLOCK *v.a.*

Johnson's handwritten annotations to this entry, 'To obstruct . . . commonly with up emphatical', reflect his ongoing interest in

phrasal or particle verbs and his careful reading of the illustrations beneath, as two of the four quotations employ the form 'block up'. 'To obstruct' also more accurately defines the use of the word in the Bacon quotation than either of the listed definitions.

BLOSSOM *n.s.*

For the deletion of Thomson quotations, see the note on BAY *n.s.*

To BLOSSOM *v.n.*

Two quotations from Richard Crashaw are proposed by the amanuensis for this entry, both probably recycled from the entry for NEW *adv.* in the first edition. The only other quotation from Crashaw in the B materials is proposed under BUD *n.s.* In all three cases, the passages are crossed out by Johnson. Each refers to light, and involves a metaphorical extension of the verb: light 'blossoming' or 'budding'. Johnson's deletion of these quotations probably results from his dislike of such poetical elaborations the transference of the literal to what he would consider a vague metaphorical sense.

To BLOT *v.a.*

Johnson's changes skilfully correct several anomalies in his text for this entry. Adding 'to soil; to sully' to the current def. 4 ('To disgrace; to disfigure') he more subtly and accurately reads the quotations from Dryden and Rowe in terms of dark discoloration of something white or clear, in association with the moral implications. In so doing, he retains the connection to the root sense of the word; yet to maintain his continuum of definitions, he reverses the order of the final two senses, bringing the graphic 'To darken' before the more metaphorical sense, 'To disgrace; to disfigure; to soil; to sully'.

To BLOW nails See note on BABY *n.s.*

To BLUSH *v.n.*

This re-arrangement of the quotations corrects a misreading of the two Shakespeare quotations as blushing to 'betray shame or confusion'. In the new arrangement, the blushing is read correctly to mean merely to display colour, without assigning further significance or meaning.

For the Thomson quotation on the interleaf, see note on BAY *n.s.*

BODLE *n.s.* See note on BABY *n.s.*

To BOLSTER *v.a.?*

The amanuensis presumably found the quotation from Shakespeare's *Henry VIII* in the following more or less comprehensible form under the first-edition entry for TYPE *n.s.*:

'Clean renouncing  
The faith they have in tennis, and tall stockings,  
Short bolster'd breeches, and those types of travel,  
And understanding again the honest men'. (1.3.29–32)

Re-copying a portion of the passage on to the interleaf to illustrate the verb 'BOLSTER' resulted in this version being incoherent as it stands: 'clean renouncing/Short bolsterd Breeches & those types of travel'. Such examples of incompetence are clear evidence that this material copied on to the interleaves was recycled in the first

instance not by Johnson, but by the amanuensis. Johnson crosses out the quotation.

#### BOMBAST *n.s.*

Johnson's alterations to the first-edition text, particularly his speculative marginal note, suggest a dissatisfaction with the etymological note as it stands. This dissatisfaction is reflected in the entry for BUMBAST *n.s.*, 'falsely written for *bombast*; the etymology of which I am now very doubtful of'. In the B material, Johnson crosses out this note after the semi-colon. In the first edition, he derives BOMBAST from one of the names of Paracelsus, who was supposedly 'remarkable for sounding professions, and unintelligible language'; this note is replaced in the fourth edition with the following: 'A stuff of soft loose texture used formerly to swell the garment, and thence used to signify bulk or shew without solidity.' Under BUMBAST, the fourth-edition etymological note is changed to: 'falsely written for *bombast*; *bombast* and *bombazine* being mentioned, with great probability, by *Junius*, as coming from *boom*, a tree, and *sein*, silk; the silk or cotton of a tree. Mr. Steevens, with much more probability, deduces them all from *bombycinus*.' In fact, this is the correct derivation of the word. Furthermore, it demonstrates that Steevens's contributions, which in this case provide the correct information, were not yet known or available to Johnson at the point when he was preparing the B material, for he does not add the information to the entries at that time.

#### BORREL *n.s.*

The note on the interleaf reads: 'Borrel *n.s.* a poor rude illiterate person, who is of no other service to the public than to get children. So it is used in Chaucer. Unless you would derive it from poraille in the same author which signifies the low or poor people Jun.' This note is presumably an attempt to correct Johnson's printed note in the first edition, 'It is explained by *Junius* without etymology.' The amanuensis's note is an adaptation of the entry under 'BORELL MAN' in Edward Lye's 1743 edition of *Junius's Etymologicum Anglicanum*.

#### BOTED *adj.*

This would appear to be a case in which the amanuensis's misreading of the manuscript for the first-edition entry for JOURNEY *n.s.* led to confusion of words. The passage in *Henry IV, pt. 1* reads 'journey-bated', as does the passage as quoted (without hyphen) under JOURNEY. The amanuensis misreads 'bated' (lessened or weakened from the journey) as 'boted' (a general condition of having bots, or worms) and therefore misunderstands the passage. This instance reflects the zealotry of the first amanuensis, probably William Macbean, to discover and include new material, as well as his tendency, in certain cases, to misread and misunderstand quoted material.

#### BOX *n.s.*

Johnson adds this marginal comment, 'The spiry fir, and shapely Box Pope', either after encountering the quotation under SPIRY in the first edition ('Waste sandy valleys, once perplex'd with thorn,/The spiry firr, and shapely box adorn'), or possibly – and uncharacteristically – recalling it and adding it from memory. See

the similar case, Johnson's marginal note 'Bear up and board her Shakesp.' under To BEAR *v.n.* 12.

BRACE *n.s.*, To BRAG *v.n.*, BRAGGART *adj.* and *n.s.*,

BRAGLESS *adj.*, BRAGLY *adv.*

On this page (3M<sup>r</sup>) alone, Johnson notes in his annotations six different instances in which words are 'obsolete', used 'without propriety', or 'proper but little used'. Of these, three pertain to Shakespearean uses (BRACE *n.s.*, BRAGGART *n.s.*, BRAGLESS *adj.*). The marginal comment that 'Braggart', meaning 'A boaster', is 'obsolete' is of particular interest, since this use of the word is current today.

To BRAG *v.n.*

Johnson moves the following quotation from Sanderson's *Pax Ecclesia* from sense 1 to illustrate the new sense 4, '4 out is used without propriety': 'In *bragging* out some of their private tenets, as if they were the received established doctrine of the church of England.' This demonstrates again his evidently heightened interest in accounting for phrasal or particle verbs – and in this case, censuring incorrect formulations. Three of the four senses of To BRAG, including Johnson's addition, refer to particle extensions of verbs ('of' and 'on'), two of which ('on' and 'out') are censured as improper.

BRAKE *n.s.*

The new definition proposed by the amanuensis, 'Brake or fern' (gleaned from the quotation from Sir Thomas Browne) is adapted by Johnson who crosses out 'brake or' leaving 'fern', and remarks that 'it forms the original signification' of the word. This definition is indeed missing from the first-edition entry; its addition enables the presentation of a development of the senses of the word from the individual plant to the thicket made up of many plants. Today this derivation of 'brake as thicket' from 'brake as fern' is not accepted, however, though to Johnson it may have seemed self-evident. The amanuensis (probably William Macbean) wrote 'Brake, or fern Brachans Scottish' on the Sneyd-Gimbel slip bearing the Tusser quotation and editor's note, which has been crossed out. The predominance of the word 'brachan' or 'brachans' used by the Scots would presumably have enabled the amanuensis to supply this missing sense of the word for Johnson.

To BRAND *v.a.*

Johnson supplies the name 'Luther' to the existing quotation, thus creating a brief tableau of Protestant persecution. The passage is taken from Atterbury's 'An Answer to Some Considerations Upon the Spirit of Martin Luther' and the annotation suggests Johnson's familiarity with the text, despite the fact that he had selected this passage for the first edition nearly twenty-five years earlier. The examples under To BEHEAD (Laud) and BEATITUDE (Mahomet) are other instances in which he specifies the person's name in the quotation in order to stress Christian virtue, or Protestant will under persecution.

BRANDY-SHOP *n.s.*

This annotation is badly confused: not only is the author mistakenly given as 'Shop', but the passage makes no sense as written and is nothing like the original. Swift's *Directions to Servants* reads as follows: 'Remember how often you have been

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stripped, and kicked out of Doors, your Wages all taken up beforehand, and spent in translated red-heeled Shoes, second-hand Toupees, and repaired Lace Ruffles, besides a swinging Debt to the Ale-wife and the Brandy-shop.' From wherever the Sneyd-Gimbel amanuensis recycled this passage, he wrote it on to the slip in this incoherent form. The amanuensis copying it on to the interleaf added further confusion by miscopying the attribution 'Shop' for 'Swift'. It is difficult to resist speculating on the reasons for the complete mishandling of this addition, considering the subject.

BRAUNY *adj.*

In this case, the amanuensis culling out materials to reuse in the fourth edition almost certainly found the quotation proposed for BRAUNY ('The sharp humour fretted the skin downward & in process of time became serpiginous and was covered with white brawny scales') under the entry SERPIGINOUS *adj.*, where it illustrates the head-word in a similar but not identical form: 'The skin behind her ear downwards became serpiginous, and was covered with white scales. Wiseman.' This version of the quotation lacks several words of the quotation proposed for 'brawny' on the interleaf, most importantly the word 'brawny' itself. In Wiseman's work, however, the passage reads 'branny', not 'brawny', and is even used to illustrate 'branny' in the first edition of the *Dictionary*. The source of the B-material quotation, therefore, could not be either the printed Wiseman text itself or the entry for BRANNY, both of which, clearly, read 'branny'. The quotation under SERPIGINOUS, the likely source, must have been longer in the manuscript form than in its printed form in the *Dictionary*, because it had to contain the additional words, in particular the word 'branny', easily misread in manuscript as 'brawny'. Johnson, not surprisingly, crosses out the quotation.

To BREATHE *v.a.*

The quotation from Prior contains a poetical figurative extension of verb usage (to 'breathe the song and touch the lire') of the kind often criticized by Johnson, particularly in its use by eighteenth-century poets. In this case, Johnson accepts the validity of the instance and provides a new definition, as none of the existing quotations involves vocality.

To BRIDLE *v.a.*

The source for the recycling of this quotation from Bacon's *Natural History* ('Both bodies are clammy and bridle the deflux of humours to the hurting' as it appears on the Sneyd-Gimbel slip) would appear to be CONGLUTINATION *n.s.*, as this is the only word under which a part of the passage is quoted in the first edition. However, the form of the quotation is significantly different under that entry: 'The cause is a temperate *conglutination*; for both bodies are clammy and viscous, and do bridle the deflux of humours to the hurts.' The most likely explanation for this discrepancy is that the quotation was much longer and fuller in the abandoned manuscript version where the amanuensis found it than it is in the printed text under CONGLUTINATION. It is also possible that the quotation had been copied out elsewhere in the first-edition manuscript under another entry yet was not printed in the first edition. This is only one example of many in which the quotation as recycled for the fourth edition appears to have been adapted from a longer version than that found in the printed first edition.

The evidence is overwhelming that the handwritten version in the abandoned first-edition manuscript contained longer, unedited versions of the quoted texts.

To BRING *on v.a.*

Although it cannot be proven, it seems probable that this quotation and the other three quotations from Duncan Forbes added to the fourth edition (under ADHIBIT *v.a.*, COMMEMORATIVE *adj.*, and CONTRIBUTOR *n.s.*) were newly selected from a copy of Forbes's 'Letter to a Bishop' and *Some Thoughts Concerning Religion*, published together several times in the preceding years. None of the four quotations appears in the first edition, though *Some Thoughts Concerning Religion* is quoted several times there. Forbes was a prominent Scotsman as the President of the Court of Session, and 'P' before his name, an abbreviation for 'President', implies a certain familiarity. It seems likely that the amanuensis, probably William Macbean, made the decision to turn to his theological works to extract new quotations. The Sneyd-Gimbel slip for COMMAND *n.s.* reads as follows: '5 Command *n.s.* is in Scot<sup>d</sup> applied to y<sup>e</sup> Decalogue The very tables in w<sup>ch</sup> ten commands were written were deposited in y<sup>e</sup> ark P. Forbes' (not included in the fourth edition).

To BROADEN *v.a.* See notes on BABY *n.s.* and BAY *n.s.*To BUCKLE *v.a.*

Johnson's addition of 'to enclose' to def. '4. To confine' brilliantly captures the meaning of the usage in both Shakespeare quotations, the one proposed on the interleaf from *Troilus and Cressida* and the printed quotation from *As You Like It*. None of the existing definitions adequately provides the sense of spanning, surrounding with a barrier, and fencing in of something, required by these instances of 'buckle'. With the addition, the pressure of the 'waste' ('waist') in the slightly ridiculous reference to Priam's worth is felt as a result of buckling in his 'vast proportion', and the effect of grasping in the hand in the 'stretching of a span' that 'Buckles in his sum of age' is elicited from the printed Shakespeare quotation.

BULLET *n.s.*

No eighteenth-century version of Swift's poem 'A Pastoral Dialogue' has been located with the variant reading 'Paddy': 'When at long bullets Paddy long did play/You sat and lous'd him all the sun shine day.' The usual reading is as follows: 'When you saw Tady at long-bullets play,/You sat and lows'd him all the Sun-shine Day.'

BUMBAST *n.s.* See note on BOMBAST *n.s.*BURDEN *n.s.*

Johnson keys in the passage by Prior (recycled from the 1755 entry TWOFOLD *adj.*: 'Ews that erst brought forth but single lambs/Now drop'd their twofold burdens Prior') under BURDEN *n.s.*, def. 3: 'A birth: now obsolete'. Prior's poem dates only from 1718, and so Johnson's comment that the usage is obsolete can be read either as a censure of Prior or as an acknowledgement of the intentionally antiquated mode of the pastoral ode that Prior adopts.

To BURDEN *v.a.*

Johnson's changes to this entry are particularly interesting because in adding the new def. 2, 'To freight', he provides the entry with a movement from the more metaphorical connotation of the word ('To load; to incumber', illustrated by the quotation, 'Burden not

thyself above thy power' from Ecclesiasticus) to the literal, but particular, use ('To freight') connoting the loading of a ship or other vessel, illustrated by the new Dryden quotation, 'In burden'd Vessels first with speedy care/His plenteous stores do seasond timber send'. On the one hand, this alteration goes against his usual practice of beginning with the literal sense of the word and moving to the metaphorical, yet on the other, it illustrates Johnson's stated method of progressing in his definitions from the general to the particular use of a word.

**BURDENOUS** *adj.*

The amanuensis writing on to the Sneyd-Gimbel slip makes this entry ludicrous by transcribing the first line of the Spenser quotation not as 'She hath the bonds broke of eternal night' (followed by 'Her soul unbodied of the burdenous corpse'), but 'She hath the bones broke of eternal night.' The second amanuensis dutifully copied out the line with 'bones broke' on to the interleaf. The mistake is understandable in a case where the amanuensis is unfocused and paying no attention to the sense of the passages he is copying out. Since he is not supplying a definition or note on usage for the quotation, he may be working less attentively. The fact that both amanuenses copied out the same clear mistake, however, qualifies to some extent the impression of their competence, critical independence, and careful engagement in the work.

**BUSINESS** *n.s.* See note on **BABY** *n.s.*

To **BUTT** *v.a.*

The proposed material for this entry copied on to the interleaf and the Sneyd-Gimbel slip to which it relates contain clues to their

histories in their texts. The slip is anomalous, physically and textually. It stretches to twice the width of most slips (presumably across a page of the abandoned notebook manuscript for the first edition) and appears to be two slips end to end. The one on the left pertains to the use of the word 'butt' as a verb ('To push, to run ag<sup>st</sup> w<sup>th</sup> any thing flat', followed by the quotation: 'If I join but w<sup>th</sup> y<sup>e</sup> words in construction & sense: as, but I will not, a butt of wine, y<sup>e</sup> ram will but, shoot at but, y<sup>e</sup> meaning of it will be ready to you Holder Sp.'). The portion of the slip on the right pertains to one use of the word as a noun: 'But a certain measure containing liquor' followed by 'w<sup>n</sup> y<sup>e</sup> but is out we will drink water' and the note, 'See also Holder under But boundary'. The amanuensis has evidently recycled the Holder quotation from the entry **BUT** *n.s.*, copied it on to one column of the notebook page, and then written in the next column the quotation from *The Tempest*, possibly from memory, as it is short and memorable and has no reference given, or perhaps he recycled it from the entry **OUT** *adv.* (def. 9). The note 'See also Holder under But boundary' is anomalous in these materials and unusual in the *Dictionary* itself. It confirms that the entry for **BUT** *n.s.* is the origin of the Holder quotation written on the slip. Clearly, the slip was intended to be cut into two, one slip for the '*v.a.*' sense, the other the noun. The fact that they are on the same slip caused problems for the second amanuensis copying on to the interleaf, for he dutifully copied the entire text seriatim and, in his confusion, copied the quotations in the wrong places in relation to the printed text. Perhaps as a result of the misplacement, and the anomalies of the entry (including the lack of a reference for the second quotation and the unusual note), Johnson deletes the entire text.

## Policy of citing sources

Locating the precise origin of illustrative quotations in Johnson's *Dictionary* is one of the great projects yet to be accomplished in Johnsonian scholarship. As a contribution, in part, to this project, this edition has attempted to provide the most evidence possible concerning the editions Johnson used when he originally selected (for the first edition of the *Dictionary*) the quotations that would later be copied on to the B material interleaves for recycling in the fourth edition (and in a very few cases, the editions used when selecting quotations anew for the fourth edition). A confident selection, however, has often remained elusive. Determining the editions from which Johnson selected his quotations is a complicated undertaking, especially as the quotations are often altered by Johnson before inclusion. Furthermore, there are often several likely possibilities, or the possibility (where there are single or very few citations) of 'hidden' sources including miscellanies, anthologies, or other works in which the author is quoted; each work must be located along a spectrum of certainty based upon available evidence. While some books are conclusively known to have been prepared by Johnson for the *Dictionary*, as is the case with the thirteen marked books that are extant, four of which are cited in the B material (Shakespeare, Bacon, Hale and South), other less certain, though probable, identifications have been possible through a study of internal evidence provided by the quotations themselves and works otherwise associated with or commented upon by Johnson.

The policy of this edition is to provide a source in the accompanying footnote for each proposed quotation on the interleaved pages. When it is known that Johnson used a particular edition, this has been cited (with reference to the list of editions). Where it is possible to narrow down the sources to a probable source, this has also been cited. In cases where it is not possible to identify with full confidence a specific early edition, modern editions have been referenced instead (as is the case with Swift, Dryden and Pope); in instances where no modern critical edition exists, I have turned to a contemporary edition that is possibly – even in some cases likely to have been – the edition Johnson used. In these cases, where there exist a large number of potential editions to choose among, I have generally chosen the edition closest to the 1755 publication date of the first edition, unless there was a compelling reason to do otherwise. A modern source is additionally provided for the Shakespeare and Bacon quotations (in square brackets in the footnotes) since the eighteenth-century editions are not readily accessible.

## Editions cited and works quoted

Books known to have been used by Johnson, and editions to which Johnson could have had access and which he may have used for his source of quotations, are divided into the following categories, signified by a system of asterisks: books known to have been marked for the 1755 *Dictionary* (\*\*\*) ; probable source (\*\*); and possible source (\*). Where suitable modern editions exist for the last category, these modern editions have been cited without an asterisk. Where appropriate, a list in square brackets of the individual works quoted in the B material follows the publishing information for each edition.

- [Allestree, Richard?], *The Causes of the Decay of Christian Piety* (London: J. H. for E. and R. Pawlet, 1704) \*
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