

In Search
of Shakespeare's
Dictionary

A Memoir

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Photo by Ellen Y. Rosenberg

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FOR ELLEN.

FIFTY-NINE YEARS OF TOGETHERNESS, SHARING
THE CHALLENGES AND WONDERS OF THE WORLD.

YOU MADE IT ALL POSSIBLE. THANKS.

WITH ALL MY LOVE.

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CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Together they played some Mozart, then afterwards there were short pieces by Bach. These members of the London Symphony Orchestra were rehearsing. In between, they would reminisce about the war, the bombing raids and the great fire....The celebrated Dictionary that Shakespeare used four hundred years earlier had been saved.

This is the story of a hunt for a book. Not any book, but an old one. Not just any antique manuscript, but a dictionary - a book that breathes life into its user. Not just any dictionary, but one written during the Elizabethan period. Not just any Elizabethan lexicon, but the work that define Shakespeare in forming the magic of his plays, poems and sonnets - the famous Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae (Thesaurus of the Roman Tongue and the British) by Thomas Cooper, also known as Cooperi, Cowperio, Couper. (I prefer using Cooper).

To track this Dictionary, to find an earlier or later edition, always in pursuit of the jewel the great Bard of Avon used, is seductive. Where is it, the Lexicon that touched his fingers (might his fingerprint or signature or initials WS be

found), that reached out having its words memorized and absorbed in its precision, providing the mythological, the memorable entries that would enrich his writings. That would evolve a complexity of emotion never or since matched by any another writer of the English language.

Thomas Cooper “spoke” to Shakespeare! No, not quite. They never met, although his influence was overwhelming. As you will see in the text, a significant portion of the Bard’s writings were taken from Cooper’s entries, containing not just word definitions and annotations, but detailed descriptions of people and places, otherwise unavailable to Shakespeare.

Who was this gentle author, destined to be the engine of creativity for dozens of important writers of the sixteenth century? Their dependence on his majestic descriptions provided information no other reference work could match. Cooper’s outreach to the creative minds of his day must now surface and be known to the world.

Therefore, locating Shakespeare’s copy of Cooper’s Thesaurus would represent a major literary find. The chase would erupt the heart, turn the blood and invigorate the mind. Enough of dust entering the lungs seeking the prize in an old antiquarian book shop. Enough of musty, dank corners crawling on one’s knees in

pursuit of an old copy. Enough time spent plotting the volume that may long ago have disappeared by fire, overuse, or disposal. Please, let it survive; let it remain hidden in a condition of usefulness, protected from the elements and misguided treatment.

Copies of the Cooper Thesaurus exist, appearing on bookshelves of a public library, in private hands, or in an antiquarian shop. Each would contain the best of Cooper's excellent lexicography. To find any copy does not suffice; it is to press the pages of the one touched more than four hundred years ago by William Shakespeare; to have the electricity of creativity penetrate the binding, passing with tingling fingers, ever slowly through its pages. The reward would become the passion of sharing the moment of truth, a direct possession of imagination holding the volume that contributed to the mesmerizing works of the primary artists of the English word.

Without a doubt, William Shakespeare is the world's most famous, some might even say, infamous, wordsmith in English literary history. In particular, his plays have been the staple of performance. The beauty with which he expresses the emotions and thoughts of his characters, and the eloquence and flow of the

dialogue, are memorable. For centuries people have speculated that he used a number of source books to help him craft his masterpieces.

The Bard of Avon, or at times referred to as “the Swan of Avon,” never left his homeland. Nevertheless, he wrote of magical places from Denmark in his majestic Hamlet, to Egypt in Anthony and Cleopatra. The list is endless. The pressing obvious question is where did he get his descriptive information? The lyric passages in his works required background details of persons in antiquity and geographic locals. The evidence is now available that Shakespeare cribbed from Cooper’s Thesaurus (there were no copyright protections in those days) borrowing as he needed to fulfill his cup of knowledge. As a plagiarizer, (it was not uncommon then) he lifted paragraph after paragraph from this Dictionary (never once mentioning his source, as was common) altering it to suit his literary style and then reinserting the copied paragraphs into his dialogue.

History has long supported his need to borrow. All dictionaries are constructed from previous ones; all compilers have copied as needed to insure the continuity of language; all have secured the meaning of its civilization by maintaining a parallel set of explanations from one period to another. Without this

building process, words would constantly shift in meaning, thus disrupting any sense of stability.

If a rich language is a road map to our culture, then the dictionary becomes the clue for shifting directions, sometimes forcing us to pause long enough to appreciate where we rest before moving sprightly ahead. The word we choose is more than a collection of singular letters; more as a pendulum than a fixed entity. It can sweep by the ear and through its very sound suggest hidden meanings, rich with subconscious associations. All are the mystical twists that so appealed to William Shakespeare.

He loved the “play of words.” Shakespeare would use them with passion and cleverness. I suspect, had he not employed a dictionary while writing, he would have prepared his own lexicon. He would juggle words and phrases until he was satisfied with the ring of his creation. In the search for the Cooper Thesaurus that was touched and used by Shakespeare, my intent is to take the reader on a pursuit, which will spread across the Bard’s childhood playground of Stratford-on-Avon, and beyond. By desire and necessity, a fuller appreciation of his motivation to utilize Cooper will take us through the quagmire of dictionaries from the Eliza-

bethan time frame - the Renaissance period, and emerge with the more recent attempts at lexicography. By its end, we will have a play on words, or better yet a romance of words, a celebration of dictionaries.

A special thanks to the staff and to their unique and important Cordell Collection of Dictionaries, housed in the Cunningham Memorial Library at Indiana State University. As I have, any lover of words and their definitions would be fascinated following a visit to its Library. In December 1969, Warren N. Cordell, a senior executive with A. C. Nielsen Company, initially donated 453 early English dictionaries to his alma mater. There are now more than 9,000 titles and approximately 12,500 volumes of lexicons and other word books, making it the largest collection of its type in the United States. (Multiple editions and papers from my 8 dictionaries are also found and displayed in their Collection.)

I would like to thank Cinda May at the Cunningham Memorial Library, initially for her interest and support. It was wonderful to have her place this book on-line at Indiana State University and its Library. The book is now free to all interested parties.

Throughout this writing I have attempted to include key moments of my life and career. For fifty years I have been possessed to find the copy of Cooper that

Shakespeare used in his writings. At the same time I have collected about 350 antiquarian English lexicons, dating from the mid-1550s to the end of the twentieth century. To better understand my pursuit in this search, a background check on my personal years might bring you closer to my motivation.

Finally, I owe my inspiration and love to my family, my wife Ellen - Editor of this work, Lauren, Liz, Bob, Bess, Ella and Cesar, Celia and Rita. For my children and grandchildren I offered them wings; now off they fly.

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CHAPTER II

THE NEW YORK YANKEES...AND THEN COLLEGE

Life, for me, began on February 5, 1935 in the Bronx, New York City.

President Franklin D. Roosevelt had just signed the Social Security Act assuring an income for all Americans who had been actively employed.

My earliest memory was at Morrisania Hospital. I had just had my tonsils removed, loved the vanilla ice cream given in abundance, and looked forward to returning to my family, my mother Esther, father Frank and older brother Stanley. Running down the hospital hallway to meet my dad, my short pants dropped (no belt was tied). I tripped and bruised my knee. Thus, the experience of my first bandaid. This would be my first conscious trauma of life.

I recall during WWII standing in line in the supermarket just behind my mother who was carrying a 2 pound bag of rationed sugar. I had another pound but was told by her not to tell anyone that we were related; I cried. I remember rolling rubber bands into balls to be used for military tires; collecting meat fat in cans to be turned into ammunition; scrapping the tin foil from chewing gum

wrappers into an ever-growing sphere of metal. I would wear my brother's out-grown pants, while learning the finer points of street "stickball", "slug" and "cans up."

Patriotism was displayed in people's homes and apartments, their windows adorned with square flags identifying with stars the number of sons and daughters serving in the military. Once my teacher (they all were or seemed to be women) announced that Johnny would not be in class that day. He was at home with his mother saddened at the death of his father. "Killed in Action" was the term used.

One day coming out of Hebrew School, my brother Stanley bicycled up to the front steps screaming out that Roosevelt had died. It was 1945. I never saw so many grown people crying at one time.

I always dreamed of going fishing, and I was nine years old when that opportunity came. While at the "Y" Surprise Lake Camp (founded by Eddie Cantor) I was leaning over the pier holding tightly onto the line when I felt the "big one" tearing at the cord. I began to pull her in, about to catch my first fish when a blast over the PA system cried out for all to drop everything (which I did) and run to the

dining room for ice cream and cookies. The war was over and I would lose my catch.

I remained living at home in a one bedroom apartment until I married. I loved my neighborhood. It was mixed, Jewish, refugees from everywhere, Italians, some blacks and a few Irish. Public school went well.

Every Tuesday night I would visit my neighbors, the four Hirsch sisters, to watch TV. Lamb stew was for dinner. That, followed by John Cameron Swayze and the news, then Dinah Shore and the hour long Uncle Miltie (The Milton Berle Show); all on a magnified black and white tube that constantly required adjustment.

Until I reached twelve, there was nothing more important to me than the New York Yankees. We lived only a few blocks away and I would see The House That Ruth Built almost every day rushing to catch the subway heading downtown. My good friend's parents lived in a towering apartment on the Grand Concourse and from the roof we could see across to the bleachers at the Stadium and watch the daily games. It was free and with a radio in hand we experienced every home run, through the amazing voice of Mel Allen. There were the greats, DiMaggio, Mantle, Berra and others.

My mother Esther Gardner, was born in the Bronx and enrolled for teacher training. She eventually became a skilled secretary and typist. I was told that she eloped with Frank, my father, and was the primary supporter in the family working most of her life for the U.S. Government's Railroad Retirement Board. Her starting annual salary was \$1,600. She was a wonderful and dedicated mother, always on the run.

My dad Frank, was born in Moldova, and came to the U.S. at the age of 7. During the war he worked in Buffalo, New York as a manager of a factory manufacturing air force jackets with a fleece collar (my brother and I got one.) This would give also give the family a chance to visit Niagara Falls and Canada. For most of his life he had odd jobs, as a picture framer and finally as a messenger for a Wall Street financial house. He was a heavy smoker, suffered from emphysema and died at the early age of 72.

Stanley, my big brother and only sibling, was my keeper while my parents were out working. He was tall, handsome, dark-haired, an avid reader (claiming to have read the entire 20 volume encyclopedia), extremely intelligent but disliked

school and authority figures. I believe he went to four colleges, but never graduated from any. He became an assistant engineer, married Ruth, and moved to Milwaukee with his four children. He died in 1986 at the age of 55.

William Howard Taft High School was a short walk from home. There were many happy highlights, once I played the lead part of Cary Grant in "Arsenic and Old Lace." I also had a great and dramatic English teacher who electrified the class with the spellbinding works of Shakespeare.

The Gothic looking City College in Manhattan introduced me to another extended New York City world. At that time, it was the most difficult senior public college of the four in NYC to get into, but if you had a high enough high school average you were accepted. I thoroughly enjoyed my four years, doing well academically and having a grand social life. I would graduate with a BS degree, majoring in psychology. Also, I was the master of ceremony and disk jockey at the Friday Night gym dances and was thereby very popular as I could choose the records to be played for dancing.

A highlight for me, following years of growth in boy scouting, was working as a counselor at Camp Rising Sun, composed of 17-18 year old boys from around the world, dedicated to encouraging love for peace and mankind. I absorbed the

international flavors where cultural differences and history would fascinate me throughout life. A camper from the 1930s, Pete Seeger would often visit and once together we would strum, he on his banjo and I on my guitar. It was thrilling playing and recording with this giant of a musician and humanitarian.

There were several universities that I considered for my master's degree, but Ohio State was most appealing. As it turned out I loved the University and disliked living in Columbus. Nevertheless, my goal was to concentrate on my specialty and complete my degree in one year.

"Automation" was for me, the most talked about subject in 1958. Senator John F. Kennedy of Massachusetts was planning a run for the White House and he spent considerable time in coal country, especially West Virginia, explaining how he would, if elected president, help the suffering coal miners with special training programs. I chose the subject of "automation" and its impact on workers for my thesis.

I completed my degree in Industrial Psychology. Two highlights were, working on a research thesis and entering the world of dictionaries-a turnaround moment.

CHAPTER III

MODERN DICTIONARIES

Arbitrarily, I have divided the evolution of dictionaries or lexicons as they are also called, into those created after the American Revolution and its establishment of a Constitution, and those appearing before 1776. Lexicons published in the Founding Era can provide evidence of the original meaning of the Constitution.

The modern dictionary developed as another way for the citizens of the breakaway nation from the United Kingdom to show what independence meant to them. As an extension, they wanted to create their own word culture.

The traditional English language, that evolved in England, demanded a different approach in speaking and writing of the “Mother Tongue”. Separation from the mother country generated a keen rush to define linguistic differences across the ocean.

Dictionaries after Sam Johnson’s 1755 masterpiece would reflect the demand for self-identity in America. A counter reaction would now be needed in the United Kingdom. Thus, lexicons would spread rapidly on both sides of the Atlantic, boosted by the spreading technologies.

The nineteenth century was a time of profound and accelerated change, impacting on the English language and the evolution of dictionaries. Industrialization, urbanization, new technologies and new scientific discoveries, all directed changes in daily life. Levels of education and literacy were improving. New forms of printing technology would increase the sales of books and newspapers, now making them less costly. Federal laws demanding compulsory education eventually led to a significant percentage of the population that by the end of the century could now read and write.

The global reach of English and therefore English dictionaries was quick and impressive during the nineteenth century. By its end, the British empire covered twenty percent of the world's land surface with 400 million people. The number of speakers of English in 1800 climbed from 26 million to over 126 million, making it the century's tour-de-force.

Both the Industrial Revolution and the spread of the British Empire led to coinage of new words. Together, the English language would by necessity absorb an enormous display of newly minted words. With steam driving industrial machinery, railways and steamships criss-crossing the world, old ways were replaced with modern innovation that included dictionaries.

In the 1760s, Benjamin Franklin argued vigorously for spelling reform and for the discontinuation of “unnecessary letters” (“c”, “w”, “y”, and “j”) and the introduction of six new letters.

Thomas Jefferson, in 1813 wrote, “The new circumstances under which we are placed call for new words, new phrases, and for the transfer of old words to new objects. An American dialect will therefore be formed.” He was convinced, along with Noah Webster, that American English would evolve into a completely separate language.

Approximately 4,000 words are used differently in the UK and the U.S. Quickly, American usage is altering British English pushing traditional words and terms aside, such as *truck* for *lorry*, *airplane* for *aeroplane*, *jail* for *gaol*, etc.

It is often repeated that “England and America are two countries separated by a common language.” The race for cultural and political separatism would lead to dictionaries favoring distinct nations across waters.

The division was inevitable. The so-called “Dictionary War” on different sides of the Atlantic would test the will of the people and government. Sovereignty and uniqueness would be the force for the invention of different lexicons.

The British, as expected, would not sit by passively and witness the decline of their language. The Oxford English Dictionary would be their major response.

The battle for popularity, and therefore sales, was ultimately between the Noah Webster American Dictionary of the English Language of 1828 and the Oxford English Dictionary surfacing one hundred years later and published in 1928.

In between, were numerous other important U.S./U.K dictionaries, (various dates) such as:

Ainsworth, English - Latin Dictionary, 1835.

Annandale, The Imperial Dictionary, 1894.

Barclay, A Complete & Universal Dictionary, 1816.

Boag, Imperial Lexicon of the English Language, 1848.

Chambers, Etymological Dictionary, 1878.

Dyche and Pardon, A New General English Dictionary, 1781.

Funk, A Standard Dictionary of the English Language, 1895.

Jamieson, An Etymological Dictionary of the Scottish Language,

1808.

Johnson, A New Dictionary of the English Dictionary, 1755, 1781.

Jones, General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary, 1820.

Longmuir, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1866.

Lyons, The American Dictionary of the English Language, 1898.

Nuttall, English Language Standard Dictionary , 1886.

Ogilvie, The Imperial Dictionary, 1851.

Perry, The Royal Standard English Dictionary, 1813.

Richardson, A New Dictionary of the English Language, 1856.

Riddle, A Copious and Critical English Language Lexicon, 1852.

Sheridan, A Complete Dictionary of the English Language, 1790.

Skeat, An Etymological Dictionary of the English Language, 1882.

Smart, A New Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English
Language, 1836.

Stornmonth, A Dictionary of the English Language, 1879.

Walker, A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the
English Language, 1791 and 1813.

Webster, An American Dictionary of the English Language, 1828.

Worcester, A Comprehensive Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language, 1852.

Wright, Universal Pronouncing Dictionary, 1852

Lexicographers of nineteenth-century dictionaries were encouraged to alter traditional entries and introduce new ones, for example:

“We can now make the journey in the Steam Ship within 60 hours and without any fatigue thus beating the mail coach with the full advantage of sleep and stretching of limbs.” Sir Walter Scott, in a letter to his son explaining the journey from Edinburgh to London, July 6, 1821.

“It is not only important, but in a degree necessary, that the people of this country should have an American Dictionary of the English Language...No person in this country will be satisfied with the English definitions of the words congress, senate, and assembly....for although these are words used in England, yet they are applied in that country to express ideas which they do not express in this country.” Noah Webster, An American Dictionary of the English Language, 1828.

“A Dictionary, then, according to that idea of it which seems to me alone capable of being logically maintained, is an inventory of the language....It is no

task of the maker of it to select the good words of language. If he fancies that it is so, and begins to pick and choose, to leave this and to take that, he will at once go astray.” Richard Chenevix Trench, On Some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries, 1857.

“Railways, telegraph, and School Boards - steam, electricity, and education- are surely killing dialects, even though of late years much attention has been paid to their preservation.” John Nicholson, The Folk Speech of East Yorkshire, 1889.

“A name has not yet been found for horseless carriages...The latest suggestion we have had is ‘motor car.’ Daily Chronicle, October 25, 1895.

CHAPTER IV

NOAH WEBSTER

THE AMERICAN DICTIONARY OF THE ENGLISH LANGUAGE

Noah Webster, Jr. was the first person to compile a significant dictionary of American English forever breaking away from the British way of spelling. Initially, through his own successful spelling books (at one time, a million and one-half copies were sold each year) the country's children were taught to read for the first-half-century of the Republic and millions more to spell for the following half-century.

Webster, a farmer's son was born in West Hartford, Connecticut on October 16, 1758 (three years after Johnson's new Dictionary appeared). He was hoping to become a lawyer and attended Yale College in 1774, during the Revolutionary War.

Throughout his life, Noah was an agitator and protestor who became a dynamic force in the colonies pursuit of independence. He pushed for the calling of the Constitutional Convention. He had authored the pamphlet, Sketches of American Policy in 1785 which had considerable influence upon George Washington. Other than the Bible, his Blue-Back Speller became the most widely circulated

book in America, and continued to be used for more than a century, with sales exceeding 70 million copies. (In 1788, its title was changed to The American Spelling Book and later to The Elementary Spelling Book.)

Writing schoolbooks took his reputation to the very top. He obtained national copyright protection for his speller in 1790, when the first national copyright law was passed, giving him security for his works over fourteen-years. From the publisher, he negotiated a penny a copy in 1804 (the date of his first copyright renewal.) In 1816, he sold the entire rights to the American Spelling Book for its third copyright period, in anticipation of his working on his major Dictionary.

Throughout his education and in the preparation of his spelling masterpiece, Noah Webster turned to the most authoritative English language dictionary of its day, the one prepared by Samuel Johnson in England. (At this time, he discovered that Johnson had used numerous lexicons as references, including the Cooper.)

In the Preface to his own Dictionary he quoted Johnson, “The chief glory of a nation arises from its authors,” and then proceeded to add his own goal. “With this opinion deeply impressed on my mind, I have the same ambition which actuated that great man” to give notice to Washington, Franklin, Adams, Madison, Irving, and other established American authors.

Joseph Worcester, the largely forgotten Harvard-based lexicographer was Webster's primary rival. To his disappointment he quickly lost out to Webster.

On June 4, 1800, Webster placed the following advertisement in the New Haven newspapers, "Mr. Webster of this city, we understand, is engaged in completing the system for the instruction of youth, which he began in the year 1783. He had in hand a Dictionary of the American Language, a work long since projected, but with other occupations have delayed till this time. The plan contemplated extends to a small dictionary for schools, one for the counting-house, and a larger one for men of science." Thus, in 1800 his intention of writing a dictionary was firm, with the hope of fulfilling a dream to replace the well-established Johnson Dictionary with his own, to be used throughout the United States.

He gathered a huge reference book collection to assist him. As he worked, he sat alongside his assemblage of other lexicons, to assure himself of the continuity and purity of the language. Probably, one of his favorite resources was a copy of the Cooper Dictionary.

Webster would remain faithful to the English language, but meet the news and demands of his own nation celebrating 25 years of independence. He once

again borrowed from his mentor, by quoting from Johnson's writings in The Rambler and placed at the bottom of the title page to his 1828 Dictionary the following:

"He that wishes to be counted among the benefactors of posterity, must add, by his own toil, to the acquisitions of his ancestors."

Webster set about to absorb himself in the study of the English language. He accumulated a mound of notes, containing numerous inconsistencies of spelling, marking his copy of Johnson's definitions along with mistaken entries for word origin (etymology.) Lastly, Noah realized how obsolete Johnson's work had become with the addition of thousands of new words requiring definition. He believed that American independence upon English standards was "prejudicial" and had put "an end to inquiry," with the impact that colleges had "no spirit of investigation." Webster was determined to write an American dictionary, faithful to his country and to its modern times.

As stated by his son-in-law Chauncey A. Goodrich, and later successor as editor of Webster's Dictionaries, Webster "...had also a particular mark by which he denoted, in every work he read, all the new words, or new senses of words, which came under his observation. He filled the margin of his books, with notes

and comments containing corrections of errors, a comparison of dates, or references to corresponding passages in other works, until his whole library became a kind of Index Rerun, to which he could refer at once for everything he had read.”

With minimal assistance, Webster wrote out in longhand, the full manuscript of his Dictionary of 70,000 listings, filled with citations, etymologies, the arrangement of multiple meanings, and carefully prepared definitions. His Lexicon was the first to add technical and scientific words, a deliberate effort to surpass these limited efforts in earlier works. For example, he entered *vaccination*, and *electrometer*. American terms introduced include *skunk*, *tomahawk*, and *snowshoe*. He provided accurate definitions of the U.S. *cent*, *dime*, and *dollar* for the first time as monetary units.

To prepare himself for exploring the etymology of his entries he learned German, Danish, Anglo-Saxon, Welsh and Old Irish, Hebrew and Persian. In all he mastered 20 alphabets.

His Dictionary stirred intellectuals throughout New England. People in Boston and at Harvard were ultraconservative in their spelling and pronunciation and resented his suggested changes. They also objected to his preoccupation with

adding new words to a vocabulary that they believed was already too burdensome. It would take nearly 75 years before they would accept Webster's Dictionary. For them, no one could improve upon Samuel Johnson's work of 1755.

On the other hand, his work was immediately praised by the faculty of Yale and Princeton Universities.

Webster became the earliest American author to make a living from his own publications. He realized early in life that there was money to be made from a schoolbook and sought protection (he became known as the "father of copy-right.")

In 1812, under financial straits, he moved from New Haven to Amherst, Massachusetts and helped found the Amherst Academy on August 10, 1820 with 47 students. Webster was a trustee. While working on an expanded Dictionary, copies of his 1828 earlier Lexicons, his book circulated throughout Massachusetts and Connecticut.

Webster was determined to change American English with the spellings of certain groups of words from their British spelling. Uniformity was the key to his innovations, arguing that there were words that were alike, such as nouns and their derivatives that should be spelled alike. For example, he transformed words

such as *honour* to *honor*, *musick* to *music*, *defence* to *defense*, and *centre* to *center*.

He finished the writing of his American Dictionary of the English Language in Cambridge, England in 1825, and said, "When I had come to the last word, I was seized with a trembling which made it somewhat difficult to hold my pen steady for writing. The cause seems to have been the thought that I might not then live to finish the work...But I summoned strength to finish the last word, then walking about the room a few minutes, I recovered." It took 27 years for Webster to complete his lexicon, which was then published when he was 70 years of age.

The last of the 2,500 pages of his Dictionary were printed in November 1828, selling for \$20 for the two volumes. He proposed dropping useless letters from certain words, such as *imagin*, *farewell*, *crum*, *fether*, and restructured the accepted British English *centre*, *colour*, *plough*, *draught*, and *centinel* for *center*, *color*, *plow*, *draft*, and *sentinel*. Time would tell. Webster succeeded with many suggestions and failed with others.

His Dictionary, with its 70,000 listings included new words from science, commerce, and popular usage, and Webster even coined one new word - *demoralize*.

The U.S. Congress and courts adopted his Lexicon as the standard in its transactions. His masterpiece was reduced to an 1829 abridged edition and sold far better than the original complete Dictionary.

In 1838, Webster, at the age of 80 years, began a revision of his American Dictionary, that was published in 1841 as a second edition with “Corrected and Enlarged” entries. It would popularly be referred to as Webster’s Unabridged with its more than 5,000 new words from the 1828 Dictionary.

The great American died on May 28, 1843 at the age of 86 and was buried in New Haven, Connecticut’s Grove Street Cemetery.

Fortunately, for American users his American Dictionary of the English Language would not become obsolete with the passing of its compiler, as did Johnson’s creation. In 1843, George and Charles Merriam, publishers in Springfield, Massachusetts, bought the publishing rights and unsold copies of the 1841 edition for \$3,000. Webster’s dream for writing the American Dictionary..... would henceforth be known as Webster’s Complete Dictionary of the English Language. The company has continued to produce new editions with more than eight times the words first prepared by Webster in 1828.

CHAPTER V

THE OXFORD ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Throughout the United Kingdom and in the Commonwealth around the world, the 1755 Johnson's Dictionary had become the staple of English lexicons.

Yet, the work was becoming increasingly obsolete and facing competition from the 1828 Noah Webster's Dictionary. Along the way improvements were made by others, with corrections, additions, and revisions. When Webster's Dictionary became famous, several U.K. lexicographers took action and attempted to integrate American terms into their volumes.

It was now clear that a major thrust had to be made to prepare a new English dictionary that would preserve the greatness of its historical lexicon, not only to define, but to capture the background of a word's evolution. By the mid-19th century there was a firm belief that the UK was the intellectual center of the English speaking world. Action was needed.

The origin of the Oxford English Dictionary goes back to 1857, roughly one hundred years following publication of Johnson's work. The English Philological Society, decided that all existing English dictionaries were incomplete and deficient, and that the entire language needed a thorough re-examination. A contract

was prepared calling for a four-volume, 6,400 page manuscript to be completed in ten years. Over the following 22 years, scouring printed sources from all periods, the Society managed to amass nearly two tons of research notes on 5" x 6" slips. In 1879, the Society entered into negotiations with the Oxford University Press to take on the project, and James Murray, who had just become President of the Society, was named editor.

Murray was a remarkable, largely self-educated Scotsman, a village tailor's son who had left school at the age of 14. A master at Mill Hill School, London, he had agreed to edit the Dictionary, and his Preface to Part I is signed from "The Scriptorium, Mill Hill, London N.W." The Scriptorium was his name for the large corrugated iron shed put up in the garden of his house near the school to accommodate the dictionary materials and the assistant working with him. He declared that the Dictionary "permeated through with the scientific method of the century." The first batch was sent to the printer on April 19, 1882.

On February 1, 1884, a drab-looking paper-covered book was published. It was large - 13 x 10 1/2 inches - and nearly an inch thick. The title on its buff cover says A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles. Part I covered the language from **A** to **Ant** in 352 pages, and was priced at twelve shillings and sixpence. This was the first of 125 installments of the Dictionary to be published between 1884

and 1928, when the work was completed. (Almost immediately it was realized that new materials and words had to be added, leading to Supplements.)

When in 1855, Murray moved to Oxford to concentrate all his energies on the Dictionary, he had a new, bigger Scriptorium built in the garden of his Oxford house, and the original one was presented to the Mill Hill School as a reading room for boys. From there he sent out between 30 and 40 handwritten inquiries to his contributors every working day. (More than 100 years later the process seeking information continued and I would now become a recipient of these requests, with the arrival of one post-card at a time to my home in NYC. My response, following hours of research, would follow. It was my honor to participate in this project.)

In his Preface to Part I, Murray set out his vision of the new Dictionary, which by completeness of its vocabulary, and by the application of the historical method to the life and use of words, might be worthy of the English language and of English scholarship. The sample presented in **A to Ant** dealt with 8,365 words, of which 1,998 were marked obsolete, because the Dictionary was covering the language side from the middle of the twelfth century. By the time it was completed 44 years later, a total of 414,825 words (today, more than 600,000 words have been defined) had been dealt with, nearly half of them edited by Murray himself,

although he died in 1915, thirteen years before the project was completed. The original 12 volume edition was illustrated with 1,827,306 quotations and extended over 15,487 pages-a mighty task. One hundred and seventy-eight miles of typeset materials had been produced when the Oxford English Dictionary (OED) was completed in 1928, making it the grandest printing effort of all time. Publication was a national event, with a huge hotel celebration where the UK's Prime Minister was the keynote speaker.

With the enormous availability of potentially new words, the editors had to discriminate on what and what not to use. Words that did not last long were eliminated, and lexicographers looked for evidence of at least 10 years' usage. (For example, *Reagonomics* survived, while *Clintonomics* did not.)

Other editors would follow prior to World War II, including Herbert Coleridge, Frederick James Furnivall, Henry Bradley, William Alexander Craigie, and Charles Talbut Onions. A one-volume Supplement to the OED would appear in 1933 (becoming Volume XIII).

In 1957 a new Chief Editor, Robert Burchfield was hired to work on the Supplement of the OED. Burchfield, another non-UK editor, was born in 1923 in a small seaside town in New Zealand. Having won a prestigious Rhodes Scholarship, he sailed off to Oxford University in 1949. After teaching from 1951 to 1957, he

was invited by the Oxford University Press to edit the Supplement, record and define words, and add new meanings to old words, that had come into the language since the completion of the original OED in 1928. Dozens of technical, scientific and machine terms were being added to our vocabulary daily; computer entries would quickly be added.

At the Washington, D.C. celebration for the completion of the final Supplement, Burchfield was overheard to say “any literate, educated person on the face of the globe is deprived if he does not know English.” In his talk he would acknowledge that American English would henceforth be the leader in introducing new words into the language. Burchfield retired in 1986, with nearly thirty years at the OED helm. He had brought the Dictionary from a period of stagnation in the 1950s to its future potential.

Volume I, A-G, was issued in 1972, Volume II, H-N, in 1976, Volume III, O-Scz, in 1982, and the fourth and final volume, completing the alphabet on May 29, 1986. The Supplements to the OED contain some 62,750 words (many of American English) with an estimated 527,500 quotations, spread over 5,750 pages. Between 1957 and 1986, 57 full-time people had worked on the Supplements with an average of 18 at any one time. (I would happily become a business editorial consultant for the final volume of the OED Supplement, remaining on to this day.)

The printing of the last volume of the Supplements marks the end of an era in the trade. It is probably the last remaining book in the United Kingdom to be set up in the type by the hot-metal process and the printing house concerned retained its hot-metal department just until the last entry, *Zyrian*, was safely in place.

The Oxford University Press in 1984 announced plans for a vast multimillion project to computerize the OED. The New Oxford English Dictionary, as their computer-aided version is called, constituting the largest electronic dictionary database in existence, with a total of 60 million words. John Simpson and Edmund Weiner, now both retired, became new editors and had their work cut out for them.

In March 30, 1989, the Second Edition was ready for launching and the Dictionary was finally put on a computer. The entire Lexicon, plus its four volumes of Supplements were keyboarded by hand in the US, preparing it, the OED2 for 1989. This huge project contained twenty thousand pages of type, each with three columns of tiny print. At this time the University of Toronto in Waterloo, Canada became a primary collaborator to get the original OED placed on computer. (During this exciting period, it was discovered that 210 neologisms in Shakespeare's A Midsummer Night's Dream were uncovered, and 480 in Hamlet.)

The Bard at this stage of his writings had a total of 2,900 nouns available, 2,350 adjectives, 2,250 verbs, 146 phrases, 40 interjections, and 39 prepositions. With the aid of computers it was determined that between 1600 and 1610, 8,400 new words had been uncovered.)

By the early 1990s, the first 12 volumes and its one Supplement, were integrated with the later 4 Supplements and were united to form a new 16 multivolume set of a properly alphabetized Oxford English Dictionary. Indeed, the OED carries the mighty river of English flowing onward.

John Simpson joined the editorial staff of the OED in 1975 to work on the Supplement (when I was invited to become an OED business consultant) and soon became the co-editor of the second edition, published in 1989. Four years later, in 1993 he was appointed Chief Editor.

John, born in Cheltenham, first studied English Literature at the University of York and Medieval Studies at the University of Reading. The first Dictionary entry that he worked on in 1976 was the noun “queen.”

Recognizing the OED as a record in the evolution of the English language, Simpson instigated the OED's first comprehensive revision. Under his leadership, the OED website was introduced in 2000.

His contributions, while many, were highlighted by the creation of the Second Edition of the OED which was the first version of the Dictionary to be published from machine-readable text. Into the new century, he moved the OED from being a printed reference text for the meaning, origin and development of individual words to a continually updated, searchable database for exploring the English language across the globe and over the centuries. Simpson had moved the OED from its Victorian based lexicon into the present, digitally dominated century. Now in retirement he would write his recently published and splendid memoir The World Detective, telling his life and his wonderful career at the OED.

Edmund Weiner, became Deputy Chief Editor of the OED in October 1993, while Simpson retired from his post realizing that during his editorship 60,000 new words and meanings to the OED were added. Effective November 1, 2013, Michael Proffitt became the new Chief Editor at the OED, with Philip Durkin as his primary assistant. Proffitt came to the OED in 1989, when computers were being introduced. OED3 was initially planned to be completed by 2010, but by mid-2016, the staff were only about one third of the way into the new version. The executives now talk of completion in another 20 years.

Unconventional, work progresses in alphabetical order, beginning with “m” to accommodate the learning curve of Murray, the founding editor. The concept

being that by the time the current team went back to the earlier letters it would have been built up the experience to compensate. When 2007 came, they had completed “r” and altered their strategy.

As work continues, the staff realizes that the English language continues to spread across the globe. Roughly 1 billion people speak it as a second or foreign language, while it is the mother tongue for 375 million. The OED remains the monitor of the constant changes in the English language, forever keeping an eye out for new entries. Their motto and motivation may well echo T.S. Eliot, “For last year’s words belong to last year’s language, and next year’s words await another voice.”

(After 40 years of serving as an OED consultant, concentrating on terms dealing with business, economics, finance and trade, I still joyfully receive requests from their editorial staff for assistance originally receiving one British pound for every response I returned to them. With pride, I continue to fulfill my love in working with the protectors of the English language displaying a titanic contribution to society. No, Johnson was wrong in defining a lexicographer as a *harmless drudge*. My personal contribution is defined as placing words so that people can use them - the good ones, bad ones, new ones, and old ones. All I can do in the end, is work hard to describe how a word is used out in the world.)

CHAPTER VI

THE BIRTH OF DICTIONARIES

One of the more poetic forms of nostalgia is the notion that, in the beginning, all human beings spoke the same language. The belief persisted until the middle of the nineteenth century that some single original language had been God's gift to man at the time of Creation, and that in happier days "the whole earth was of one language, and one speech."

Theologians took it on faith and the philologists, such as they were, tried piously to confirm it to be tortuous rationalizing. In the 1680s, Cotton Mather wrote his M.A. thesis at Harvard University in a detailed defense of this supposed linguistic revelation. In 1808, the philosopher Friedrich von Schlegel was convinced that the ancestor of all modern tongues was the Sanskrit of ancient India. In the 1830s, lexicographer Noah Webster gave it as his opinion that the prototype language must have been "Chaldee," that is, Aramaic, the language of the Holy Land in Christ's day. At various times Hungarian, German, Danish, Basque, Dutch, Swedish – all these and many others – have been proven, at least to their speaker's satisfaction, to have been the language of Eden.

No reference book, perhaps other than the Bible, is so widely used as a dictionary, either in hard copy or electronic. The lexicon as we know it today could not have been written until letters were alphabetized, requiring a formal structure for sequencing them to be lead-ins for words.

Although claims have been made that definitions of words appeared in pamphlets soon after the dawn of writing there is no evidence that was the case. Early Chinese authors, those of the Pharaoh's days and others in biblical periods, did not define terms. Defining of words can be found no earlier than 2,000 years ago.

Arguably the first known attempt in preparing a dictionary was done by Varro, who died in 27 B.C. He wrote 24 books of which 6 survive, including De Lingua Latina. One of the books contains a sort of glossary of Latin terms. Apollonius of Alexandria, commonly supposed to have lived in the time of Augustus, wrote a glossary to Homer.

The first Greek lexicographer is Apollonius the Sophist, a contemporary of Augustus, who completed Homeric works. Onomastion is a collection of synonyms in the third century, prepared by Julius Pollux.

A modern defining book demands a proper sequence or alphabetic order. Suidas (900-1025 A.D.) compiled a Greek Lexicon, as an historical and geographical dictionary, making his contribution unique for its breadth. He included in his alphabetical list of words a considerable number of proper names, those of persons and places together with succinct biographic or geographic information for each. With the coming of printing in the fifteenth century important lexicons became widely known and constituted a major source, especially as to proper names, for Renaissance lexicographers. Thus, Suidas' masterpiece survived more than 500 years of usage. His manuscript of names in antiquity now becomes the first link to the Cooper Dictionary used by Shakespeare.

To satisfy the person who is curious as to the transition of the titled glosses, or, lexicons to the modern dictionary, we can see that the first to use the word "dictionarium" was Johannes de Garlandia, who in 1225 wrote Latin Vocables. John Balbus (Balbi) or John of Genoa, who died in 1298 completed the Catholicon, a large, Latin Dictionary of lasting importance. It contained proper names, biblical and classical, along with their legends. (It was probably the first dictionary to be printed, appearing in 1460, five years after the introduction of the printing press

by Gutenberg.) Printed often thereafter, the Catholicon was one of the most influential works of the fifteenth century and would impact lexicon writers throughout the Renaissance and afterwards.

In 1489, Nicholas published his Cornucopiae and added immediately to the fine tuning of the modern lexicon. He prepared his commentary with an exposition of Latin phraseology, including proper names.

Undoubtedly other compilers of dictionaries prepared important lexicons. Why some outlasted others is not fully understood. Perhaps, an endorsement by a nobleman or king could have brought prominence to its author. Favoritism and politics certainly would play a dominant role in the surfacing of one dictionary over another. Nevertheless, little was lost since the lexicographers, in their motivation to secure and stabilize their language, are destined to borrow from earlier works, to provide continuity and to ensure an easy transition for the masses struggling to find a common language.

Dictionaries, even following their mass printing were rarely found in the home, remaining the exclusive tool of the clergy and the scholarly. A church, school or university, should it possess a lexicon, would secure it by chain to a desk or table as if it were a prized treasure. (At the Stratford Grammar School, where

Shakespeare attended, the costly and rare Cooper was chained to the desk and appears to have disappeared soon after the Bard left Stratford for London.)

Competition in dictionaries devoted exclusively to the elucidation of proper names involving myth and legend and history were designed to be helpful to readers of classical poetry and history. Responding to the demand for such aids, a lexicon historical, geographical, and poetic had evolved, becoming increasingly popular and becoming the necessary tool for the now celebrated writers of the Renaissance and Elizabethan periods.

The earliest dictionaries of this type and arguably the best known among the educated, was written by Herman Torrentinus (1450-1520). Torrentinus-Van Beeck, in the vernacular was a Dutch scholar, who in the 1490s, was professor of rhetoric in the College of Groningen. At Deventer, in the Netherlands, in 1498, he first published his small Latin manual; Elucidarius carminum et historiarum vel Vocabularius poeticu, continens fabulars, historias, provincias, urbes, insulas, fluvios, et montes illustres....

In the address to the reader, Torrentinus explains why he compiled the Elucidarius and what authorities he had used. His students and other friends, knowing the reputation of their teacher as a classical scholar, frequently came to

him, he tells us, for an explanation of allusions and for comments on the meaning of the classical Latin poems that were printed and eagerly studied. Being himself the editor of some of these poems, Torrentinus felt compelled to comply with their requests. He found, however, that various readers often sought information about the same names and allusions, and, as a result, his explanations had frequently to be repeated. Torrentinus decided therefore that it would be a service to his friends and economy of his time to gather and publish in a single volume his comments on subjects which elicited recurrent inquiry. He explained specifically that his expositions were concerned with the names of gods and their fables, with celebrated men, with countries and islands, with cities, and with rivers, lakes, and mountains. He hoped that his book would be profitable to the studious readers of poetry and history and even of the Holy Scripture.

To establish confidence in the authority of his work, Torrentinus assured his readers that the matter had been gathered from approved writers. It became clear from the address to the readers, that the purpose of the Elucidarius was to help the less cultivated to an understanding of the poetry and history by supplying in concise form information on unfamiliar classical names.

Authors of this period were not interested in preparing wordbooks. Nearly one hundred years would pass before these general term dictionaries would appear.

Most of the earlier and important dictionaries were encyclopedic as well. They described and detailed names, places, and events from antiquity. These authors were less concerned with the precision of a word's meaning than they were with perpetuating classical and mythological stories from one generation to another. Writers of the period must have felt secure in using his Dictionary. (How often do dictionary users question a definition?) He was the supreme authority and his insistence on utilizing already established authors as source material must have impressed contemporary users of his Lexicon. His Dictionary quickly became a best-seller.

The Elucidarius undoubtedly fulfilled a need. Its popularity was immediate and long-sustained. At least eleven editions were printed in various cities on the Continent between 1498 and 1518. After Torrentinus' death in 1520, the Elucidarius was frequently reissued with augmentations.

BY 1555 the Elucidarius, as revised, suffered a sea change. This work had been so much extended in scope and so added to by Charles Stephanus that he

may have been justified in publishing the enlarged volume under a new title with his own name on the title-page: Dictionarium historicum ac poeticum, omnia gentium, hominum, locorum, fluminum ac montium antiqua recentioraque, ad sacras ac prophanas historias poetarumque fabulas intelligendas necessaria, vocabula.....Lutetiae.....C. Stephani, 1553.

The revised book, now a different offshoot of the Elucidarius, enjoyed even greater popularity than the original. At least nine editions, with slightly expanded title-pages, were printed in various cities between 1553 and 1600.

In 1500, the Hortus Vocabularum (Garden of Words) was published. This Latin-English Dictionary had on its title page Ortus Vocabularum, giving the Lexicon another name. Unlike a dictionary arranged by alphabetic listing, it was a collection of glossaries arranged by subject, an approach later used by Sir Thomas El-yot who compiled his Bibliotheca Elioatae in 1542.

The giant of all Latin dictionaries was by Calepin (Calepine) (Calepino). He was born in Calepio (thus the name) near Bergamo, Italy. His Lexicon went through 15 editions. (His statue stands proudly in the Ufizzi courtyard in Florence, Italy.) Calepine's masterpiece Dictionarium, published in Reggio, Italy in 1502

would become the centerpiece for future Latin, and ultimately English dictionaries. (Cooper in preparing his own Thesaurus used the Calepine.) (A plaque dedicated to Calepine can be seen on the wall of a church, now a part of the University of Bergamo, a stunning academic institution one hour east of Milan, where I have taught for the past eight years.)

Calepine first published his Latin volume and later a polyglot destined to continue its popularity for two hundred years. The practice of including in the general Dictionary the names of places and persons, historical, legendary, and mythical, with descriptive and biographical sketches, is found in the Thesaurus Linguae Latinae of 1531 and 1543 of Stephanus. It is a thesaurus superior in its Latin and in its adherence to classical authenticity to any of the texts already mentioned, and of much significance in the history of lexicography.

In the 1500s, few people could read Latin, or for that matter, any other language; the skill was limited to some nobility, and teachers. Most abundantly this gift belonged to the clergy. They were the ones who conducted prayer services. They were the ones who drew inspiration from the Bible and sustained an enviable position as authorities of blessed knowledge.

Throughout, what we now refer to as the United Kingdom, religious interpreters became increasingly aware that congregants knew little Latin, and usually could communicate best in their own language – an Anglo-Saxon dialect eventually to be known as English. Out of necessity clergyman would frequently jot down the equivalent term in English along the margin of their bibles and other Latin writings to insure that their audience both listened and understood what they were preaching. This frustration would soon be resolved as the standard Latin dictionary would slowly take on a new feature – equivalent terms in English.

CHAPTER VII

DICTIONARIES COME TO ENGLAND

Modern English lexicography began in the 1530s. Until then most lexicons were either, Latin-English or some English-Latin. Middle English was evolving and was popularized during the period that Shakespeare and others would write. Now it was England's turn to not only dominate the globe, but also to make its language meaningful and clear for the world.

During this period of evolution, it should not surprise readers that the sense of words would also undergo change. Their original meaning, for many reasons, some known others unknown would dramatically face redefinition. England was exploring and colonizing. Trade would expand demanding clarity in contracts and other documents.

A splendid example is found in Shakespeare's Love's Labour's Lost -where the "Middle English" word *nice* derives from Latin to mean *ignorant*. In the 1300s it suggested a person who is *foolish, simple-minded, then scandalous and lustful*. By the 16th century when Shakespeare was writing, it was defined as *fragile, meticulous, and fussy*. In the 17th century *nice* was used to describe a person as

pampered, and then in the 18th century as *precise, exacting*. Eventually the definition would be as we use it today *satisfactory, attractive, and agreeable*. Coming full circle, the negative became positive. Indeed, describing the *nice* guy, you are suggesting someone who might be *gullible* and *naive* and can easily be used and/or manipulated.

Here is a sample of words that over a five hundred year period have changed in definition, some slowly, others rapidly. Originally they meant something very different from what we understand today when using them.

affiliate - adopt a child

album - a bank stone tablet

alcohol - eye shadow

algebra - bone setting surgery

bank - a table

bimbo - a man

blockbuster - a bomb

brothel - a good-for nothing

butler - a servant in charge of a wine cellar

buxom - obedient

club - ball of string

clumsy - numb with a cold

cubicle - a bedroom

clubboard - a table

curry favor - to groom a chestnut horse

doer - animal

defecation - purification

dismantle - to remove a cloak

doom - a law

drench - to ply someone with drink

dump - daydream

exquisite - searched for

fetish - talisman

finance - ransom

flat - apartment

flirt - sneer

foyer - green room

G string - loincloth

garble - to separate the good from the bad

girl - referred to girls and boys

grin - snarl

handicap - a method of securing a deal

hanky-panky - sleight of hand

heartache - heartburn

heartburn - lust

heissy - a housewife

inmate - lodger

jargon - birdsong

livid - bruited

ludicrous - playful

man - a person

manage - to control a horse

moment - 90 seconds

myriad - 10,000

nasty - dirty

naughty - having nothing

nephew - a grandson

noon - 3 pm

oaf - elf

obnoxious - exposing to harm

obsess - torment

ostracism - a means of banishing someone from a city

passenger - a pilot

pedagogue - a slave

pencil - paintbrush

peripatetic - a follower of Socrates

pink - dark yellow

potpourri - a stew

prestigious - deceitful

punk - prostitute

queen - a wife

raunchy - dirty

sad - satisfied

secretary - keeper of secrets

shampoo - a message

slogan - a war cry

snob - a cobbler

sophisticated - contaminated

success - outcome, either good or bad

tit-for-tat - you hit me, I'll hit you

treadmill - a prison punishment

unhappy - unlucky

venom - a love potion

volatile - capable of flight

Interestingly enough, although the fifteenth-century Calepine, (Calepinus) Dictionary was criticized more often than any other lexicon of the period, “by too strict following Calepine, the mistakes of impressions, or his own haste and oversight” was spelled out.

The Work continued to be used in the church, home, and schools. The Dictionary of the Italian monk was revised and re-edited until it no longer resembled the original manuscript. Well into the eighteenth century, in one of several editions, this book was relied upon by Latinists throughout Italy and most of Europe.

The printer Berthelet looking out for his own financial interests argued “singulari vid in bonas literas amore praeditus” and found Cooper as a suitable lexicographer to prepare a new edition.

Until Cooper and others presented their own lexicons to the reading public, Calepine was clearly the standard reference dictionary for those trying to grapple with Latin, the language of the “cultured.” It was used for the education of England’s Princess Mary thereby helping spread the word of this work. Although female, the program for her schooling emanated from the “outstanding authority on female discipline; and as with the training of all royalty, only the best available materials were used. When it was decided that the Christian Princess should study Christian poets, it was recommended that a Calepine for instance.....to which she may refer, being stuck on the Latin word.”

When the Dictionarium was revised into a polyglot Lexicon, it became even more in demand. In 1573 the Chancellor, Lord Glamis, considered a Calepine that referred to seven languages to be a fitting gift for James VI. In the same year there appeared the earliest recorded purchase of a book for St. Paul’s library, a polyglot edition of Calepine.

The English language came into being quite late in the evolution of European tongues. Those who spoke and read Latin referred to a barbaric language across the waters. Indeed, until the sixteenth century there were no definitions of English words. In England, before the Norman conquest, reading was limited to

the clergy. They not only were the people most interested in writing and using dictionaries, but were the first to “gloss” (entries written on the side of columns) Latin lexicons and manuscripts, marking gospels and psalters with English equivalents of the Latin.

English dictionary writing first began in Anglo-Saxon times. The earliest known English-Latin Dictionary, Promptorium Parvulorum, sive Clericorum (Storehouse [of words] for Children or Clerics) by Galfridus, a Dominican monk, was printed by Pynson in 1440. The Storehouse did not provide definitions in English, only synonyms, and some may argue that this would deny Pynson’s masterpiece from being declared a dictionary.

Enter, not the first of all English Lexicons, but a dictionary of Latin terms with Latin definitions, followed by a brief sentence or series of equivalent words in English. (These words were printed in italics or in darker print to differentiate them from the Latin.) All the Latin headwords were glossed (translated and/or explained) in English.

Elyot, born in 1490 and died in 1546, was both a diplomat (Cardinal Wolsey appointed him clerk of the Privy Council) and dictionary compiler. In his Preface,

he states that he was educated under the paternal roof, and was from the age of twelve his own tutor.

Sir Thomas Elyot's Latin-English Dictionary, "a wordbook" was the earliest comprehensive Dictionary of the language (a first edition is to be found in the British Museum) initially published in England in 1538. Elyot (alternatively Eliot), who was a distinguished scholar in the reign of Henry VIII, a friend of Sir Thomas More, maintained the tradition of his predecessors by including proper names of entries in the editions of 1542 and 1545. It was published with the new title Bibliotheca Eliotae, Eliotis Libraries, dedicated to Henry VIII. Its Preface begins:

"To the moste excellent prince and our most redoubted souerayne
lorde Kings Henry VIII.,

Supreme head in erthe immediately vunder Christe, of the Church
of Englande.....About a yere passed, J beganne a Dictionarie,
declaring latine by englishe."

It fulfilled the goals of a dictionary of biography and mythology as well as a "wordbook." His work was the first English book to have a dictionary of English with classical as opposed to medieval Latin. It was also the first English lexicon to have Dictionary as its title. Thus, Elyot is credited with being the father of the

Latin-English dictionary, incorporating daily terms along with those from antiquity. Following Elyot's death, his Dictionary was corrected and enlarged repeatedly by Thomas Cooper in 1548, as described later. (It would form the basis in 1565 of Cooper's Thesaurus lingue Romanae et Britannicae.)

Enter the first English children's or student's lexicon. "To avoid all Barbarisms and Anglicisms," Whitewalls' Dictionary was recommended. This 1554 teaching manual, "a littell dictionarie for children" was arranged according to subjects, so that "whatere a child wants he can find it both in English and Latin with phrases in connection with words vsed." The object of the extensively circulated Dictionary was to enable the child to acquire Latin for speaking as well as for writing. One of his most popular quotes is "Abstinence is whereby a man refraineth from any thing which he may lawfully take."

Richard Huloet's 1552 Abecedarium Anglico-Latinum is the first English-Latin Lexicon with French equivalents. As it included brief English definitions for the English words, Huloet (as seen in John Higgins's 1572 Huloet's Dictionary newly corrected, amended, set in order and enlarged,) is credited with producing the first all English dictionary, although most professionals give this distinction to

the post-Shakespearian Robert Cawdrey who produced a Table Alphabeticall in 1604. (The only known copy is to be found at Oxford University.)

Throughout this period there was several main scripts, the English Round Hand, the Secretary Alphabet-used by Shakespeare and the Course Hand.

John Baret (Barret) who died in 1580, was a fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge, England, wrote the monumental four language Dictionary. His Alvearie or Quadruplt Dictionarie in “English, Latine,” Greeke, and French” was published in 1573, with a second edition in 1580. “To the Readers,” he acknowledged the great work of Sir Thomas Elyot and Huloet. Baret’s Dictionary was so popular that scholars sang a chorus of praise, for it had nine prefatory poems in Latin and three in English.

In the Preface, Baret tells us how he happened to compile this volume:

“About eighteene yeeres agone, hauing pupils at Cambridge studious of the Latin tongue, I vsed them often to write Epistles and Theames together, and dailie to translate some peece of English into Latine, for the more speedie and easie attaining of the same. After we have a little begun, perceiuing what great trouble it was to come running to me for euerie words thy missed, (knowing then of no other Dictionarie to help vs, but Sir Thomas Eliots Librarie, which come out a little

before:) I appointed them certaine leaues of the same booke euerie daie to write the English before the Latin, & likewise to gather a number of fine phrases out of Cicero, Terence, Vaesar, Liuie, &c. to set them vnder seuerall titles, for the more readie finding them againe at their needs. Thus within a yeere, ow two, they had gathered together a great volume, which (for the apt similitude betweene the good scholars and diligent Bees in gathering their waxe and honie into their Hiue) I called then their Alueraie, both for a memorial, by whom it was made, and also by this name to incourage other to the like diligence, for that they should not see their worthie praise for the same, vnworthilie drowned in obliuion.”

A 1580 copy of John Baret’s Alvearie, (latin for Beehive) recently bought by George Koppelman and Dan Wechsler, owners of a book shop in lower Manhattan. They claim to have the annotated copy used by Shakespeare.

Following six years of analyzing their copy, the antique store keepers concluded that the annotator was very likely Shakespeare. They were excited when they looked at the word “thaw.” In the entry for “thaw” the text said a related word was “resolve.” Wechsler said “When I looked at the text I was shocked, I thought to myself, there is Hamlet.” Continuing, the Bard stated “Oh, that this too, too sullied flesh would melt, Thaw, and resolve itself into a dew.”

Koppelman and Wechsler have since published two volumes supporting their case and have become embroiled with Shakespeare experts on their claims. Disappointing to them, there is no evidence that they possess a copy of Baret's used by the Bard. Assembled by Cambridge University Latin instructor John Baret, the Alvearie became a popular resource of its time. It was "quadruple" because it employed English, Latin, Greek and French.

Koppelman found and purchased their copy of the Alvearie on eBay for \$4,300 in 2008 claiming that Shakespeare used that copy in his writings, believing that the Bard himself had scoured and marked up the pages. Later a second copy from a leader in the dictionary field, Rob Rulon-Miller was acquired. Rulon-Miller recently wrote "We don't have any materials that directly support Mr. Koppelman's claim." John McQuillen, Assistant Curator of Printed Books and Bindings at the Morgan Library and Museum in New York City, wrote, "There isn't much of Shakespeare's handwriting extant with which to compare the annotations of the Alvaerie." Shakespeare used as many as 30,000 different words in his plays and other writings, entering references as he went forward.

With the proliferation of printing presses after the mid-fifteenth-century, printed books rapidly spread across the landscape. Bibles were favorite publications and purchases. With a more secure tranquility and a pride in educating sons, more and more students discovered a useful tool – the dictionary. No longer would pupils escape reading from the history of the past. Lexicons would now provide separately, or in conjunction with other books, the rich information of civilization. As the sixteenth century proceeded, dictionaries frequently entered the school market and became a primary means whereby the solid learnings and literature of the ancient world became the core of the basic development of students.

So precious were these books that Archbishop Parker provided that they were usually chained to furniture for use of Christopher Marlowe’s Norwich students. (This common practice of chaining major books adds to the mystery of the disappearance of Cooper’s Thesaurus from the Stratford grammar school that Shakespeare attended, as stated earlier.)

Similarly, when Archbishop Parker in 1574 set aside six rooms to his Norwich scholars and furnished at least three of them, he provided that the “under-chamber” should be their common library and procured for them nine books. It

included Cooper's Thesaurus, books that the less wealthy students "must otherwise have gone out of their Purses to provide."

Cooper's Lexicon was a dominant source during the fourth and fifth grade levels. The precept Charles Hoole noted that it was a work that was to become helpful and necessary to scholars "in performing their tasks with more ease and benefit." Cooper's Dictionary, along with other aids to study and good editions of the best authors, were to be "laid up on the Schoole Library, for every Form to make use on, as they have occasion." As today, these reference works were prepared for different levels of accomplishment as well as the age of the user. The works of Calepine and Cooper were clearly for the more advanced, to be used as major sources.

In 1582, a Thesaurus Copweri (Cooper) was purchased for the grammar school that John Milton attended. Another edition was bought in 1590, and then again in 1614.

These Lexicons found their way into academic and private libraries because Renaissance pedagogy emphasized the elucidation of proper names, the scanning and proving of verses, and similar exercises involved in the process. The Diction-

ary was used most often when ancient poetry was studied and turned to by people “stuck on the Latin word,” but also by those absorbed in the process of paraphrase and imitation which accompanied the study of a specific author or type of literature.

During the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries there arose a need for new words for the many discoveries and developments in different areas of science. Numerous authors felt that English was imperfect when compared to the classical languages Latin and Greek and thought that one means of remedying this deficiency would be to borrow new words from these sources.

Its time had arrived. Anglo-Saxon English was heard around the island of the future, called the United Kingdom. With the coming of Queen Elizabeth I, pride in its language was becoming increasingly evident. Indeed, this status would justify the evolution of a dictionary devoted to its burgeoning words. Thus, along with other reference works, the Cooper Thesaurus appears constantly as a subsidiary text in the curriculum. It was kept, for example, in common libraries of grammar schools for the use of all forms; and it seems to have been used by students, including Spenser, Jonson, Milton, Heywood, and Shakespeare.

CHAPTER VIII

LEXICONS AT SCHOOL IN SHAKESPEARE'S TIME

Most people today take the dictionary for granted, as a reference tool to be shelved and used only when trapped by ignorance, often interfacing with a computer, phone or tablet to conduct a word or phrase search. Or, utilized as a prop ready to be pulled onstage for inspiration and clarity, alternatively as an emergency aid. These attitudes were quite different in the sixteenth century.

Early lexicons helped to provide the scholarly or gentleman reader with valid information for comprehending literary masterpieces, primarily of the ancient world and/or for acquiring the age's indispensable achievement of learning.

In his diary, English Oxford bookseller John Dorne described when a customer purchased works of ancient authors, the popular Latin Dictionarium would often be bought as a companion work. In 1556 George Medley wrote that he had acquired for his nephew attending Saffron Walden Grammar School, not only "a dictionarie in Englysshe" but also a "Colopine cum onomastico," that is, a copy of the Dictionarium containing the Onomasticon Latinogrecum.

Writers of the day would even refer to this Calepine Dictionary in their poetry. In John Donne's A Thing...Stranger Than Seaven Antiquaries Studies:

He saith, Sir,

I love your judgment; Whom doe you prefer,

For the best linguist? And I seelily

Said, that I thought Calepine's Dictionarie.

Overtime, a survey of lists of books found in numerous English libraries would usually contain an Elyot, Stephanus, or Cooper, gradually replacing Calepine's Dictionarium.

The reason for Archbishop Parker's gift, mentioned in the previous chapter, is particularly noteworthy. When the precept's student had completed work in the sixth form (grade level) and were preparing for the university, he would have them purchase texts of the Latin and Greek orators and poets, for future use. For those authors "they cannot understand without a Commentary or Scholist," they should procure "those whereby they may best help themselves." But for future work at the universities they should have "ever at hand" five basic references works.

A notation of April 5, 1562 indicates that the Archbishop desired at least some of the lexicons to be available for every form. On that date Alderman Thomas Parker brought into the court of the corporation five books as gifts from the Archbishop for the Norwich Grammar School, including the Thesaurus of Robert Stephanus, and Elyot's Bibliothecan. Cooper's Thesaurus certainly would have been selected, but it had not yet appeared.

All books in a common library received hard use, as the records of the library at the Merchant Taylor's School indicated. There at Spenser's institution, as at the school attended by Milton, in 1599 a Cooper was not located. Just as at least one Calepine may have been worn out at St. Paul's, so among other references to the Merchant Taylors' library occurs a note of 1659, concerning ten books "that are wanted in the Schoole (the old ones being through long vse) worne out." Two of the ten were a Calepine, another a Cooper's Thesaurus. At St. Albans likewise, the phrase "vetus and lacerates" is attached to the 1624 notice of the one remaining Cooper in the library. These dictionaries also appeared in the libraries of famous people including Queen Mary, King James, Robert Burton, Elizabeth I's embezzling financier Richard Stonely, and Elizabeth herself.

The Renaissance student would become familiar with portions of the dictionaries in his school library, that is, with the proper-noun entries in the lexicons, when his practice in composition took the form of a dictamen. In such an exercise a student was expected to translate material from an “unexpected author (extempore) into good Latin” or “into good Greek.” It became customary in schools to use stories derived from Cooper and other lexicographers for material to be translated “extempore.”

From the exercise of the lesson alone, English students during this period became thoroughly familiar with the dictionary entries under both proper nouns and common words, especially upon encountering the major Latin poets in the upper forms. For example, in their study of Virgil, the text was scrutinized by preparing lessons of some ten or twelve verses each. The pupil would memorize, interpret, scan, and prove the verses; give the figures discovered in the lesson, as well as an appropriate definition of each; note the phrases, epithets, and other elegances; and give “the Histories or descriptions belonging to the proper Names, and their Etymologies.”

Along with other reference works, the Cooper Thesaurus appears constantly as a subsidiary text in the curriculum. It was kept, for example, in common

libraries of grammar schools for the use of all forms; and it seems to have been used constantly by the students. This Lexicon was perhaps most helpful for understanding or preparing “histories” of proper nouns, a task that must have been an almost daily necessity and one that would be utilized in demonstrating a pupil’s “store and furniture” good words and phrases. Of course, the information acquired in the school, as well as the methods there inculcated, remained with the students who became the authors of the period.

Shakespeare and other writers used lexicons that were available in grammar-school libraries, lexicons that were instrumental in making certain features of ancient literature poetic commonplaces. The Bard, as did other students, merely followed the educational scheme of the day. They memorized a great deal deriving a considerable percentage of their education from dictionaries. Often, when the teacher entered into a world beyond his capacity, or when proof was required, student and instructor alike would turn to the dictionary for proof. Often it was the Cooper Thesaurus.

CHAPTER IX

EUROPE BECKONS

My first overseas trip was to England in 1957. I was almost 23. Senator John F. Kennedy was running for President of the United States, spending considerable campaigning time in West Virginia and the region. The great fear was automation leading to worker displacement. This advanced form of mechanization would further threaten the mining industries, therefore its impact on employment becoming a major political issue.

My master's degree thesis at Ohio State University would be on the effect of automation. I went to their huge library (libraries were still the primary source for research prior to the coming of the web and the computer) and found their only book on automation, entitled Automation. It was written by George Friedman of the Conservatoire National des Arts and Metiers in Paris.

After a slow read, I decided to write to him, first praising his writings and research, and then proceeded to critique several of his conclusions. (One of the lessons from my father was when reading someone's book, should you disagree with the findings, let the author know of your concerns.) As a twenty year old Junior undergraduate at the City College of New York, I had written one article on the

psychological impact of automation on workers. It was published in the student annual review.

I sent it along to Professor Friedman, (he would become my all-time favorite professor) only to receive a scathing reply questioning my right to criticize, I would soon discover that he was the foremost industrial sociologist in Europe. He let me know of his distinguished reputation. Then to my astonishment, he turned his tone around and invited me to study with him in Paris. After an apology, I asked in my next letter “How?” He urged me to apply for a French Government Bourse and Fulbright Grant, and that he would sponsor my application. (In those days, all applicants were required to speak the language of the attending country. I knew little of French, but fortunately his letter of recommendation had that “rule” waived for me.)

Weeks later, I received a letter from the French Consulate in New York City. It was addressed to me (part of the tale.) This was the decision that I was anxiously waiting for. I ripped open the envelope and read the very long letter, with a dramatic looking official seal on the bottom. Yes, I was awarded the grants and would be spending the academic year 1957-1958 in Paris.

So excited as would anyone be, I reread the document only to see that the letter was addressed to Laurence R. Young, also from the Bronx, New York. The envelope was addressed to me, the letter to someone else. Concerned, I immediately called the Consulate in New York City to be told that “Yes, in the rush to meet a deadline, the French secretary had criss-crossed letters,” and they assured me that Mr. Young and I were both winners. Larry was from the North Bronx and I the Southern part of the borough.

In order to exchange letters (before fax days) I invited him to come to my home and have dinner with my parents and me. He did, and we spent a fun evening talking of Paris, possibly sharing an apartment, and yes, exchanging letters.

Now to the most important event in my life!

Weeks before sailing, Larry asked me to visit with his parents and I went to his house for a superb dinner. Sitting at the table was his younger sister Ellen - my wife to be (what a chance meeting.) She was 16 going off to Goucher College in Baltimore, Maryland and I, at 22 would be spending the year in Paris. (more later.)

At that time, I was working on my master's degree at Ohio State University. To provide free tuition, I served as a research assistant to the noted lexicographer and academic Professor Harold English. By chance, with no apparent experience or test aptitude I was assigned to aid him in the completion of his classic Dictionary of Psychological and Psychoanalytical Terms.

Following four years of effort, he was now nearing the end of his trials and was at the point of editing, searching for errors and continuity, cross-referencing, and last minute alphabetical sorting. This would be my assignment, as it was more laborious than educational. Nevertheless, the goal was worthwhile and provided me with a solid introduction to a new world - that of words and learning. I became aware that the compiler of a dictionary required many keen talents, most importantly the love of language.

What I thought would be a boring, tedious series of tasks - correcting errors, rephrasing, additions and deletions, etymology, roots and more, turned out to be a fascinating and absorbing experience. It taught me the importance of discipline, and what would be at first a long-lasting hobby, and culminating in my becoming a collector of antique English dictionaries and author of eight lexicons.

During those free minutes, the aging, but still outspoken Professor English would turn away from his Webster Dictionary, place the magnifying glass aside and burst forward with some generous and outlandish comments about writers and lexicographers. He would often remind me that Sam Johnson defined a lexicographer as “a harmless drudge,” a phrase he fully identified with. At times the Professor was pompous, other moments able to turn my head with one of his outrageous phrases.

“Yes,” he continued, “one of the reasons a lexicographer spends so much time on his work is knowing that dozens, maybe hundreds of people will turn to the dictionary as a source of information. Ignorance would be overturned by just fingering through one of your entries...That is reward in itself.” I was hooked!

CHAPTER X

THOMAS COOPER AND HIS THESAURUS

The exact link between Cooper and Shakespeare remains unclear. While we have benefited from the vast storehouse of information on the Bard, little is known about Cooper.

To the world he is known as Cooper, or Cooperi, or even Couper or Cowperi. (I prefer the spelling of Cooper.) The future Bishop of Winchester was probably born in Oxford in 1517. Records indicate that he was the son of a very poor tailor in Cat Street and was educated as one of the choristers in Magdalen College school. Recognized for his early talents, he made so much progress that he was elected probationer of the College in 1539, and following graduation became a fellow and master of the school in which he had been educated. It was Cooper's intention to take the Church orders, but having adopted the Protestant view he found himself stalled by the accession of Queen Mary. Consequently, he changed his purpose, took a degree in physics, and moved to Oxford.

In 1545, his mentor Thomas Lanquet died while writing a Chronicle of the World. He had gone from the creation to 17 A.D. and Cooper undertook to carry it

on to the reign of Edward VI. Cooper's portion is about three times that of Lanquet's and the entire manuscript was published in 1549. Another edition was surreptitiously printed, with additions by a third writer in 1559. To Cooper's annoyance, two more editions were published, all in quarto, under the title of Cooper's Chronicle, one in 1540, and another in 1565.

At the same time as he worked on the Chronicle he began another work, which was published in a folio edition in 1548, Bibliotheca Elitoe Sive Dictionarium Lat. et Angl. auctum et emend. per Tho. Cooper. A second edition appeared in 1552, entitled Eliot's Dictionary, the second time enriched and more perfectly corrected by Thos. Cooper, schoolmaster of Moulden's in Oxford. A third edition appeared in 1559.

Upon the death of Queen Mary (religious ideologies once again shifted), Cooper returned to his original goal and was ordained, speedily gaining the character of a zealous preacher. At this time, he commenced what was to become his greatest literary work, Thesaurus Linguae Bormane et Britannicae....op. et ind. T. Cooperi Magdalenesis. Accessit Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum, published in 1565 reprinted in 1573, 1578, and 1584. A massive work, when bound it weighed nearly nine pounds.

As mentioned earlier, Cooper became a new editor of Elyot's work that has been repeatedly criticized.

The Volume, commonly known as Cooper's Dictionary or Thesaurus, delighted Queen Elizabeth so much that she expressed her determination to promote the author as far as lay in her power. The Lexicon was used throughout the Queen's court and became the official Dictionary of the land. The Thesaurus, a Latin Dictionary, ends each definition with a brief explanation in English fulfilling the bridge between languages. (The English section alone appeared in bold, dark letters, a definite assistance to the reader.)

Cooper's private life, however, was anything but joyful. He had married unhappily, his wife Amy wandered off with other men. He condoned her unfaithfulness time after time, refusing to be divorced when the heads of the university offered to arrange it for him. Cooper said that "he would not charge his conscience with so great a scandal."

"His wife's shrewish temper and loose life made him the butt of the wits."

On one occasion, in a moment of fury she tore up half his Thesaurus and tossed it in the fire:

“His wife....was irreconcilably angrie with him for sitting-up late at night so, compiling his Dictionary...When he had halve-done it, she had the opportunity to gett into his studio, took all his pains out in her lap, and three it into the fire, and burnt it. Well, for all that, that good man had so gray a zeal for the advancement of learning, that he began it again, and went through with it that perfection that he hath left it to us, a most us full worke.”

Cooper patiently set to work and rewrote it. “By his incessant labour Cooper had supplied students with arms against barbarism either in the Latin or English tongues.....Your most humble and obedient subiecte Thomas Cooper heartily wyssheth all grace and peace from god with long reigne, honor, health and prosperity.”

An anti-dictionary swell was surrounding Cooper, “some indeed altogether discarded lexicons, holding that the meaning of words should be learnt solely from reading good authors, without any helps.”

In 1562 he became embroiled in another controversy. A reply, entitled An Apology of Private Mass to Bishop Jewel’s Apology, had been written and distrib-

uted, apparently in manuscript only. To this a reply appeared An Answer In Defense of the Truth against the Apology of Private Mass. In the preface, Jewel is referred to as “a worthy learned man,” and Dr. Cradocke, the Margaret Professor of divinity of Oxford, writing in 1572, spoke of it as “the treatise of the right reverend father, Bishop Cowper.” And a Mr. Fulke, also writing in Cooper’s lifetime, called it his. Quickly, the uproar subsided and Cooper moved on.

For his part, Cooper brought his Thesaurus as his “offering to the common stock; and would be well repaid for his labour, if it were found to smooth the approach to a knowledge of the Latin tongue.” He had not only given a variety of English equivalents for each word, but had added phrases conveniently arranged. The 1565 edition “received such additions and corrections as nearly doubled its bulk,” putting some competitors out of business. A new title was introduced Thesaurus Linguae Romanae & Britannicae.

In 1567, already a celebrated scholar, he was made Dean of Christ Church at Oxford, and for several years was Vice-Chancellor. Two years later he was appointed to the Deanery of Gloucester, and in 1570-71 to the Bisopric of Lincoln. In the year 1573 he published a Brief Exposition of the Sunday Lessons, of which

Archbishop Parker thought so highly that he wrote to the Lord Treasurer requesting him to recommend to the Queen's council that order should be given to have a copy placed in every parish church, "for that the more simple the doctrine was to the people, the sooner might they be edified, and in an obedience reposed."

In 1584, the year the last edition of his Thesaurus appeared (I have this copy in my collection) Cooper was transferred to Winchester, a post he held for ten years, "where.....as in most parts of the nation, he became much noted for his learning and sanctity of life." Winchester had been notoriously so rich a See, that a witticism of Bishop Edyngdon had been constantly quoted to the effect that "Canterbury had the highest rack, but Winchester had the deepest manager."

On his appointment to this See, Cooper issued as visitor certain injunctions to the president and fellows of Magdalen College in Oxford, in which he lamented the infrequency of the administration of holy communion, and orders that it should be celebrated on the first Sunday in every month, and received by as many members of the society as possible. Remarking on the negligent manner in which the public services of the chapel were performed on Sundays and at other times,

“he ordered that if any fellow, chaplains, or clerk came late, went early, or misbehaved himself, he should be admonished and punished by the president, vice-president, and dean.”

A few manuscripts by Bishop Cooper remain to this day. A Latin address of congratulations from the University of Oxford to Queen Elizabeth on her visit to the Earl of Leicester, the chancellor of the university, delivered before her by Cooper himself, is at Corpus Christi, Cambridge. A document also at Corpus Christi is entitled Thomae Cooperi Christiana cum fratribus consultatione, strum pii verbi ministri praescriptam a magistratibus vestium rationed suscipere et liquid possint et jure debeant. And there is a book of ordinances and decrees drawn up for Magdalen College by Cooper as a visitor in 1585. In the Record Office are also some autographs, one of much interest to local historians, concerning the mustered of his diocese, addressed to the Earl of Essex, Lord-Lieutenant of Hampshire.

Bishop Milner, the Roman Catholic historian of Winchester, charges Cooper with the establishment of a cruel persecution of his co-religionists in Hampshire. But this is somewhat hard on Cooper. The increase of persecution was owing to the New Act of 1581, and Cooper's appointment to Winchester synchronizes with

the beginning of hostilities with Spain. Milner, after naming some priests who perished as traitors at Winchester, gives details of the execution of five laymen. But a letter of Bishop Cooper is in the Record Office in which he recommends “that an hundred or two of obstinate recusants, lusty men, well able to labour, might by some convenient commission be taken up and sent to Flanders as pioneers and laborers, whereby the country would be disburdened of a company of dangerous people, and the rest that remained be put in some fear.”

Convincingly, in the Preface to his Thesaurus, Cooper enumerates the uses of his Lexicon, “From its pages one may learn accent, pronunciation, and such information as the various meanings, uses, and construction of Latin words, elegant phrases, and metaphors.”

As master of Magdalen College, he knew that teachers were also anxious for their students to acquire Erasmus’ copia; and as a noted lexicographer, he so designed the Thesaurus. Consequently, according to Cooper, the student would find that the Thesaurus could serve also as a sort of commonplace-book, that is can be used to fill a collection designed to aid the writer in varying and amplifying his discourse with pithy sentences, impressive exempla, and apt phrases: “Last of all, a studious yong man, with small paines, by the help of this book may gather to

himself good furniture both of wordes and apprued phrases and fashions of speaking for any thing, that he shall either write or speak of, and so make veto his vse, as it were a common place book for such a purpose.” If the student wishes to write on love or friendship, for example, he may choose two or three words - amicus, amp, amor - and consider the word derived from them and the phrases belonging to the same, with the result that there is nothing “pertaining to that matter, but that he shall be able copiously to voter it.”

His famous Latin-English Lexicon was of the greatest importance in shaping Elizabethan education. To those who reach for a dictionary or a thesaurus at the first moment of literary puzzlement, the lack of any such book must have been a frustration, to say the least. William Shakespeare, for example, had no access to an English dictionary during most of his writing career, certainly from 1580 when he began to write. It was a quarter of a century before any volume might appear in which he could look something up.

That is not to say there were no reference books available at all. In the late sixteenth century, bookstore tables were weighed down with all manner of misals, biographies, histories of sciences and of art, prayer books, bibles, romances, atlases, and accounts of exotic travel. Shakespeare would have had access to all of

these, and more. However, he is known (from a careful statistical examination of his word usages) to have cribbed from the Thesaurus by Cooper.

To demonstrate fully how his Lexicon might aid the writer would, says Cooper, be unsuitable to his Preface, but “a matter of smaller use and cope” may serve. He then chose the subject of shooting, the words a *crus* and *sagitta*, and the phrases which go with them, and demonstrates, with a passage of some two hundred and fifty words, how young scholars “may procure this store and furniture.” Indeed, an examination of a few citations from the text of the Thesaurus will give ample proof of the variety and abundance - that is, of the copy - which Cooper called to his reader’s attention, and which undoubtedly aided studious pupils.

Once published in London, Cooper’s Thesaurus quickly became a needed tool for the poets and writers of the day. Marginal manuscript notes in a contemporary hand concerning the sketch in copies of Cooper’s Thesaurus are early instances of the interest with which this matter in the dictionaries were read. More significant is the extensive borrowing by other compilers and authors, including poets and writers of prose fiction. For example, the author of Faerie Queene and

other masterpieces, Spenser, also known as E.K. and Edward Kirk, annotated extensively from Cooper's Thesaurus. They depended absolutely on the Dictionary entry under Flora, having in fact borrowed verbatim many of the phrases from the original. Over and over again Spenser used Cooper.

Elizabethan and Renaissance writers borrowed to assist them in perfecting their works. It is carrying the fantasy too far as to say that without Cooper's Thesaurus and other dictionaries of the period they might not have merged as masters of their writings. They were consumed with their efforts, limited by both time and information.

They did what all of us have done since the days we went to school, turning to the dictionary, either hard copy or electronically, for additional information. We could pick up the book or computer, though at times quite heavy and cumbersome, and by assuming the correctness of the authority, transpose the material directly into our own creative essays and reports. And, we continue this exercise in acquiring information preparing writings that convey our personality, interest and skills.

This is no oddity; this bears no reflection on the dynamically creative. Whether or not confessions of borrowings are made, as they should be, days pass

and the chain is extended, each person adding to what was explored and consumed by the former. I did not invent nor discover that which is explored herein, but have borrowed from scholars of the past, using primarily the genius of Dewitt T. Starnes and Ernest William Talbert as mentors, crutches and experts to enrich my subject and prepare the way for the unfolding of my story. (See reference details in next chapter.)

Cooper died at Winchester on April 29, 1594, and was buried in the choir, near the bishop's seat. A monument placed over his grave described him as "munificentissimus, doctissimus, vigilantissimus, sum me benign us egenis." It has now disappeared, as it was removed during the repairing of the choir.

Thomas Cooper suffered greatly in his personal lifetime. His legacy that forged an explosion of beauty in the English language, lives on for all to enjoy.

CHAPTER XI

SHAKESPEARE CRIBS FROM COOPER'S THESAURUS

Dictionaries were first used by English writers beginning during the sixteenth century, by such eminent authors as Spenser, Johnson, Milton, Heywood, and of course, Shakespeare. Cooper's Thesaurus was their preferred choice, for it was the first of the Latin lexicons with English synonyms or brief explanations, an indispensable resource for these and other authors. The dictionaries were also used providing them with valid information for comprehending literary masterpieces, primarily of the "ancient world."

During the latter part of the sixteenth century, Shakespeare clearly used Cooper repeatedly as his Latin-English reference Dictionary, when attending grammar school; a copy of Cooper had been in the common library at Stratford-on-Avon since 1564. This Lexicon was most helpful for his understanding or preparing "histories" of proper nouns - a task that must have been an almost daily necessity that was utilized in demonstrating a pupil's "store and furniture" of good words and phrases.

One must refrain from overdramatizing Shakespeare's indebtedness to Cooper and his Thesaurus, the existence of good classical texts with annotations,

as well as the availability of treatises devoted entirely to such a subject as classical myth, does not preclude his turning to the lexicon or remembering the words of a school “history” when referring to geographical names or to figures of ancient times.

With its entries for all types of proper nouns, this Dictionary provided a much more complete survey of poetic materials than Shakespeare would be likely to gather by himself or to store in his memory. (After a long period of time he might have planned to draw upon information found in one or another reference work.)

It is important to realize that authors of the period, including Shakespeare, were neither pedants nor pedagogues; they were writers, “poets” in the Renaissance sense of that word. They were demonstrating for users that they had mastered their texts. They took material where they found it and turned it to their purpose.

If Shakespeare by accident or design repeated the phraseology from Cooper, he is certainly not to be censured. He grew up in pre-copyright Renaissance England. For this era, Cooper was pre-eminent among the sixteenth century English lexicographers. Use of the Thesaurus was a measure of the best education

during the Renaissance, a training that was particularly suited for the development of poets and readers of poetry. Proper-noun entries in Cooper's Lexicon might be expected to supply an appreciable portion of the basic information known both to Shakespeare, to his readers, and ultimately to his expanding audience.

(A recently published book attempts to show that George Noth's "A Brief Discourse of Rebellion" written in 1567 was used by Shakespeare for 20 of his monologues and passages in his plays. In 2018, Renaissance specialists Dennis McCarthy and June Schlueter, do not say that the Bard directly plagiarized, but instead read and was inspired by others. Using computer software, they found in Shakespeare's writing outside references in his Richard III, Macbeth, Henry V, and King Lear. "It shows that there are still manuscript sources out there that have not been published that Shakespeare may have used.")

The evidence is strong that the reader will be convinced that Shakespeare knew of Cooper's Thesaurus, turned to it often to acquire information necessary for his writings, and with stylistic changes, altered the Dictionary's entries and later incorporated the plagiarized materials into his own plays, poems and sonnets.

The Bard cribbed from Cooper. Otherwise, how could he have known of places in Hamlet, never having been to Denmark? How could he have known of far off locations never having travelled out of his beloved England? Shakespeare learned most of his mythology from Ovid, using *Metamorphoses* as a primary source, with Vergil and the Geneva Bible of 1560 as other references.

F. S. Boas, in April 1943 expressed his opinion that “the dramatist’s classical lore was for the most part gained at second-hand”; that it was “curiously partial, both in concentration and in its omission”; that the “gods and heroes were known to him only under their Latin names”; that he drew no line between the original old world legends and medieval accretions”; that “none, the less, Shakespeare’s classical knowledge, though second-hand, was not second-rate and should not be branded as superficial.”

Of Shakespeare, it is said “His mind and hand went together...wee have scarce received from him a blot in his paper.” Within his offerings he introduced an abundance of words, *accommodation, assassination, dexterously, dislocate, indistinguishable, obscene, pendant, premeditated, reliance, and submerged*, a storehouse for future lexicographers as the new vocabulary would rush forward.

Although Shakespeare was introduced to classical literature and mythology during his brief period at the Stratford Grammar School, it is certain that he did not have the facility in reading Latin possessed by other eminent present day writers Spenser, Marlowe, or Ben Jonson. In fact, Jonson said that Shakespeare had small Latin and less Greek, he must be read with a knowledge of the fact that what would be “small Latin” in his day was very much more than is mastered by the vast majority of college graduates today. It is now clear that Shakespeare turned to Cooper’s Latin-English Thesaurus as a major source of much of his information. Here he found entries in both Latin and in English that would serve him.

Shakespeare, before the popular form of italic script wrote in “secretary hand,” a style of European handwriting developed in the early sixteenth century. It was developed by secretaries from the cursive business hands. In spite of its loops and flourishes it was widely used by scribes and others whose daily work comprised numerous hours of writing.

He and other writers during this period shifted over to the “italic script” out of the need for a handwriting more legible and universally recognizable than the book hand of the High Middle Ages, when “secretary hand” was popular. At the time of Henry VII, the “Italian” became popular as it was easier to read, but also

easier at the same time to forge. (Another writer, William Henry Ireland used the “secretary hand” to forge many Shakespeare writings.)

The Bard probably learned most of his mythology for his plays, from Cooper’s proper-name section, also known as Dictionarium Historicum et Poeticum. In the second part of Henry the Sixth, the following allusion to the story of Media and Absyrtus is given:

Meet I an **infant** of the house of York,

Into as many gobbets will I cut it

As **wild Medea young Absyrtus**

In cruelty will I seek out my fame.

Cooper’s summary of the story of Medea, in the Thesaurus offers a suggestive parallel. Having told of Medea’s assistance to Jason in securing the golden fleece, Cooper continues:

“After all which things atchieued, she ran away with Jason and took with his **Absyrtus** hir **yong** brother. But Oetes...pursued them with such speede, that her had well near overtaken them. Wherefore Medea seeing that nothing could stay hair fathers haste, fearing to bee taken, **kylled the yong**

babe hir brother, and scattered his lemmas in the way as hair father should passe. With sorrow whereof and long seeking the **partes of hys young sonnes bodye** the father was stayed, and Jason wyth Medea in the mean tyme escaped out of his realme.”

In Cooper “yong” is used three times, once in the phrase “yong babe” (suggestive of “infant - in the play). Other details, such as the suggestion for “gobbets” and even the epithet “wild” Medea (in the Cooper “wild fire,” in part of the text not summarized) - all derived from the Thesaurus.

Furthermore, two passages in Shakespeare’s Troilus and Cressida show Achilles speaking of procuring “safe-conduct for his person of the magnanimous and most illustrious six-or-seven-times-honoured **captain-general** of the Grecian army, Agememnon.” And earlier Agamemnon himself has said to Aeneas:

With surety stronger than Achilles’ arm

‘Fore all the Greekish heads, which with one voice

call Agememnon **head and general**.

The epithet “magnanimous” applied to Agamemnon by Fluellen and by Achilles, the choice by all the Greeks of Agamemnon to head and **captain-general**

– all these can be explained by Shakespeare’s knowledge of the sketch of the general in Cooper’s Thesaurus.

In the well-known lines which Othello speaks as he prepares to murder Desdemona:

Put out the light, and then put out they lights:

If I quench thee, thou flaming minister,

I can again thy former light restore,

Should I repend me; but once put out they light,

Thou cunning’st **pattern** of **excelling nature**,

I know not where is that **Promethean heat**

That can they light relume.

These are the principal allusions to the Prometheus legend in the plays. The summary in Cooper’s Thesaurus is suggestive of the allusions Shakespeare used in stressing this aspect of the myth.

In addition, the Bard’s use of the Prometheus myth could be explained by his familiarity with Cooper’s brief version of the story **Scylla and Charybdis**.

In The Merchant of Venice, Launcelot speaking to Jessica, exclaims:

....thus when I shun Scylla, your father, I

fall into Charybdis, your mothers.

Cooper, in his work, gives a detailed account of Scylla, concluding:

Decidit in Scyllam cupiens vitare charybdim, prouerbially, to fall into one daunger, while coueteth to eschewe an other.

These few examples, of the many uncovered, thus provide examples of Shakespeare's reliance on this famous Latin-English Dictionary while writing his numerous plays.

His **Lucrece** shows that its author was familiar with several versions of the story. He had read it in the Latin of Livy and in Ovid's *Fasti*, in the English of Chaucer. The evidence suggests that Shakespeare remembered some of the phrases and constructions found only in the Thesaurus.

To argue that Shakespeare was thoroughly familiar with the sketches of Tarquin and Lucretia in the contemporary Lexicon compiled by Bishop Cooper is

not to imply that these were his only sources. He obviously had read other versions of the Lucrece legend. But the evidence shows that among his sources were the Dictionary entries on Tarquinius and Lucretia, the language of which he well remembered.

Although Shakespeare found information on Antony and Cleopatra he must have also read and remembered the sketch of Cleopatra in Cooper. Shakespeare must have gotten two suggestions. The first is the application of the word “dotage”, one meaning of which is foolish affection, or excessive fondness. This is the sense of the word in the Thesaurus and in the play. All told, Shakespeare employs the term with this meaning six times in the plays, two of which are in Antony and Cleopatra. It is not however, that this word is common to Cooper’s biographical sketch and the play that gives it significance. Its importance lies in the fact that Cooper makes the term, with all its implications, the key to Antony’s character and the cause of his ruin.

The suggestion which the Bard may have gotten from the Dictionary sketch appears in the manner of Cleopatra’s death. In all other accounts, only an asp or serpent is used by Cleopatra to bring about her death, and this asp is applied to her arm. In the play, the Egyptian queen employs two asps: one she applies to her

arm; another, and that which really proves fatal, she places on her breast. Almost at the moment of death, Cleopatra addressing Charmian says:

Peace, peace!

Dost thou not see my baby at my breast,

That sucks the nurse asleep?

It is amazing that the description in the Cooper Thesaurus closes with words that surely would be more powerful in suggesting the figure than those in any other known source. The words are: "This Lady after the death of Antonie, in-closed his selfe in a tombe, and having two serpentes sucking at hir pappes so dyed." Here we have one of the most convincing examples of how Shakespeare used Cooper's Thesaurus.

The Bard did what other writers did and still do - what you know, you know; that which is beyond your imagination is often borrowed from the creative thoughts of others. This does not minimize the genius of Shakespeare. It reemphasizes for us that he used his powers of recall to their fullest, that he was the cleverest of dramatists in knowing where to turn for aid by securing the best authorities of his day.

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* This chapter borrowed from findings reported in three sources. Foremost is D.T. Starnes and E.W. Tablet, Classical Myth and Legend in Renaissance Dictionaries, 1955; and as secondary sources, Robert Kilburn Root, Classical Mythology in Shakespeare, 1903; and T.W. Baldwin, On the Literary Genetics of Shakespeare's Poems and Sonnets, 1950.

* In addition, I am also indebted to these and other writers and publishers, especially W. Jackson Bate, author of Samuel Johnson, 1975, and The Story of English by Robert McCrum, William Cran, and Robert MacNeil, 1986. The information obtained was critical in making this book possible.

CHAPTER XII

THE SEARCH BEGINS

What should the strategy be? Without one, I would wander listlessly and only by sheer luck stumble upon my prize. The thought of entering into every secondhand or antiquarian bookshop in England - there are perhaps thousands - was overwhelming; time and energy would surely run out. But, then again, Shakespeare's Dictionary - the Cooper- would unlikely be labelled prominently on a bookshelf just waiting to be found and purchased. Once having been identified as the Bard's Lexicon it would by now have found its way into a museum, treasured for posterity behind a secure boxed-frame, as one of the few surviving remnants of his life.

Only by random pursuit would I come across the cherished Lexicon. Perhaps the book might be found on the bottom of a heap of long-hidden manuscripts as high as 10 or 15 feet. The Thesaurus might escape detection for a hundred or more years, for few would chance 100 pounds of paper crashing down onto one's head. The Book could be anywhere, in a substantial, well regarded antiquarian shop unnoticed by the owner. Or it could be among the piles of almost forgotten volumes that are to be purchased for several dollars, ignored for its importance but to a few.

And the greater mystery, would I possibly locate Shakespeare's copy of his Cooper, with his signature or initials WS be on one of the pages. To increase the excitement, a proven copy might be found containing a fingerprint of the Bard. (That would require comparisons with the six known signatures of Shakespeare. More below.)

I have asked myself many times, "Is it all worth it?" "Of course!" But, there had to be a clever and imaginative approach. A sound strategy must be developed. Mapping out a plan not only would make sense, but would be most inspiring, more a test of style.

First, I would seek out the haunts of tourist attractions in Stratford, speaking to the guides and locals, perhaps stumbling on the Dictionary that way. I doubted, even as the thought increased my pulse rate that there was the minutest likelihood of success with this abbreviated exploration, but it had to be tried.

Second, I would go to every secondhand or antiquarian bookshop in Stratford. Should this fail, I would then have to return to London, for history books indicate that Shakespeare left Stratford in 1584 (the date of the last edition of the Cooper) for the Capital to make his career and produce his monumental works,

only returning permanently (he did make frequent trips back to his beloved Stratford) to his place of birth for retirement in 1610 at the age of 46 or 47 and ultimate death in 1617.

The third stage of my gameplay, assuming the first two failed, would by sheer geography expand my search to London. I would now have to assume that the Bard brought the Cooper with him (which he arguably took from his grammar school where the Lexicon was chained to a table) or purchased a copy along the way, which is unlikely as dictionaries were scarce and costly.

There was the chance that he held onto his Cooper, brought it to London where he lived for 27 of his most productive years. (There would also be rumors that another Londoner Sam Johnson, in preparation of his own Lexicon of 1755, had the aid of a Cooper in his work collection.)

Stratford-on-Avon, Shakespeare's birthplace, is tiny, but rich in its history, just one of those minor market towns which lies scattered so plentifully over the face of England. It is so small that there was no difficulty in walking across it in fifteen minutes. Stratford is a dreamy little village with its medieval shop houses, its staid red Georgian residences, its old-time hostelries, its noble town church, its

very quaint block of Guilding buildings, its many arched fifteenth-century bridges, and its odd sounding street names.

The great future of Stratford during Shakespeare's time was its public edifices, as was the case in all such towns. In Stratford the attraction was the fine Parish Church, hidden on its outskirts, and the fascinating group of guild buildings still remaining close by the site of Shakespeare's old home - New Place.

Standing at the corner of Chapel Lane and immediately opposite the site of New Place, I noted a fascinating group of structures, all of them originally connected with the Guild. The picturesque weathered stone exterior of the Guild Chapel, and the very quaint half-timbered front of the Guild Hall (now the Grammar School) and the Almshouses beyond, struck me as being the most notable feature in my stroll in town.

The Stratford Grammar School was an ancient institution in Shakespeare's day, having been founded in the first half of the fifteenth century by the Guild, and after the dissolution of that body, created by Royal Charter, in June 1553 as "The King's New School of Stratford-upon-Avon." The Charter describes it as "a certain free grammar school, to consist of one master and teacher, hereafter for ever to endure."

Adjoining the chapel is the picturesque two-story building which the Guild erected for its own accommodation, with four rooms. On the ground floor is the hall, the Guildhall proper, or as it is sometimes called, the Rood Hall, from a painting of the "rood" (the Savior on the Cross) on one of the walls. Upstairs are two large rooms: one the Council Chamber, intended, doubtless, for the meetings of the Council of the Old Guild and used later for the Corporation meetings.

The Grammar School, however, where authorities say Shakespeare was educated, still remains. What would I do if a display case had the copy of Cooper's Thesaurus? My dream of discovery would immediately come to an end.

Entering the chamber, I found the modern plastered ceiling which hid the oak roof of the olden times which had been removed. The wainscoted walls, with the small windows high above the floor, were evidently ancient. Right in the middle of the room was the old desk that Shakespeare was thought to have used while attending to his studies. Other than a few lesson books, a hornbook, and alphabet tablets, there was no Lexicon to be seen; maybe it was chained to a table placed elsewhere.

There is no actual record of Shakespeare's connection with the Grammar School, but so strong a probability exists as to be little removed from certainty. It

was the only school in Stratford where the poet could have received the superior education which he certainly did obtain.

Underneath the schoolroom is the former Hall of the Stratford Guild, where Shakespeare learned more than in the above room, (it is believed that the Grammar School was being repaired) and his continued education was held in the Guild Chapel. The Guild Hall itself must have been very familiar to the Bard, and it is not unlikely that it was here that he made his first acquaintance with the stage. Players frequently performed there, and the boy, who would only have to be five years, is very likely to have been present on the occasion, when at the invitation of his father, the Earl of Leicester's company of players gave a performance in the hall. Again, no Cooper Thesaurus was to be found.

Shakespeare remained in the Grammar School until he reached thirteen. In 1577, his father had business trouble and young William left to assist his family. Did he take the Cooper book with him? Unlikely, for it was not his to take. As with most "important, and often expensive, books of the time," they were chained to the table as insurance that all future students would have access to them. If the promising poet did not walk away with the Cooper Thesaurus then what became of it? Someone, at sometime, may have removed it from its protective chaining.

The next stop would be the house where Shakespeare was born. His birthplace now stands as a detached block, surrounded on three sides by a charming garden, well stocked with plants familiar to Shakespeare. Until it was acquired for the nation, it was joined to other houses. Initially it was isolated to decrease the risk from fire.

My eyes scrolled every corner; perhaps Cooper's Lexicon would be displayed there. In the interior the birth room is the house's central interest to the visitor. Alas, no Thesaurus. Two larger rooms, known respectively as the museum and the library were facing me. There were numerous repositories of a number of objects of Shakespearian interest, but no Cooper.

On to New Place. This substantial house that Shakespeare purchased in 1597, and which was the home of his retirement from 1610 to his death in 1616, does not exist, and was completely demolished, with the exception of one end wall. Here in a replica of New Place, I was hoping that the Bard might have returned from London with the Thesaurus of Cooper and kept it in his house. Since it wasn't the original house, as expected there was no Dictionary.

There were several other structures to visit, perhaps Shakespeare had passed on his Thesaurus a friend or relative.

Next to the site of New Place stands Nash's House which was the home of Thomas Nash, the first husband of Shakespeare's granddaughter. Might these rooms contain Cooper's gem? The house held many interesting relics of the Bard, including an article made from the wood of the tree that had once grown in the garden of New Place. But no Dictionary.

In the house next to Nash's and next door to New Place, lived Julius Shaw, a friend of Shakespeare and the first witness to his will. Except for the Georgian front in red brick, the structure remains much as it was in Shakespeare's day. But, no Cooper.

Two houses remained to be visited. Hall's Croft, a very picturesque old structure not far from the church was the home of Shakespeare's son-in-law, Dr. John Hall and his wife Susanna. No trace of the Dictionary.

Quiney's House, the home of Thomas Quiney, the vintner who married Shakespeare's other daughter Judith, is situated in the heart of Stratford, at the corner of High Street and Bridge Street.

Throughout my scouting of these premises, I would turn to the official guides and any other local persons who appeared to know something about Shakespeare. With each one I inquired as to whether they have ever heard of a dictionary used by the Bard; as to whether they knew of the whereabouts of a

book bearing the name Cooper (or Cooperi, Couper, Cowperi?) Each inquiry resulted in a negative response; everyone was unaware of what I was talking about.

Time in Stratford was now short. I had to get back to London and knew that someday I might return to continue my search. I didn't find the Thesaurus in one of the public buildings, and that was fine with me. If historians or Shakespeare devotees hadn't found it, I could only assume, if it still existed, that it would be somewhere else. I would now scout the countryside visiting every secondhand and antiquarian bookshop within a 25 mile radius.

Exploring the Avon

Another game plan was to place myself in the Bard's shoes and attempt to deduce how he might have spent his many leisurely years while residing in Stratford. Surely time would be plentiful to travel to the country and nothing in his day attracted the sensitive and carefree more than exploring the beloved Avon River, as it swirls slowly throughout the heart of England's countryside. It was best described by Henry James as "the core and centre of the English world: midmost England, unmitigated England."

The Avon is nearly equally divided by Stratford-on-Avon, flowing through lush green meadows and shaded by tree and weeping willows, ancient communities, historic castles, fruit-laden orchard field, stately mansions and deer-filled

parks. My journey would take me east and west from Stratford, in both directions, stopping at every bookshop, second hand or antiquarian, any country fair, or just about any place that might be the depository for a Cooper. I would follow any footpath, major or minor roadway thru each hamlet in search of my prize. I would parallel the Avon as Shakespeare may have done. As Ben Jonson called Shakespeare, the "Sweet Swan of Avon", I would link my pursuit to the river bends with the challenge of determination following the trail of my wanted Lexicon. (Several book sources were briefly reviewed, all describing the River Avon.)

Naseby, a remote upland village some 623 feet above sea level became my new point of origin. As it was in the Bard's time, its area teems with springs, bubbling out of the fields, hedgerows and even the roads. Walking about, Naseby seems very different from the rest of neighboring farmlands. Its soil is mainly red and boulder clay.

One of the sites Shakespeare would have seen wandering about Naseby was the parish church of All Saints. Its spire was left by its original builders as a truncated stump. Nearby one of the numerous springs in and around Naseby rises and gathers with other waters to form the beginning of the Avon River.

The official source of the River Avon is in the garden of the Man House, directly across the way from the church of All Saints. Today, the River's origin is

marked by a tall cast-iron cone, standing under a huge chestnut tree that is partially hidden from the road by a brick wall. From the Manor House the infant Avon flows under the wall and emerges in a well in the garden of the Fitzgerald Arms and eventually flows into the open fields west of the village.

One mile north of Naseby I discovered the remains of Sulby Abbey, a convent founded in the twelfth century by William de Wydeville, or Wyvile, Lord of Welford. In the neighboring Welford, a village built mainly of brick, I spotted the first of my shops to enter. Here was a nondescript room filled with trinkets and discarded items from the past. On one wall was a large bookcase containing odds and ends but alas none of the old books was a Cooper.

Continuing on to Stanford Hall resting on the Leicestershire bank of the Avon I gazed upon the parish. It was first mentioned in the Domesday Book of 1086 and within the parish's library lies the historic document of 1140, in which King Stephen made a grant of Stanford land to the abbey. Following the Dissolution of the Monasteries, Sir Thomas Cave bought the manor from the Crown in 1540. Shakespeare would probably have visited the parish.

At Lilbourne I traversed castle mounds that at one time had been a Norman mote and bailey. Entering into the county of Warwickshire, I stumbled upon the

village of Clifton-upon-Dunsmore seeking out the thirteenth-century church of St. Mary.

A contemporary of Shakespeare was Lawrence Sheriff who would found the Rugby School. He was born at Brownsover in 1515. Entering Brownsover on a Saturday morning, I headed for the weekly market and found several tables covered with very old-appearing books. Again, no success.

At the time of Shakespeare, Coventry was the fourth major city of England, after London, York and Bristol and the center of its woolen industry. During the Bard's last years of life he must have walked around the city's two-mile wall numerous times) climbing the ten fortified towers and penetrating the twelve gates. Although sections of the wall remain, it was ordered destroyed in 1662 by Charles II.

Another sight on Shakespeare's list of favorites must have been Bablake School, a half-timbered Tudor structure that was endowed by Thomas Wheatley in 1563. Wandering about the inner courtyard of Ford's Hospital on Greyfriars Lane I noticed the painted boards above the ground-floor windows that indicated the use of the buildings as a hospital. Nearby, I found the outdoor market place, with goods and food, but no dictionaries.

Stopping at the village green of Wolston I entered a small shop and examined their collection of old books. No prize to be located.

In 1539, at the Dissolution, the Cistercian abbey at Coombe was partially destroyed. In 1581, Sir John Harington began construction of Coombe Abbey. Nearby the Avon flows at its strongest, at times flooding the hill-top village of Ryton-on-Dunsmore. Three miles northwest I would certainly, I naively thought, be successful in uncovering my Lexicon for I was about to enter the large city of Coventry.

Not far from Lady Godiva's statue I found and walked into several bookshops, discovering two seventeenth-century dictionaries. I inquired, but with no success as to the possibility of locating a Cooper Thesaurus. None were available.

Approaching Rugby, I knew that my chances of sighting the Cooper had to increase. The town had a significant population, with several establishments trading in antiquarian books. Rugby was known for its Saturday marketplace where items of all sorts were placed for sale. My destination would be the Bilton Bookhouse, followed by Shepherd's.

Rugby lies between the great Roman roads of Watling Street and the Fosse Way. Not far from the church of St. Andrew, Sheriff founded Rugby. In the decade

of the 1540s he supplied goods as “purveyor by appointment” to Hatfield Palace, the home of the young Princess Elizabeth. Having succeeded to the throne in 1558, the Queen rewarded many of her faithful, Rugby among them, whereby she used her wealth to purchase a twenty-four acre field that would become Rugby School. The original School that Shakespeare might have seen was built in the same style as King Edward VI Grammar School in Stratford-upon-Avon, though somewhat smaller. To my great disappointment neither Shepherd’s nor Bilton had any old dictionaries on their shelves.

Departing Rugby, the Avon flowed by several unused watermills and just outside of Little Lawford the river passed the Newnham Regis Baths that were famous in Shakespeare’s time.

The Bard’s beloved Warwickshire

My lack of success in securing the famous Cooper meant little to me. Now, I would traverse the Avon in Warwickshire county, with Stratford in its center. From Coventry to Evesham, I knew that were I to locate a copy of this Lexicon the probability was strongest as my search along the Bard’s river would be less than 100 miles from his home. More determined than ever, this was my chance to turn every stone along the way, not to let any opportunity pass me by. Each and every possible source for the Dictionary would be traveled. If not here, then where? I

knew that I had to hasten the pace of assertiveness, leaving less to chance and more to sheer tenacity and exercise.

If Shakespeare spent any time in this area he certainly romped around the once great Forest of Arden, now Stoneleigh Park where ancient oaks from his days are all that remain to indicate the supremeness of these woods. The nearby villages of Bubbenhall, Ryton-on-Dunsmore and Stareton were searched thoroughly for my obsession, but with no luck.

Further west, a short trip from the eight-arched Sowe Bridge lies the charming, unspoiled village of Stoneleigh, or Stanlei as it was once called. Built in Shakespeare's time are a row of red sandstone almshouses, dated 1594, and nearby the red sandstone church of St. Mary the Virgin that were all built from quarries from Motslow Hill, on the other side of the river. Searches in nearby bookstores were unsuccessful.

On the way to Kenilworth, a busy town, the dramatic ruins of Kenilworth Castle can be seen. In 1575, Robert Dudley, Earl of Leicester, entertained Queen Elizabeth at the castle for seventeen days, where rumors spread of a wedding in the offing. There was no marriage, nor a Cooper.

Just outside of Stratford lies Charlecote Park. Shakespeare spent time in this area where for 800 years the Lucy family had lived. The story is often told that

the young Bard was found poaching deer on the grounds of the Park. (Shakespeare's knowledge of deer was great, as he described in King Henry VI, in Love's Labour's Lost, and in As You Like It.) When the Bard was caught red-handed he was dragged before Sir Thomas Lucy, who in addition to being Lord of the manor was also a magistrate. Because of his wrongdoing Shakespeare was asked to leave Stratford-upon-Avon and consequently departed for London. (Shakespeare sought his revenge by turning Sir Thomas into his Justice Shallow in the Merry Wives, thus becoming the joke of London theatergoers. The Lucy family members were so furious that they ripped out the embarrassing pages from their copy of the play.)

This time I would avoid the Bard's birthplace and proceed on towards my journey's end in Evesham. Out of Stratford, the Avon splits and I followed the river towards Luddington (where it is rumored that Shakespeare was married in the village's church) and Welford-on-Avon.

The next significant stop was Bidford-on-Avon. The largest building on its one street is the former Falcon Inn where it is claimed that Shakespeare engaged in a drinking bout. Here I didn't bother looking for lexicons as the Bard would not have been in any mood for such serious endeavors at that time. (Did I make a mistake?)

If Shakespeare had ever entered the Vale of Evesham he would have seen a dramatic shifting of landscape. Fields gave way to orchards, farms and market gardens. As the distance from Stratford-on-Avon increased, it became less likely that he would have traveled this far from home to purchase a copy of Cooper's Thesaurus. By the time the Avon reached Tewkesbury, it became the Severn river and was no more. Similarly, no longer would I continue my search in the great Bard's country-side. I was unsuccessful in the pursuit of Cooper's treasure but the tradeoff was absorbing, a beautiful sighting of the landscape and the mother of them all - the Avon - making it all so possible and mesmerizing.

CHAPTER XIII

EARLY ENGLISH LEXICONS

At the outset it was clear to me that any proper search for the magnificent Cooper required a careful study of dictionaries in general, and Elizabethan and Renaissance works in particular. This period is truly the time when modern English was in its formative years, when “Old English” had long gone, and its replacement “Middle English” was nearing extinction.

From Latin, the parent language, it became necessary to seek the “glossies” prepared by clergy for their church services. With the passage of time these few educated readers would enter equivalent English words on the margin of their Latin books, usually Bibles. In short time these Latin dictionaries were filled with hand-entered equivalent English terms.

In 1538, Sir Thomas Elyot published a Latin-English Wordbook, the oldest of the Latin-English dictionaries.

In 1598, an Italian-English Lexicon was published. It was the first English Dictionary to use quotations (“illustrations”) to give meaning to the word; surprisingly, in none of these dictionaries so far were there any actual definitions of words. This was to change, to a small extent, in Cawdrey’s work.

A. CAWDREY'S - A TABLE ALPHABETICALL - THE FIRST ENGLISH DICTIONARY

By 1604, William Shakespeare had completed most of his plays and was preparing his great tragedies. That same year, the first truly all English Dictionary was published by Robert Cawdrey which he titled A Table Alphabeticall. It contained 2,543 headwords (a later edition of 1617 had 3,264 words) “hard words” as he referred to them, with short definitions of Latin terms, most of which were really what we call today synonyms. It was the first monolingual dictionary of the English language.

The sole first-edition of the Table copy can be found in the Bodleian Library at Oxford University. The second edition is unknown; the third appeared in 1613 (copies are in the British Museum) and the fourth in 1617 (British Museum). This major work of importance was created by a defrocked priest, living in remote rural England, continually in trouble with church authorities, and the author of this tiny, yet historic volume.

Cawdrey's image of a dictionary differs from that of his immediate successors. Those who followed him concentrated on “difficult and elegant words” while Cawdrey's primary goal was to educate the lesser educated who might not know the “hard usual English words....” His entries reveal what modern life was like at

that time. This brave small manuscript was the first attempt to make readable inventory of the most interesting English words four centuries earlier. It is difficult to overemphasize its importance to the English language. From his Lexicon, "It is magicke, inchaunting, and makyuth me to muffle and bleat. A fulgent thing, deserving of great claritude."

New words were rapidly being introduced, and found a place in common usage and cultivated speech. With the spread of the printing press and literacy, the demand for new dictionaries was created.

He wanted to teach "the true writing and understanding of hard usual English words," the "hard" were defined as of foreign origin that swept into the English language. The "hard words" that Cawdrey defined were mostly nouns, comprising 1,579 nominal definitions. He also defined 826 adjectives, 795 lexical verbs and 29 other words (including adverbs.) Definitions are brief and filled with synonyms. Three quarters of his definitions used less than one line, while one third comprised three words or less. No word beginning with the letters W, X, or Y, appeared yet it was the first monolingual English Lexicon.

With the rapid flow of new and foreign words, Cawdrey became concerned that people would be confused. He worried that the wealthy were adopting foreign words and phrases, and wrote that "they forget altogether their mother's

language, so that if some of their mothers were alive, they were not able to tell or understand what they say.” He also described how “far journied gentlemen” learned new words while in foreign lands, and then “pouder their talks with over-sea language.”

We take for granted the flow of the alphabet A-Z. Cawdrey was aware that his users may not understand the structure of the alphabet, even offering a brief lesson of how to read the alphabet.

Little is known about Cawdrey. He never went to college and yet became a schoolmaster. In the dedication to his Treasurie or Storehouse of Similies which he wrote in 1600, he mentioned the time when “I taught the Grammer school at Okeham in the County of Rutland.” In addition, he noted that the Table is a work “long ago for the most part gathered by me, but lately augmented by my sonne Thomas, who now is Schoolmaster in London.”

In 1576, he was criticized for not reading the approved texts in his sermons, and in 1578 he performed a marriage even though he was not authorized to do so, and was briefly suspended. His suspension lasted only a few months but, in 1586, he was again in trouble for violating the rules and was called before his bishop. He lost his rectory and had to return to teaching to support himself.

His son would help him and the Table was created, “Whereby they may the more easily and better understand many hard English wordes, which they shall hear or read in scriptures, sermons, or elsewhere, and also by made able to vs. the same aptly themselves.”

A brief volume, his Lexicon, has the following title-page inscription:

“A Table Alphabetically, continuing and teaching the true writing, and understanding of hard usually English words, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &c.

“With the interpretation thereof by plaine English words, gathered for the benefit & help of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other unskillful persons.

Whereby they may the more easily and better understand many hard English words, which they shall hear or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elsewhere, and also be made able to use the same aptly themselves...

at London,...1604.”

On the title-page of the 1613 edition that phrase “much enlarged” appears, although the changes were minimal. In the 1617 edition, few alterations were made except for the title which appeared as A Table Alphabetically, or the English

Expositor. The subtitle was from a competitive Dictionary by Dr. John Bullokar, which had been published in 1616.

His definition of meteors “elementarie bodies, or most things, engineered of vapors in the are about” suggests a bygone period. Likewise the definition of matron as “an auncient, sober, and a discreet woman,” of driblets as “small debts,” of concubine as a “harlot, or light huswife,” and of theology as “diuniitie, the science of living blessedly for ever,” dramatically reveals sixteenth and seventeenth century speaking and writing practices. Cawdrey’s entries and definitions from Abandon to Zodiak mirrors late-Elizabethan attitudes’ toward life and reality.

Curiously, at the time of compiling his Table, “sex” was a taboo word and was not included. However, he did include “incest” with a lengthy definition “as unlawful compilation of man and woman with the degrees of kindred, or alliance, forbidden by gods law, whether it be in marriage or otherwise.” He also defined “sodomitrie” as when “one man layette filthily with another man.”

In the long tradition of dictionary writing, Cawdrey borrowed extensively from the Dictionary of Coote, The English Schoole-Master including even phrases found in his title-page. Cawdrey found Coote’s listing useful for his own writing. For example:

Coote

Magistrate, governour.
Magician, using witch-craft
Magficicence, sumptuousness.
Maladie, disease.
Male-contented, discontented.
Maranatha, accursed.
Mart, faire.
Mechanicall, handy-craft.
Mutation, change.
Myrrhe, of sweet gumme.

Cawdrey

Magistrate, governour.
Magician, one using witchcraft.
Magificance, sumptuousnes.
Maladie, disease.
Malecontent, discontented.
Maranatha, accursed.
Marte, a faire.
Mechanicall,
Mechanick, handie craft.
Mutation, change.
Myrrhe, sweet gumme.

Although it is known that he used about 90 percent of Coote's listings, nevertheless, Cawdrey's work contained nearly twice as many words and he expanded about half of Coote's definitions with additional information.

Cawdrey's 1604 publication, was created 149 years before Johnson's Lexicon and was subtitled "for the benefit of Ladies, Gentlewomen, and other unskilled folk." It pioneered in the search for how best to educate the masses by

providing a useful dictionary for those who wanted “to master their written and spoken language.”

B. BULLOKAR - AN ENGLISH EXPOSITOR - THE SECOND ENGLISH DICTIONARY

Little is known about John Bullokar. He lived from about 1580 to 1641; he was a doctor of physics, living at Chichester in 1616. In 1618, he published a life of Christ in six-line stanzas. He compiled his English Expositor in 1616 “at the request of a worthy gentleman who love prevailed much with him; and that he held on to it for several years before having it published.” The second English Dictionary appeared with this title-page:

An English Expositor: Teaching the Interpretation of the hardest words used in our Language.

With Sundry Explications, Descriptions, and Discourses

By I.B., Doctor of Physicke.....

London, Printed by Iohn Iegatt. 1616.

Bullokar’s Dictionary contained almost twice as many words as Cawdrey’s. He gave special attention to hard words of foreign origin and to “olde words grown out of use,” and is therefore more of a Dictionary of “hard” words than that of Cawdrey. Bullokar’s entries provide more detail than those of Cawdrey,

although he blunders by inserting medical folklore or pseudo-science when describing animals, herbs, stones, etc. He was the first to provide the user with an indication of those words that were considered obsolete and urged caution in their use.

In his reference to “olde words now grown out of use, and divers terms of art, proper to the learned in Logicke, Philosophy, Law, Physicke, Astronomie,” he advances the development of dictionaries by specifying where, within his definitions, the profession or special area of knowledge the term belongs.

In 1641, the year that An English Expositor appeared in a third edition, Bull-
okar died. A 1656 edition contains on the title-page “Newly Revised, Corrected,
and with the addition of above a thousand words enlarged....by W.S.,” there are
but a few changes or additions, except for the arranging of terms and spelling al-
terations.

The 1663 revision had major changes. Thereafter, it was printed at least
eleven times by 1731, the date of its last edition. In the 1663 edition the list of
words is extensively increased. Its title-page reading indicates new features “owes
their inception and much of their actual content” to a rival publication, The Eng-
lish Dictionarie, compiled by Henry Cockeram and first published in 1623.

Consequently, in the 1663 edition of the Expositor the number of entries were increased by borrowing freely from Cockeram. For example, in going only from *A* to *Adr*, thirty-three new words are taken directly from Cockeram, with only slight alterations in their definitions.

The last revision of the Expositor was carried out by R. Browne in 1707. Browne emphasized spelling “and this for Explaining of the English Tongue.” He increased the total of words by supplementing rhetorical terms and Biblical entries. This revised edition enabled the Expositor to survive publication until 1731, with four additional editions. He died in 1627.

C. THOMAS BLOUNT’S GLOSSOGRAPHIA

Thirty-three years would pass before any new English dictionary was prepared. In 1656, Thomas Blount, a barrister of the Inner Temple compiled his: Glossographia: or a Dictionary, Interpreting all such Hard Words, Whether Hebræ, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Teutonick, Belgick, British, or Saxon; as are now used in our refined English Tongue. Also the Terms of Divinity, Law, Physick, Mathematics, Heraldry, Anatomy, War, Musick, Architecture; and of several other Arts and Sciences Explicated.

Blount drew on a large number of words from foreign languages, both modern and ancient. Although Blount failed to cite Bullokar in his original list of authorities, his name is periodically mentioned throughout the Dictionary. With the evolution of new editions Bullokar's identity gradually faded.

A careful study of 77 consecutive entries from *Acrimony* to *Adjustion* reveals that Blount derived 27 terms from Bullokar, and elsewhere; and 50 terms (about 65 percent) along with their definitions from the Latin-English Lexicons of Thomas and others. By his devotion to Latin dictionaries, Blount Anglicized many words for his Lexicon and aided the process of introducing Latin terminology into the English language, with the Latin origin noted in the definition. Once finding the words in Latin dictionaries that he desired, Blount would then occasionally furnish the name of English writers in whose works the word appeared. For example:

Depositum (Lat.), a pledge or gage, that which is committed of trust to be kept, also a wager or stake.

Depredable (depredabills), that may be robbed or spoiled.

The popularity of Blount's Glossographia permitted five editions to appear over a twenty-five year period, with the latest in 1681, having added approximately 400 words since the first.

Arguably, more than previous lexicographers, he found amusement in some of his writings:

"Hony-moon - applied to those married persons that love well at first, and decline in affection afterwards; it is hony now, but it will change as the moon.

Tomboy - (a girle or wench that leaps up and down like a boy) comes from the Saxon tumbe, to dance, tumbod, danced; hence also comes the word tumbling, still in use.

Ventriloquist (Ventriloquus) - one that has an evil spirit speaking in his belly, or one that by use and practice can speak as it were out of his belly, not moving his lips."

Blount believed that language was a living, growing organism with continuous change as portrayed by the fear that his "labor would find no end, since our English tongue daily changes habit," thereby providing support for new editions.

Blount was the first compiler of an English dictionary to attempt to identify the origin of his entries, emulating the approach followed by writers of Latin-English lexicons. He wrote "To the Reader...To some words I have added Etymologies, to others Historical observations, as they occurred, and this but *ex obliquo*."

Future lexicographers borrowed much from Blount. Not only did etymology become standard, dictionary writers would follow his scheme of citing authorities used:

“To compile and compleat a Work of this nature and importance, would necessarily require an Encyclopedie of knowledge, and the concurrence of many learned Heads; yet that I may a little secure the Reader from a just apprehension of my disability for so great an undertaking, I profess to have done little with my own Pencil; but extracted the quintessence of.....and other able Authors for so much as tended to my purpose.”

Blount’s contribution was a 11,000 hard or unusual word book. It became the largest English Dictionary when printed, aiming not to present a complete listing of English words, but to define and explain unusual terms that might be found in literature or the professions. It lost favor following publication in 1658, with the release of The New World of English Words. He died in 1679.

D. PLAGIARISM CHARGES AGAINST EDWARD PHILLIPS

The New World of English Words by Edward Phillips, with its handsomely produced front piece, appeared two years following the publication of Blount’s Glossographia in 1658. Phillips, a nephew of John Milton, was as a youngster

taught by the poet and attended Magdalen College at Oxford University. Leaving prior to completing his degree he became a writer in London.

The New World of English Words contains approximately 11,000 entries resulting in part from the heavy inclusion of names and historical and mythological terms as was already set by precedent in Cockeram's work.

Phillips borrowed from Bullokar and especially from Blount, and sought out other specialists for his legal terminology. In fact, hundreds of definitions were drawn almost word-for-word from Blount. For example:

Blount	Phillips
<i>Capricorn</i> (capricornu) the Goat or one of the 12 signes of the Zodiack,...so the Sun (when in Mid-December, he enters the Tropick of Capricorn) ascends our Hemisphere (Min. (Minsheu)	<i>Capricorn</i> , a Goat, also the name of one of the twelve signs of the Zodiack, into which the Sun enters in the midst of Winter.
<i>Caravan</i> ...(Fr. Caravane) a convoy of soldiers for the Merchants that travel by	<i>Caravan</i> , (French) a convoy soldiers for the safety of Merchants that travel by land

Land.

in the Eastern Countries.

Blount responded with furor when he learned that Phillips had copied so many of his entries. Blount retaliated with his 1673 A World of Error Discovered in the New World of Words, or General English Dictionary, and in Nomothetes, or the Interpreter of Law-Words and Terms. Not only did he prove that Phillips had stolen his definitions verbatim, but that he also copied errors from the Glossographia. The “To the Reader” statement from Blount’s 1673 edition read:

“Must this then be suffered? A Gentleman for his divertisement writes a Book, and this Book happens to be acceptable to the World, and sell; a Bookseller, not interest in the Copy, instantly employs some Mercenary to jumble up another like Book out of this, with some Alterations and Additions, and give it a new Title; and the first Author’s out-done, and his Publisher half undone. Thus it fared with my Glossographia, the fruit of above Twenty years spare hours, first published in 1656. Twelve months had not passed, but there appeared in Print this New World of Words, or General English Dictionary, extracted almost wholly out of mine, and taking in its first Edition even a great part of my Preface; only some words were added and others altered, to make it pass as

the Authors legitimate off-spring....

.....What then will Strangers think of it; what our Countrymen?

They will say, *Canis festinates caucus part catulos*: That such a Dictionary cannot be hurled up in Eight or Ten Months, nor without much industry and care, though the Author be never so learned....”

Blount then proceeded to illustrate the plagiarisms by listing 100 entries, with acid comments on the errors. For example:

“Bigamy, The marriage of two Wives at the same time, which according to Common Law, hinders a man from taking holy orders.

Here our Author speaks some truth: For he that two.....

“Wives at the same time commits Felony, and the punishment of Felony is Death; which (suppose it be by hanging) may very well hinder him from taking hold Orders - I find he does not understand the word.”

“Gallon (Spanish) a measure containing two quarts. Our author has been amid this word, since every Alewife can contradict him.”

Thus the English speaking world was introduced to what is perhaps the first publicly acclaimed plagiarism charge of a book. Yet, Phillips had lifted most of his

terms from Blount's Glossographia, from much of Blount's Preface and falsely listed distinguished experts as contributors.

Phillips fought back with the 1662 edition, but it contained only minor changes. The 1671 edition had 2,000 new words, copying many of the terms from Blount's Law Dictionary. His fourth edition of 1678 shows additional words to be defined and two unusual listings: "An Appendix of several words necessary to be added to the foregoing Dictionary, with an Amplification or Emendation of others." The 1678 Phillips Lexicon drew verbatim nearly all the words in Latin and Greek from Blount's 1670 Glossographia. An unusual entry California, was presented as "a very large part of Northern America, uncertain whether Continent or Island." Other entries were borrowed from Bullokar and Cockeram.

Finally, with the fifth edition in 1696 the user could find any significant differences between Blount and Phillips' Dictionaries. Since Phillips died in 1696, it can be assumed that some other lexicographer entered the stage to take over this revision. Although an original work was now made and the list of words increased to 17,000, Phillips' reputation had been permanently damaged.

E. AN ENGLISH DICTIONARY OF ELISHA COLES

Elisha Coles was born in 1608, died in 1688. He compiled his English Dictionary in 1676, just two years before the appearance of the fourth edition of

Phillips' New World. Coles was a teacher of Latin and English in London, worked at the Merchant Taylors' School and in 1678 became master of Galway School. He was one of the many schoolmasters during the seventeenth century who compiled dictionaries.

Coles cribbed hundreds of entries from Phillips. For example:

Phillips	Coles
Cab, An Hebr. measure of 3 pints	Cab, h. three pints
Cabala, an Hebrew word, signifying also a science among the Jews, comprehending the secret ways of expounding the Law, which were revealed by God to Moses.	Cabal,-la,h. (receiving) receiving, Jewish tradition; their Secret science of expounding divine mysteries; also a secret Council
Cacams, Doctors among the Jews	Cacams, Jewish doctors.

On the first page, Coles has 93 entries compared to Phillips' 60. Coles's definitions are all based on those of Phillips but are somewhat shorter.

By taking this approach Coles, to keep his book at nearly the same size as Phillips' manuscript, limited many of his definitions to a word or two. For example:

Realize, to cause.

Receptacle, a storehouse.

Reduction, a bringing back.

Regular, orderly.

Rupture, a burstness.

Coles pioneered with new concepts regarding dictionary preparation. In his “To the Reader” he notes, for example, the shortcoming of the earlier compilers, with those works he claimed familiarity. “Most of them,” he states “require an expositor, with words in their lexicons difficult to find”:

‘Suppose you want the meaning of Belperopis or Dulcarnon,
they are not in the common Herd; where will you look them?

In the Law-terms? They are not there. Sure then they are Proper
Names; but they are not there neither. What’s to be don? Why,
look till you find, and you will not lose your labour?’

Coles’ improvements in designing his Dictionary was in arranging his entries so that the words could be easily located. “Some,” he noted, “that pretend to correction (correctness) and exactness transcribe out of others (hand over head) their very faults and all.” Pointing his finger primarily, but not exclusively at Phillips, Coles offered examples of the absurdity of earlier definitions:

Ejaculation, a yelling.

Eviration, a yielding (i.e., a gelding)

Fidicula, a falling vulture.

Lopena, a song of rejoicing.

Lungis, a tall slim man that hath no length to his height.

Coles did make contributions to the evolution of the English dictionary. He kept and added to the list of Old Words occurring in Chaucer, Goer, Ploughman, and Barner; he defined numerous dialect phrases; he included many canting items; he identified the name of market towns throughout England as well as major cities on the Continent; he continued the tradition of adding technical words; and he included groups of related words, whereas earlier lexicographers chose them at random by noun and verb.

He never revised his An English Dictionary, nor was it revised by anyone else. Nevertheless, it was reprinted at least ten times and was in use for more than fifty years.

F. J.K.'S A NEW ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The first dictionary of the eighteenth century was small and unpretentious, though J.K.'s New English Dictionary of 1702 began a turning point in the evolution of English lexicons. In its preface, the compiler attacked earlier works and at the same time identified a new objective for dictionaries.

Although never proven, it is likely that the initials J.K. referred to John Kersey, the lexicographer who revised the 1706 edition of Phillips' New World of Words. His monumental contribution was the introduction into the English Dictionary of those major words found in daily speech, writing, and reading. Earlier compilers, like Cawdrey, emphasized hard words, both usual and unusual, while Bullokar, Cockeram, Blount and Phillips continued this precedent with arguments over whose Dictionary contained the hardest, oddest, and most specialized terminology. J.K. would rightfully so, turn his attention to assisting the masses of his countrymen to everyday words.

J.K.'s strategy began with a repudiation of Coles' popular and competitive Dictionary:

".....Mr. Coles in his elaborate work, has inserted several Words purely Latin, without an alteration, as Dimidietas for an *half*;

Sufflamen, for a Trigger, which are scarce ever us'd by any ancient or modern Writer, even in a Figurative, Philosophical, or Poetical Sense;.....a plain Country-man, in looking for a common English word, amidst so vast a Wood of such as are above the reach of his Capacity, must needs lose the sight of it, and be extremely discouraged, if not forc'd to give over the search..... Moreover, in the explaining of English Words derived from the Latin, he makes no scruple of producing such senses as are only peculiar to the Original;..."

He set a dual goal, the Englishing of the English dictionary by sticking to English vocabulary and usage, and by preparing his Lexicon to meet the needs of the largest number of people. Indicating to the user his determination to render a greater service to the masses, J.K. claimed that his Dictionary:

".....is intended only to explain such English words as are genuine, and used by persons of clear Judgment and good Style; leaving out all those foreign Terms, that.....were viciously introduc'd into our Language, by those who sought to approve themselves Learned rather by unintelligible Words than by proper Language.

Lastly, it ought to be observed, That very few of the genuine and common significant Words of the English Tongue are contain'd in either at the two Dictionaries but now cited (Coles and Bullokar), or in any; other particular Work of the like nature, hitherto published;.....

....we have taken care to make a Collection of all the most proper and significant English Words, that are not commonly used either in Speech, or in the familiar way of Writing Letters, &c.; omitting at the same time, such as are obsolete, barbarous, foreign or peculiar to the several Counties of England; as also many difficult, abstruse and uncouth Terms of Art, as altogether unnecessary, may even prejudicial to the endeavors of young, Beginners, and unlearned Persons, and whereof seldom any use does occur; However, the most useful Terms in all Faculties are briefly explain'd;....”

The New English Dictionary contained approximately 28,000 words, most of which never appeared before in a lexicon. Utilizing several contemporary spelling books of the time, J.K. used this information in forming the pioneering aspect of his writing.

Eleven years later J.K. revised his Dictionary with additions of new vocabulary, and a general overall improvement in his definitions of all words. Interestingly enough, the number of words are reduced from the original book's 28,000 to 21,000 but the general usefulness of the Dictionary is guaranteed as J.K. upgraded the quality of his definitions. The Preface to this new 1713 edition self-praised his efforts:

“...not doubting but the Improvements and Additions will appear very considerable. To that end, many Compound or Double Words, as a *Bird-Cage*, an *Apple-tree*, a *Pigeon-house*, &c are struck out, as altogether superfluous; since *Bird* and *Cage*, with all the rest may be found separately under the respective Articles.

In the room of these, is inserted a great number of proper and emphatical Words, that were wanting in the last Impression.

And farther, whereas the Original or Principal Terms were at first only explained, and the others left naked; now every individual Word is Illustrated with a clear and comprehensive Exposition....”

J.K.'s Lexicon would never have another revision. Nevertheless, for seventy years many of England's most esteemed scholars urged students to use the New English Dictionary. For Issac Watts and other eminent authorities the appearance

of a new and improved Lexicon, the Nathan Bailey's Dictionary did not change their minds that "J.K.'s is still the most useful for young scholars and even for the bulk of mankind."

G. COCKER'S ENGLISH DICTIONARY

With the common belief that English could stand on its own feet as a separate and substantial language, the new eighteenth century would see a mushrooming of dictionaries.

Though interesting, Cocker's English Dictionary of 1704 was neither pioneering nor influential. Its primary contribution is found in his concept for uniting and focusing the entries of his predecessors. The title-page in part notes the intention to interpret difficult words in "Divinity, Philosophy, Law, Physick, Mathematics, Husbandry, Mechanicks, &c....To which is Added An Historic-Poetical Dictionary...And the feigned Stories of Heathen Gods, with other Poetical Inventions....Also The Interpretation of the most usual Terms in Military Discipline....Likewise The Terms which Merchants and others make use of in Trade and Commerce; And the Coins of most countries in Europe, and several Parts of the World.....by Edward Cocker, the Late Famous Practitioner in Fair Writing and Arithmetick."

As noted, “...the Late Famous Practitioner...” can be explained simply that Cocker had already been dead twenty-eight years when the book appeared John Hawkins may have contributed as an editor, although he had been dead twelve years when it was released. And so, the mystery remains who, if anyone, updated the Lexicon before publication?

Cocker had founded his own school near St. George’s Church in Southwark, was a noted engraver, and a renowned calligrapher. It is believed by most lexicographers that the publishers of the Dictionary wanted to use the well-established name of Cocker and that his son Edward Cocker Junior put the finishing touches on the book prior to printing.

A great deal of pirating went into the evolution of this English Dictionary. Its Preface is drawn heavily from Phillips’ New World of English Words, 1658; the list of hard words from Coles’ English Dictionary of 1676. For example:

Coles	Cocker
<i>Faculty</i> , 1. power or ability, also a license or dispensation; also a trade, mystery or profession.	<i>Faculty</i> , power, ability, or calling, also a License or privilege, mystery, or profession.

Fellon-oun, o. cruel; also

an angry blister at the

fingers end, &c.

Fellon, cruel, also an angry

blister at the fingers end.

Other works were turned to for classical entries, from Skinner's Etymologicon of 1671 and the anonymous Gazopylacium Anglicanum of 1689. Military phraseology was secured from the French Dictionary L'Art Militaire, with cleverly omitted examples from French history. For entries of "Terms used in Trade and Merchandize" the compiler used about two-thirds of the commercial words found in the 1697 second edition of Edward Hatton's Merchants Magazine.

Cocker's new edition appeared in 1715 with considerable revision, while the third and last 1724 edition showed no changes. The 1715 work indicates additional pirating from Coles, leading a critical reader to find little difference between the two Lexicons. About seventy-five of Coles entries of cant terms and Old Words are appropriated.

The mystery remains. An unknown author, an unknown reviser, an unknown editor collectively or independently made claim to a superior dictionary by declaring that Cocker's English Dictionary was "very Necessary for all Persons, who desire to understand the Affairs of the World, as well as the Language and Transactions of their own Country."

H. NATHAN BAILEY'S - AN UNIVERSAL ETYMOLOGICAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY

John Kersey's 1702 New English Dictionary, his Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum, and his revision of Phillips' New World of Words lexicon in 1706 would remain the dominant English dictionaries in the early eighteenth century, until 1721.

In that year, Nathan Bailey produced his Universal Etymological English Dictionary, the most popular of all lexicons antedating Dr. Samuel Johnson (1755). It would also mark the beginning of the modern era in dictionary making.

Bailey's background is quite sketchy, ".....nothing is known beyond the fact that he belongs to the seventh-day baptists, being admitted to membership 6 Nov. 1691, and kept a boarding school at Stepney, where he died on 27 June, 1742."

An English Schoolmaster, and then a professional lexicographer, Bailey is credited with compiling the 1704 Dictionary, Rusticum, Urbanism & Botanicum, with a second and third edition in 1726. His Universal Etymological English Dictionary appeared in seven editions with numerous revisions from 1727 to 1776. His Dictionarium Britannicum first published in 1730 was revised and enlarged in 1736. It contains 48,000 words. This Lexicon had immediate success; being larger and more comprehensive than any other dictionary of the day. (Sam Johnson

owned a copy which he scribbled over, underlining sections and adding his own ideas.)

He authored the first three editions. Then in 1755 (the year that Johnson's Lexicon appeared) Joseph Nicol Scott took over. A clergyman and physician, who extensively revised the dictionary and ultimately compiled twenty-seven additional editions. Scott relied on and probably plagiarized Johnson's Dictionary in preparing subsequent editions.

Bailey included words from all corners of society in his Lexicon "hard and technical words", those found in arts, sciences and 'mysteries', words used in anything from anatomy and cosmography to cookery and handicrafts, from painting and optics to meteorology, navigation and philosophy. Surprisingly, he also included names of people and of places in Britain.

The Dictionary was designed for a wide range of readers, having been compiled, writes Bailey, "as well for the Entertainment of the Curious, as the Information of the Ignorant, and for the Benefit of young Students, Artificers, Tradesmen and Foreigners, who are desirous to understand what they Speak, Read, or Write." Bailey's Dictionaries Domesticum was printed in 1736.

His Universal Etymological English Dictionary has a vocabulary of approximately 40,000 entries contained in about 950 pages. For him, the historical origin

of words became central, including the principles he followed in identifying the different parts of speech. Usually he would offer not only the original language but the root word and not only the immediate, but the ultimate source of the word. For example:

Circumvent, (Circonvenior, F. Circumventum, L.).....

Cistern, (Cisterne, F. of Cisterna, L.)....

Citadel, (Citadelle, F. of Cittadella, Ital.)....

Cite, (Citer, F. of Citare, L.)....

Citizen, (Citoyen, F. of Civis, L.)....

His word list borrowed heavily from many earlier lexicons, but especially Kersey's Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum.

Kersey	Bailey
<i>Electricity</i> , (in Philos.) the quality that Amber, Jeat, Sealing-Wax, &c. have of drawing all sort of very light Bodies to them, when rubbed.	<i>Electricity</i> , is the Quality that Amber, Jet, Sealing-wax, &c. has of attracting very light Bodies to them, when the attracting Body is rubbed or chafed.
<i>Elk</i> , a strong swift Beast as	<i>Elk</i> , (Elch, Sax.) a strong,

high as a Horse, and shap'd
like a Hart.

swift Beast,. in Shape like an
Hart, and as tall as a Horse.

The thirty editions of Bailey's Universal Etymological English Dictionary appeared up to the year 1802, ending with approximately 50,000 defined words.

When Johnson's masterpiece appeared in 1755, competition between the two Dictionaries became fierce. The editor of Bailey's twenty-fifth edition attempted to downplay the increasing popularity of Johnson by emphasizing the merit of Bailey's: its "extensive plan,....the perspicuity and conciseness of its definitions." The Universal Etymological English Dictionary was printed for eighty years making it the most popular and representative Dictionary of the eighteenth century.

The 1727 second volume of his University Etymological English Dictionary is more appropriately labelled a Supplement. In its Preface Bailey advertises that this new work includes words he did not have room for in the original book. He now adds markings for the accentuation of words thus attracting the users requiring more refined pronunciation.

Along the way, the title was changed to The New Universal Etymological English Dictionary. By 1755, thirteen years after Bailey had died, this new Lexicon,

the largest, last and certainly its best edition appeared under the editorship of Joseph N. Scott. To compete head-on with Johnson's 1755 Dictionary, the editor of Bailey's Dictionary entered quotations to illustrate the definitions. In fact, many of the quotations were taken verbatim from Johnson's work. Although the Scott-Bailey Dictionary contained approximately 65,000 words (fifteen thousand more than Johnson's Dictionary) it only survived through 1772, three years after Scott's death.

Many of Bailey's methods would later become important dictionary-making conventions. For example, he explored the origins of words, for which he drew on his knowledge of Hebrew, Greek and Latin. He provided advice on pronunciation, and attempted to compile a more complete list of words than any other English dictionary written before him, with the inclusion of dialect, slang, and taboo words. The fact that he included rude or slang words shows that his endeavor was far ahead of its time, such words were left out of most non-slang dictionaries until well into the nineteenth century.

Nathan Bailey ranks among the finest of lexicographers. His fame was reduced when Johnson captured the market, but the fact remains that while sitting at the table preparing his 1755 Dictionary, a copy of Bailey's rested near Johnson,

skimmed over and over again. (Was there also a copy of the Cooper Lexicon on Johnson's table?)

I. DYCHE AND PARDON – A NEW GENERAL ENGLISH DICTIONARY

The last pre-Johnson major Dictionary was the New General English Dictionary compiled by Thomas Dyche and William Pardon in 1735. It had eighteen editions running from 1735 until 1794 and remained in print until 1830. The Dictionary was begun by Reverend Thomas Dyche, an English minister and school teacher, and completed a few years after Dyche's death by William Pardon.

Throughout much of the period of success of Nathan Bailey's Lexicon A New General English Dictionary survived while other competitors failed commercially, if for no other reason than the writers chose not to emulate Bailey but instead to develop a differing strategy and goal. They addressed a neglected audience, downplayed or eliminated areas where Bailey concentrated, and replaced others which were claimed to be superior on practical grounds.

Thomas Dyche who initiated this Dictionary, was a schoolmaster in Fetter Lane, London and later a free school at Stratford Bow in Middlesex. His Guide to the English Tongue was published in 1709 and reached forty-eight editions by 1774. Its huge success can be attributed to Dyche's emphasis on pronunciation. In 1723, he then wrote a spelling Dictionary. He died in 1733.

Nothing is known of his co-author William Pardon, other than that he was described as a “Gent.”

Right-off, it was conceded to Bailey that he wrote for a unique audience of educated and “linguistically minded” users. They would concentrate on a “lower level,” the less educated and specifically, those with no foreign language training. Rather than compete with Bailey, they eliminated the etymology and concentrated on more practical matters:

“Derivations and Etymologies are entirely left out: First, because of their Uncertainty,....secondly, upon account of their Uselessness to those Persons that these Sort of Books are most helpful to, which are commonly such, whose Education, Reading, and Leisure, are bounded with a narrow Compass; and therefore such Helps and Hints, as were judged more universally beneficial, are substituted.”

Dyche and Pardon set about compiling a new Dictionary for the masses, placing emphasis on accent, pronunciation, and the introduction of grammar. Although Bailey’s work gave ample consideration to accent he devoted little lineage to grammar. Within the book, words were sorted into groups where words with

two syllables were further sub-divided into those that emphasized the second syllable. Sorting words by sound and then in order led to lists that attracted comment, e.g., hiss, kiss, miss, bliss.

It was primarily a guide to spelling and pronunciation. The Dictionary included suggestions for changing the spelling of various words, which in time were accepted into current English.

But, for grammatical education, Dyche and Pardon rendered a considerable service, for example:

“A Sentence consists of three Words at least.” While they mark every word with a capital letter denoting its part of speech, they allow only four parts for the following reasons:

“.....because there are but Three Parts that make any Variation in their Terminations, &c. that is: Nouns Substantives, Nouns Adjectives, and Verbs, the four other Parts, which by the Generality of Grammarians are called Adverbs, Conjunctions, Prepositions, and interjections, are here called by one general Name of Particles;.....” Although the first edition contained only about 20,000 words, 823 pages required suggesting extensive definitions, as contrasted with those of Bailey. For example:

Bailey

To Kneel, (....) to stand
or bear one self upon the
Knees.

Nail, (...) an Iron Pin
for fastening or nailing
Boards together.

Dyche and Pardon

To Kneel (v.) to stand or bear
one's self upon one's Knees as if
upon one's Feet, and this is by
us esteemed the most humble
Posture for Supplicants of all
Sorts, and is therefore used in
the Church at the Confessions,
and in the Petitions likewise in
the King's Presence, and in
Courts of Judicature upon extra-
ordinary occasions.

Nails (S.) in Building, is one of
of the most necessary instruments
used by workmen; they are
commonly made of iron, and of as
many shapes and sizes as the
nature of the business they are

applied to requires; they are also used in many other businesses, as by cooper, copper-smiths, &c. but by all of them to fasten their work together, and strengthen it by rendering the parts assistant, and adhering to one another.

They also included numerous technical and scientific terms borrowing primarily from Ephraim Chambers' Cyclopaedia: Or, An Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences, 1728.

Two revisions were made, the first by 1744, which included Market Towns in England and Wales. A 1794 edition (the 17th) indicates considerable updating. Pardon's name is eliminated and the new Dictionary contains almost 30,000 words, 10,000 more than the original.

Johnson would comprehend Dyche's and Pardon's contributions and incorporate many of their ideas for grammar and accentuation, in his, the most superior of all eighteenth-century dictionaries to date.

CHAPTER XIV

DR. SAMUEL JOHNSON - A HARMLESS DRUDGE

George Washington's copy of Johnson's Dictionary survives, the President's signature prominently on the title page. Thomas Jefferson owned one. In 1771, Jefferson gave a friend a list of books to "fix us in the principles and practices of virtue," the Dictionary was on it. Benjamin Franklin met Johnson in London in 1760. Soon after, Franklin gave this advice to a friend: "It would be well for you to have a good dictionary at hand, to consult immediately when you met with a word you do not comprehend."

A major reason for the popularity of the Lexicon was that the Johnson Dictionary was first extensively revised in 1773, just in time for use by the framers of the key legal documents of the United States of America.

Johnson's Lexicon was used to verify what Adam Smith meant when he used the term "adventures" in the 1776 Wealth of Nations. The same Dictionary was used to understand what Madison Hemings meant when he chose the word "concubine" to describe his mother Sally Hemings, in her relationship with Thomas Jefferson.

Arguably, this Lexicon became the most famous and most cited of all dictionaries of the eighteenth century. The Dictionary's meaning of words were commonly used and understood based on what the framers subjectively intended the Constitution to mean or what the Constitution's ratifiers subjectively understood it to mean.

This is not to say that other dictionaries were not used by members of the courts. Nathan Bailey's Lexicon was not useful in the search for specialized legal terms in the Constitution; for example, it does not contain definitions for words like "impeachment" or "misdemeanor."

U.S. Supreme Court members had cited a variety of dictionaries in several opinions, apparently preferring the 26th edition of 1789. Dyche and Pardon's work does not have specialized legal terms, such as "legislation" and has only been cited a few times.

Noah Webster's Dictionary is cited often by the U.S. Supreme Court as evidence of the original meaning of the Constitution. The Court's unstated justification is possibly that this Lexicon may reflect best the ways in which Americans used and understood the words in the Constitution, even though the Dictionary was not published until 1828 decades after the Founding Era, and the usage of

particular words may have changed. In addition, the reservation in using his Lexicon is subject to question, given that Webster wanted to shape usage. It therefore fell upon the Johnson 1755 Lexicon as the primary reference for interpretation of the U.S. Constitution.

The U.S. Supreme Court shows that the definition of “recess” in Johnson’s Dictionary reads that the term “recess” could refer to all time breaks taken by Congress. The Court concluded that as used in the Constitution, the term “recess” was narrower, and that it was “limited to intersession recesses” and did not have the broad definition found in Johnson’s Lexicon.

As noted by Gregory E. Maggs of the George Washington University Law School (who brilliantly presented other useful sources and examples found throughout this chapter) dictionaries of the Founding Era certainly defined all or nearly all of the words and terms used in the Constitution. However, they may not have recorded all of the possible meaning of the words. Employing Johnson’s definition of “capitation” it only lists “numeration by heads.” That definition, for example, does not fit the meaning of the Constitution because it does not say anything about taxes. Johnson work lists one meaning but not all of the meanings.

The U.S. Supreme Court library in Washington, D.C. contains a set (or sets) of the 1755 Johnson. In the writing of the U.S. Constitution, the Declaration of Independence, the Bill of Rights and the Federalist Papers, the authors of the day turned to Johnson for his expertise and accepted definitions.

In the past few years Justices Ruth Bader Ginsburg, John Paul Stevens, Clarence Thomas and Chief Justice William H. Rehnquist of the Supreme Court have quoted Johnson in their opinions. For example, when the census-takers count every citizen, the Justices consulted Johnson to determine what the framers had in mind when they wrote the word “enumerate.”

In the copyright dispute at the center of *Eldred v. Ashcroft* of 2003, the plaintiff argued that the extension of copyrights went beyond the language in the Constitution, which called for “limited” terms.” Justice Ginsburg ruled against him. “The word ‘limited,’ however, does not convey a meaning so constricted. At the time of the framing, that word meant what it means today.”

In the *McDonald v. City of Chicago* case, Justice Thomas consulted dictionaries to determine what he called the “established meaning” of the terms “privileges” and “immunities.” Justice Thomas did not use the word “objective,” but he was definitely looking for the objective meaning of the words rather than some subjective meaning.

Early on, members of the U.S. Supreme Court rarely referred to dictionaries to determine the meanings of the statutes it was considering. There is no record that Justice Holmes, Brandeis, and Cardozo cited a dictionary in all their years on the Court. Since 1900, the Court has referred to dictionary definitions in more cases than in the preceding two centuries of its life. By far, the late Justice Antonin Scalia, referred to dictionaries most often, followed by Clarence Thomas.

Other post-Johnson lexicons from Noah Webster's American Dictionary of the English Language of 1828 to the New Oxford English Dictionary continue to use Johnson's pioneering work.

As described by the New York Times of July 2, 2005, in the celebration of the 250 years since Johnson's lexicon was first published, "...it was a work that defined the English language." As the newspaper pointed out Johnson disliked the rebel colonists for their hatred of authority, their unseeingly scramble for money, and especially their dependence on slaves, "I am willing to love all mankind, except an American," Johnson wrote. "They are a race of convicts and ought to be thankful for anything we allow them short of hanging."

Future lexicographers were nevertheless impressed with his love of words. Johnson declared that "a word means whatever the best writers say it means."

Americans liked his belief that no one - no emperor, no king, and certainly no dictionary writer had the authority to rule on meanings. Jack Lynch, of the New York Times stated "Our language is the common property of all who have used it and meanings come not from fiat but from precedent." This was Johnson's appeal. He was both confident and determined.

Before finalizing his definitions, Johnson tirelessly read the great writers of English translation who indicated to him what the words meant, and he in turn told us. They are the ones who "fixed" the language and what is often called a tremendous act of egotism on Johnson's part in fact turns out to be one of humility.

Samuel Johnson was born in an imposing house overlooking the marketplace at Litchfield, England in September 1709. He failed as a school teacher and as a freelance writer. At one time he thought of going into law.

In his adult life he turned to literary works of variety and interest. They included biographies, essays, political pamphlets, a number of significant poems, a body of literary criticism remarkable for its range and shrewdness, and an edition of Shakespeare's plays. But what earned him the deserved fame which lasts today is his Dictionary of the English Language.

As we have already noted, Nathan Bailey's Lexicon was the most comprehensive Dictionary prior to the ascendancy of Johnson. Johnson said he at first

thought that he might work by interleaving Bailey but found him so inadequate that the idea was abandoned. Complaining that the English language “had suffered to spread, under the direction of chance, into wilde exuberance, resigned to the tyranny of time and fashion, and exposed to the corruptions of ignorance, and caprices of innovation.”

Bailey’s eighteenth century Dictionary dominated the field with his cramped, and attractive lexicons. He cleverly quoted famous authors and reinvented old words so as to appeal to a greater audience. The 1721 first edition sold very well. Nevertheless, his marketing keenness alerted him to how Johnson’s 1755 Dictionary might hurt his sales.

Ultimately, Johnson rejected Bailey’s approach to dictionary writing. And with sound reason, Bailey’s definitions were wholly inadequate. For example:

Bailey	Johnson
<i>Heart</i> ..The most noble part of the body.	<i>Heart</i> ..The muscle by which its contraction and dilution propels the blood through the course of circulation and is therefore considered as the source of vital motion. It is sometimes in

popular language to be the seat
sometimes of courage, sometimes
of affection.

At thirty-six years of age, Johnson commenced working on his most famous project, his famed Dictionary, taking nine years to complete. Boswell, his noted biographer asked of the master, “You did not know what you were undertaking.” Johnson confidently replied, “I knew very well what I was undertaking, and very well how to do it, and have done it very well.”

The contract was signed during breakfast at the Golden Anchor near Holborn Barn in London. He would receive 1,575 guineas in installments, to cover all expenses, including the hiring of assistants. (This sum kept the debt collectors at bay.)

When Johnson signed the contract for his Dictionary in 1746, he was known as the author of a learned poem called London written in 1738, a contributor for the Gentleman’s Magazine and as a future editor of Shakespeare, and had no training as a lexicographer. He was not famous at that time, although his reputation was growing.

In 1747, Dr. Johnson published his Plan for a Dictionary of the English Language addressed to the Earl of Chesterfield; and soon afterwards he made a contract with some eminent London booksellers for performing the labor of preparing the work. The publishers began to advertise the coming of the Dictionary at the time Johnson began to compile his Lexicon, properly dedicated to the Earl. He envisioned the process of preparing his work as a parallel to legal precedent: “I shall therefore, since the rules of stile, like those of law, arise from precedents often repeated, collect the testimonies of both sides, and endeavour to discover and promulgate the decrees of custom, who has so long possessed whether by right or by usurpation, the sovereignty of words.”

On the top floor of the house on Gough Street in London, the Garret - one large room - where Johnson’s Dictionary was completed was known by neighbors as the “dictionary work-shop.” According to Boswell, his famed biographer, it was “fitted up like a counting house” that is with a long desk at which several people could write standing. His clerks did no research for him, and were mostly responsible for cutting and pasting, moving materials from here to there. Nearly the entire work was self-produced. When completed there were 2,300 pages filling two large folio volumes.

He single-handedly wrote the definitions of more than 40,000 words, illustrating their nuances, and entered 114,000 quotations taken from English writers during the two centuries from the middle of the Elizabethan period to the mid-eighteenth century. It is believed that he collected more than twice that number of words but was told by the publishers to eliminate them or “the bulk of my volumes would fright away the student.”

Over time, he filled nearly eighty large notebooks. Boswell believes that Johnson initially prepared a master list of words utilizing his abundance of earlier dictionaries (probably including a Cooper). He proceeded to write the words down alphabetically in his notebooks, followed by his illustrative quotations. He then inserted them and the definitions. The task was monumental, but for Johnson, not overwhelming.

Johnson was a pioneer in lexicography. He realized that words were not museum pieces to be catalogued, but symbols subject to continual change and adoption. No one before Johnson had attempted to analyze the finer variations of meaning which a simple word might have acquired by different authors and in different contexts.

In choosing appropriate quotations, his primary interest was to illustrate the meaning(s) of the words. Secondarily, he wanted to give these quotations of

some interest in themselves either “in quality of language or in content of thought.” As Johnson declared in his Preface, he would extract words and their definitions “from philosophers of science, from historian remarkable facts, from chemists complete processes, from divines striking exhortations, and from poets beautiful descriptions.” At the end the slips of paper that he used throughout his writings were pasted in the large notebooks by his assistants.

He took 17,500 of his quotations from Shakespeare, roughly fifteen percent of the total. Another 7,500 came from Dryden, and many thousands more from Bacon, Hooker, Locke, Pope, Milton, Robert Boyle and the King James version of the Bible.

“The great captain of English lexicography,” completed his task in 1755, after years of arduous labor. Soon after its printing, Gentleman’s Magazine stated “Let not any one attempt to withhold the honor which is due to him who alone has effected, in seven years, what the joint labor of forty academicians could not produce in a neighboring nation in less than half a century,” a reference to the French Academy responsible for their official French language Lexicon. Similar claims would be made for the Italians working on their own Dictionary.

His Dictionary appeared at a moment of intense anxiety about the language. Britain was by now “a nation of readers” as explained by Johnson, affecting the perception of public opinion and challenging the authority of parliament, the church and of course, the monarchy.

The publication of Johnson’s Dictionary formed a greater era in the history of the language than that of any other work. No other Dictionary in the English language has had so much influence in fixing the external form of the language, and ascertaining and settling the meaning and proper use of words. His humor and humility was evident when he said:.....”no dictionary of a living tongue can ever be perfect, since while it is hastening to publication, some words are budding, and some falling away.” And what humor he possessed. Several of his now famous definitions are:

LEXICOGRAPHER: a writer of dictionaries; a harmless drudge, that busies himself in tracing the original, and detailing signification of words.

DULL: to make dictionaries is dull work.

WHIG: the name of a faction.

TORY: one who adheres to the ancient constitution of the state, and the apostolical hierarchy of the Church of England, as opposed to a whig.

OATS: a grain, which in England is generally given to horses, but in Scotland supports the people.

EXCISE: a hateful tax levied upon commodities, and adjudged not by the common judges of property, but wretches hired by those to whom excise is paid.

GALLERY: the seats in the playhouse above the pit, in which the meaner people sit.

He included whimsical little-known words such as:

WRITATIVE – A word of Pope’s not to be imitated: “Increase of years makes men much more talkative but less writative: to that degree I now write letters but of plain how d’ey’s.

On a more serious level, Johnson’s work showed a heretofore unseen meticulousness. Unlike all the proto-dictionaries that had come before, painstaking care went into the completeness when it came not only to “illustrations” but also to definitions as well:

TURN had 16 definitions with 15 illustrations.

TIME had 20 definitions with 14 illustrations.

PUT ran more than 5,000 words spread over three pages.

TAKE had 134 definitions, running 8,000 words, over five pages.

He had achieved his goal: providing a pragmatic standard “for correctness and propriety.”

Johnson was the first to introduce into English lexicography the method of illustrating the different significance of words by examples from the best writers (he used about 116,000 quotations); and his Dictionary, from the time of its publication, has been far more than any other before, regarded as a standard for the language.

Johnson explained in his Preface:

“When first I collected these authorities, I was desirous that every quotation should be useful to some other end than the illustration of a word. I therefore extracted from philosophers principles of science; from historians remarkable facts; from chemists complete processes; from divines striking exhortations; and from poets beautiful descriptions.”

His masterpiece brought him recognition across the Continent. From Italy, “This very noble work will be a perpetual monument of Fame to the Author, an Honour to his own Country in particular, and a general Benefit to the Republic of Letters throughout Europe.” Indeed, Johnson had surpassed the Academies of Europe and matched them.

David Garrick, a distinguished English actor of the time, said, “And Johnson, well arm’d like a hero of yore, Had beat forty French, and will beat forty more.”

The original goal was to publish the Dictionary in two folio volumes: **A-K** and **L-Z**. But that soon proved unwieldy, unprofitable, and unrealistic. Subsequent printings ran to four volumes; even these formed a stack 10 inches tall, and weighed in at nearly 21 pounds. In addition to the sheer physical heft of Johnson’s Dictionary, came the equally hefty price. So discouraging was the cost that by 1784, thirty years after the first edition was published, when the Dictionary had by then run through five editions, only about 6,000 copies were in circulation - an average sale of 200 books a year for thirty years.

His etymologies would be considered poor by modern standards, and he gave little guide to pronunciations, one example being “*Cough*: A convulsion of the lungs, vellicated by some sharp serosity. It is pronounced *coff*.” Much of his work was prescriptivist. It was also linguistically conservative, advocating traditional spellings such as “olde” rather than the simpler spellings that would be favored 73 years later by Noah Webster.

Johnson would make mistakes in his definitions. He failed in defining “pastern” to be “the knee of a horse’s leg.” A lady one asked him how he came to define Pastern, the knee of a horse. Johnson’s reply was “Ignorance, Madam, pure ignorance.”

During the writing of the Constitution, some definitions had become obsolete by the late 1780s. Only some of the words that were eliminated had previously been identified as being obsolete. For example, the 1755 edition containing an obsolete definition of the preposition “until,” a word appearing eight times in the Constitution. Reality is that words often retain their meanings for hundreds of years.

Johnson’s accomplishment was finally acknowledged. Soon after publication, King George III was pressured to reward Johnson for his achievement and offered him a significant pension. He would use these funds to help him create new editions.

The year after publication of his work, Johnson prepared an abridgment; and he revised the large work for the new edition, without, however, making great additions or alterations.

From its release there was universal appreciation not only of the content of the Dictionary but also his achievement in single-handedly creating it. When Boswell came to this part of Johnson's life, more than three decades later, he pronounced that 'the world contemplated with wonder so stupendous a work achieved by one man, while other countries had thought such undertakings fit only for whole academics'.....The Dictionary was considered from the moment of its inception, to be Johnson's, and from the time of its completion it was Johnson's Dictionary – his book and his property, his monument, his memorial.”

The merits of his Dictionary have been exaggerated by some and underrated by others. But though many defects have been pointed out, not one of his countrymen of the time could produce a work of superior quality. (It should be noted that Webster, some seventy-three years later would produce his American Dictionary, having Johnson's masterpiece laid out before him for constant reference.)

Even on his deathbed, Johnson retained his sense of language as a precise instrument. When a friend offered him a new pillow, he said, “That will do - all that a pillow can do.” In a few words, he expressed a perfect appreciation of the uses and limitations of a pillow as a bulwark against death. When his last great

work was completed he was over seventy and had less than four years to live. He died on December 13, 1783 and was buried in Westminster.

His most striking obituary read: "He had made a chasm, which not only nothing can fill up, but which nothing has a tendency to fill up - Johnson is dead. - Let us go to the next best: - there is nobody; - no man can be said to put you in mind of Johnson.

CHAPTER XV

FINGERPRINTS AND SIGNATURES

What if, in flipping through the pages of a Cooper Lexicon, you would spot other fingerprints that matched those of Shakespeare's fingerprints from any of his plays, essays, poems or other papers that he touched.

What if, in flipping through the pages of a Cooper Lexicon, you would spot the signature of, or even initials of William Shakespeare?

Such a find would seal the question, "where is a copy of the Dictionary that the Bard used?" It would be amazing and thrilling completing the search. There is evidence that both approaches might be revealing but difficult to achieve.

Fingerprints

There is clear evidence that most of our renowned writers, composers, painters, sculptors, etc. left their personal mark on their works.

Throughout their creativity it was inevitable that they touched the paper or the canvas or the clay as they spent hours upon hours (often eating at the same time) struggling to advance their manuscripts, sheet music, painting or sculpture.

The best example that can be used in seeking out Shakespeare's fingerprint of the 16th century is the accumulated evidence from a Leonardo daVinci painting.

Recently, a 3-by-9 inch portrait La Bella Principessa, an aristocratic woman from Milan, Italy was sold in a 1998 auction to an anonymous Swiss collector at the Ganz Gallery in New York City for about \$19,000. Experts today believe it is worth about \$150 million since it was done by daVinci, even though it was unsigned.

Specialists, including anthropologists now involved in seeking proof, began to accumulate clues to link the portrait to daVinci. To begin with, unanimously they showed that the painter's fingerprint was from a left-handed person. DaVinci was left-handed.

A connection between the portrait, and the daughter of the 15th century Duke of Milan was found. It is believed that the subject is arguably Bianca Sforza, the illegitimate daughter of Ludovico Sforza, Duke of Milan who was born in 1443. The proof is that the work was by an artist, done on vellum and was meant to be part of a book. The portrait has been dated 1485-1490, at the same time Leonardo was living in Milan.

Over three years, a team examined fingerprints left on 52 documents. Most were incomplete prints. (daVinci was known to use his fingers to paint and often handled manuscripts while he ate. Some of the artist's prints include traces of saliva, blood and food.)

The documents confirmed a widely held belief that the woman in the portrait was of Middle East background, as it was found that 60 percent of the Arab population also had similar features. Some experts claim that Leonardo's mother was a slave from Constantinople with the name Caterina, a popular slave name in Tuscany, Italy.

If we extrapolate, we can say the same thing for Shakespeare. In writing his plays, sonnets, poems and other documents, he would hold a pen in one hand, and of necessity hold down his paper with the other. Fingerprints had to be there, but to date none have been located.

As far as I can determine, there is no evidence that any of the Bard's fingerprints were in my copy. The only true way to determine the lost fingerprint(s) would be to review several hundred of Cooper's surviving Lexicons to see if any fingerprint(s) of Shakespeare can be found.

Could Shakespeare have owned and used more than one copy of Cooper; that is doubtful. If so, are the Bard's fingerprint(s) on one or the other, or both? Initially, you must be secure in knowing that the hundreds (or more) fingerprints can be linked to another copy of the Lexicon. (A folio edition would be of no value to solve this puzzle as by the time they would appear, Shakespeare had already died.)

Using a high resolution multispectral camera daVinci's fingerprint was discovered near the top of the portrait of Sforza. It was also compared to other fingerprints on the artist's other drawings and paintings. One expert concluded, "The interface or knot work ornament in the costume and caul corresponds to patterns that Leonardo explored in other works and in the logo designed for his Academy."

Martin Kemp, a global expert on Shakespeare is an emeritus professor of art history at Oxford University. He believes that the painting is authentic. Kemp claims that not only was the drawing done with left-handed strokes, but that Leonardo had relied on the palm of his hand as a way of softening the shading.

In 2009, Kemp announced to the world that the drawing was "the real thing - a Leonardo masterpiece."

Signatures

Once again I slowly turned each page of my 1584 Cooper Lexicon. I was seeking initials W.S. or WS. Then I looked for a full signature of William Shakespeare or a variant spelling (see below) that was written in a style of handwriting known as the "Secretary Hand." Should I have been successful, which I wasn't, my search would have been over. If not me, then perchance someone else's copy of the Cooper would have its own winner. But with as many as 200 copies, a guess,

of one of Cooper's editions out in the world, the chances of my finding a copy with a signature was decidedly unlikely.

In his handwriting, the Bard was known to have paths signature on six forms that survive to this day. They all appear on legal documents. Three pages of his handwritten manuscript for the play Sir Thomas Moore are also in his handwriting. (Some experts claim that a possible seventh signature can be found in Archaionomia.)

Throughout his works he wrote in "Secretary Hand," allowing a freedom to make variances in style depending on the mood or the composition to be written. This style was known to be efficient, allowing for great speed in writing. (Christopher Marlowe and Francis Bacon used the "Secretary Hand," allowing both speed and the use of abbreviations.) It was a format popular at the time throughout the United Kingdom and this cursive style was taught in Stratford and at other grammar schools. Now obsolete, it preceded the Italian script that is used today.

At that time, a quill was used for writing (Shakespeare was a quick writer using his right hand) employing black ink made primarily from oak apples, containing vinegar and gum Arabic. His six surviving signatures showed his name as Willm Shakp, William Shaksper, Wm Shakspe, William Shakspere, William Shakespeare, and By me William Shakespeare.

The legal documents with his signature include:

.Deposition in the Bellott v. Mountjoy Case, dated May 11, 1612. This was a lawsuit between Stephen Beloit and Christopher Mountjoy, heard at the Court of Requests in Westminster, London. Shakespeare was called as a witness and he placed his signature on a deposition. His signature is Willm Shackper. (Experts believe that he didn't complete his name, as he couldn't recall how it ended.)

.The purchase of a house in Blackfriars Gatehouse, London, dated March 10, 1613 - (William Shakspear.) Shakespeare and three associates agreed to purchase the Gatehouse from the Dominican priory in London from Henry Walker. This deed described the terms of a mortgage within the percents of the Blackfriars. It is signed in two places by Shakespeare. One on the conveyance and the other on the mortgage. For this document, the clerk had written "William."

.The mortgage for the same house, dated March 11, 1613 - (Wm Shakspea.)

.His Last Will and Testament, which bears three signatures, one on each page, dated March 25, 1616 - (William Shackpere - page 1); from the will (Wllm. Shakspere - page 2); from the will (by me William Shakspear - page 3) filed in the records of the Prerogative Court of Canterbury. It provides one of the richest surviving accounts for understanding his familial and professional networks.

Although, not found on any documents or letters, other spellings thought to be by Shakespeare include Willielmum Shakespeare, William Shakspere, Wm. Shackespere, and Wyllyam Shaxpere. (Despite spelling his own name six different ways, not once does he spell it as it was spelled on play titles and elsewhere in London, the way we spell it today.)*

Therefore, to find the Bard's signature on a copy of Cooper would assuredly be a treasure. If one is ever found, after a sigh of relief and joy, it would be left for the experts to take over to debate its authenticity.

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*Some materials are drawn from Charles Hamilton's "In Search of Shakespeare: A Reconnaissance into the Poet's Life and Handwriting," Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, Publishers, New York, 1985.

CHAPTER XVI

FAMILY AND CAREER

In September 1957, after teary goodbyes to friends and family, I sailed on the Cunard's Queen Elizabeth. She was old and soon to retire. The students settled into third class, with bunk beds in a tiny stateroom for four men.

My first true experience being subjected to British-English occurred when the cabin boy called from our door, "What time would you like to be knocked up for your bath?" That was a shocker. (The bath consisted of a tub with salt water, and a pail of fresh water for rinsing.)

Upon arrival in Paris, my sponsor Professor Friedman introduced me to French experts in technology and unemployment. There were brief periods of observing workers in the Renault factory in Clignancourt, attending seminars on automation and learning that socialized-oriented governments handle their concerns quite differently from that in the United States. Pierre Naville, the Director of the federally funded Bureau of Automation became a close friend. His dangling Gauloise cigarette and neatly worn, but tilted beret, was a French memory (of course I had to buy and wear one.) Student riots were ongoing during the year over inadequate government university subsidies.

There was a mid-year opportunity to visit Israel for its 10th anniversary celebrations. I met some distant family who were convinced that I would move permanently to Israel, but that was not to be.

The highlight of the trip to Israel was to be invited to an anniversary gala, where I was asked if I would like to meet the Prime Minister. "Of course" I uttered and was brought to speak with David Ben-Gurion for a brief chat and handshake. (It was so easy in those days.) In addition, while in the stadium for a majestic parade, I spotted a woman entering the grounds. Someone yelled out "Take her picture, she's important." I did and it was Golda Meir, a future Prime Minister. (This was the first of many visits to Israel)

Following a fascinating year in France, I would return to New York City to begin working towards my doctorate at New York University. It was difficult at first attempting to be a serious student again after my time in Paris.

One of my greatest opportunities came when I was invited to teach a short course at the New York City Office of the New York State School of Industrial and Labor Relations at Cornell University. It was a challenging moment, lecturing on an applied and worrisome subjects of the day - the impact of automation on unions and their concerned workers. It was so successful that even before complet-

ing my doctoral studies I was invited to join the Cornell faculty as an assistant professor. I quickly accepted. Having hit on a vital topic at a critical time provided me with this great opportunity.

Ellen and I had reconnected and after a two year hiatus. We fell in love. Plans were made over the summer of 1960 and we married on September 11. Upon returning from a Bermuda honeymoon we lived in New York City on what today is considered the fashionable “Upper West Side.”

Three years later Lauren was born followed by Elizabeth two and one-half years later. We resettled and moved to Riverdale, the Bronx, where Ellen grew up and now taught 5th grade, first to an apartment and then to a beautiful three bedroom brick home on a private dead end street. (It was to be the “temporary house” but we never moved. Fifty-four years later, we are still in the same house.)

Years would fly by. I would go off to teach and sometimes consult, and Ellen was an active volunteer in worthy causes, at the same time nurturing our two daughters. We loved having a family, living close to Ellen’s parents and sharing the experiences of watching our children grow and thrive.

Over the next 40 years, each of our wonderful careers have had a significant impact on our life’s journey.

Ellen's began as an elementary school teacher primarily with fifth graders. With time off for child rearing and part-time teaching, she returned to full-time employment as Dean of Academic Affairs at Marymount Manhattan College in NYC. She loved her work and rose to Associate Dean.

After 10 years she left Marymount to take a leading position at the Women of Reform Judaism, the largest Jewish women's religious organization in the world where she would become its Executive Director. She represented more than 100,000 women nationally and perhaps another 25,000 internationally. Her work took her around the country, conducting leadership workshops, furthering education, supporting humanitarian causes, and fighting for social justice for women, not only Jewish, but all women. Throughout her distinguished career she would criss-cross the US and travel to far reaching foreign lands. In recognition of her numerous achievements she would be awarded a Doctorate of Humaine Letters from the Hebrew Union College - Jewish Institute of Religion.

Ellen would move in the most prestigious circles, going to the White House often, participating in the Middle East Oslo Accord signing in Washington, D.C. in 1993, traveling around the world meeting Presidents, Kings, Queens, Prime Ministers, and other leaders. She would retire at age 63, proud of her long career and

contributions making a difference in people's lives. Yes, I was immensely proud of her.

Leaving Cornell, I became a faculty member at Columbia University, and my first book Automation, Manpower and Education was published in 1967, followed by The Computer Prophets.

The Death of Privacy was released in 1969 by Random House and would be my most important book (to this day, fifty plus years later I still remain passionate about the privacy rights of people, and their "right to be forgotten") dealing with the proposed merger of all federal agency computers into one gargantuan system. President Johnson favored this recommendation but it failed to move ahead following considerable resistance, first from the U.S. Census Bureau and next, the U.S. Internal Revenue Service, etc. For me, it led to numerous speaking engagements, and the opportunity to testify before the Senate Judiciary Committee's Constitution Rights Subcommittee, headed by Senator Sam Ervin (who soon afterwards chaired the Watergate hearings.)

I would now shift over to Baruch College, then to Polytechnic Institute in Brooklyn. Other universities would follow before joining the faculty of New Jersey's Rutgers University and becoming Department Chairman at its Business School.

Dictionaries and the use of words would become a more dominant part of my life. One day in the mid-1970s in preparing a research paper, I sought the definition of “contrarian.” After three phone inquiries with major banks, I concluded that the three explanations of “contrarian” were each significantly different. I decided to prepare my own business dictionary. I wrote a proposal and using the “shotgun approach” sent out letters to twenty publishers. All but one rejected my idea. John Wiley & Sons made me an offer. The result - The Dictionary of Business and Management, first appeared in a hard-cover edition, then paper and soon translations. (When the Soviet Union collapsed, satellite nations returned to the western capitalist system and needed to know business terminology. My dictionary became a popular seller.) The Lexicon was so successful that Wiley and I contracted for a total of seven more dictionaries.

By then, I had already begun to collect antique English lexicons, my first a second edition of the Sam Johnson with many more to follow. (My fascination with words also led me to invent a game “Alumni Fun” produced by Milton Bradley.)

Overseas travel now became a more popular activity for us, sometimes for pleasure but usually for work. The first adventure was living in London with our

family. I would teach at a local university. (A major portion of my present dictionary collection was purchased while spending six months in the Capital.)

Ellen's position would bring her to Israel about three times a year, and my Rutgers University specialty of International Business and the Middle East would lead me, often at the same time, to the region.

Sabbaticals, invited lectures and international conferences provided numerous opportunities to live abroad, often for lengthy periods, often at universities. These brought us to: Portugal, Israel, Morocco, Egypt, Jordan, Singapore, Poland, Spain, Sweden, Qatar, the Netherlands, Mexico, Iceland, France, and most wonderfully to Italy.

Foremost, for 32 years we were enamored with Italy. It was the lifestyle of the Italians, their way of life-to enjoy living, their food, history, culture, and architecture. Following a sabbatical in Rome where I taught, we spent parts of four consecutive years in Pavia, and continued for the next eight years in Bergamo.

I retired from Rutgers University following 32 years of service, at age 75. In my teaching career I taught about 10,000 students, enjoying every minute, knowing that for better or worse, minds were affected. It was a wonderful way to spend one's life.

Now we are in New York City less often, more in Amherst, Massachusetts where our children and grandchildren have lived and continue to still collect antiquarian English dictionaries. We are fortunate to travel and enjoy this exciting and wondrous world. After forty-five years of gathering lexicons, the result - this Book.

CHAPTER XVII

THE SEARCH CONTINUES IN LONDON

Why prolong the hunt in London? Why not just cave in and surrender the search, concluding that Shakespeare's copy of Cooper had been lost to time. I had walked the streets of the Capital stopping at nearly every antiquarian book shop, with no success. In addition, over time I had sought my prize at numerous rare book fairs and markets (where I purchased my own edition of a 1584 Cooper.)

The pursuit for the Lexicon in and around Stratford and the Avon River proved unproductive. Had Shakespeare taken the Cooper Thesaurus from his grammar school as he was departing for London, his creative talents would soon be tested. Should the rumor be disclaimed and there is no evidence that he swiped the famous Dictionary, it matters little. We do know that Johnson, as well as others, worked from a copy of the Cooper's Dictionary.

There are several hundred used and rare book shops in and around London. Mostly they are found in run-down, low rental buildings, often with hidden gems hidden behind their walls. Stacks would rise to 10 or more feet, with volumes piled one onto another. I have learned early on that no collector could succeed in securing a prime edition of his hoped-for copy by merely skimming the top few

books. That was always the first and perhaps last location to be examined. Indeed, the prize could be on the bottom of the pile rarely reached (one bookshop in the Elephant & Castle Underground (subway) area, had fifteen feet high stacks, where the volumes on the bottom were rarely if ever sought.) However, the risks in drawing a book from the floor of the shaky heap are obvious. A collapse is inevitable, both embarrassing and potentially a disaster - paper is heavy. (Once Ellen survived the risk of falling books and uncovered in Birmingham the four volume set of Johnson's fourth edition 1818 Dictionary.) It was a dusty, sometimes filthy process that went nowhere.

Other prizes were found awaiting the match with a collector, but no Cooper. After tiring months, I said goodbye to the old shops with their equally antique proprietors.

Moving on, in June 2015, my wife and I purchased tickets to attend the massive, and promising London International Antiquarian Book Fair, held in the city center. Upon crossing the threshold we were tossed into a world designed for book lovers, especially those entranced by rare volumes. There were dozens of cubicles, some tiny, others covering considerable space. Each would house samples of a special collection, some for modern first editions, others theme based, while the majority were defined by their volumes on a specific subject.

European shopkeepers were well represented with antique books, floral design manuscripts, original drawings from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries. The books were handsomely displayed, often by language and discipline.

Those cubicles with dictionaries were few, making the tour of duty focused and practical. I would find three or four sets of Johnson's Lexicons including one splendid 1755 copy of his great Dictionary, which following lengthy negotiations, I purchased.

Through my walk around, I would repeatedly ask, "Do you have a copy of the Thomas Cooper or Bishop Cooperi Dictionary," with little concern for which of his four editions would be available as all are rare. (I knew that if Shakespeare had a Cooper in his possession, brought from Stratford, it would have been a first edition of 1565, or perhaps the second edition at the latest. I would seek the Bard's signature in any found copy, and perhaps a noticeable fingerprint of Shakespeare.) Alas, none were available.

My last, but hopeful visit would be to Sam Johnson's celebrated home where on the third floor in the Garret, he compiled his renowned, great Lexicon. Perhaps I would find buried in his pile of reference works he studied for words and definitions, his copy of Cooper's Thesaurus.

The visit to Gough Square in London was now highest on my agenda. It was now or never! I would spend as much time as necessary scouring the 3rd floor, speaking to aides and others about the Cooper Lexicon. I would succeed in finding a copy of the book, or I would return home empty handed.

Dr. Johnson's House, as it is popularly called, was built at the end of the seventeenth century by a City wool merchant, Richard Gough. The timber-framed, brick town structure was part of a development in Gough Square, of which Dr. Johnson's dwelling at number 17 is the only one to survive.

The five-story building has retained many of its period features, which includes historic paneling, a fine open staircase, wooden floorboards, a cupboard, and even the original door handles. The eighteenth-century front door still has anti-burglary devices intact, including a heavy chain with a corkscrew latch.

The home, the last of Johnson's London residences to survive, is arguably one of the outstanding eighteenth-century townhouses. It is five bays wide and five stories high. The Garret was traditionally used as servants' quarters and/or for children is plain, with no decorative moldings or carvings, while the floors below (second floor occupied by bedrooms) were more expansive and showed fancy decor. Boswell, Johnson's famous biographer, states, "He had an upper room fitted up with a counting house for the purpose, in which he gave to copyists their

several tasks.” The Garret, was the only room in the house that didn’t have any paneling. Its walls were all plastered.

The Garret was either lit by lamps or candles posing a serious fire hazard. Johnson, when he wore his wig, would scorch it by getting too close to its flame. In addition, the candles were smelly. Only the rich could afford beeswax candles, and most were made of animal fat. Soot was everywhere.

Dr. Sam remained a tenant until 1759 (his wife had died a few years earlier.) The house was later used as a small hotel and bed and breakfast, and was even a printers’ workshop and studio.

By 1911, it had fallen into a sad state of disrepair. “It is doubtful whether in the whole of London,” said a neighbor, “there existed a more forlorn and dilapidated tenement....The roof leaks disastrously, and the plaster had fallen off in large patches from the ceiling and walls.”

A newspaper magnate and politician Cecil Harmsworth bought the structure. “At the time of my purchase of the house in April 1911, it presented every appearance of squalor and decay.” He restored it and then created a museum in 1913. It was opened it to the public in 1914 and is now operated by a charitable trust, Dr. Johnson’s House Trust Ltd.

With considerable anxiety I climbed the stairs to the top level, to the Garret (Johnson defined this as “a room on the highest floor of the house,” which occupied the whole length and breadth of the building, possessing a high ceiling, admitting light through windows at the front.) In Johnson’s time there were three windows and two domes at the sides. He paid an annual rent of 30 pounds.

Johnson knew that he would require considerable space for himself, for his hired workmen, and for the amassing of required materials. He fitted it up with one of those long desks (long trestle tables) used in the counting house of the day. Volumes of reference books (hopefully to include a Cooper) some recent, but many two hundred years old, were scattered throughout.

His majestic work was a one-man ordeal. Johnson chose the words, defined them, fitted them out with derivations and illustrated the correct use of each one with quotations from literature. Out of his own funds, he hired six men-amanuenses - five of whom were Scotsmen, the other English. The clerks would work standing up, while Johnson presided over the scene from an odd three-legged chair surrounded by books of all sizes and information. Might the Cooper be among his collection?

He would bend over his desk, reading, racking his brain for appropriate definitions, at the same time consulting his assortment of volumes which were marked and underlined for possible entry.

The Blitz in World War II

The Garret (now part of the Johnson Museum) caught fire from the bombing on the night of December 29, 1940, that terrible evening, which destroyed so much of the City of London, and then again less than a month later, on January 18, 1941. On January 6, 1941 the headline from the evening newspaper read, the "Gough Square ghosts must be seeking in Johnson's Garret." It was further damaged by a flying bomb on July 18, 1944.

Sirens throughout London signaled the return of the German airplanes. The Blitz was in full-force. High-explosive and incendiary bombs fell on the financial district, Fleet Street and Gough Square. The warnings would rapidly lead to the evacuation of the buildings, and many people took shelter in the neighboring underground. The explosives were chemical bombs designed to start signal fires or destroy sensitive equipment. The City was ablaze.

Like today's cluster bombs, the incendiaries would contain many small bombs. The large bomb casings were loaded with small sticks (bomblets) of

things, designed to open at high altitudes scattering the bomblets in order to cover a larger area.

An explosive charge would ignite the incendiary materials, usually white phosphorous, starting a raging fire. (White phosphorus can't be put out by throwing water on it; water just spreads the fire.) At first, traditional bombs, highly explosive, were dropped to crack open brick buildings where the incendiaries would torch everything. The London Blitz air raids were used to start fires so the incoming attack could locate their target; London was blacked out at that time.

Johnson's Garret was on fire; timber, curtains and other decorations burned. The roaring blaze appeared to destroy all signs of a workshop where the Dictionary had been created. The Museum's highly praised displays on the third floor, preserving remnants of the master's work were lost to the fire. Some witnessed the stand used to hold his wig-gone in seconds. Books, perchance including a Cooper, sitting on his workplace fell victim to the bombs and resulting fire.

The curator's mother at that time wrote a brief booklet Dr. Johnson's House During The War. She methodically described the Fire Raid of December 29, 1940. "Later that evening, because the firemen had worked tremendously hard to save the (Johnson) house, only the roof and part of the front wall of the garret had been burnt. The water damage was very bad and the basement flooded.

.....The treasures, pictures and books were taken into a sub-basement of Carmelite House, where they were placed in a strong room and came out after the war.”

A number of firemen were members of the London Symphony Orchestra and they would come to the house to practice. Their traditional home had been bombed out. They had musical evenings twice a month. Music of Mozart, Handel, Bach and Scarlotti were heard.”

“Had spotters been stationed on the roofs of the Square on Sunday night, Dr. Johnson’s House would not have been seriously damaged, nor the nearby buildings gutted.” The ranking official decided that it was more critical to save St. Paul’s Cathedral. A Manchester Guardian journalist reported that a piece of the temporary roof, the corrugated iron roof, had been blown off and had to be replaced with a tarpaulin, “There was no roof and only parts of two walls, and the rest was wreckage.” It was to remain in place for several years, and this was to be the only thing that covered the Garret for some time.”

Restoration began in the late 1940s. The original roof beams, now virtually charcoal, had to be braced onto steel girders. The severely burned original fabric had to be replaced.

There was no evidence of a Cooper, not a book page, nor the burned cover of the Thesaurus Linguae Romanae et Britannicae. Was my search at an end? Would I have to resign to the fact that I would never find my sought after Lexicon?

EPILOGUE

Years of roaming have led me to conclude that the Bard's Cooper still existed, (with or without his signature or fingerprint) but I could not find the one studied by the greatest literary authors and lexicographers of the English language. Indeed, my last hope would be sighting the Cooper that may also have sat on the desk of Noah Webster during the preparation of his 1828 American Dictionary of the English Language.

We now live part-time in Amherst, Western Massachusetts - near the home of Noah Webster. (Following authorship of his famed Lexicon he left New Haven, Connecticut and moved to Amherst.) Throughout the Spring and Summer, I spend Sunday mornings at a nearby town's huge antique-flea market, seeking the Dictionary of Cooper. I have found numerous copies of Webster's editions and other dictionaries. However, time has now passed and I remain unsuccessful in finding the Cooper. But, at the same time, I believe that Noah Webster, the inheritor of the great lexicographic compilers would from time-to-time turn to his Cooper as a

major resource. Unfortunately, I never found the Bard-of-Avon's copy. Nevertheless, roaming about among the beautiful fields of hay and horses in the Holyoke hills, my search for Shakespeare's Dictionary continues.

The romance of English words can be electrifying. There are more than 600,000 of them at last count, and new ones are generated daily, especially in the fields of computers, finance, global business, the internet, and advanced technology. Experts believe that well-educated people know about 20,000 in reading and writing. While speaking, fewer than 2,000 words account for ninety-nine percent of our conversation. Only 10 words make up twenty-five percent of all we have to say - first "I," then "you," etc.

Sometimes dictionaries are not incorrect or inappropriate, but imprecise. The famous OED seeks to make its definitions more accessible to generalists, while the Webster seeks perfection even though its definitions may not be readily understandable to the majority of readers, especially beginners.

For most people, especially for those learning it as a second language, English is awkward and mystifying with its convoluted sentences. One billion of the planet's more than seven billion people now speak or read English, many struggling to perfect its nuisances and irregularities.

The ever-remaining puzzles for all who journey into the realm of a language are filled with numerous twists and turns. For example, in the morning did the clock alarm go “on” or “off?” Does “cleave” mean “to separate” or “to bring together” or both? Confusion exists with “Your door is a jar,” and “Giant Shrimp.” My all-time favorite mind-boggling phrase is “We want to fix your car in the worst possible way.” How does a new-comer to the English language ever come to grips with these unfamiliar concepts? And so, the English dictionary continues to be the mediator of our complex terminology.

Now more than forty years since I was invited to join the team of contributors to the OED, I receive small clusters of printouts from its editor every few months with the task of reviewing and revising those entries forwarded to me. In doing so, I find great satisfaction that I am contributing to the building of a Lexicon that others will turn to for interpretation and understanding. (I was also consultant to the Random House Dictionary, until they ceased publication about twelve years ago.)

I know that my small effort may be meaningful to a crossword puzzle fanatic, to a Scrabble junky, to a lawyer forging a will or prenuptial agreement, to a corporate executive seeking a profit, to a politician preparing a constitutional amendment that will change the course of a nation’s history, to a future Nobel

laureate in literature, or to a foreign student, trying hard to absorb the magic of our language.

When searching for the peaceful antidote away from the press of events, there is that uplifting surrender into the world of words and literature. William Shakespeare was one of the first writers to work in the beauty and abundance of Modern English; Cooper with his definitions and descriptions made it all possible.

