

# THE REYNOLDS COPY OF JOHNSON'S *DICTIONARY*

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JOHNSON'S *Dictionary* was published in April 1755. In April 1954, not one of the three surviving copies which he himself corrected has yet been adequately described. The fragmentary mixed copy of the first and third editions, in the British Museum, is still improperly catalogued as of the third edition only ; Johnsonians seem almost to have ignored it. The corrected sheets of the first edition, in the library of the American collector, Colonel Richard Gimbel, make up a fragment larger and more important than that in the Museum, but even less familiar to scholars ; the sheets have briefly emerged to public view only once in the last century, and their earlier history is virtually unknown. In the John Rylands Library, finally, there is preserved Johnson's personal copy of the fourth edition, which contains the last of his corrections ; the common knowledge of its existence has prompted no thorough examination of its history or contents. Whatever the reasons for such persistent neglect, it should hardly be allowed to continue past the two hundredth anniversary of the *Dictionary*, and we are therefore attempting, elsewhere, a general though necessarily tentative discussion of all three corrected copies and a more detailed study of the copy in the British Museum. The present essay is devoted to Johnson's copy of the fourth edition, tracing its history and reproducing its annotations. At Yale University in 1955, the projected exhibition of Colonel Gimbel's first-edition copy will provide, we hope, definitive answers to the remaining questions, which at best we now can only raise.<sup>1</sup>

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## I

In 1785, a generation of repressed chitchat at last found safe release, and Johnson dead was a livelier topic than Johnson living had ever been. It was the fashion to quote him on all occasions; the newspapers were full of him; and biographers and collectors of anecdotes made capital of the general interest. Not only the scribblers saw their opportunity in the death of the great man. "The respectable body of booksellers" was fortunate to have on hand the recently printed fifth edition of the work that had proved his greatness, the work whose copyright was worth a thousand pounds.<sup>1</sup> Late into the autumn of 1785, they happily continued to advertise it:

This day is published, in two volumes folio, price 4l. 10s. bound, the fifth edition of Dr. Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language*. . . .<sup>2</sup>

That price had been unchanged for thirty years, and the octavo abridgment, at 10s., was even more profitable;<sup>3</sup> but the high price of the folio, the expiration of the copyright, and the death of Johnson had created a new situation. The proprietors had misjudged it. Their complacency invited disaster, and it must have been small comfort to learn, from the hurried notice which appeared in the papers on 11 October, that the first disturber of their peace had been equally unwary.

Mr. Harrison, publisher of the *British Classics* and other esteemed periodical works, most respectfully informs the public that he has for a long time past been contriving such an edition of Dr. Johnson's noble and stupendous British lexicon, as may at once do honour to the learned author's memory and be easily purchased by every person not already possessed of that invaluable performance. The particulars of Mr. Harrison's plan he will in a few days submit to the world, and he now troubles the public with this preparatory address merely because he has been informed that there is a design on foot to anticipate his intentions. For

support of the University of Chicago. We particularly wish to thank Professor Edward Robertson, Librarian of the John Rylands Library in Manchester, and Dr. Frank Taylor, Keeper of Manuscripts there, for their help and hospitality.

<sup>1</sup> Cf. the discussion of the early editions in our book *Dr. Johnson's Dictionary* (Chicago, 1955).

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 5 October 1785. We have modernized spelling, punctuation and typography in our quotations from eighteenth-century newspapers.

<sup>3</sup> The advertisement just cited gives the price of the octavo as 10s. Between 1756 and 1786, it appeared in eight editions of 5,000 copies each.

the present, Mr. Harrison need only add that he every day expects from Mr. Caslon's inimitable foundry the beautiful types which that gentleman has for a considerable time past been engaged in preparing purposely for the work, and that, the instant they are delivered at Mr. Harrison's printing-office, the publication will proceed regularly every week till completed.<sup>1</sup>

The enterprising bookseller whose manoeuvres had forced Harrison to launch his campaign so prematurely was a neighbour to him and to the proprietors in Paternoster Row, John Fielding. He had taken his rivals by surprise. On 12 October, when the proprietors were still offering their fifth edition at its original price, and when Harrison, complaining of "illiberal animadversions" in the morning papers, was still not ready to give details of his public-spirited undertaking, Fielding could say that his first number would actually appear within three days.<sup>2</sup> The *Dictionary* as he would produce it, he said, would be "printed verbatim from the folio edition" and "embellished with the head of the author, engraved by Bartolozzi, from the most approved likeness, and carefully printed on the best French paper"; the whole would be "completed in forty-eight numbers" at 1s. each, "making two elegant volumes in quarto".

. . . The edition which is now proposed to be submitted to the public, has every convenience and excellence of the original work. It will be equally full and comprehensive, not a single syllable being omitted; its casual errors will be corrected, and all the typographical imperfections totally removed; and what may operate also as no trifling consideration, it will cost no more than two pounds eight shillings, which is two guineas less than the price for which the folio edition is now sold. It will be published in weekly numbers, so that all the advantage will be open to the less learned purchaser, which results from an easy gradation of study, and to the less opulent one from a slow and accommodating progression of payment. It will be more accurate than the folio edition, less bulky, and consequently more useful, though not much exceeding half the price.

One would like to have seen the untutored purchaser solemnly doing the *Dictionary* in forty-eight easy lessons, but Fielding's arithmetic touched the proprietors on a tender spot. To safeguard their investments, something had to be done, and done quickly. On 14 October, hastily choosing the least of evils, they made the preliminary announcement of a new edition of their own,

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 11 October 1785.

<sup>2</sup> *Chronicle and Advertiser*, 12 October.

in two volumes quarto, printed from the edition in folio corrected by the author. It will be published in weekly numbers, on terms very advantageous for the purchasers, the particulars of which will be communicated to the public in a few days.<sup>1</sup>

Though Fielding's quarto was thus matched at least in prospect, Harrison had still to be reckoned with. The next day he announced his full plan, with a long list of rash claims and promises.<sup>2</sup> Like Fielding, he had the advantage of the proprietors in time, for he promised the first of his hundred 6*d.* numbers on 22 October; and by publishing in one large volume folio, he avoided the inconvenience of separate volumes and enhanced the value of his "most magnificent portrait of Dr. Johnson, engraved by Heath". To the further attractions of new type and fine, uniform paper, Harrison added "biographical and critical memoirs", in which, he said, since he had been "some time . . . collecting original materials", he would be able to "include a complete account of the learned author's life and writings" and a review of other works concerning him. A smugly impertinent quotation from the learned author concluded the advertisement:

These advantages are unquestionably very material; and, as Mr. Harrison flatters himself the most strict examiners will not find them exaggerated, he delivers his plan to the world—"with the spirit of a man that hath endeavoured well".

Attacked from two sides, the proprietors' position was seriously threatened; but they had prestige, experience, capital, and—in Thomas Longman—a capable and determined leader. Though their full strategy of retaliation was developed only gradually, within two days they had found a first ally in Sir Joshua Reynolds:

We are authorized to inform the public that Sir Joshua Reynolds, executor to Dr. Johnson, has furnished the proprietors with a copy of the last edition of his *Dictionary*, in which are many additions and corrections in his own handwriting. From this copy the proprietors intend to print an elegant and correct edition, in two volumes in quarto, and to publish it soon in weekly numbers.<sup>3</sup>

It is Sir Joshua's copy which is in the Rylands Library, but we need not anticipate its description for evidence that the

<sup>1</sup> *Chronicle and Advertiser*, 14 October.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 15 October.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 17 October.

proprietors' intent was carried out; a letter from Reynolds to Andrew Strahan, dated 23 October 1785, discusses the forthcoming edition and also offers the proprietors the use of a copy of the *Dictionary*, annotated by Dyer, which was then in Burke's possession and which is now in the British Museum.<sup>1</sup> Presumably, it may be said in passing, the proprietors declined this further offer; for there is no evidence that Dyer's notes were incorporated in their sixth edition or, indeed, that the other copies which Johnson himself had corrected were drawn upon.

However this might be, Sir Joshua had given the proprietors a powerful argument, to which it was difficult for Fielding and Harrison to reply. They did little more than attack one another for the few days until the proprietors showed their hands. Harrison simply repeated his advertisement of 15 October, and Fielding did his best to devise an answer.<sup>2</sup> Since he had long planned his edition, he said, and had not been driven to hasty action, he would produce the *Dictionary* promptly and well, from the best materials, in the most convenient size, and with the least delay. It was the great Bartolozzi who had engraved the head for the first number, and the work would be completed by a life of Johnson, based on Fielding's collection of "many original papers" respecting him and written by "a gentleman of the first literary abilities". Here Fielding made a serious tactical error. He would have done better to expose Harrison's biographic claim, which, like his own dull imitation of it, had very soon to be abandoned.

By 22 October, the proprietors had gathered their wits and strength and were ready with detailed proposals.<sup>3</sup> The eighty-four 6*d.* numbers of their two volumes in quarto, adorned with a head engraved from a Reynolds portrait, would begin to appear on 19 November and would contain three and four sheets alternately. With these attractive terms, the proprietors had beaten both Fielding's price and Harrison's; they promised

<sup>1</sup> Frederick Whiley Hilles, editor, *Letters of Sir Joshua Reynolds* (Cambridge, 1929), p. 140.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 18, 19, 20, 22 October 1785.

<sup>3</sup> *General Evening Post*, 22-5, 25-7 October, 3-5 November 1785; *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 24 October.

quicker completion of publication than Harrison had done ; and they offered both the engraving from a Reynolds portrait and the text from the Reynolds copy of the *Dictionary*. Their self-righteousness was in direct proportion to the drastic cut which their price, too, had suffered.

The arbitrary state of the English language had long been a subject of regret among the learned in this country, who, though they cultivated useful and polite learning beyond the nations on the Continent, had the mortification to behold themselves infinitely surpassed in philological improvement by the academicians of Italy and France. Applications were made without success to different sovereigns, for such a patronage as might enable a society of literary men to compile a dictionary for the use of those who, either in composition or speech, might aspire to precision and elegance. Similar overtures were made to several of the nobility ; and Dean Swift is said to have laid a plan of the same kind before the Earl of Oxford, which, however, does not appear to have been regarded. For, as Dr. Johnson observes, " The English language was still suffered to spread, under the direction of chance, into wild exuberance, resigned to the tyranny of time and fashion, and exposed to the corruptions of ignorance and the caprices of innovation ". But what could not be accomplished by royal munificence, or under the auspices of the nobility, was reserved for certain booksellers, who had the peculiar felicity of enabling Dr. Johnson to perform a work, not less advantageous to the interests of literature than astonishing when considered as the laborious production of one man.

To render this inestimable work, so necessary in the present age of refinement, more accessible to all ranks of men, it is proposed to publish a correct, elegant, and cheap edition, printed from a copy in which there are many additions and corrections, written by the author's own hand, and bequeathed by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, who has, with a liberality which distinguishes his character, indulged the proprietors with the use of it, that the public may not be deprived of the last improvements of so consummate a lexicographer as Dr. Johnson.

Something must be forgiven men who had had to lower their sights from £4 10s. to two guineas, and who were now under-selling their own fifth edition with a sixth, which they had to describe as better and cheaper ; but the eloquence of Longman, as spokesman for the proprietors and the bourgeois revolution, was partly humbug. Fielding supplies the right corrective. Although he had encountered more competition than he had slyly bargained for, he made some efforts to keep up the uneven struggle ; and in an advertisement of 29 November, in which he announced the publication of his sixth number, he addressed some very sharp questions to " the Junto, who modestly style

themselves ‘ a respectable body of booksellers ’ ”.<sup>1</sup> The second and third of his queries were unanswerable :

2. Is not the lease or term expired which gave them an exclusive right of printing Dr. Johnson’s *Dictionary* ; and is not Mr. Fielding as well entitled to publish an edition of it as any man, or any set of men existing ?

3. Would they ever have sold Dr. Johnson’s *Dictionary* for less than four pounds ten shillings, had not Fielding published an edition worth two of theirs, for two pounds eight shillings ? Is not Mr. Fielding therefore entitled to the thanks and encouragement of the public ?

Undoubtedly Mr. Fielding did deserve the public gratitude, but the rarity of his edition (we have seen no copy) suggests that he did not get his deserts, whereas the Strahan ledgers indicate that the proprietors’ sixth edition was of at least 3,000 copies.<sup>2</sup> The proprietors also received a good deal of praise, or self-praise, in the newspapers.

Nothing can be more handsome than the conduct of the respectable body of booksellers who have the copyright of the *Dictionary* of Dr. Johnson. In this day of piracy, when every miserable adventurer finds expedients in the chicanery of the law to plunder his neighbours, they have liberally stood forward, and at an expense of many hundred pounds have checked the imposition on the public of hasty catch-penny editions of a work which, for the interests of literature, should be particularly correct. The public must be satisfied to see that not only the fair trader opposes the smuggler, but that pirate is armed against pirate, and that the spirit of speculation will be destroyed by its own avidity.<sup>3</sup>

Nothing could be *less* handsome than this pretence of public spirit, except the false claims which were anonymously made for the extent of Johnson’s corrections in the Reynolds copy.

It is a public tribute due to the generosity of Sir Joshua Reynolds, that as soon as he was made acquainted with the necessity of a republication of Dr. Johnson’s *Dictionary*, he gave the free use of that which the Doctor had bequeathed to him. If we may judge by comparing what part of it has already appeared with the former copies, there seems to have been a regular revision by the learned author before his death ; and it is an undoubted fact that he took all opportunities of late years to embellish and improve it, and constantly kept it open in his study for that purpose. . . .<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *General Evening Post*, 29 November—1 December 1785.

<sup>2</sup> Mr. R. A. Austen-Leigh of Spottiswoode Ballantyne & Co. kindly allowed us access to these ledgers. We refer to Ledger F, p. 96<sup>v</sup>, of the microfilm deposited by William Todd in the Bodleian Library. To give scepticism its due, we might add that we have neither sought nor found conclusive proof that Fielding actually finished the publication of his edition, though he certainly began it.

<sup>3</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 26 October 1785.

<sup>4</sup> *Ibid.* 24 December.

The anonymity of this statement must be emphasized, so that it will not be attributed to Longman without more evidence. It was, as Harrison later pointed out, something more than simple truth ; and if " chicanery of the law ", in a context of publishing rivalry, may best be translated " Acts of Parliament ", the most accurate substitute for " regular revision " would be " light and casual annotation ".

Unfortunately, Harrison, who henceforth bore the main burden of conflict with the proprietors, was not himself irremovably attached to honest fact. Replying to the exploitation of the Reynolds copy, he made his own bold divagation from veracity. On 1 November, in advertising the actual publication of his first number, he modestly asserted that his would be not only " the best and most compact edition ever attempted ", but that it would actually contain " all the different editions together ", since he intended to print " all the alterations, corrections, and additions of the learned author, from the first to the last edition, including those bequeathed to Sir Joshua Reynolds ".<sup>1</sup> Just how this was to be done might have taken some explaining, for high-sounding phrases (" Printed Verbatim from the Original Edition ") could not conceal the essential defect of Harrison's plan : he was reprinting the *first* edition, as Longman effectively proclaimed, and not the revised fourth ; and he could not and did not produce the monstrosity of a variorum.

Early in November, however, not even Longman could have felt quite sure of winning and holding public favour. Harrison was making the most of the external advantages which his edition did possess. From 3 to 21 November, he announced, he would exhibit in his shop the " fine original painting " by Opie, " for which the Doctor sat to that admirable artist in the spring which preceded his decease ".<sup>2</sup> After the 21st, it would " be immediately returned to Mr. Heath ", so that he might " complete in time the magnificent engraving " which would be delivered gratis to Harrison's subscribers. Undoubtedly, the size of the folio portrait would make it attractive to collectors ; and there was some reason, also, for Harrison's emphasis on the

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 1 November.

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.* 1, 16 November.



advantage of having the *Dictionary* in a single folio rather than two quartos.

On 24 November, therefore, Longman committed the proprietors to a *seventh* edition, to be published, beginning 10 December, on the same terms as the quarto edition, but in folio.<sup>1</sup> The first of the stated conditions made perfectly clear the intent to answer Harrison :

1. For the accommodation of those who wish to have this valuable work comprised in one volume, an edition will be elegantly printed, on fine paper, in one large volume in folio, from a copy bequeathed by the author to Sir Joshua Reynolds, one of his executors, containing numerous additions, corrections, and improvements.

Three authorized editions were now available for public choice : the fifth, in the original format of two folio volumes, which had become a luxury product ; the sixth, in two volumes quarto, at less than half the price of the fifth ; and the seventh, equally cheap, but in a single folio. Though the continued sale of the fifth edition made the textual pretensions of the sixth and seventh a little ridiculous, Longman had made for the proprietors a skilful recovery from their initial disadvantages. He even lowered the price of the octavo from 10s. in October to 8s. in December.<sup>2</sup>

By such heroic measures, the battle of the five editions was decided. Fielding's incisive queries might still cause some pain, but their phrasing was a tacit admission of defeat ; and Harrison was obviously whistling to keep up his spirits :

The superiority of Mr. Harrison's edition, in elegance, convenience, and accuracy, being not only decidedly pronounced by the literati, but even honestly acknowledged by the more liberal of his opponents, renders it quite unnecessary to insist on that evident pre-eminence which is now so universally established.<sup>3</sup>

Harrison's only real pre-eminence was in a slanging match. To the last he maintained " the superiority of his edition of Dr. Johnson's *Dictionary* over every other yet tendered to the public ".<sup>4</sup>

<sup>1</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 26 November ; *General Evening Post*, 24-6 November.

<sup>2</sup> *Morning Chronicle, and London Advertiser*, 24 December.

<sup>3</sup> *Ibid.* 30 November.

<sup>4</sup> " Editor's Preface " in Harrison's edition. Again we modernize mechanical details.

It comprehends the genuine original edition, printed verbatim, without the hosts of typographical inaccuracies multiplied in subsequent impressions, and retains some hundred elucidations injudiciously struck out from all other editions ; while it furnishes, in a Supplement of barely three pages, the boasted additional words, not only in the copy bequeathed to Sir Joshua Reynolds, whose name has been so shamefully prostituted on the occasion, but in all the other editions taken together.<sup>1</sup>

The fourth edition, Harrison went on in his "Editor's Preface",

whether too hastily altered by Dr. Johnson himself, *or abridged without his knowledge by those who were interested in making such material reductions, as seems too probably the case*, is oftener rendered worse than better by the pretended improvements. . . .<sup>2</sup>

The evidence for these "illiberal animadversions" is a series of entries, originally transcribed from Miller's *Gardener's Dictionary*, to which Johnson's earliest critics had objected as superfluous and which Johnson himself may be seen deleting or abbreviating in the three corrected copies. Harrison had been beaten into absurdity, if not into silence. Perhaps, after all, it was good for the respectable to hear themselves denounced as "this self-created body of congregated dulness", "the farcical . . . *body of booksellers* . . .";<sup>3</sup> but the publisher of the *British Classics* was hardly the man to call his neighbours to account, and his last bitter attacks on the proprietors testify only to the success of a fine Longmanian stroke. Longman had publicly exhibited the extent of Johnson's revision for the fourth edition by copying the added materials into the margins of Harrison's reprint of the first.<sup>4</sup> "This shabby artifice", as Harrison called it,<sup>5</sup> could not be countered with rhetoric.

## II

If the Reynolds copy of Johnson's fourth edition had not survived, only painful collation would provide a check on the truth or falsity of the claims and counterclaims with which Harrison and the proprietors baited their hooks for subscribers ; and if those claims could not be precisely judged, the relative authority of the fourth, sixth, and seventh editions of the

<sup>1</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>2</sup> Loc. cit.

<sup>3</sup> Harrison's *Life*.

<sup>4</sup> Harrison, "Editor's Preface".

<sup>5</sup> Loc. cit.

*Dictionary* would be in doubt. Fortunately, that is not the case. Detailed examination of the Reynolds copy confirms the established opinion that the fourth edition is the best printed authority for Johnson's considered judgements of English words, with the exception of somewhat more than two hundred entries in which the sixth and seventh incorporate his last revisions. The bibliographers are vindicated at the expense of the booksellers.

Of Harrison's advertisements, the inaccuracy could almost be assumed, since Longman would certainly have kept close watch over the materials for his own editions; and it may be taken as proved when a check of the first fifty Johnsonian notes in the Reynolds copy shows that Harrison obtained none of them. To Longman's similar exaggerations, a non-Johnsonian inscription in the first Reynolds volume provides a modest contrast:

This Book containing *some MS Corrections*<sup>1</sup> in the Author's Hand-writing was left by him to Sir Joshua Reynolds, from whom it was inherited by his Niece the Marchioness of Thomond, who gave it to George John, Earl Spencer.

As we have suggested, however, other notes in the Reynolds copy make it immediately clear that at least Longman's claim to have used it for his sixth and seventh editions was perfectly justified. Johnson had recommended, for example, that the entry *stiptick* be shifted from *sti-* to *sty-*; at the proper place for the latter spelling, another hand has written, "Bring the art. Stiptic, here".<sup>2</sup> Again, one or two of the quotations which Johnson added in the Reynolds copy were hastily jotted down in abbreviated form, apparently from memory; in the sixth and seventh editions, these same abbreviated notes are faithfully reproduced.<sup>3</sup> The process of their reproduction is not quite so clear. Since some of Johnson's more minute or obscure changes were overlooked or neglected,<sup>4</sup> since the Reynolds copy is very clean, and since the fifth, sixth, and seventh editions occasionally agree in obvious errors which do not appear in the fourth,<sup>5</sup> it is

<sup>1</sup> Our italics. In the remainder of this article, quotations are *not* modernized.

<sup>2</sup> Cf. Item 232 below.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Items 98 and 120 below.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Items 83, 104, 105, 156, 161, 162, 163, 165, etc.

<sup>5</sup> E.g. in paragraph 24 of the preface, the fourth edition reads: "a perpetual repetition by one general acknowledgment." The fifth, sixth, and seventh editions read: "a *general* repetition . . ." (italics ours).

possible that Johnson's notes were first transcribed from the Reynolds copy into a copy of edition five which was then used by the printer.<sup>1</sup> Further speculation leads only to further complications, which are not resolved by the Strahans' usually helpful ledgers. Perhaps so large a job as the hasty printing of the sixth and seventh editions had to be parcelled out to more printers than one, so that the Strahan ledgers would necessarily be incomplete; but in any case, when the ledgers record the printing of six sheets of the folio, in an impression of 1,750 copies, they note also that money was saved by overrunning from the quarto, and when they record the printing of 66½ quarto sheets, in an impression of 3,500, they note a saving by overrunning from the folio.<sup>2</sup> Between the Reynolds copy, therefore, and at least some sheets of the seventh edition, both the fifth and sixth editions may intervene; between the Reynolds copy and at least some sheets of the sixth edition, both the fifth and seventh editions may intervene; and at each stage the activities of compositor and corrector must be allowed for.

Such problems might be of interest to the professional bibliographer, who alone is equipped to solve them, but even naive inspection of the Reynolds copy makes possible two more conclusions concerning its history: it has been bound or rebound since Johnson made his notes in it; and at least once, already before his death, it directly or indirectly provided copy for the printer. The first conclusion follows from the obvious lateness of the present binding and from the fact that sometimes a few letters have been clipped away from Johnson's marginal notes. The second conclusion follows, though less simply, from the heavy red underlining which defaces the entries from *unconcocted* through *uncover* and from *undismayed* through *uneasily*. Most of these entry-words themselves are underlined, with their grammatical classifications, etymologies, and definitions; and for each definition, the name of one authority is usually underlined as well. One tell-tale error is made in the

<sup>1</sup> Presumably a transcriber, turning the pages of the Reynolds copy in search of corrections, might overlook small changes more easily than a compositor would do.

<sup>2</sup> Ledger F, p. 96<sup>v</sup>.

underlining. For the word *undone*, two senses are marked, with Clarendon as the authority for the first, but with no authority indicated for the second. Instead, the underliner carelessly skipped over the next entry-word, *undoubted*, and then marked the name of Glanville, whom Johnson had cited as authority for the latter term. Looking now to the octavo *Dictionary*, one discovers that the entries *unconcocted-uncover* and *undismayed-uneasily* were omitted by mistake from the first five editions (1756-73), and were supplied from the Reynolds copy in the sixth octavo edition of 1778, where Glanville is authority for the second sense of *undone* and where *undoubted* is omitted altogether. Perhaps Johnson's working copies of his *Dictionary* were not bound up in two heavy volumes but more conveniently disposed into smaller fascicles, such that the sheets of the Reynolds copy from 29L (*unconcocted*) to the end could be sent to the printing-house independently of the earlier sheets. Certainly it seems more than coincidental that Johnson's last correction is in the entry *umbo* and that, except for the red underlining, the sheets from 29 I onward show no marks whatever. Unless they were not available to Johnson while he was making his casual corrections here and there in the *Dictionary*, their complete freedom from annotation is rather surprising.

The distribution of Johnson's notes in the Reynolds copy and their use in the sixth and seventh editions require little further introductory comment. The notes are confined almost entirely to the word-list. There are none in the preface or history of the language, none to speak of in the grammar, a good many in the letter *A*, and at least one in every other letter through *U (V)*. Nothing in the nature or occurrence of the notes affords the slightest evidence of systematic revision. Sequences of more than fifty pages are quite untouched, but some single openings, on the other hand, provide several changes each. Now and then, as in the entries for *run*, v.n., and *set*, v.a., Johnson apparently worked over all the definitions of an important word, but such exertion was sporadic. Often he contented himself with mere marks, ranging from *X*'s or short pen-strokes to fairly elaborate bracketings. There are some scores of these marks scattered through the *Dictionary*, increasing, by comparison with written

comments, as the work progresses ; and though some of them seem to be the usual marks for transposition, deletion, and the like, their purpose is usually as obscure to us as it was to the makers of the sixth and seventh editions, who normally ignored them. No traces remain of inter-leaves or loose slips, to which the marks conceivably might have been related, and examination of the corrected copy in the British Museum provides no clue to their meaning.

The corrections, indeed, in the Reynolds copy seem quite independent of those in the Museum's corrected sheets, and whereas very few of the Museum corrections were ever printed, most of those in the Reynolds copy are made in the sixth and seventh editions. We have verified this statement by careful comparison of each of the Reynolds corrections with the corresponding entries in the sixth edition and by occasional comparison with the corresponding entries in the seventh edition ; the printing and publishing history of the two editions, and the uniform results of our occasional comparisons with the seventh, should remove any doubts of the effectiveness of this procedure. In the following record, therefore, of Johnson's corrections in the Reynolds copy, we have ignored the seventh edition ; but in the absence of explicit statement to the contrary, both the sixth edition and, with it, the seventh may be assumed to reproduce each correction. Our presentation, we hope, will be clear enough to be read without consulting the *Dictionary*, yet precise enough to enable any reader to correct his own copy of the fourth edition as Johnson corrected his. Though the nature of the material forbids complete uniformity, each of our numbered entries includes, of course, a reference to the word on which Johnson's note was made and an exact transcription of the note itself. Where it seemed necessary for clarity, we have given also the reading of the fourth edition, or the reading of the sixth, or both. Johnson's notes are placed within quotation marks, like the readings of the fourth and sixth editions ; and, except for series of periods to show omissions, all punctuation within the quotation marks is his. Where his notorious hand is illegible to us, or where part of a note is deleted, our comment to that effect is placed within parentheses ; and where part of a

note has been clipped by the binder, we restore the missing portion within square brackets. Unless we say otherwise, the sixth edition confirms our restorations. Fully deleted notes, or notes which there is good reason to suspect as non-Johnsonian, are recorded with appropriate comment. Though we have tried to make our list complete except for the mere marks, Johnson's unintelligible *X*'s, pen-strokes, and the like, we realize that some of his more minute corrections may have escaped even two careful examinations of every page.

1. *Above*, adv. The quotation from Dryden's *Aeneid* ("The Trojans *from above*", etc.) is marked for transfer from Sense 2 to Sense 1.

2. *Accent*, n.s. Senses 2, 3, and 4 are renumbered 3, 4, and 5, and a new second sense is added: "2 The sound given to the syllable pronounced".

3. *Accent*, vb. The accent-mark is shifted from the second to the first syllable, and a note is added to the etymology: "it was (both words deleted) Formerly elevated at the second syllable, now at the first."

4. *Accommodate*, v.a. On a line with Definition 1, Johnson adds: "it has *with* before the thing."

5. *Accomplishment*, n.s. The name of the author of the first quotation under Sense 1 is changed from "*Haywood*" to "*Hayward*".

6. *Acroamatical*, adj. In the etymology, "bear" is changed to "hear".

7. *Act*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "5. A state of reality; effort." Johnson changes "effort" to "effect".

8. *Adacted*, pple. The fourth edition reads: "Driven by force; a word little used." Johnson adds, rather awkwardly: "the verb *adact* is not used".

9. *Adagio*. Johnson adds "*at leisure*" to the etymology, which accordingly reads, in the sixth edition: "Italian, at leisure."

10-12. *Administer*, v.a. In the fourth edition, Sense 4 reads: "To administer the sacraments." Johnson adds: "to dispense them." Sense 5 reads: "To administer an oath; to propose or require an oath authoritatively." Johnson adds: "to tender an othe (deleted) oath." From the reference to the *Spectator* after the quotation illustrating Sense 7, he deletes "No 477".

13. *Administration*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. Collectively, those to whom the care of publick affairs is committed." Johnson adds: "as, the *administration* has been opposed in parliament".

14. *Affront*, n.s. Sense 3 with its quotations is marked for transfer to become Sense 1.

15. *After*, adv. In the quotation from Bacon under Sense 1, the word *after* is underlined to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not.

16. *Agen*. Johnson inserts "now" after "is" in the sentence beginning: "This word is only written in this manner".

17. *Aim*, v.a. The "a" of "v.a." is deleted and "n" is added. Sense 3 with its quotation is marked for transfer to a separate, new entry: "To AIM v a".

18-19. *Air*, v.a. In the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1, the word "air" is underlined to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not. Sense 2 is changed to read: "To gratify by enjoying the open air, with the reciprocal pronoun."

20. *Algebra*, n.s. The initial words of the Trevoux-Chambers quotation, "This is", are deleted.

21. *Amaranth*, n.s. The paragraph "The flowers have no petals . . . roundish seeds" is deleted.

22. *Amomum*, n.s. The following words are deleted from the Trevoux-Chambers quotation: "differ about the ancient *amomum*; but the generality of them", "grows in clusters, and is about the thickness of a pea", "the composition of".

23. *Ananas*, n.s. The paragraph "It has a flower . . . kidney-shaped" is deleted.

24. *Anchovy*, n.s. The words "Scaliger describes . . . caught in nets" are deleted.

25. *Anneal*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To heat glass, that the colours laid on it may pierce through." For "pierce through", Johnson substitutes "be fixed".

26. *Apeak*. The fourth edition reads: "In a posture to pierce the ground." After "pierce", Johnson inserts a comma. He deletes "the ground" and adds, after the deletion: "formed (deleted) formed with a point." The sixth edition therefore reads: "In a posture to pierce; formed with a point."

27. *Apparitors* [*sic*], n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. The lowest officer of the ecclesiastical court." Johnson adds: "a summoner."

28. *Appear*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "3. To stand in the presence of another; generally used of standing before some superiour." Johnson adds: "(illegible deleted word) to offer himself to the judgement [of] a tribunal". The sixth edition reads: "3. To stand in the presence of another, generally used of standing before some superiour; to offer himself to the judgment of a tribunal."

29. *Approach*, v.n., and *Approach*, v.a. The quotation from Temple under Sense 3 of the neuter verb is marked for transfer to a newly introduced second sense of the active verb: "2 To come near to". Johnson also adds a fourth sense of the neuter verb: "4 To come near by natural affinity, or resemblance, as, the Cat [*ap*]proaches to the tiger".

30. *Around*, prep. The fourth edition reads: "About; encircling." Johnson adds: "so as to encompass."

31. *Art*, n.s. To illustrate Sense 5, Johnson adds a quotation: "More matter with less *art* Shakespeare".

32. *Artless*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Without fraud; as, an *artless* maid." Johnson changes "Without" to "Void of".

33. *Assert*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To affirm; to declare positive." Johnson changes "positive" to "positively".

34. *Assertion*, n.s. A second sense is added, with a line drawn to show that it must precede the quotation from Browne: "2 Position advanced."

35. *Assurance*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "7. Ground of confidence; security given." Johnson deletes "given", puts a semicolon after "security", and adds: "sufficient reason for trust, or belief."



36-37. *At*. Johnson inserts "immediate" after "in" in the tenth definition: "*At* sometimes signifies in consequence of." In the quotation under Definition 15, the fourth edition reads: "To make pleasure the vehicle of health, is a doctor", etc. The quotation is changed to read: "He who makes", etc.

38. *Attend*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To wait on; to accompany as an inferiour." Johnson adds: "or a servant."

39. *Attendant*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "Accompanying as subordinate." Johnson adds: "or consequential."

40. *Babe*, n.s. Johnson adds a third item, "*Bambino* Italian", to the etymology.

41-42. *Backward*, *Backwards*, adv. To the etymology, Johnson adds the phrase: "[co]ntrary to forwards." From Definition 7, "Out of the progressive state; reflex", he deletes all but the last word.

43. *Beneath*, prep. Johnson adds at the end of Definition 1: "opposed to above".

44. *Berattle*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "To rattle off; to make a noise at in contempt." Johnson changes "rattle off" to "fill with noise".

45. *Besought*. The etymology in the fourth edition reads: "*part. passive* of *beseech*", etc. Johnson inserts "preterite and" before "*part.*"

46. *Bespatter*, v.a. Johnson adds a second sense after the first quotation from Swift: "2 To asperse with reproach".

47. *Between*, prep. The fourth edition reads: "5. In separation, or distinction of one from the other." For "In separation, or" Johnson substitutes: "Noting difference, or".

48. *Bezoar*, n.s. Johnson deletes the following: "medicinal", "of the goat kind", "The peculiar manner of", "of this stone".

49. *Bibliographer*, n.s. The fourth edition defines: "a writer of books; a transcriber." For "a writer of books", Johnson substitutes: "A man skilled in literary history and in the knowledge of Books".

50. *Big*, adj. Johnson adds a new Sense 1, which the quotation from the *Spectator* is to illustrate: "[Ha]ving comparative bulk [gr]eater or less". The original Sense 1 is marked to become Sense 2, still illustrated by the quotation from Locke. In the sixth edition, which makes these changes, the new first definition reads: "1. Having comparative bulk, greater or less."

51. *Bigot*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "A man devoted to a certain party", etc. Johnson inserts "unreasonably" after "devoted".

52. *Bittacle*, n.s. Johnson adds but then deletes an etymological note, which the sixth edition naturally does not include: "Said to be corrupted from (one word illegible)".

53. *Blackberry*, n.s. In the definition, "The fruit of the blackberry bush", the last two words are replaced by "bramble".

54. *Blind*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "1. Without sight", etc. Johnson changes "Without" to "Deprived of".

55. *Box*, "a tree." Johnson deletes the following words from the Mortimer paragraph: "*Box*", "of it", "very", "the declivity of", "dry", "chalky".

56. *Brand*, n.s. To the etymology of the word in its second sense, Johnson adds: "*brando* Italian".

57. *Breech*, n.s. Johnson adds a fourth sense : " 4 The hinder part of any thing ".

58-59. *But*, conj. The fourth edition reads : " 2. Except then ; had it not been that ", etc. Johnson changes " then " to " that " and adds " unless ; " so that the sixth edition reads : " 2. Except that ; unless ; had it not been that ", etc. Under Sense 10, the first two quotations are marked for transfer to follow the quotation from Dryden under Sense 9.

60. *Butcherly*, adj. Johnson inserts " grossly and clumsily " before " barbarous ".

61. *Call*, v.a., and *Call*, v.n. The fifth sense of the neuter verb, with its quotation from Dryden, is re-numbered " 17 " (perhaps a mistake for 18) and marked for transfer to the end of the list of senses of the *active* verb. The sixth sense under the neuter verb is re-numbered " 5 ".

62. *Cane*, n.s. Johnson deletes the following words from the Chambers paragraph under Sense 2 : " and the spongy . . . very juicy ", " a number of ", " There are likewise . . . as the *cane* rises ", " though . . . fifteen ", " When ripe, . . . steel plates."

63. *Cardinal's flower*, n.s. Johnson deletes from the Miller quotation : " The first sort . . . in deepness."

64. *Careless*, adj. " Without care ; without solicitude " is changed to " Having no care ; feeling no solicitude ".

65. *Catch*, v.a. The fourth edition reads : " 4. To stop any thing falling." Johnson adds : " to intercept falling ".

66. *Ceremoniousness*, n.s. The fourth edition reads : " Fondness of ceremony ", etc. Johnson substitutes " Addictedness to " for " Fondness of ".

67. *Chain*, v.a. The fourth edition reads : " 3. To put on a chain." For " put on " Johnson substitutes " keep by ".

68. *Characteristical* and *Characteristick*, adj. Johnson deletes the second entry-word and the bracket which links the two.

69. *Chill*, adj. Johnson adds : " 5 Unaffectionate ; cold of te[m]per."

70. *Commateriality*, n.s. Johnson marks the whole entry for deletion ; but the sixth edition keeps it.

71. *Commissionate*. Johnson adds, after the definition : " not in use."

72. *Company*, n.s. Johnson inserts " subordinate " before " corporation " in Sense 7. The sixth edition therefore reads, in part : " a body corporate ; a subordinate corporation."

73. *Compellable*, adj. Johnson adds : " perhaps it should [be] *compellible* ".

74. *Compose*, v.a. The quotation from Addison under Sense 2 is marked for transfer to Sense 4.

75. *Comprehensibly*, adv. What seems to be " this shoul " (*sic*) is written after the definition ; the words are blotted and hard to read and the sixth edition ignored them. In the left-hand margin, Johnson has written : " [Tillot]son seems to have used *com[prehensi]bly* for *comprehensively* ". Perhaps Johnson intended that the entry should be deleted, but the sixth edition retained it, adding the remark about Tillotson at the end of the definition.

76. *Conclusion*, n.s. Johnson adds " Experiment " after Definition 4.

77. *Concoct*, v.a. Alongside the quotation from Bacon under Sense 3, Johnson wrote : " concocted and adusted ", obviously referring to the quotation

from Milton which is printed *s.v.* *Adusted*. The sixth edition makes no change *s.v.* *Concocted*.

78. *Condoler*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One that compliments another upon his misfortunes." Johnson substitutes: "One that joins in lamentation for the misfortunes of another".

79. *Crisis*, n.s. Johnson adds to Definition 1 a new phrase: "the decisive moment when sentence is passed".

80. *Crow*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. A piece of iron used as a lever", etc. Johnson puts carets after "iron" and "lever" and adds the phrases "with a beak" and "to force open doo[rs]". The sixth edition therefore reads: "3. A piece of iron, with a beak, used as a lever to force open doors", etc.

81. *Cunning*, n.s. In the margin alongside Definition 2, Johnson wrote what might be taken as "right kind—*cunning*"; the second word is hard to decipher. The fourth edition reads: "2. Art; skill; knowledge." The sixth reads: "2. Art; skill; knowledge; right-hand cunning."

82. *Decipher*, v.a. Senses 2, 3, and 4 are renumbered 3, 4, and 2, respectively.

83. *Declaratory*, adj. In the margin by the quotation, Johnson wrote: "in law". The note produced no change in the sixth edition.

84. *Defluxion*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "A defluxion; a flowing down of humours." Johnson corrected the circularity by deleting "A defluxion".

85. *Dejectedly*, adv. The fourth edition reads: "In a dejected manner; afflictedly." Johnson replaced "afflictedly" with "sadly; heavily."

86. *Depth*, n.s. Johnson added after Definition 4: "height Sum dep. Win." That is, we say *height of summer* but *depth of winter*. The sixth edition ignores the comment.

87. *Derivation*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. A draining of water; a turning of its course; letting out." Johnson deletes "letting out".

88. *Die*, v.n. Beside and above Definition 14, Johnson wrote:

"Sprat  
every Winter die".

The transcription of the first word as "Sprat" is a little doubtful. The sixth edition does not add the note.

89. *Dignify*, v.a. To Sense 2, Johnson adds a new phrase: "to improve by some adventitious excellence or honourable distinction".

90. *Disembodied*. The definition is changed from "Divested of their bodies" to "Divested of the body".

91. *Dissolution*, n.s. Johnson adds, to the right of Definition 9: "diss. of parl". The note is not used in the sixth edition.

92. *Distinct*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Different; being apart, not conjunct." After the semicolon, Johnson inserts "separate;".

93. *Dive*, v.n. After Definition 1, Johnson adds: "to sink natural, to dive voluntary". The sixth edition ignores the comment.

94. *Divide*, v.n. Johnson adds another note which was not used:

"To distinguish  
[in]struct and reason how  
Prior."

95. *Down*, adv. Immediately after the entry-word, Johnson adds: "Not up".

96. *Draw*, v.n. Below Item 13, Johnson adds: "compound of draw pull, and draw paint". The transcription of the first word as "compound" is rather uncertain. The note is not used in the sixth edition.

97. *Dubious*. The classification "*n.s.*" is not corrected; but in Definition 1, "Doubtful" is changed to "Doubting". The sixth edition makes this change, and also changes "*n.s.*" to "*adj.*"

98. *Eat*, v.a. By the Tillotson quotation under Sense 2, Johnson adds:  
 "eating cares  
 Lydian airs Milton".

The sixth edition reads:

"Eating cares  
 Lydian airs. Milton."

99. *Effect*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "3. Purpose; intention; general intent." Johnson substitutes "meaning" for "intention".

100. *Erst*, adv. The quotation from "*Milton's Agonistes*" under Sense 5 is marked for transfer to Sense 3, before the quotation from Gay.

101. *Evilworker*, n.s. From the definition, "One who does ill", Johnson deletes "ill", which he replaces with "wickedness".

102. *European*, adj. Johnson deletes the whole entry.

103. *Exact*, adj. Johnson changes the first word of Definition 3 from "Accurate" to "Careful".

104. *Examine*, v.a. The reference to Pope is deleted after the quotation under Sense 4. It is *not* deleted in the sixth edition.

105. *Exceed*, v.a. The "I" of "*I Kings*" is deleted from the reference for the quotation under Sense 2. It is *not* deleted in the sixth edition.

106. *F*. In line 5 of the discussion of the letter itself, Johnson inserts "which" before "yet".

107. *Fanciful*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "2. Directed by the imagination", etc. Johnson changes "Directed" to "Dictated".

108. *Fancy*, n.s. Johnson writes by the entry-word: "It should be Phansy N." Ignoring the "N.", the sixth edition adds the statement after the etymology.

109. *Felonous*, adj. Johnson deletes "felonious" from the definition.

110. *Firepan*, n.s. Someone, perhaps not Johnson, wrote in the margin: "This is confufuse[d] in the alphabet". The transcription "confufuse[d]" is uncertain, but the "confusion" in the alphabet is obvious in all editions through the sixth: *fire*, *firearms*, *fireball*, *firebrush*, *firedrake*, *firenew*, *firepan*, *firer*, *fireside*, *firestick*, *firework*, *fire*, *fire*, *firebrand*, *firecross*, *firelock*, *fireman*, *firepan*, etc.

111. *Flyfish*, v.n. From the quotation, "next" and "other" are deleted, and the reference is shortened to a simple "*Walton*".

112-115. *Follow*, v.a. (a) By the first quotation under Sense 4, Johnson adds a phrase which the sixth edition ignores: "as a leader". The transcription of the last word is uncertain. (b) The fourth edition reads: "5. To go after." Johnson adds: "as a teacher." (c) The fourth edition reads: "7. To be consequential, as effects to causes." Johnson adds: "in argument"; and the

sixth edition reads: "To be consequential in argument, as effects to causes."  
 (d) The fourth edition reads, in part: "8. . . . to copy." Johnson adds: "as a pupil or (deletion, apparently of one word) of an opinion or party". The sixth edition reads: ". . . to copy, as a pupil; or to be of an opinion or party."

116-117. *For*, prep. By the quotation under Sense 10, there is written what seems to be:

" so  
 in Small "

The transcription is uncertain, and the sixth edition makes no change. Under Sense 11, the reference for the quotation is shortened to a simple "*Shakespeare*".

118. At the top of Column 2 on 9N<sub>2</sub> verso, Johnson wrote: "dagger li (some illegible letters, apparently four of them) for his eye. Hud". If the makers of the sixth edition could read this quotation, still they did not use it, perhaps because they did not know what word it should illustrate.

119. *Forehand*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "A thing done sooner than is regular." Johnson deletes "A thing".

120. *Fruitfully*, adv. Johnson adds a quotation under Definition 2: "Fruitfully abound. Dryden."

121. *Frustrum* (sic). The second *r* in the entry-word is deleted.

122. *Gaily*, adv. Johnson adds: "gaily is properer". The fourth edition gives a cross-reference to *gayly*. The sixth edition makes no change.

123. *Gain*, v.a. In the quotation from Dryden under Sense 7, Johnson underlines "gains" to indicate italics, which the fourth edition should have used but had not.

124. *Gelt*, n.s., and *Gelt*, pple. of *geld*. The entries are marked for a reversal in their order; the participle is to precede the second noun.

125. *Ginglymoid*, adj. Johnson adds a translation of the etymon: "a hinge".

126. *Ginglymus*, n.s. The fourth edition reads in part: ". . . into each other's cavity, of which the elbow is an instance." After "cavity," Johnson inserts: "in the manner of a hinge."

127. *Glowworm*, n.s. In the definition, "insect" is deleted and "grub" added.

128. *Gross*, n.s. In the third line of the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1, "were past" is changed to "we past".

129. *Hart*, n.s. Johnson deletes "of the large kind" from the definition.

130. *Head*, n.s. The fourth edition reads in part: ". . . the brain or the organ of sensation or thought." Johnson deletes the second "or" and inserts "and seat of", so that the sixth edition reads: ". . . the brain or the organ of sensation and seat of thought."

131. *Hold*, v.a. By the quotation under Sense 4, Johnson writes: "What Arminians hold". The sixth edition makes no change.

132. *How*, adv. From Definition 1, Johnson deletes "In what manner".

133. *Jehovah*, n.s. Johnson deletes the entire entry.

134-135. *Jet*, n.s. In the initial quotation from Hill, Johnson changes the period after "clay" to a semicolon and deletes "very", "very", "of" (first occurrence in line 2), "It is", and "colour". By Sense 3, he adds "reach". Presumably he meant to replace or at least to question his third definition:

- “ 3. A yard. Obsolete.  
 What orchard unrobbed escapes ?  
 Or pullet dare walk in their *jet* ? ”

The sixth edition makes no change in Definition 3.

136. *Jews-stone*, n.s. Johnson changed the period after “ diameter ” to a semicolon and deleted “ An extraneous fossil, being ”, “ to each end ; generally ”, and “ It is ”.

137. *Illegitimacy*, n.s. Johnson changed “ bastardry ” to “ bastardy ”.

138. *Indirect*, adj. The fourth edition reads : “ 2. Not tending otherwise than obliquely or consequentially to a point ”, etc. Johnson changed “ point ” to “ purpose ”.

139. *Join*, v.a. The fourth edition reads : “ 1. To add one to another in continuity.” Johnson changes “ continuity ” to “ contiguity ”.

140. *Keen*, adj. After Definition 1, Johnson adds : “ We say *keen* of an edge, and *sharp* either of edge or point ”.

141. *Liquefy*, v.n. In “ To grow limpid ”, Johnson changes “ limpid ” to “ liquid ”.

142. *Livre*, n.s. In “ equal nearly to our shilling ”, Johnson changes “ shilling ” to “ ten pence ”.

143. *Love*, v.a. To Definition 4, Johnson adds : “ to delight in ”.

144. *Love*, n.s. Beside and above Definition 6, Johnson writes : “ love of pleasure and the love of (one word illegible) ”. The sixth edition makes no change.

145. *Lubricitate*. The “ *n* ” of “ *v.n.* ” is changed to *a*.

146. *Lustre*, n.s. The quotation from Bolingbroke under Definition 4 is deleted.

147. *Luxe*, n.s. In the etymology, “ *luxius* ” is changed to “ *luxus* ”.

148. *Mangle*, v.a. Beneath Column 2 on 16A<sub>1</sub> verso, Johnson adds a quotation : “ mangle mischief Don Seb.” The uncertain transcription of the reference is supported by the sixth edition’s “ *Don Sebastian.* ”

149. *Manna*, n.s. Deletions are made in the quotation from Hill : “ honey ” (line 7), “ which concretes into what we call *manna* ” (7), “ by an experiment being made ” (9), “ afterwards ” (11), “ and dew ” (12).

150. *Meet*, v.a. Sense 7 is deleted, and its quotation is marked for transfer to Sense 3 of *Meet*, v.n.

151. *Mistletoe*, n.s. In line 13 of the quotation from Miller, “ open ” is deleted and nothing added in its place. Presumably Johnson decided that “ open ” was wrong but did not bother to check the right reading. The sixth edition kept “ open ”.

152. *Mushroom*, n.s. The fourth edition reads : “ 2. An upstart ; a wretch risen from the dunghill ; a director of a company.” Johnson deletes “ a director of a company ”.

153. *Ness*. From Definition 2, Johnson deletes “ as INVERNESS.”

154. *Of*, prep. By the quotations under Sense 8, Johnson writes : “ see Brightland ”—a reference to the well-known grammar. The sixth edition makes no change.

155. *Ope*, v.a. To the etymology, Johnson adds : “ Greek, *ὀπή* ”.

156. *Particularity*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. Distinct notice or enumeration." Johnson adds: "detail". The word is *not* added in the sixth edition.

157. *Pentapetalous*, adj. In the etymology, "*petala*, Lat." is deleted and "*πέταλον*" is substituted for it.

158. *Pericarpium*, n.s. To the etymology, Johnson adds: "*περὶ* and *καρπὸς*".

159. *Point*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "18. Particular; instance; example." Johnson deletes "example".

160. *Preamble*, n.s. The accent-mark is shifted from the first syllable to the second.

161-162. *Predicable*, n.s., and *Predicament*, n.s. The accent-marks are shifted from the second syllables to the first, but the sixth edition does not make the changes.

163. *Present*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "5. Unforgotten; not neglectful." Johnson changes "neglectful" to "neglected", but the sixth edition does not make the change.

164. *Pretend*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To make any appearance of having; to allege falsely." Johnson makes an elaborate correction which the sixth edition seems to interpret correctly, reading: "2. To simulate; to make false appearances or representations; to allege falsely."

165. *Princess*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. A sovereign lady of rank, next to that of a queen." Johnson deletes the comma after "rank" and inserts one after "lady", but the sixth edition keeps the obvious mispunctuation of the fourth.

166. *Prophet*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. One of the sacred writers empowered by God to foretell futurity." Johnson changes "foretell" to "display".

167. *Proponent*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One that makes a proposal." To this definition, Johnson adds: "or lays down a position".

168. *Prorogue*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "3. To interrupt the session of parliament to a distant time." Johnson changes "interrupt" to "withhold" (*sic*).

169. *Puke*, n.s. Alongside Definition 2, there is written an illegible word of six letters, the third and fourth being "le". The note produced no change in the sixth edition.

170. *Pull*, v.a. To Definition 1, Johnson added: "opposed to *push*, which is to drive from one".

171. *Pulmonick*, adj. The accent-mark is shifted from the first to the second syllable.

172. *Puppet*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. A small image moved by men in a mock drama", etc. Johnson deleted "men" and added "wire".

173. *Pure*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "3. Unmingled; not altered by mixtures; mere." Johnson deleted "mere".

174. *Push*, v.n. Johnson added another definition: "To burst out with [vi]olence". It is numbered 4 in the sixth edition.

175. *Put*, v.n. Senses 1, 2, and 3 are marked for rearrangement as 1, 3, and 2, respectively.

176. *Put*, n.s. In the margin by the reference to "*Bramston*" under Sense 2, Johnson wrote: "Game at cards". The sixth edition takes this note as indicating a new third definition: "3. A game at cards."

177-179. On *Quadruped*, n.s., *Quadruped*, adj., and *Quadruple*, adj., the accent-marks are shifted from the second to the first syllables.

180. *Rack*, n.s. To Definition 7, Johnson added: "the grate on which bacon is laid". Without the help of the sixth edition, we could not have made out the word "bacon".

181. *Ravish*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To constuprate by force." Johnson adds: "to deflower by violence."

182. *Reach*, v.n. Sense 5, with its quotation, is marked for transfer to become Sense 13 under the *active* verb.

183. *Realty*, n.s. The quotations are marked for a reversal in their order; Milton is to precede Pearce.

184. *Rebel*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "One who opposes lawful authority." Johnson adds: "by violence".

185. *Rebel*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "To rise in opposition against lawful authority." Johnson inserts "violent" before "opposition".

186. *Reconcile*, v.a. To the quotations under Sense 1, Johnson adds: "contending friends to reconcile Swift". What we transcribe "friends" appears as "minds" in the sixth edition.

187-188. *Remain*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "2. To continue; to endure; to be left." Johnson adds: "in a particular state". The Biblical quotation under Sense 2 is marked for transfer to become the last quotation under Sense 4.

189. *Resignation*, n.s. In the margin by the entry-word, Johnson adds:

"Resign v n

for thee to resign

(illegible reference)".

The sixth edition includes no neuter verb *resign*.

190. *Resin*, n.s. At the end of the definition, Johnson adds the reference: "*Quincy*".

191. *Return*, n.s. In the margin opposite Sense 11, Johnson writes: "Report account". The sixth edition reads: "12. Report; account."

192. *Rid*, v.a. By the entry-word, Johnson writes: "in the preterit perhaps *ridded* or *rid* in the passive participle *rid*."

193. *Rie*, n.s. By the entry-word, Johnson adds what seems to be "oriza". The sixth edition makes no use of the note.

194. *Rub*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To touch so as to have something of that which touches behind." Johnson substitutes "leave" for "have".

195. For insertion just before *Ruination*, Johnson adds: "Ruin adj Sh." The sixth edition does not make the insertion.

196-200. *Run*, v.n. In Definition 8, Johnson changed "fly" to "flee". In Definition 35, "To pass progressively", he changed the adverb to "irregularly". In Definition 42, "To get by artifice or fraud", he changed "get" to "go". In Definition 49, "To hurry without consent", he changed "consent" to "deliberation". He bracketed Definitions 55-57, and wrote beside



the bracket two words or abbreviations which we cannot decipher. The sixth edition makes all the indicated changes except the last, whatever it was meant to be.

201. *Run*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "5. Way of management; uncontrolled course." Johnson deletes "of management" and adds "will". Thus he indicates the new definition: "Way; will; uncontrolled course."

202. *Sabbath*, n.s. In the fourth edition, the quotation from Dryden under Sense 1 begins: "Here ev'ry day was *sabbath*". The sixth edition missed Johnson's change of "Here" to "Her".

203. *Save*, v.n. To the definition, "To be cheap", Johnson added: "to require little cost". The sixth edition does not add the new phrase.

204. *Sciolist*, n.s. The accent-mark is shifted from the second to the first syllable.

205. *Scour*, v.a. Johnson adds an etymology of the word in its fifth sense: "Scorrere. Italian".

206. *Sequestrate*. Johnson replaced the "n" of "v.n." with "a", but the sixth edition missed the change.

207-211. *Set*, v.a. In the quotation under Sense 3 ("Set at her eyes", etc.), Johnson changed "at" to "are". In the margin by the quotation from Waller under Sense 23, he wrote: "To set birds"; the transcription of the last word is doubtful, and the sixth edition ignored the remark. It also ignored the new definition marked for insertion between Senses 28 and 29: "To se ("se" is deleted) let; to give for hire". The sixth edition included, in its Definition 71, the notes which Johnson wrote above and beside the fourth edition's seventy-first sense: "To set up a trade"; "To set up a trader". To Item 72 of the fourth edition, Johnson added "notion" after "primitive", so that the sixth edition reads, in part: "any radical or primitive notion".

212. *Sherris*, n.s. Johnson deleted "sweet" from the definition.

213. *Shoot*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "9. To feel a quick glancing pain." Johnson changed "glancing" to "piercing", but the sixth edition ignored the change.

214. *Shrewdly*, adv. After the last line of the entry, Johnson wrote "4—", as if to add a new sense. The addition, if it was ever made, is no longer in the Reynolds copy, and the sixth edition did not make it.

215. *Sinistrous*, adj., and *Sinistrously*, adv. The accent-marks are shifted from the first to the second syllables. The sixth edition makes no change.

216. *Sit*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "11. To be settled, as an assembly", etc. Johnson changed "settled" to "convened".

217. *Sit*, v.a. Intending a transfer to the neuter verb, Johnson wrote after Definition 3: "this is rather neuter". In the sixth edition, the note is mechanically added to the definition, which remains, however, under *Sit*, v.a.

218. *Skinned*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "Having the nature of skin or leather; hard; callous." Johnson reduces the definition to "Having skin."

219. *Snow*, v.n. "To have snowfall" is replaced by "To fall in snow".

220. *Sort*, n.s. To Definition 8, "A pair; a set", Johnson adds: "a suit."

221. *Sot*, v.a. To the definition, "To stupify; to besot", Johnson adds: "to infatuate".

222. *Spare rib*. "Some part cut off from the rib" is deleted, but it remains in the sixth edition.

223. *Speculation*, n.s. In the margin to the right of the entry-word, Johnson first writes and then deletes: "no speculation in these eyes (one word, or one abbreviation, illegible)". Already in the fourth edition, this quotation had been used to illustrate Definition 6, and the sixth edition makes no change.

224. *Spring*, v.n. To the list of forms, Johnson adds: "part *sprung*".

225. *Spring*, v.a. In Item 7, "for" is twice written between the lines—once to indicate, in line 2, the reading "thence *spring* for the season", and again to indicate, in line 3, the reading "thence *spring* for a fountain".

226. *Stair*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "Steps by which we rise an ascent", etc. Johnson changes "an" to "in".

227. *Stalely*, adv. The fourth edition reads: "Of old; long time." Johnson inserts "of" before "long".

228. *Stamp*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "1. Any instrument by which a hollow impression is made." Johnson deletes "hollow" and adds what we transcribed "definite and lasting" but what the sixth edition prints as "distinct and lasting".

229. *Stank*, adj. Johnson adds the etymology: "(*stanco* Italian)".

230. *Stiff*, adj. To illustrate Definition 6, Johnson adds a quotation: "stiff formal stile of Gondibert". The sixth edition distorts this note, though it makes Johnson's spelling conform with his own recommendation: "*Stiff*, formal style. *Gondibert*."

231. *Still*, adv. To the first definition, Johnson adds "yet", which the sixth edition ignores.

232. *Stiptick*, *Stiptical*, *Stypticity*. By the first two of these three entry-words, Johnson wrote: "remove to styptick". At this point, the sixth edition reads: "STI'PTIC. See STYPTIC." Just above *Stypticity*, a non-Johnsonian hand has written: "Bring the art. Stiptic, here." From the preceding entry, *Styptick*, the words "See STIPTICK" are deleted with ink of the same distinctive colour as that used in the non-Johnsonian note. The sixth edition carries out both sets of instructions.

233. *Strength*, n.s. Beside Definition 9, "Potency of liquors", there is written the one word "Noah", preceded by an illegible mark. The sixth edition makes no use of this note.

234. *Study*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "6. Apartment set off for literary employment." Johnson changes "set off for" to "appropriated to".

235-236. *Suppose*, v.a. From the fourth definition, "To require as previous to itself", Johnson deleted "to itself". He marked the quotation under Sense 6 for transfer to Sense 5.

237. *Sweep*, v.a. Johnson adds a comment on the forms: "pret. and pass part. *swept*".

238. *Sweet*, adj. The fourth edition reads: "5. Pleasing to the eye." Johnson replaces "Pleasing" with "Beautiful".

239. *Swim*, v.n. Alongside Definition 7, Johnson adds a quotation: "the (illegible word beginning with *D*) swims in delight. *Swift*". The quotation is not added in the sixth edition.

240. *Swimmer*, n.s. Alongside the reference "*Thomson*" under Sense 1, Johnson writes: "swimmer from the flood". The note is not used in the sixth edition.

241-242. *Teach*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "1. To instruct; to inform." Johnson adds: "as a master; correlative to *learn*". The Milton quotations under Senses 1 and 2 are marked for interchange.

243. *Tearer*, n.s. To the definition, "He who rends or tears", Johnson adds: "one who blusters".

244. *Temper*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "2. To compound; to form by mixture." Johnson adds: "To qualify as an ingred[i]ent."

245. *That*, pron. Alongside the entry-word, Johnson writes "plural"—presumably a reminder to give the plural form, which neither the fourth nor the sixth edition does give.

246. *Tilt*, v.a. Sense 2 is deleted.

247. *To*, prep. In the quotation under Sense 19, both "to" and "to" are underlined to indicate italics; but in the sixth edition as in the fourth, italics are used only for the second occurrence of the word.

248. *Trade*, v.n. The fourth edition reads: "3. Having a trading wind." The definition is revised: "3. To have a trade wind."

249. *Trance*, n.s. "See *TRANSE*" is deleted.

250. *Treason*, n.s. In the fourth edition, the long quotation from Cowel reads, in part: "a servant kills his master, a wife her husband; secular or religious kills his prelate", etc. The last clause is revised by the insertion of "a Clerk" ("a Clerk secular or religious", etc.).

251. *Turbinatation*, n.s. "The art of spinning" becomes "The act of spinning".

252. *Value*, v.a. The fourth edition reads: "8. To equal in value; to countervail." Johnson changes the definition to read: "8. To compare with respect to price or excellence".

253. *Vehemency*, n.s. The fourth edition reads: "2. Ardour; mental violence; terrour." Johnson changes "terrour" to "fervour".

254. *Vein*, n.s. Johnson adds a quotation to illustrate Sense 9: "my usual Vein. Oldham".

255. *Umbo* (*Vmbo*), n.s. "The point . . . of a buckler" becomes "The pointed boss . . . of a buckler".

With the word *umbo*, as we have said, Johnson's corrections in the fourth edition come to an end; and though they touch every feature of the *Dictionary*, they do not amount to much. Longman would have been sadly embarrassed if an enterprising or sceptical customer had resorted to collation. It is notable, of course, that Johnson was still shortening his references and quotations, especially the technical quotations whose full reproduction Harrison had stupidly proclaimed as a great merit of his edition; and one or two of Johnson's notes usefully illustrate the semantic development of important words or show some

intrinsic distinction of thought or phrase. Thus the added definition of *bibliographer* is worth remembering, and the pious change of "foretell" to "display" in the definition of *prophet*; directors of companies become respectable in the amusing entry *mushroom*, and a way is opened for independent thinking under *rebel*. Such entries, however, are quite exceptional. No doubt Johnsonians should long since have taken the trouble to identify the relatively few authoritative revisions in the sixth edition, but the chief conclusion which follows from their identification is that they are very slight. By 1785, it would appear, the advertising techniques of commercial lexicography were already highly developed.

There is only one aspect of our unheroic story of free enterprise which might seem a little puzzling. If Harrison's motives, and Fielding's, are sufficiently clear, and if Longman was acting under extreme provocation when he based on the Reynolds copy an advertising campaign which the extent of its correction did not justify, still one cannot help wondering why he did not so much as mention the other two corrected copies. Of the three, the Reynolds copy is the least extensively corrected. In the Museum fragment, Johnsonian corrections are confined to the first-edition sheets, 2N through 3U<sub>1</sub> (the letter *B* as far as *Bystander*, with the last page of the letter *A*); yet these sheets alone contain a much larger and more significant body of manuscript notes than does the whole of the Reynolds copy. Since Colonel Gimbel's set of first-edition sheets is not limited to a single letter but includes most of the *Dictionary* from *A* to *Pumper*, it will certainly provide an even richer store of still unpublished material. A facsimile of the single page *Abolishable-Above*, published by Sotheby's when the sheets were sold in 1927, shows two attached quotation-slips and almost twenty corrections in the printed text; and elsewhere in the set, according to Sotheby's catalogue, there are over 1,600 more quotation-slips, as well as numerous marginal notes. Beyond any doubt, the "consummate Lexicographer" had left behind him far more unprinted "improvements" than Longman ever suggested.

Conceivably, Longman kept silent because he feared the embarrassment of revealing that so many of Johnson's notes and

corrections, not only in the Reynolds copy, had been allowed to remain in manuscript for years. To the present day, no one can explain this suppression, which Harrison, if he had known of it, would unmercifully have exploited ; and if anyone in 1785 knew the explanation, it would have been Thomas Longman and Andrew Strahan, successors of men who had been associated with the *Dictionary* from the beginning. Longman may have known, and he may have chosen discreetly to say nothing. There are, however, so many other possibilities that in the absence of strong and direct evidence to the contrary, the more just and likely guess is that Longman was not deliberately hiding the truth and that the other corrected copies were not accessible to him and his colleagues. Very possibly, those copies were already in private hands, and far from London. The first unequivocal record which we have been able to find of Colonel Gimbel's copy places it in Staffordshire in the mid-nineteenth century, when it is entered under the heading "Johnson, Samuel" in "a large folio ' Catalogue of the Library of Ralph Sneyd, Esq., at Keele Hall, 1862 ' " :

A dictionary of the English language ; first ed. proof copy with the authors Ms. corrections A-Pum : 3 vols. fol.<sup>1</sup>

Similarly, our earliest clear fact about the Museum copy is that it was bought for the Museum in December, 1853, at the sale of the library of John Hugh Smyth Pigott, of Brockley Hall in Somerset. The general silence concerning both copies makes one more willing to guess that at Johnson's own sale they passed into collections from which Longman could not have retrieved them and from which, it must be added, he may have seen no reason to retrieve them ; if Johnson made his notes in these two copies before he made his revision for the fourth edition, Longman may have considered that the fourth edition supplanted all earlier corrections, printed or not.

The causes, progress, and results of the booksellers' war of 1785 may therefore be taken as established in their general outlines ; and the nature and extent of Johnson's corrections in

<sup>1</sup> The Sneyd muniments, which are now in the Rylands Library, were very kindly searched for us by Dr. Frank Taylor, whose report we quote.

the Reynolds copy, as well as the use which the proprietors made of them, have been determined. Oddly enough, the unsolved problems, those concerning the other corrected copies, lead backward to 1755 or earlier. In 1755 the proprietors began to publish the second edition of the *Dictionary*, like the sixth and seventh editions thirty years later, in weekly numbers and in the face of unusual competition. Perhaps the exhibition of the Sneyd-Gimbel copy will show whether or not this is mere coincidence.