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First Edition

Prefatory Note

WHEN first beginning work on this list, I naively hoped to include every significant discussion of Dr. Johnson, every article or volume specifically concerned with him, since 1887. But like Johnson and the quotations for the Dictionary, "when the time called upon me to range this accumulation of elegance and wisdom into an alphabetical series, I soon discovered that the bulk of my volumes would fright away the student, and was forced to depart from my scheme . . ." The ideal was impracticable. Consequently, many short items in *Notes and Queries*, the *Times Literary Supplement*, and elsewhere, although wholly about Johnson, have been omitted. Only those which appear to add something to our knowledge about Johnson or his works, which contribute some original interpretation, or which are outstanding in obtuseness of critical opinion (useful for teachers and historians) have been selected. But while there has been some selectivity in choosing short articles and notes, I have tried to list every separately printed pamphlet or book having to do with Johnson. Some have doubtless eluded me—to be the source of continuing embarrassment in years to come; some obviously will be of no use whatever except to the most ardent collector. But at least there will be found included here the most complete listing of the mass of privately printed Johnsoniana which has flowed from the presses during the past sixty years.

From the start it should be made clear that this does not also constitute a complete bibliography of Boswell. In the special section devoted to him there are included only items which also have a definite connection with Johnson or with the *Life*. Nor has it appeared feasible to include all important works about other members of the Johnson circle, though in Section V readers will find many valuable references to Mrs. Piozzi, Sir John Hawkins, Edmund Burke, to name only a

few, which also provide evidence about their relations with the Great Cham. Intended to be selective, this section gives only representative standard works which have appeared to me to have some usefulness to students of the Johnson group.

The thousands of miscellaneous references contained in books and articles about other people and topics constitute an even more difficult problem. Obviously it would be futile to attempt to list every mention of his name, every quotation from Boswell's *Life*, every excerpt in school text books, every allusion to his opinions. Even if such a compilation could ever be assembled and published, its usefulness would be very doubtful. On the other hand, many of the most interesting criticisms of Johnson may be found in works in which his name does not appear on the title page, or even in a chapter heading. It is hoped that in the present check list the more important of these passages will be found, though possibly every one will wonder why some have been omitted and others included. No full explanation can be given except that at one time or another I have felt that the reference might be of some use to a hypothetical historical research worker, Johnson collector, or literary critic.

Something should be said about the technical form used. As an aid to librarians and specialized workers, the bibliographical entry is given in fairly full detail. Where, however, volumes have been issued in both England and the United States with no change in contents, usually only the original publisher is given. Each entry is numbered (not always consecutively) merely to provide an easy means of cross-reference. Wherever an author's name is known, the work is entered under that name. On the other hand, where a volume is an edition or a compilation it is entered under its title, and the editor's or compiler's name follows. As an aid for readers who may know an author's or an editor's name and not the exact title of a work, a complete index of names follows the main list. This index also will allow users to find all works by a single author, though scattered about in separate sections. Eighteenth-century persons merely included in titles have not been indexed.

Again with the hope of increasing the usefulness of this list, the items have been alphabetized under separate divisions or topics. For example, all works directly having to do with *Rasselas* will be found together under that heading. Reference by number also will appear there to material relating to *Rasselas* included in works listed elsewhere. Though obviously not complete, this cross reference is designed to aid readers with specific problems.

PREFATORY NOTE

v

In the past one valid criticism of all bare bibliographical lists has been the fact that there is often no way for a reader to tell what each item is about, or how important it is. To meet this criticism, without expanding the list overmuch and rendering it too expensive to print, I have tried the experiment of putting in brackets after titles which are not self-explanatory some description of the contents. In this way, it is hoped, users can at least get some idea of the nature of each item.

In order to help readers to select the more important scholarly references I have resorted to a particularly dangerous device—that of putting an asterisk before each one which appears to me to be of particular use either historically or critically. At the risk of appearing arbitrary or prejudiced, I have felt that the value of some selectivity for many who will casually consult the list far outweighs any possible criticism of my choices. The basis of selection has always been usefulness—and I have attempted to include (1) new discoveries, (2) new critical approaches, whether they appear valid to me or not, (3) sound historical summations or literary evaluations. In some instances where discoveries appear in several places, first in articles and later in books, only the last version is starred.

Although the list ostensibly covers the period from 1887 (the year of the appearance of George Birkbeck Hill's edition of the *Life*) through 1950, a few earlier references have also been included. Important works useful for special investigations, even though printed before 1887 have been added, as well as some later reprintings of well known earlier works, such as the essays of Macaulay. But no attempt has been made to achieve any completeness for the earlier period.

That the present list contains grave faults which might have been mended by further years of patient checking I am fully aware. But it is my hope that, imperfect as it is, it still will prove useful to students of the period. And thus I dismiss it, not with the Doctor's "frigid tranquillity," having much to fear and hope from censure and from praise. To captious critics, however, I offer one reminder: "In this work, when it shall be found that much is omitted, let it not be forgotten that much likewise is performed."

J. L. C.

Columbia University
November 1950

Acknowledgments

ORIGINALLY this check list was planned in collaboration with Professor James E. Tobin of Queens College, as one of his general series of eighteenth-century bibliographies, and he was responsible for much of the early accumulation of material. A similar project had been begun by Dr. Richard L. Greene and Dr. Robert Metzdorf, then at the University of Rochester. They graciously withdrew and helped me in every possible way. Collectors on both sides of the Atlantic have been generous in allowing me to rummage through their libraries for Johnsonian "scrappiana," as Mr. S. C. Roberts calls much of what appears in the following pages. The printing of this list has been made possible by the kind interest and backing of Dr. E. W. McDiarmid, Librarian of the University of Minnesota.

It is a great pleasure here to express my appreciation for help, of various kinds, from my wife, Dr. Irvin Ehrenpreis, The Grolier Club, Lord and Lady Harmsworth, Mr. and Mrs. Donald Hyde, Lt. Col. Ralph H. Isham, Mr. A. Lloyd-Jones, Mr. Percy Laithwaite, Mr. N. Lester, Professor Samuel Monk, Professor Frederick A. Pottle, Mr. A. L. Reade, Mr. S. C. Roberts, Dr. Arthur Sherbo, Professor D. Nichol Smith, and courteous librarians everywhere. I owe more than I can ever express to Dr. R. W. Chapman, Professor Allen T. Hazen, Mr. Herman W. Liebert, and Dr. L. F. Powell, who, in addition to helping with the collection of material, have carefully checked many items and given valuable suggestions. Mrs. E. G. Franklin of the University of Minnesota Press has been indefatigable in making the work more consistent and accurate in form. My chief debt is to Professor Gellert S. Alleman, my gadfly conscience in bibliographical matters. Had I been willing to accept all of his suggestions, this list would have been more thorough.

Abbreviations

<i>ELH</i>	<i>ELH, a Journal of English Literary History</i>
<i>JEGP</i>	<i>Journal of English and Germanic Philology</i>
<i>JHI</i>	<i>Journal of the History of Ideas</i>
<i>MLN</i>	<i>Modern Language Notes</i>
<i>MLQ</i>	<i>Modern Language Quarterly</i>
<i>MLR</i>	<i>Modern Language Review</i>
<i>MP</i>	<i>Modern Philology</i>
<i>NQ</i>	<i>Notes and Queries</i>
<i>PMLA</i>	<i>Publications of the Modern Language Association</i>
<i>PQ</i>	<i>Philological Quarterly</i>
<i>RES</i>	<i>Review of English Studies</i>
<i>SP</i>	<i>Studies in Philology</i>
<i>SRL</i>	<i>Saturday Review of Literature</i>
<i>TLS</i>	<i>London Times Literary Supplement</i>

NOTE. For the explanation of the asterisk (*) before important items, see the Prefatory Note, page v.

Contents

ABBREVIATIONS	ix
A SURVEY OF JOHNSONIAN STUDIES.....	1
GENERAL BIBLIOGRAPHY	
I. BIBLIOGRAPHY (INCLUDES EXHIBITIONS, SALE CATALOGUES, ETC.)	17
II. EDITIONS	
WORKS	22
SELECTIONS	22
ANTHOLOGIES (SPECIFICALLY LIMITED TO ANTHOLOGIES OF 18TH-CENTURY WORKS)	23
III. BIOGRAPHY	
SEPARATE BIOGRAPHIES AND MISCELLANEOUS BIBLIOGRAPHI- CAL INFORMATION	24
MEDICAL AND PSYCHOLOGICAL WORKS	29
IV. BOSWELL (INCLUDES ONLY WORKS AND EVENTS CONNECTED WITH JOHNSON)	30
V. JOHNSON'S PERSONAL RELATIONSHIPS (INCLUDES CONTEM- PORARY EVIDENCE ABOUT HIM)	38
VI. CLUBS AND ASSOCIATIONS.....	52
VII. HOMES AND PLACES.....	54
VIII. PICTURES, RELICS, ETC.	59
IX. FICTION (DR. JOHNSON IN FICTION AND DRAMA)	61

X. GENERAL AND MISCELLANEOUS REFERENCES.....	64
XI. JOHNSON'S PROSE STYLE.	90

BIBLIOGRAPHY OF INDIVIDUAL WORKS

XII. <i>Life of Savage</i>	91
XIII. NONDRAMATIC POEMS	
EDITIONS	92
CRITICISM	93
XIV. DRAMATIC WORKS	95
XV. <i>Rambler, Adventurer, Idler</i>	
EDITIONS	96
CRITICISM	97
XVI. <i>The Dictionary</i>	98
XVII. <i>Rasselas</i>	102
XVIII. SHAKESPEARE (EDITING AND CRITICISM)	106
XIX. POLITICAL TRACTS (INCLUDES DISCUSSIONS OF JOHNSON'S POLITICAL VIEWS)	108
XX. <i>Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland</i> AND OTHER TRAVEL JOURNALS	108
XXI. <i>Lives of the Poets</i>	
EDITIONS	112
CRITICISM	113
XXII. LETTERS	
EDITIONS	116
COMMENTARY AND OTHER REFERENCES	117
XXIII. <i>Prayers and Meditations</i> (INCLUDES SERMONS AND DIS- CUSSIONS OF JOHNSON'S RELIGIOUS BELIEFS)	
EDITIONS	121
CRITICISM	121
XXIV. MISCELLANEOUS WORKS	124
INDEX OF NAMES.....	130

A Survey of JOHNSONIAN STUDIES

JOHNSON the man is familiar to most of us. Without much stretch of the imagination we can see the great bushy wig, the massive features, the awkward lumbering walk of "The Great Cham." We can hear him begin an emphatic remark to Boswell, "Why, Sir—" or even more characteristically, "No, Sir—." And gradually, with our own changing point of view, we are beginning to recapture something of Johnson's vigorous reasoning intelligence, his common-sense critical genius. More and more the man the eighteenth century knew is emerging. What follows is the story of this rediscovery.

Never since his death in 1784 has Johnson been forgotten by the reading public. Acknowledged as a great man of letters by his contemporaries, he became a symbol of reaction to the young poets of the next age. The Romantics, with the exception of Scott and Byron, used him as a whipping boy to advance their own theories of art. The Victorians, although not taking him seriously as a writer or thinker, still found him interesting, but for qualities far different from those we stress today. Indeed, in no other figure can the shift of critical sensibility between the two ages be more clearly shown. This change of emphasis was practically complete as early as 1831, as Macaulay shows in his savage review of Croker (1149). "What a singular destiny has been that of this remarkable man!" wrote Macaulay of Johnson, "To be regarded in his own age as a classic, and in ours as a companion." And it was Macaulay's own brilliant emphasis on Johnson's idiosyncrasies rather than his ideas which set the tone for succeeding generations. Johnson the kindhearted, tea-drinking, bad-mannered eccentric—Johnson reaching down to twitch off a lady's shoe, superstitiously touching every post along the street, doing all manner of foolish things—this was the figure who became familiar to every school-boy. Even Carlyle, while regarding Johnson as a hero of faith in an

age of atheism and doubt, stressed the man, not the writer (324). For nineteenth-century readers Johnson was essentially an amusing and somewhat lovable eccentric, who had a place in their affections comparable to their favorite Dickens character or to Falstaff.

It was Boswell, of course, who provided most of the evidence, for it was Johnson the erratic talker, so masterfully described in the *Life*, that everyone remembered. Ironically, it was the greatness of his disciple's art which for at least a century tended to obscure Johnson's true stature. A few readers, to be sure, still found delight in Johnson's works: the number of editions of *Rasselas* proves that. But it is significant that since 1825 there has been no newly edited complete edition of Johnson's works. The Victorians were generally content to take Johnson as a character out of a great book.

Of all the eighteenth-century figures it is easiest to see why Johnson as a man so appealed to the Victorians. His morality and probity of personal conduct were unimpeachable. There were no sex irregularities or records of drunkenness to suppress. In his talk and writings there was none of the occasional vulgarity and indecency to be found in Pope and Swift. His rough exterior hid a proverbial heart of gold. He was a friendly "clubbable" man, eager for talk for its own sake, drawing into his circle most of the famous men of his day. His weaknesses were those easily understandable and forgivable in a fictional creation. Moreover, they were weaknesses traditionally associated with the English character. Thus in many readers' minds Johnson more and more took on the guise of a mythical "John Bull"—a symbolic caricature of the nation's rugged strength and bullheadedness, its insular point of view.

Almost without question Johnson was ignored as a literary artist and critic. His style was thought to be too pompous and heavy, his subject matter too rigidly didactic, his criticism too bigoted and unimaginative. Only his life was interesting. Typical is the attitude of a writer for *Temple Bar* (322) in 1892: "Boswell may be said, without hyperbole, to have unearthed Johnson, and embalmed him. But for Boswell, the man was gone, past power of recall. . . . Our knowledge of Johnson comes to us solely and exclusively through Boswell's spectacles. . . . not one man in a thousand . . . has ever dipped into any single thing that Johnson wrote." The same point of view, sometimes even more strongly expressed, can be found in a host of other writers of the day. It is summed up by Brander Matthews (1165): "Without Boswell, Johnson's fame would have shriveled long ago. His authority as a critic—and it is only as a critic that he has any

claim to authority—is now thoroughly discredited. . . . His style, which was once widely admired, long exerted an evil influence upon English literature.” Or as a much later writer (351) puts it: “How many of Boswell’s devoutest readers today ever open the *Idler*, the *Rambler*, the *Lives of the Poets*, *Rasselas*, or any other volume of the Doctor’s once-conquering prose? . . . [Johnson] lives today only by his disciple’s brilliance.” (See also 1307.)

With this attitude firmly fixed, it is not surprising to find most of the books and the articles in the late nineteenth and the early twentieth centuries concentrating on Johnson the talker and his friends. For many people he had become the patron saint of intellectual conviviality. Johnson clubs sprang up everywhere. When papers were read the topics centered on the great man’s talk as recorded by Boswell, or upon the ramifications of his large acquaintanceship. “The Johnson Circle” endlessly provided amusement and delight to casual readers and persistent collectors. (See Sections V to IX.)

The collectors deserve more than a word, for they have been increasingly important in the development of the new Johnsonian approach. The most celebrated of our day—R. B. Adam and A. Edward Newton—not only carried on the traditional interest in every person and thing connected with the Johnson circle, but increasingly directed attention to Johnson’s own works. Moreover, from the start both men showed a commendable desire to share their treasures, to make them available to serious research scholars. Long before the mammoth catalogue of the Adam collection appeared (53), most of the valuable items in it were well known. A. Edward Newton publicized his finds in a series of delightfully written essays (358, 535, 738, 739, etc.) which undoubtedly stirred up in the United States more interest in the whole movement than any other single force, with the exception of the personal inspiration of Professor Chauncey B. Tinker for generations of students at Yale University. (See 903.)

Collectors and amateur litterateurs everywhere were aided by the gradual dispersal early in the twentieth century of large portions of the tremendous horde of Johnsoniana belonging to Mrs. Thrale-Piozzi (29, 64, 446, 1760, 1907, etc.), and by the appearance in the auction rooms of other mementoes of the group. Interest was so aroused that prices rocketed sky high. To compare prices secured for Johnson’s letters, for example, in the 1890’s to those in the 1920’s is a revelation in shifting market values. For a while Johnson and his friends vied with Shakespeare and the great Romantics in the crowded auction rooms.

There is no need to do more than mention the exciting discovery of Boswell's archives—the gradual bringing together of all the new material by another great collector, Lt. Col. Ralph Isham—the expert editing of the papers by the late Geoffrey Scott, Frederick A. Pottle, and other helpers (see 306, 367, 373, 394)—or the final fortunate acquisition of most of the manuscripts by Yale University. Some important manuscripts of Johnson, not essential to the Boswellian archives, are now in the collection of the Donald Hydes. Uniting the mammoth Adam collection, a large part of the Newton holdings, and the new Boswell material, the Hydes now have one of the most comprehensive collections anywhere in the world of books and manuscripts concerned with one literary group (13).

Just as major collecting of Johnsoniana began from Boswell's *Life* and gradually widened to concentrate on Johnson's own works, so serious scholarship of the period started with the editing of Boswell and other biographical works about Johnson. To be sure, G. B. Hill's edition of the *Life* and the *Tour to the Hebrides* in 1887, arbitrarily chosen as the starting point for this check list, was no isolated event. Hill's work was the culmination of the editing of Boswell for the century. His is the most heavily annotated, and for its day the most accurate and complete. But although a landmark for its own time, it has manifest deficiencies. According to present standards, Hill was far from a perfect textual editor; his notes, while impressive, are often willfully prejudiced (oversuspicious of Mrs. Piozzi, he accepted many of Baretti's fabrications); and his huge index leaves much to be desired. Nevertheless, these weaknesses were not immediately apparent to Hill's contemporaries, and the work was greeted with a paean of praise (except from Percy Fitzgerald; see 335–36c). Hill's other editions, the *Letters* in 1892, the *Johnsonian Miscellanies* in 1897, and the *Lives of the Poets* in 1905, followed much the same pattern, and were of immense importance in bringing to Johnsonian studies a scholarly, serious approach. All obviously need modern revision. Happily the revisions of the two earlier works are rapidly nearing completion. The first four volumes of Lawrence F. Powell's admirable re-editing of the *Life* appeared in 1934 (314); volumes five and six (including the index), delayed by the war, are promised for 1950. R. W. Chapman's long-awaited edition of the letters should closely follow upon them.

In 1923 when the Clarendon Press began to make plans for a new printing of the *Life* (325), it was recognized that Hill's edition had become a standard text; scholars everywhere were referring to it merely

by volume and page number, often with no further identification. Any change of pagination would thus produce much confusion in scholarly circles. On the other hand, important information had come to light since 1887, which ought to be incorporated in the footnotes. The decision was finally made, whether rightly or wrongly we will not attempt to say, to keep to the old pagination and to relegate most of the new discoveries to appendices. [For an attack on this policy and a defense see C. B. Tinker's review (314) and R. W. Chapman's reply (326).] One thing is certain: L. F. Powell, the new editor, has shown great skill and ingenuity in revising Hill's notes, bringing in whatever was feasible of the new, and cross-indexing what had to go to the rear of the volumes. He has verified the text, and identified many persons whom Boswell thought best not to name. His editing of the *Tour to the Hebrides* (Vol. V) will be found to be an outstanding improvement on Hill. All Johnsonians owe him a great debt of gratitude for his thorough, scholarly work.

Interest in Johnson the man found expression not only in heavily annotated and illustrated editions of Boswell, and in a horde of appreciative essays and privately printed brochures, but also in serious biographical research by a number of gifted workers, the chief of whom is Aleyn Lyell Reade, of Blundellsands, Liverpool. Reade is almost without parallel in the annals of scholarship. Beginning early in the twentieth century as a genealogist interested in his own family records (254), he soon concentrated all his efforts on the early life of Dr. Johnson. The ten volumes of *Johnsonian Gleanings* which have appeared from 1909 to 1946 are a milestone in patient accurate research (249). With the added help of Algernon Gissing, Percy Laithwaite, and others (212-13, 220-21, 223), we now know infinitely more about Johnson's family, his early surroundings and companions, than did Boswell or any of Johnson's contemporaries.

But Reade has been able to bring his microscopic and revealing researches to bear on Johnson's life only up to his settling in London in 1739. The two decades before Boswell himself appeared upon the scene are still relatively unknown. To be sure, there have been occasional exciting discoveries; witness Maurice Quinlan's proof of an actual meeting between Johnson and Benjamin Franklin (550). But what we need now is another Reade, willing to dedicate a long life of patient searching to these obscure years.

The universally accepted omnipotence of Boswell's *Life* has frightened away many other possible biographers of Johnson. There have been, of course, a few short lives: by Sir Leslie Stephen in the English

Men of Letters Series (262); Francis Grant (214); John Dennis (210); S. C. Roberts (255-56); Christopher Hollis (217); Hugh Kingsmill (218); for the most part intended as introductions to Boswell, not as rivals. Recently there have appeared numerous volumes containing short résumés of Johnson's life, and a vituperative, debunking sketch by C. E. Vulliamy (266). On the other hand, the recent biography by Joseph Wood Krutch (219) is an admirable piece of work, since he makes an independent, scholarly appraisal in the light of new discoveries and new hypotheses. Boswell and all the other commentators are judiciously used. Having available A. L. Reade's important discoveries, Krutch is able to give an excellent picture of Johnson's childhood and early education; while the recent publication of Mrs. Thrale's diaries and letters (446, 600), allows him to present a fairer treatment of the Streatham period. The chief strength of Krutch's volume, however, lies in the critical analyses of Johnson's own works. With no Romantic condescension, Krutch forces the reader to grapple at first hand with Johnson's controlling ideas, to appreciate his achievements within the framework of his own concepts of art, and to understand the true springs of his greatness.

Krutch's concentration on Johnson the writer and thinker, which would have startled and amused Victorian readers, is only the culmination of a steady shift of emphasis. One of the pioneers in this change was Sir Walter Raleigh, whose admirable *Six Essays on Johnson* in 1910 focused attention on Johnson's criticism and editing (1233). Of even more importance throughout our period has been the work of D. Nichol Smith of Oxford, whose chapter in the *Cambridge History of English Literature* (1300), eighteenth-century Shakespearean criticism (1669, 1690), and unrelenting insistence on the merits of Johnson's poetry (1423, 1460-61), have exerted an all-pervasive influence on the twentieth-century point of view. Representing the best traditions of accurate, thorough, and penetrating scholarship, Nichol Smith, as teacher and writer, has personally enhanced the general reputation of all eighteenth-century research.

In the United States, as well as at Oxford, there have been inspiring teachers, active in pointing out the merits of Johnson. We should certainly be negligent did we not pay more than passing tribute to the labors of Robert K. Root, Charles G. Osgood, Irving Babbitt, Ronald S. Crane, and Lane Cooper, who, with Chauncey B. Tinker, already mentioned, have been personally responsible for a large number of our active younger Johnsonians. And there is the outstanding

work of Frederick A. Pottle, who has done, and is doing, so much to reinterpret Boswell for our generation (361-66).

It may be worth while to comment on a few general estimates of Johnson which appeared during the period. Chauncey B. Tinker's *Dr. Johnson and Fanny Burney* (467) was extremely useful in calling attention to the non-Boswellian sources of information about Johnson. John Bailey's *Dr. Johnson and His Circle* (920) in the Home Library series—pleasantly written for popular consumption—introduced the great man to many new readers, but largely represented the old nineteenth-century approach. As Paul Elmer More has pointed out (920), Bailey is somewhat obtuse in his estimate of Johnson as a thinker and imperfect in his recognition of his subject's true genius. Percy H. Houston's *Doctor Johnson: A Study in Eighteenth Century Humanism* (1099), a transitional work, grounded in the old prejudices, yet aware of the new implications, is not wholly satisfactory as an analysis of Johnson's thought.

Among modern attempts at a psychological approach to Johnson, that by W. B. C. Watkins (1346) is shrewd, if oversensational in places; that by Hitschmann (284) is filled with errors, an absurdly mixed-up Freudian analysis made without full knowledge of the facts. Katharine Balderston's bombshell suggestion of certain masochistic tendencies evidenced in Johnson's relations with Mrs. Thrale has stirred up much discussion but requires further elaboration (275). Worthy of high recommendation is a recent short analysis of the great man's character by Herman W. Liebert (1139).

Space will permit no more than mention of the score or more of delightful appreciative studies of Johnson—by Augustine Birrell, S. C. Roberts, E. S. Roscoe, Harry Salpeter, C. B. Tinker—which may be found listed in Section X. Nor is it possible to discuss the many sections devoted to Johnson in histories of English literature, in student anthologies, collected volumes of essays, etc. Only the more important are listed in the following check list, since they tend to follow easily recognizable stereotyped patterns, adding little to our real knowledge of Johnson. For the most part these summaries tend to lag behind the trend of the times, being little more than repetitions of nineteenth-century opinions.

Before any author can be critically studied, we must be certain of what he wrote, and have adequate scholarly editions for our use. Fortunately, as compared to Defoe or Swift, there has not been much difficulty over matters of the Johnsonian canon. Thanks to Boswell and Mrs. Thrale, we know fairly conclusively what Johnson wrote.

And thanks to the work of W. P. Courtney, D. Nichol Smith, R. W. Chapman, L. F. Powell, Allen T. Hazen, E. L. McAdam, Jr., and Herman W. Liebert, to name only the more important of the modern bibliographers, we have identified most of it. (See Sections I and XXIV.) Although there are some minor contributions to the periodicals and dedications for other writers' works which have so far eluded us, it is unlikely that many major discoveries will now be made. For all intents and purposes Johnson's literary output is there for us to study. During the past quarter of a century, it should be pointed out, there have been some exciting finds: the realization of the extent of the ghostwriting of the law lectures for Chambers (2051); the discovery of Johnson's translation of Crousaz's attack on Pope (2022), of various articles in Dr. Robert James's *Medicinal Dictionary* (2025), of a Preface to the 1753 index to the *Gentleman's Magazine* (2060), of various other dedications and prefaces to other people's works (14, 2026), and of unsigned essays in the periodicals (2007, 2020, 2020a, 2054). We know much more about Johnson as a writer of sermons (1938, 1946, 2061). All in all, the work of the indefatigable bibliographical sleuths has been well done.

The editing of Johnson's own works, on the other hand, has lagged far behind. We do now have the magnificent Clarendon Press volume of the poems, begun by D. Nichol Smith as far back as 1913, and completed in collaboration with E. L. McAdam, Jr., in 1941 (1423). The editing throughout is a model of thoroughness and clarity, nothing being omitted that any reader might wish. Unhappily, only a few years after this superb text appeared, hitherto unknown holograph manuscripts of some of the poems (notably "The Vanity of Human Wishes" and part of "London") turned up at Malahide Castle in Ireland as part of a recent cache of Boswell papers. Now in the possession of Mr. and Mrs. Donald Hyde, they provide numerous textual variants, but do not essentially impair the value of the Clarendon edition.

After twenty years or more of laborious research and brilliant textual study, R. W. Chapman is finally nearing completion of his re-editing of Johnson's letters. Textually the new edition should be outstanding, for Chapman has attempted to collate with original manuscripts every letter he prints. Obviously this goal has proved impracticable, but with amazing pertinacity he has followed the trail of individual letters all over the world, and has been able to check the great majority of them. Wisely he has not attempted to retain Hill's arrangement or pagination, although he does keep the number-

ing of individual letters. He plans to include all of Johnson's letters now known to exist, including those in the *Life*, omitted in Hill's two volumes. All in all, the new three-volume edition will print almost five hundred more letters than did Hill in 1892. Since in annotation it will not be so full as Hill's, some scholars of the future may wish to have available both editions—Chapman's for accurate texts and new discoveries, and Hill's for illustrative commentary.

We also have convenient modern reprints of Johnson's Shakespearean criticism, edited by Walter Raleigh and D. Nichol Smith (1669, 1683); and of the *Journey to the Western Islands of Scotland* and of *Rasselas*, edited by R. W. Chapman. Moreover, Allen T. Hazen in his immensely useful work on Johnson's prefaces and dedications (2026) has provided texts and commentary for a large number of the fugitive pieces. But there is no annotated edition of the *Rambler* or *Idler*; no adequate printing of the political pamphlets; no collection of the early biographies. Furthermore, Hill's edition of the *Lives of the Poets*, excellent as it may be in many ways, badly needs a modern revision. All in all, it would be difficult to find another major author of the past who stands so desperately in need of a thorough modern re-editing.

Even without the help of adequate modern texts, much has already been done to reinterpret Johnson the thinker and man of letters. One group of writers now stresses Johnson the strong teacher—the neglected moralist. Never a philosopher in the strictest sense, and without a purely speculative mind, Johnson was nevertheless a deep thinker. Like Socrates, he was essentially a wise man, a sage who excelled as a teacher of the art of living. Moreover, his sincerity, lucidity, and vigor make a direct appeal to twentieth-century readers. For many perplexed moderns the combination in Johnson of basic skepticism with a firm spiritual faith has a definite fascination. The Christian pessimism, which the nineteenth century found unsympathetic, does not appear to us quite so unwarranted. Indeed, there is evidence that more and more readers are going to Johnson for spiritual solace. An inspiring appraisal of this side of Johnson may be found in Charles G. Osgood's *Poetry as a Means of Grace*, originally intended for pre-ministerial students at Princeton (1206). The religious appeal of Johnson, to be sure, the Victorians never quite forgot. Our new emphasis is merely on the fundamental values of his fideistic belief. It is with Johnson the man of letters that the greatest shift in opinion is taking place. And here the turnabout is so complete as to be overwhelming.

Perhaps most surprising is the recent revival of interest in Johnson's poetry. What the late nineteenth century considered "unmelodious," and at best second-rate, is now finding openly enthusiastic admirers. From the days of Sir Walter Scott, who could scarcely repeat "The Vanity of Human Wishes" without tears starting in his eyes, until the nineteen twenties there have been few critics willing to call Johnson a major poet. Yet some now are willing to do just that, though unwilling perhaps to go so far as T. S. Eliot, who calls the imitations of Juvenal "among the greatest verse Satires of the English or any other language" (1421, 1435). While it is universally recognized that Johnson is a poet of limited range (1460), the merits of the Latin verses, of a few of the early poems (notably "On St. Simon and St. Jude"), and of many of the light impromptu lines, are becoming more apparent. Even *Irene* is less disdained than formerly (1476, 1486). For most readers, however, the two great satires, the prologues, and the lines to Levet will remain the most popular (concerning the latter see 1430, 1444, 1454).

Leading in the new appraisal have been T. S. Eliot, who in several places has stressed Johnson's importance (1435-36), and D. Nichol Smith, who, besides providing several excellent analyses of the poems (1460-61), has shown convincingly that the whole body of Johnson's verse gives us as true and vivid a picture of his mind as we can gain from his prose (see also 1448 and Bronson in 1425). As might be expected, it is "The Vanity of Human Wishes" which is the most acclaimed. "Nowhere else in all our poetry is the theme that 'all is Vanity' given so majestic expression" (1460); it is "one of the great poems of the language" (1431). Alfred Noyes (1194) stresses particularly the long-overlooked emotional quality of the lines: "It is customary almost to ignore Johnson as a poet; but, behind all the dignity and formality of those lines, there are tears hidden; pangs of mortal grief, and the passion of an immortal and unconquerable spirit, gazing through Life and Time and Death, into the depths of the Eternal. . . . The language and the manner are far removed from those of our day. Many poets have written couplets which may strike us as more 'brilliant'; but I know of none in the language which, if read with the simple integrity of spirit that is their due, are so likely to fill the reader's eyes with unexpected tears." Summing up the new attitude, a reviewer in the *Spectator* (1423) insists: "Johnson is by no means to be disposed of as a minor poet inferior to Dryden or even to Goldsmith. His is a unique, authentic voice, and his genius is evident in his poems, and not only in his prose and his conversation."

There has been no such concerted effort to revive interest in Johnson's periodical essays. No scholarly edition of the *Rambler*, *Adventurer*, and *Idler* has so far appeared, or is in immediate prospect. A few of the better-known essays continue to appear in the school anthologies (see Section II), and there have been several small volumes of selected samples (1500-6), with more in prospect, but the concentrated morality of most of the essays appears too strong for modern stomachs to take in large doses. On the other hand, many misconceptions concerning the so-called "pomposity" of Johnson's style have been cleared away by the excellent work of W. K. Wimsatt, Jr. (1993), and others (see Section XI). And many twentieth-century readers are finding to their surprise that in the periodical essays there are flashes of the same kind of wit which has always delighted us in Johnson's talk.

What can be said of *Rasselas*, that touchstone, as D. Nichol Smith has often insisted (1301), with which to determine a true Johnsonian? If the reactions of recent college students may be accepted as evidence, it continues to be read with interest and delight, for the simple tale of the travelers' search for happiness in our real world of disappointed hopes is ever fresh and stimulating. Yet despite the work of Martha Conant, Harold D. Jenkins, and Geoffrey Tillotson (1635, 1640, 1657), who have made some progress in tracing the ancestry of the piece, we still lack a critical, annotated edition.

It was the *Dictionary* which established Johnson's fame for his contemporaries. "Dictionary" Johnson he was often called; and the two massive volumes were hailed as one of the achievements of the age. Later lexicographers, of course, have far surpassed him in etymological knowledge. And general amusement over certain obviously distorted definitions has tended to obscure the true merit of the work. Recent research by Wimsatt, Gove, Watkins and others (1345, 1604) is focusing attention again on the astounding knowledge of older English literature evidenced in the quotations, and on the methods employed by Johnson in putting the volumes together. There is no space here to discuss at any length the technical treatises which increasingly bear tribute to Johnson's skill in defining the English language. Modern dictionary makers are not averse to confessing their debt. While still finding much to laugh at in the many amusing oddities, we now recognize that in the definitions lies the chief strength of the *Dictionary*. Modern research, on the other hand, has done much to show Johnson's reliance upon Bailey and the other dictionary makers who preceded him, and has shown that Johnson was actually

first in the field only in his method of historical illustrative quotations (1593). It must be remembered, however, that the application of the historical method was an enormous forward stride.

Perhaps the greatest stumbling block to the appreciation of Johnson—particularly for Americans—has always been his political pamphlets, which have universally earned him the label of a bigoted Tory. Enthusiastic liberal thinkers, supremely confident in man's ability to perfect human institutions, have been horrified by Johnson's apparent servile attitude toward monarchy and the established order. But mid-twentieth-century political thinkers appear to be more willing to examine sympathetically the bases for Johnson's conservatism. In this regard, an excellent beginning has been made in a number of recent studies: by B. H. Bronson, J. W. Krutch, Stuart G. Brown, among others (959, 219, 965).

That Johnson was not merely a subservient party member was seen long ago by G. B. Hill and John Sargeaunt (1700, 1703). His political ideas grew out of his moral and ethical judgments, not from any selfish or material considerations. Johnson's deep sympathy for the poor, his hatred of slavery and oppression (we must always remember his toast to the next insurrection of the slaves in the West Indies), his suspicion of government by the financial interests—all tended to make him an independent, rather than a regular Tory. A basic skepticism kept him, like so many others of the neoclassic age, wary of Whig optimism. The Pyrrhonic spirit, which carried doubt over into the realm of Man's reason, produced a basic disbelief in the possibility of any major sudden improvement in human institutions. It must be remembered that the greatest writers of the day—Dryden, Swift, and Hume—were all political Tories. Johnson was essentially of this Pyrrhonic tradition (as recent writers have pointed out), except that the violence of his temperament never permitted him to develop the consistent philosophical approach of Hume or the trusting Catholicism of the later Dryden. But he, like them, found the increase of Whig industrial power a threat to individual rights.

A careful study of Johnson's political writings—not merely the irritable remarks drawn out of him by Boswell after annoying probing—shows that from *Marmor Norfolciense* in 1739 to *Taxation No Tyranny* in 1775 Johnson consistently fought what he considered the dangers of self-interest—the greed for wealth and power in individuals and in governments. His overpowering fear was the rising importance of the rich commercial classes, with their ruthless acquisitive instincts. In *Further Thoughts on Agriculture* in 1756 he showed his awareness of

the fundamental modern conviction that liberty involves the opportunity to obtain the necessities of life. But such an idea presupposes a strong central government—one which will be above the “rugged individualism” of laissez-faire economics. To achieve such an end, Johnson placed his faith in an absolute monarch, who would hold the balance of power in the commonwealth and control society for the good of all. Seeing England in the grasp of greedy merchants, and the colonies in the control of men whom he regarded as rabble rousers avid for commercial gains, he believed the only solution to be not violent revolution, for he distrusted man’s potential ability to improve, but a clinging to established traditional order in church and state. Because the rising capitalism of his day was so obviously Johnson’s *bête noire*, it is not so surprising really that modern leftists now find his thought more attractive than did the optimistic liberals of the nineteenth century (see, for example, 965).

Along with a deeper understanding of Johnson’s political beliefs has come further study of the origins of his other prejudices. In an admirable study (959) Bertrand Bronson shows clearly that the inconsistencies and paradoxes in Johnson’s remarks come from the opposition in him of two strong forces—the skeptical conservatism of his intellectual attitude and the romantic exuberance of his temperament. Again and again his violent passions carried him away; at the same time his powerful intellect kept him from fully accepting romantic illusions. Of course, many of the outbursts about Scotland were intended only to tease his Scottish friends, but there was also an underlying distrust of the Calvinistic religion and the bustling business enterprise of the inhabitants north of the Tweed. His famous tour to the Hebrides in 1773 removed some prejudices and settled him more firmly in others. Moreover, it thrust him into one of the most celebrated controversies of his life—over the authenticity of the Ossianic pieces (some excellent discussions of this struggle, as well as commentaries on his trip, will be found listed in the special section devoted to the *Journey*).

Of other so-called biased judgments and misconceptions, many have recently received thorough examination. There is his dislike of Hume, interestingly analyzed by Ernest Mossner (1182); his puzzling scorn of history (1009); his supposed contempt for natural scenery (922); his attitude toward subordination (945, 959). In some instances we can now see that Johnson, according to his own postulates, was right; in others it is evident that his attitude was merely the result of irritated petulance. Interestingly enough, even the notorious refutation

of Bishop Berkeley has recently found a defender in a professional philosopher, H. F. Hallett, who intricately tries to prove that Johnson's point in kicking the stone has never been rightly understood (1074).

Much of our difficulty in understanding and appreciating Johnson stems from his own lack of consistency. Instead of being a rigid man of sense, he was often not quite certain of where he stood. As Stuart G. Brown (965) clearly sees: "The significance of Dr. Johnson is precisely that he was on both sides, in contradiction with himself. He was, in a sense, as his writings reflect, caught between the old order and the new and he did not always know which way to turn." Brown's is only one of many modern analyses of Johnson's thought that tend to stress more and more the complexity of his ideas—the fact that he was certainly not a true reactionary, but a perplexed transitional figure. Perhaps psychologically that is one explanation of his acerbity.

Finally, it is Johnson's literary criticism which is undergoing the most pronounced revival. In sharp contrast to the Romantic point of view, many modern writers are finding more and more to admire in Johnson's common-sense judgments. Everyone is familiar with the typical nineteenth-century approach. De Quincey, perhaps, was the most violent, exploding in a frenzy of anger over what he called the "malignity" of Johnson's treatment of Milton and calling Johnson's interpretations "scandalously false, scandalously misconstrued" (1797). Most of the Victorian critics who followed tended to agree. Indeed, J. Churton Collins felt that the defects of the *Lives of the Poets* were so great that the work should never be placed in any reader's hands unless properly edited with a good commentary (1794). Johnson, Collins insisted, appears to have been "abnormally deficient in imagination, in fancy, in all that is implied in aesthetic sensibility and sympathy." Robert Bridges (1790a) and Lytton Strachey (1823) most delightfully state this widespread opinion. Johnson's esthetic judgments, Strachey insists, "have always some good quality to recommend them—except one: they are never right." It is Johnson's wit that saves all; "he has managed to be wrong so cleverly, that nobody minds." In other words, we read Johnson only for amusement. Nobody would ever take him seriously as a critic.

But recently many people are taking him seriously. As our own "frame of reference" more closely approximates that of the eighteenth century and as our unthinking acceptance of Romantic sensibility as absolute dogma begins to waver, our understanding of Johnson's critical position becomes more sympathetic. We have only to cite the analyses by J. W. Krutch, D. Nichol Smith, F. A. Pottle, W. J.

Bate, S. G. Brown, M. H. Abrams, to name only a few, to show what is going on (219, 1460, 1818, 926, 1791, 900).

Witness also a recent essay by F. R. Leavis (1805). Johnson's criticism is "living literature," Leavis begins, "alive and life-giving." Despite certain real limitations, "Johnson is a better critic of eighteenth-century poetry than Matthew Arnold." Even the controversial disapproval of Gray's pindarics and the attacks on the popular Miltonic imitations of the day are defended by Leavis. "Now that we no longer search the eighteenth century for what is congenial to Victorian-romantic taste—for poetry from the 'soul'," we can appreciate Johnson's annoyance at "the weakness of taste in his age." Indeed, according to Leavis, the treatment of Gray, "who has not even yet fully emerged from the Arnoldian transfiguration," actually illustrates Johnson's "excellence as a critic of eighteenth-century verse." And the *Life of Cowley* is perhaps the "most striking demonstration of his uninhibited versatility."

Or to instance another extreme statement, there is Alfred Noyes, who (1194) had this to say of Johnson in 1940: "In his criticism of the defects both of Shakespeare and of Milton he is far shrewder, far truer and far more independent of authority than any later critic. Macaulay, when he poured contempt on Johnson's critical powers, was the conventionalist, Johnson the original thinker." Even the "scandalous" attack on "Lycidas," while it has not evoked wholehearted defenders, has inspired expert analyses which allow us to see more clearly exactly what Johnson was saying (1460, 1812). For some modern critics, indeed, the most irritating and unfair of the *Lives of the Poets* has become not that of Milton or Gray, but of Swift (1273).

However much such generalizations may shock conventional readers, the attitude is symptomatic of a new spirit in modern criticism. The mid-twentieth century appears to be demanding more of the qualities of Johnson in its own writing. Significantly a recent excellent discussion of Johnson by J. B. McNulty, entitled "The Critic Who Knew What He Wanted" (1808), ends with a plea to modern critics to follow the example of "The Great Cham." Johnson's "truly amazing ability to see into the heart of a question and to state his findings clearly and in few words" appeals to present-day readers more than much of the appreciative criticism of the nineteenth century.

The wheel has made a full turn. Yet one must not suppose that the old attitude toward Johnson the writer and thinker has been completely eradicated. Of all nineteenth-century ghosts it is one of the most difficult to lay. But it is perhaps significant that today any

sneer at Johnson's writings is certain to elicit an immediate rebuttal (see 1166). And even in the popular magazines and anthologies designed for the general reader, the shifting mood is apparent (for example, see item 112a). "It is time for Johnson's Works to be taken down from the library shelves," pleads Julian Symons in a recent popular selection, ". . . time for an act of justice towards one who was a great writer as well as a remarkable man" (122). This from one not openly a professional Johnsonian! Certainly the rehabilitation of Johnson the writer is at full tide.

"To make light of Johnson's writings," as Noël Lewis puts it (1137), that "old and timeworn habit of thoughtless, prejudiced or half-informed people . . . to say with parrot-like monotony that he existed in conversation alone, that without Boswell he would never have been known, to ask the silly question, Who reads Johnson now-a-days?"—all this is decidedly out of fashion.

If the present list reveals anything significant, it surely is the vitality of Johnson, for every changing generation and for every shifting taste. As the various sections testify—in biography, memoirs, editing, criticism, and religious inspiration—Johnson is still alive and vital to many people.

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Index of Names

References are to item numbers, not to pages

- Abbott, Claude Colleer, 1, 2
 Abraham, James J., 400
 Abrahams, Aleck, 650, 779
 Abrams, Meyer H., 900
 Adam, Robert B., 11, 26, 28, 38, 39, 41, 53, 317, 319b, 350, 377, 388, 802, 1504, 1888, 1897-98, 1905, 2028, 2032-33, 2057, 2067
 Adams, M. Ray, 401
 Adams, R. R. D., 748
 Addington, Marion H., 901
 Adkins, Sir Ryland, 902
 Aguiar, A., 904
 Aigner-Abafi, Ludwig von, 905
 Aitken, James, 1853
 Alarcón, Mariano de, 219
 Alexander, Henry, 906
 Alexander, Samuel, 907
 Alden, Raymond M., 152
 Allan, Philip B. M., 1710
 Allen, Harold B., 908
 Allen, W. Godfrey, 701
 Alnwick, Arthur B., 700
 Altick, Richard D., 402, 909
 Ames, Alfred Campbell, 1788
 Anderson, John P., 3
 Anderson, P. J., 1759
 Archer-Hind, L., 1770
 Armitage, Robert, 1930
 Armstrong, T. Percy, 1625
 Arnold, Edward, 123
 Arnold, Matthew, 1780
 Arnot, L., 701
 Ashmun, Margaret, 403-4
 Asquith, Herbert H., Earl of Oxford and Asquith, 405
 Aswell, Edward, 394
 Atkinson, A. D., 910a, 1540
 Atkinson, Edward R., 2001
 Auld, Thomas, 911-12
 Austen-Leigh, Richard A., 406-7
 Austin, Brother, 1475
 Axon, William E. A., 409-10, 914, 2002-3
 Ayappan, *see* Pillai
 B., F. N., 1706
 B., R., 912
 B., W. C., 742
 Babbitt, Irving, 919
 Babcock, Robert Witbeck, 411
 Bacon, Leonard, 307, 319a
 Bailey, John, 920-21, 1710, 1860
 Bailey, Margery, 303, 306
 Baker, Carlos, 922
 Baker, Ernest A., 1626
 Baker, H. Arthur, 412, 923
 Balderston, Katharine C., 275, 600, 2004-5
 Bamford, A. Bennett, 702
 Banfield, Frank, 748
 Bangs, John Kendrick, 820-21
 Baretti, Giuseppe, 413-14
 Barker, F. W. E., 300
 Barker, W. R., 924
 Barnouw, Adriaan Jacob, 1627
 Barrett, Charlotte, 432
 Barrett, Frederick, 925
 Barrie, Sir James, 753
 Barton, Margaret, 415, 755
 Bastide, Ch., 1623
 Bate, Walter J., 926
 Bateman, A. E., 1587
 Baumann, Arthur A., 780, 927
 Bayne, Thomas, 1789
 Beals, Frank L., 654
 Beatty, H. M., 554
 Beatty, Joseph M., Jr., 416, 928
 Beckingham, C. F., 1790
 Beeching, Henry C., 703, 1931
 Beerbohm, [Sir] Max, 417, 929
 Bell, Alexander Montgomerie, 113, 1715-16
 Bell, Walter G., 704
 Belloc, Hilaire, 1628-29
 Belshaw, Harry, 1932
 Bennett, Charles H., 219, 306, 314, 446, 959

- Bennett, Hannaford, 1620
 Bennett, James O., 1541
 Bennett, William, 418-19
 Bennett, William W., 1542
 Bensly, Edward, 200, 477, 782, 1543
 Benson, G. R., *see* Charnwood, Lord
 Bérard, J., 1623
 Bergler, Edmund, 1401
 Berry, Marion, 705
 Berry, Thomas W., 1776
 Besant, Walter, 130, 930
 Bettany, W. A. Lewis, 115, 355
 Bevington, Helen, 931
 Biron, Sir Chartres, 126, 201, 307, 420, 933-35
 Birrell, Augustine, 110, 301, 304-5, 308, 317, 653, 783, 936-42, 1717, 1925
 Black, Peter, 943
 Blakeney, Edward Henry, 1425
 Blanchamp, H., 944
 Bliss, Douglas P., 1620
 Bloom, Edward A., 945-47
 Bloxsome, H. E., 276-77
 Blunden, Edmund, 202
 Blunt, Reginald, 421
 Boas, Guy, 948
 Boddey, Margaret Pearse, 1544
 Bolton, Sarah K., 949
 Bond, Donald, 2009
 Bonnard, George A., 2006
 Bosker, Aisso, 950
 Boswell, James, *see* section IV
 Botting, Roland, 2007
 Boucher, Léon, 951
 Bouchier, Jonathan, 204, 952, 1597
 Boyle, Sir Edward, 423
 Boynton, P. H., 706
 Bracey, Robert, 424, 1933, 2008
 Bradford, Curtis B., 425, 1511-12
 Bradley, William A., 1925
 Brain, W. Russell, 278-79, 954
 Braithwaite, B., 955
 Bredvold, Louis I., 142-43, 955a
 Bremond, Henri, Jean, and André, 1934
 Brett, Oliver, 5
 Brett-James, N. G., 548
 Breyfogle, W. A., 956
 Bridges, Robert S., 1790a
 Briscoe, J. Potter, 112
 Britt, Albert, 957
 Broadley, Alexander Meyrick, 426-26a, 706a, 958
 Bromhead, Harold W., 707
 Bronson, Bertrand H., 116a, 959, 1425, 1430, 1476
 Brooklyn Public Library, 59
 Brooks, Cleanth, 543
 Brown, A. T., 427
 Brown, Agnes H., 428
 Brown, John J., 205, 429, 960-62
 Brown, Joseph Epes, 430, 963-64
 Brown, Stuart Gerry, 965, 1791, 1935
 Brown, Wallace Cable, 1431
 Brownfield, Lilian B., 966
 Brunner, Karl, 967
 Brunskill, F. R., 206-7
 Brushfield, T. N., 1597
 Bryant, Donald C., 431
 Buchan, John, 822
 Bulliet, Clarence Joseph, 784
 Burney, Frances (Mme. d'Arblay), 432-34, 467, 490
 Burns, Dawson, 968
 Burns, J., 1936
 Burr, Charles W., 1545
 Burroughs, John, 969
 Butt, John, 21, 446, 577, 600, 970, 1029
 Butterfield, Lyman H., 435
 Butterworth, S., 1481
 Buxton, Charles Roden, 323, 971
 Byers, Samuel H. M., 972
 C., H., 1925
 C., P., 975
 C., T. C., 976, 1546
 Caetani, L., 436
 Cahall, W. C., 280
 Cairns, William T., 1937
 Cameron, Kenneth N., 1631-32
 Campbell, Kathleen, 140
 Campbell, Thomas, 437
 Carlisle, James H., 2072
 Carlson, C. Lennart, 2009
 Carlyle, Thomas, 324
 Carrigan, Edward, 1402
 Carter, Winifred, 822a
 Carver, George, 1792
 Cazamian, Louis, 977
 Chandler, John E., 1550
 Chandler, Zilpha E., 1739
 Chaplin, Arnold, 281
 Chapman, Robert William, 12-17, 39, 50, 58, 114, 208, 217-18, 237, 303, 305, 317, 319b, 325-27, 373, 437-42, 655, 785, 963, 978-84, 1003, 1113, 1393, 1432, 1513, 1547, 1620, 1710, 1718-21, 1793, 1850, 1855-56, 1858, 1861-82, 1938, 2010-15, 2022, 2026, 2058, 2064
 Charles, B. G., 443, 1885
 Charnwood, Dorothea, Lady, 708, 786

- Charnwood, G. R. Benson, Lord, 985
 Chesterton, Gilbert Keith, 119, 317, 328, 823, 986, 1620
 Christiani, Ellen Sigyn, 987
 Christie, Octavius Francis, 1514
 Chubb, Edwin W., 988-89
 Churchill, Irving L., 2016
 Churchill, William, 991
 Clark, Barrett Harper, 1777
 Clark, Charles Hopkins, 992
 Clark, Harry Hayden, 1115
 Clark, J. Scott, 993
 Clayton, E. G., 787
 Clifford, James Lowry, 219, 319a, 437, 444-49, 580, 600, 668, 1886, 1937
 Clifford-Smith, H., 708a
 Cline, Thomas L., 1887
 Clodd, Edward, 450, 995-96
 Club of Odd Volumes, 7
 Clulow, George, 912
 Coleman, A. M., 997
 Coleman, William H., 998-99
 Coleridge-Roberts, W. R., 709
 Collins, Adrian J. F., 1620, 1773
 Collins, Arthur Simons, 1000
 Collins, J. Churton, 1001, 1794
 Collins, Norman, 1633
 Collison-Morley, Lacy, 451, 1002, 1634
 Conant, Martha P., 1635
 Congleton, James Edmund, 1393
 Conklin, Paul S., 1666
 Conley, Carey Herbert, 117
 Connely, Willard, 452
 Constable, Eric A., 453
 Cooper, Lane, 1548
 Cooper, Thomas, 1004
 Copeland, Charles T., 454
 Copeland, Thomas W., 455
 Corner, George W., 408
 Cornu, Donald, 1721a
 Cosulich, Gilbert, 331
 Couper, W. J., 1772
 Courthope, William J., 1433
 Courtney, William P., 18, 456-57, 1587
 Cowling, M. M., 153
 Cox, Edward G., 1723
 Cox, Harold, 1550
 Cox, James E., 332
 Cox, W. A., 209
 Craig, G. W., 403
 Craig, W. H., 1005, 1434
 Craigie, C., 710
 Craik, Henry, 147
 Crane, Ronald S., 141, 365, 458, 950, 963, 987, 1620
 Crofts, J., 1775
 Croker, John Wilson, 309
 Cross, Alexander, 1006
 Cuming, A., 1551
 Curry, John T., 1796
 Cyples, William, 1007
 D., J., 1724
 Dane, M., 711
 Darlow, T. H., 1008
 Davidson, Norman J., 128
 Davies, Godfrey, 1009
 Davis, Rose Mary, 459
 Dawson, C. W., 1011
 Dawson, S. W., 788
 Dawson, William J., 1010-11, 1380
 Deane, Anthony, 1012
 De Blacam, A. S., 1725
 De Castro, J. Paul, 333
 Deighton, Kenneth, 1776
 De la Mare, Walter, 317
 De la Torre, Lillian (Mrs. George McCue), 824
 Dennis, John, 210
 Dent, Alan, 316
 Dent, Robert K., 460, 711a
 De Quincey, Thomas, 461, 1797
 Devalle, Albertina, 462
 Diaz, Alberto Franco, 1014
 Dickson, G. S., 1773
 Dixon, Ronald A., 463
 Dobrée, Bonamy, 1515
 Dodds, John W., 1777
 Dobson, Austin, 19, 311, 333, 432, 464-65, 712-14, 1015-16, 1485, 1553, 1653
 Dodge, Norman L., 1555
 Dorian, Donald, 1544
 Drinkwater, John, 10, 317, 334
 Drummond, E. J., 1940
 Duff, John W., 1776
 Duff, Sir Mountstuart E. G., 656
 Dunbar, Howard H., 470
 Dunn, Waldo H., 1798
 Dyson, Henry Victor D., 21, 1029
 Eastman, Arthur M., 1668-68a
 Edge, J. H., 1030
 Eisentraut, Ludwig, 1517
 Elias, C. F., 1729
 Eliot, George E., 720
 Eliot, Thomas Stearns, 1421, 1425, 1435-36
 Elistratova, A. A., 1518
 Elledge, Scott, 1636
 Ellis, Annie Raine, 433
 Ellis, Havelock, 1031
 Elovson, Harald, 1032
 Elton, Oliver, 1033

- Elwin, Whitwell, 1034
 Emden, Cecil S., 1381-82
 Emerson, Oliver Farrar, 1620, 1637
 Emery, Clark, 471
 Emery, John Pike, 472
 Emperor, John B., 1437
 Engel, Eduard, 1035
 Escott, Thomas H. S., 1036
 Esdaile, Arundell, 474, 1037-41, 1941
 Esdaile, Mrs. Arundell, 791
 Ettinger, Amos Aschbach, 475, 1892
 Evans, Bergen B., 1042-43, 1500
 Evans, G. Blakemore, 1670
 Everett, William, 825

 F., W., 1482
 Fan Tsen-Chung, 1044
 Fearenside, C. S., 1620
 Fehr, Bernhard, 1045, 1099
 Ferguson, James, 1730
 Firth, [Sir] Charles Harding, 1770, 1776
 Fitch, George Hamlin, 1046
 Fitzgerald, Percy H., 320, 335-37, 721, 1942
 Fletcher, Edward G., 310
 Flood, W. H. Grattan, 1443, 1457
 Foladare, Joseph, 367
 Foord, Edward, 722
 Forbes, Margaret, 476
 Forman, W. Courthope, 477
 Fortescue-Brickdale, Charles, 338
 Fox, G., 1047
 Freed, Lewis M., 1556
 Freeman, John, 1710
 Freeman, Robert Massie, 826
 French, J. Milton, 1520
 Friedman, Arthur, 1221, 1393, 1423
 Fuller, J. Edmund, 1620
 Fulton, George, 1564

 Gallup, Donald, 478
 Gardner, Bellamy, 792
 Garnett, Robert S., 983
 Garrod, Heathcote William, 1801
 Gaussen, Alice C. C., 478a
 Gennadius, Joannes, 657, 1050-51
 George, Mary Dorothy, 1052
 Geyer, G. C., 723
 Gibson, R., 1620
 Gilbert, Richard H., 1943
 Gilchrist, Donald B., 25
 Gilchrist, Marie Emilie, 1557
 Gissing, Algernon, 212-13, 724
 Gleason, Harold W., 1053
 Gleeson, Joseph M., 1054
 Gloag, Paton J., 1944
 Glover, Arnold, 311, 1731
 Glover, Terrot Reaveley, 1945
 Godfrey, Allen W., 701
 Goggin, S. E., 1776
 Goldman, L., 827
 Gomme, Laurence, 26
 Gordon, W. J., 282
 Gosse, [Sir] Edmund, 589, 1054a-56
 Goudge, Elizabeth, 828
 Gould, Gerald, 1057
 Gould, Rupert T., 355
 Gove, Philip B., 27, 1058, 1558
 Gow, Andrew S. F., 480, 1059
 Graham, William Hussey, 748
 Grand, Georges, 829
 Grant, Francis R. C., 214, 320
 Gray, Ernest, 830
 Gray, W. Forbes, 481, 1732
 Green, Boylston, 1519, 2020
 Green, J. Frederick, 1060
 Green, Julien, 1061
 Greene, Donald Johnson, 1559, 2020a
 Greene, Richard L., 1, 28, 367, 446, 600, 959
 Greenough, Chester Noyes, 1520
 Gregory, Horace, 1438, 1795
 Gregory, T. S., 1062
 Grey, Rowland, 725
 Griffith, Reginald Harvey, 307, 1657
 Griffiths, John L., 1063
 Grolier Club, 6, 9
 Groom, Bernard, 1064
 Grundy-Newman, S. A., 726
 Guiney, Louise Imogen, 482
 Gulick, Sidney L., 483
 Gummere, Francis B., 1092
 Guppy, Henry, 29, 1760
 Gurn, Joseph, 1893
 Gwynn, Stephen, 1065

 H., F., 793-94, 1521
 H. R., 1070
 H., W. B., 484
 H., W. J., 485
 Hadden, J. Cuthbert, 1733
 Hadow, Grace E., 1771
 Hagstrum, Jean H., 1071-72, 1946
 Haight, Gordon S., 1560
 Hale, Edward Everett, 1073
 Hale, Susan, 486
 Hales, J. W., 1770
 Hallett, H. F., 1074
 Hanes, Frederic M., 283
 Hannaford, Justin, 1620
 Haraszti, Zoltán, 339
 Hardy, Edward J., 1075
 Hare, Kenneth, 487

- Harmsworth, Cecil (later Lord), 727-28, 739, 1076-77
 Harper, Charles George, 729
 Harries, Frederick J., 1734
 Harrison, Richard, 30
 Hart, C. W., 1671
 Hart, Edward, 1801a
 Harvey, Charles W., 1078
 Haskell, Jessica J., 1079
 Hastings, William T., 1672
 Havens, Raymond Dexter, 963, 1080
 Hawkins, Sir Anthony Hope, 1081
 Hawkins, Laetitia Matilda, 488
 Haworth, Sir Norman, 1082
 Hawthorne, Julian, 1083
 Hay, James, 1084
 Hayes, James, 1439
 Hayes, J. Gordon, 1598
 Haynes, Edmund S. P., 1085
 Hayward, John, 111
 Hazard, Paul, 1086
 Hazen, Allen Tracy, 16, 31-33, 340, 446, 1423, 1673, 1735, 2021-27, 2055
 Hearn, Lafcadio, 1087
 Hecht, Hans, 543a
 Heiron, Arthur, 215-16
 Henderson, Philip, 1620
 Hendriks, Frederick, 1440
 Henley, William Ernest, 1770
 Heron, Flodden W., 781
 Hetherington, John, 1736
 Hettner, Hermann, 1088
 Heyman, Harald, 312
 Higgins, Hinchcliffe, 1925
 Hill, Constance, 490
 Hill, George Birkbeck, 130, 237, 305, 313-14, 320, 341-43, 505, 658-59, 1089-91, 1383, 1505, 1620, 1700, 1737, 1770, 1852, 1856, 1925
 Hill, Joseph, 491, 711a
 Hilles, Frederick W., 394, 492, 831
 Hinchman, Walter S., 1092
 Hindle, C. J., 1738
 Hirn, Yrjö, 1093
 Hitchcock, Thomas, 493
 Hitschmann, Edward, 284
 Hodell, Charles W., 1094
 Hodgson, John Edmund, 1095
 Hollis, Christopher, 217, 731
 Holmes, D. T., 1710
 Holstein, Mark, 494
 Hooker, Edward N., 1096
 Hope, Henry G., 265
 Hopkins, Mary Alden, 495
 Hornberger, Theodore, 2029
 Hoste, James William, 1097
 Housman, Alfred E., 1098
 Houston, Percy H., 496, 1099-1101
 Howard, Geoffrey, 1102
 Howarth, R. G., 1441
 Howe, Ellic, 248
 Howell, William Boyman, 832
 Howells, William Dean, 1639
 Hubbard, Elbert, 1103
 Hubble, Douglas, 959
 Huchison, Robert, 285
 Huchon, René Louis, 497
 Hudson, Vincent B., 1601
 Hudson, William Henry, 1420
 Hughes, Charles, 600
 Hughes, Henry George, 1947
 Hughes, Spencer L., 1104
 Hughes, T. Cann, 498
 Humberstone, Thomas Lloyd, 1105
 Hunt, Theodore W., 1384, 1948
 Hutchins, John Harold, 499
 Hutchinson, F. E., 1423
 Hutton, Arthur W., 34, 2030
 Hutton, Laurence, 795
 Hutton, William H., 500, 1949
 Hyde, Arnold, 1561
 Hyde, Donald and Mary, 13, 435, 2030a
 Inge, Dean W. R., 1950
 Ingsen, Roger, 315, 921, 1562
 Isaacs, Lewis M., 502
 Isham, Lt. Col. Ralph Heyward, 9, 35, 55, 345, 373, 2017, 2066
 J., W. H., 503, 1110, 1563
 Jackson, E. Nevill, 796
 Jacobs, S. A., 1925
 Jagger, John Hubert, 1481
 James, Ralph N., 1674
 Jarvis, Chauncey G., 504
 Jebb, Sir Richard, 1111
 Jeffrey, Charles T., 65
 Jenkins, Harold D., 1640
 Jenkins, T. Atkinson, 1112
 John, Evan, 833
 Johnson, A. S. Hall, 666a
 Johnson, Charles F., 1675
 Johnson, Edgar, 1403
 Johnson, Lionel P., 345a
 Johnson, Maurice, 1112a
 Johnson, R. Brimley, 851, 1852
 Jones, Claude E., 501, 1894
 Jones, Edgar De Witt, 1116
 Jones, George W., 732
 Jones, Gwyn, 600, 834, 1404
 Joynt, J. W., 1481

- Kaye, F. B., 919
 Keast, William R., 1604, 1632, 1802
 Kelly, R. J., 1117
 Kennedy, T. J., 507
 Kent, Muriel, 508
 Kent, William, 672, 1118
 Kenyon, Sir Frederic, 651
 Kern, Jerome, 43
 Ketton-Cremer, Robert W., 509-10
 Kevin, Neil, 1119
 Kilbourne, H. R., 314, 1120
 King, Richard Ashe, 317
 King, W. H., 1121
 Kingdon, Frank, 1951
 Kingsmill, Hugh [H. K. Lunn], 218, 835, 1122-23, 1752
 Kirby, John Pendy, 367
 Kirchhofer, K. Hermann, 1952
 Kirkland, Winifred, 1565-66
 Kirwan, H. N., 347
 Kleuker, Robert, 1124
 Knapp, Mary E., 1480
 Knox, David H., 1739
 Knox, Ronald Arbuthnott, Monsignor, 835a-35b
 Knutsford, Viscountess (Margaret J. T. Holland), 511
 Kolb, Gwin J., 1641
 Krishna Shastir Chiplunkar, 1623
 Krishnamurti, S., 1125, 2035
 Kronenberger, Louis, 116, 1126
 Krutch, Joseph Wood, 219, 306, 319a, 345, 1127, 1803

 Laache, Rolv, 676
 Ladell, R. Macdonald, 286
 Laithwaite, Percy, 220-21, 512
 Lam, George L. 1804
 Landa, Louis, 1221
 Landor, Walter Savage, 836
 Lane, John, 1443
 Lane, Margaret, 512a
 Lang, Andrew, 837, 1130-31
 Lang, Daniel R., 1132
 Langenfelt, Gösta. 1701
 Lansdowne, Marquis of, 548, 1855, 1857
 Lass, Robert N., 42
 Lawrence, Charles E., 838
 Layard, George Somes, 348
 Leask, William Keith, 349
 Leavis, Frank Raymond, 1133, 1423, 1444, 1805
 Leavitt, Robert K., 1567
 Lee, Sir Sidney, 732a, 1134
 Leedy, Paul F., 1806
 Le Gallienne, Richard, 1135
 Le Noir, Mrs., 202
 Letts, Malcolm, 222
 Levy, H. L., 513
 Lewes, George Henry, 230
 Lewis, D. B. Wyndham, 351
 Lewis, Edwin H., 1385
 Lewis, Frank R., 223, 514, 1136
 Lewis, Noël Lawson, 1137
 Lewis, Wilmarth S., 607
 Ley, C. D., 2059
 Leyburn, Ellen Douglass, 1523
 Liebert, Herman W., 44, 351-52, 394, 515, 790, 1138-39, 1899, 2037-39
 Lindsay, Jack, 1405
 Lloyd, C. A., 225
 Lloyd-Jones, A., 672
 Loane, George G., 797, 1445, 1481
 Lobban, J. H., 516
 Long, Basil S., 798
 Long, Percy W., 1568
 Longaker, John Mark, 353, 1807
 Longman, Charles James, 1900
 Lovat-Fraser, James Alexander, 1140, 1740-42
 Lucas, Edward Verrall, 517-18
 Lucas, Frank Laurence, 839
 Luckock, Herbert Mortimer, 226
 Lynd, Robert, 1141-42
 Lynn, W. T., 734, 1482

 M., D. H., 1620
 M., H. V., 2019
 Mabbott, Thomas O., 519, 1569, 2027, 2050
 Mabie, Hamilton W., 735
 McAdam, Edward L., Jr., 32-33, 46, 219, 1148, 1423, 2051-55
 McAtee, W. L., 1569
 Macaulay, James, 227
 Macaulay, Thomas Babington, 223, 827, 1149, 1780
 McCamic, Charles, 1150-51
 McCarthy, Justin H., 520
 McCue, George S., 1570
 McCutcheon, Roger P., 1152-53
 MacDonald, Angus, 1571
 McDowall, Arthur, 1743
 McGovern, J. B., 1572
 Mackay, Henry F. B., 1953
 Mackenzie, William C., 1744
 McKerrow, Ronald B., 1677
 McKillop, Alan D., 143, 1154
 McKinlay, Robert, 1745-46
 MacKinnon, [Sir] Frank D., 229, 736, 1155
 MacLaurin, Charles, 287
 Macleane, Douglas, 737
 MacManus, Francis, 1156

- McNair, Sir Arnold D., 1157-59
 McNulty, John B., 1808
 Macphail, Andrew, 354
 McQuilland, Louis J., 1159a
 Madan, Beatrice G., 1776
 Madan, Geoffrey, 24
 Magnus, Sir Philip, 521
 Main, Alexander, 230
 Mair, George Herbert, 1160
 Makower, Stanley V., 1406
 Mallory, George, 356
 Mann, J. de L., 205, 231
 Markland, Russell, 522-23, 1161, 1642
 Marks, Jeannette, 1747-48
 Marquand, John P., 840
 Marr, George S., 1524
 Marshall, Charles, 232
 Marshall, Edward, 1597
 Marshall, T. P., 1776
 Marston, Edward, 533, 524
 Marston, Robert Bright, 1023, 1162
 Martin, L. C., 1772
 Martin, Stapleton, 524a
 Martyn, Howe, 1809
 Maslen, B. J., 1163
 Massingham, H. W., 1164
 Matheson, Percy E., 1749
 Mathew, Theobald, 525
 Mathews, Mitford M., 1573
 Matsushige Watanabe, 1623
 Matthews, A. G., 1954
 Matthews, Brander, 1165
 Matthews, P., 526
 Maurois, André, 1810
 Maxwell, Constantia, 127
 Maxwell, Patrick, 799
 May, George Lacey, 1955-57
 Mayerson, H. S., 288
 Maynard, Theodore, 1166
 Mayor, John E. B., 1901
 Mays, Morley J., 1167-68
 Meier, Hans, 1169
 Meissner, Paul, 1345, 2026
 Mendenhall, John C., 144
 Merritt, E. Percival, 48, 527-29, 1446
 Merydew, J. T., 1902
 Metcalf, John Calvin, 1811
 Metzendorf, Robert F., 1482a, 1574, 1643-44, 1903
 Meynell, Alice, 119, 530
 Meynell, Laurence W., 1172
 Millar, Alexander Hastie, 531
 Millar, Eric G., 1173
 Millar, John Hepburn, 1174, 1770
 Miller, Clarence A., 669-70, 1175
 Milnes, Alfred, 1773, 1777
 Mims, Edwin, 532
 Minchin, Harry C., 843, 1447
 Minto, William, 1386
 Mitchell, Donald G., 1176
 Molloy, J. Fitzgerald, 1478
 Molyneux, C. C., 1177
 Moody, Dorothy, 2056
 Moore, Cecil A., 146, 149
 Moore, F. Frankfort, 844
 Moore, John Robert, 1178, 1448-48a
 Moore, Sir Norman, 289
 Moore, Robert E., 1178a
 Moore, Wilbur E., 1179
 More, Paul Elmer, 920, 1812
 Morley, Christopher, 310, 319a, 533, 845, 1180
 Morley, Edith J., 314
 Morley, Henry, 1620, 2074
 Morris, Edward E., 534, 800
 Morris, Gouverneur, Jr., 1181
 Mortimer, Raymond, 1423
 Mossner, Ernest C., 1182, 1750
 Moulton, Charles W., 49
 Muir, John, 1449
 Murdock, Harold, 846
 Murphy, Mallie J., 1525
 Murray, D. L., 1710
 Murray, James A. H., 1575
 Murray, John, 799, 1751
 Murray, Michael, 1183
 Murry, John Middleton, 1184
 N., F., 1576
 Napier, Robina (Mrs. A.), 237, 320, 1770
 Needham, F. R. D., 1450
 Neff, Elizabeth Clifford, 671
 Nethercot, Arthur H., 1813-14
 Newmark, Leo, 357, 1526, 1577
 Newton, A. Edward, 4, 54, 57, 129, 317, 319b, 329, 358, 377, 535, 738-39, 789, 847-48, 1190, 1578, 2058
 Nicoll, William Robertson, 359, 1008, 1191, 1291
 Nicolson, Harold, 1815
 Noble, T. C., 740
 Norman, Charles, 1451
 Norman, William, 1192
 Norris, Faith G., 1815a
 Norris, J. Parker, 1678
 Norwood, Frederick William, 1193
 Noyes, Alfred, 1194-96
 Noyes, Gertrude E., 1593
 Nuttall, G. F., 1954
 O'Brien, George, 1200
 O'Connor, John, 1201

- O'Day, Edward F., 848-49
 Ogle, John W., 290
 O'Hara, James, 536
 Oliver, John W., 1202
 Omond, Thomas Stewart, 1203
 Orlovich, Robert B., 1702
 Orr, Lyndon, 537
 Orrery, Countess of Cork and, 538
 Osborn, James M., 1205, 1816-17
 Osgood, Charles Grosvenor, 11, 125, 360, 539, 1206-7
 Overton, F. J., 741
- P., J., 540
 Packard, Francis R., 291
 Pagan, Anna M., 1208
 Page, Eugene R., 541
 Page, John T., 204, 582, 734, 741-42
 Palser, Ernest M., 1645
 Parker, Alfred D., 742a
 Parker, Walter, 1579
 Parrott, Thomas M., 1209
 Parry, Evelyn B., 743
 Parry, John J., 1210
 Parsons, Mrs. Clement, 542
 Paul, Henry N., 1679
 Paull, Harry Major, 1959
 Payne, E. J., 1425
 Payne, William, 668
 Pearson, G., 742
 Pearson, Hesketh, 1752
 Pennington, John J. H. S., 744
 Percy, Thomas, 543, 543a
 Peterson, Peter, 1773, 1777
 Petrie, Sir Charles, 235
 Phelps, Sydney K., 745
 Phelps, William Lyon, 1211, 1452
 Phillips, John Albert, 1212
 Phillips, Lawrence, 236
 Piccioni, Luigi, 413-14, 544, 1646
 Pierpoint, Robert, 1214, 1634
 Pike, G. Holden, 544a
 Pillai, V. K. Ayappan, 1680
 Pillians, T. D., 1960
 Piozzi, Hester Lynch (Mrs. Thrale), 29, 237, 310, 384, 414, 426, 446, 448, 566, 578-79, 861
 Pitman, James H., 662
 Plant, Arthur B., 1962
 Pleadwell, F. L., 1753
 Pocock, Guy Noel, 1580
 Pollock, Walter H., 1681
 Porter, Agnes, 850
 Postgate, Raymond William, 330
- Pottle, Frederick A., 53, 217, 219, 238, 303, 306, 312, 319a-b, 361-67, 373, 394, 446, 546, 963, 1345-46, 1818
 Pottle, Marion S., 373
 Potts, R. A., 1961
 Povey, Kenneth, 1215
 Powell, Lawrence Fitzroy, 53, 239, 305, 314, 365, 368-72a, 547-49, 803-6, 920, 1113, 1216-17, 1527, 1581, 1647, 1754, 1914, 2022, 2060-62
 Powys, Albert Reginald, 2063
 Powys, Llewelyn, 1218
 Pratt Institute, 52
 Pratt, Willis Winslow, 1528
 Primrose, A. P., Earl of Rosebery, 1219
 Primrose, C. L., 1963
 Prince, Walter F., 1220
 Prospero, A., 346
 Prothero, G. W., 651
 Purcell, J. M., 1548, 1583
 Pyles, Thomas, 1221
- Quayle, Thomas, 1453
 Quennell, Peter, 319a, 374
 Quiller-Couch, Sir Arthur, 1454, 1819
 Quinlan, Maurice, 550-51, 1072, 1937, 1964
- R., L. A., 1230
 Raby, J. T., 652, 746
 Radbruch, Gustav, 1230a
 Radcliffe, Susan M., 552-53
 Radecki, Sigismund von, 375
 Radford, George H., 747, 1484, 1584
 Railton, Herbert, 1505
 Raleigh, [Sir] Walter Alexander, 921, 1231-33, 1649, 1683-84, 1820
 Ralli, Augustus, 1682
 Ramage, Archibald, 1234
 "Ranger," 1529
 Ransome, Mary, 2065
 Raysor, Thomas M., 1685
 Read, Allen Walker, 1235, 1585-86
 Reade, Aleyn Lyell, 206, 241-54, 317, 554-62
 Reading, J., 1455
 Reed, A. W., 18
 Reed, Myrtle (Mrs. J. McCullough), 1236
 Reid, Stuart J., 1502
 Reid, Thomas W., 748
 Reid, W. Lewis, 749
 Reilly, Joseph John, 376
 Rendall, Vernon, 564, 1237-40, 1530, 1588, 1755
 Repplier, Agnes, 1241
 Reynald, Hermile, 1242
 Reynolds, Sir Joshua, 492, 851

- Reynolds, W. Vaughan, 123, 1243, 1387-87a
 Rhys, Ernest, 2018
 Richards, Alfred E., 565
 Richardson, Matt., 2070
 Richter, Helene, 1686
 Ridley, H. M., 566
 Rinaker, Clarissa, 2026
 Ringwalt, Roland, 1966
 Rivington, Septimus, 567
 Roberts, Sydney Castle, 56, 120, 228, 237, 255-56, 304, 316, 378, 437, 852, 1244-48, 1457, 1503, 1967, 2068
 Roberts, W., 807
 Robertson, James D., 1756
 Robinson, Herbert S., 1687
 Roddier, Henri, 1651
 Roe, Frederick W., 1249
 Roesch, Kurt, 1795
 Rogers, Bertram M. H., 292
 Rogers, Clement F., 1968
 Rogers, James F., 293
 Rogers, Robert William, 1250, 2036
 Rolleston, Sir Humphry, 294-95
 Roose, P. W., 1251
 Root, Robert Kilburn, 142
 Roscoe, Edward Stanley, 568, 1252-60, 1757-58, 1904, 1969
 Rosebery, Earl of, *see* Primrose, A. P.
 Rosenbach, Abraham S. W., 22, 1485
 Roubíček, K., 379
 Rowbotham, Francis J., 257
 Rowlandson, Thomas, 781
 Rubinstein, Harold Frederick, 853
 Russell, A. J., 380
 Russell, Sir Charles, 569-70, 1261-62, 1970
 Russell, Constance, 571
 Russell, J. F., 258
 Ryland, Frederick, 1425, 1771, 1773, 1776-79
 Ryley, Madeleine Lucette, 1408
 Rypins, Stanley, 1589
- S., A., 808
 S., H. G., 572
 Sackville-West, Victoria, 573
 Sadler, Ernest A., 574, 751
 Saer, H., 1688
 Saeshi Tamura, 1623
 Saintsbury, George, 1271-73, 1388, 1458, 1652
 Salpeter, Harry, 1274
 Sampson, George, 1275
 Sargeant, John, 575, 661-62, 1279, 1703
 Sargisson, C. S., 259
 Sarma, Dittakavi S., 1280
- Sato Kiyoshi, 1281, 1821
 Saunders, Bailey, 576
 Saunders, Doris B., 1345
 Saunders, Frederick, 1282, 1590
 Savage, Henry Edwin, 1925
 Sayyid Ahmad Fahmi, 1623
 Schinz, Albert, 1283-84
 Schmidt, Heinrich, 1389
 Schmitz, Robert M., 1285
 Scholes, Percy A., 577
 Schomberg, J., 1906
 Scott, Fred N., 1620
 Scott, Geoffrey, 373, 381
 Scott, H. Spencer, 1286, 1759
 Scott, Lindley, 809
 Scott, R. McNair, 1287
 Scott, Sir Samuel, 578
 Scott, Sir Walter, 1653
 Scudder, Harold H., 578a
 Seccombe, Thomas, 228, 426, 1287a-91
 Seeley, Leonard Benton, 579
 Segar, Mary, 1591
 Seligo, Irene, 1292
 Seton-Anderson, J., 250
 Sewall, Richard B., 1293, 1654
 Sharp, Robert F., 1294
 Shepard, Odell, 148
 Shepherd, Richard Herne, 382
 Shepperson, Archibald B., 580
 Sherburn, George, 142, 314, 1295
 Shibano Rokusuke, 1623
 Shukotsu Togawa, 387
 Shillito, Edward, 1222, 1965
 Shorter, Clement, 260, 317-18, 1296, 1851
 Sichel, Walter, 1704
 Sidebotham, W., 752
 Sigerist, Henry E., 1297
 Sillard, P. A., 383
 Silvester, James, 1298, 1972
 Simmons, Walter Lee, 581
 Simms, Rupert, 60, 582
 Sinn, Ephraim E., 1299
 Sitwell, Edith, 754
 Sitwell, Osbert, 755
 Skrine, Francis H., 488
 Small, Miriam R., 584, 1689
 Smith, David Nichol, 18, 61, 62, 151, 228, 249, 543, 1113, 1149, 1300-1, 1423, 1460-61, 1486, 1531-32, 1669, 1690
 Smith, Florence A., 1302
 Smith, Frederick M., 585-87, 2069
 Smith, H. H., 1303
 Smith, John Thomas, 588-89
 Smith, Minna Steele, 384
 Smith, Neil G., 1973
 Smith-Dampier, John Lucius, 590

- Snodgrass, A. E., 591
 Snyder, Edward D., 386
 Sotheby's 17, 24, 1907
 Sparke, Archibald, 592, 782
 Speirs, James, 1592
 Spittal, John Ker, 1003
 Spofford, Harriet Prescott, 261
 Spokes, Arthur H., 1304
 Spurgeon, Caroline F. E., 1305
 Squibb, George James, 296
 Squire, [Sir] John Collings, 113, 1306, 1655, 2070
 Stamm, Rudolf, 1345
 Starnes, DeWitt T., 1593
 Starrett, Vincent, 1307
 Stauffer, Donald A., 1822
 Stead, William, 1925
 Stead, William, Jr., 118
 Steger, Stewart A., 1594
 Stenberg, Theodore, 20, 1595
 Stephen, Alexander Maitland, 1308
 Stephen, [Sir] Leslie, 262-63, 505, 1309-11
 Stephens, Kate, 1777
 Stevenson, Robert, 592a
 Stewart, Hugh Fraser, 1312
 Stewart-Brown, Ronald, 593
 Stiles, Robert E., 1705
 Stock, Elliot, 1630
 Stockley, J. J. G., 1313, 1974
 Stonehill, C. A., 1562
 Strachan, L. R. M., 389, 594, 1462
 Strachey, Giles Lytton, 307, 1823
 Straus, Ralph, 595
 Stringer, George Alfred, 1596
 Struble, Mildred C., 63
 Sturz, Helferich Peter, 1314
 Sutherland, James R., 314, 1391, 1409, 1463
 Swanzy, T. Erskine, 596
 Swinburne, Algernon Charles, 1315
 Symons, Julian, 122
 Sypher, F. Wylie, 150, 1316

 Tarasanker Tarkaratna, 1623
 Tate, Allen, 1464, 1824
 Tate, W. R., 1320
 Taylor, Thomas, 597
 Taylor, Warner, 1392
 Teall, Gardner, 1321
 Tearle, Christian [Edward T. Jaques], 757
 Teggart, Stuart, 1322
 Thayer, William Roscoe, 1825
 Thomas, E. J., 1710
 Thomas, Henry and Dana Lee [Henry Schnittkind], 264
 Thomas, L. C., 598
 Thomas, Percy Goronwy, 599
 Thomas, W. Moy, 1410
 Thompson, Edward Raymond, 1323
 Thompson, Elbert N. S., 365
 Thompson, G. H., 1597
 Thomson, James Alexander Kerr, 1324
 Thomson, Mark A., 1325
 Thorpe, William Henry, 1326
 Thrale, Mrs., *see* Piozzi, Hester Lynch
 Tillotson, Arthur, 63, 1115, 2071
 Tillotson, Geoffrey, 1423, 1657
 Tillotson, Kathleen, 1825a
 Tinker, Chauncey Brewster, 8, 218, 307, 314, 317, 319, 385-86, 467, 810-11, 903, 963, 1327-29, 1658, 2066
 Togawa, Shukotsu, 387
 Tollemache, Lionel A., 1330
 Tompkins, J. M. S., 1393
 Toynbee, Mrs. Paget, 607
 Tracy, Clarence R., 1331-32, 1411
 Traill, Henry D., 855-56
 Trease, Geoffrey, 857
 Trent, William P., 317, 1333, 1826
 Trueblood, D. Elton, 1925
 Tucker, William J., 1334, 1909
 Tupper, Caroline F., 1099
 Tupper, James W., 145, 1099
 Turberville, Arthur Stanley, 1115
 Twining, Thomas, 1827
 Tyrrell, Robert Yelverton, 1336
 Tyson, Moses, 64, 1760

 Udal, J. S., 265
 Ueda Bin, 1623
 Ujinari Nakao, 1623
 Utter, Robert P., 1099

 Valbert, G., 1337
 Van Doren, Mark, 345
 Van Dyke, Henry, 1975
 Van Lennep, William, 563
 Vaughan, Charles Edwyn, 1828
 Vernon, Frederick, 672, 1598
 Vincent, Esther H., 297
 Vines, Sherard, 1338
 Vivian, Herbert, 858
 Vulliamy, Colwyn Edward, 266, 603, 1339, 1910

 Wake, Henry T., 1340
 Walder, E., 1691
 Walford, Edward, 812, 1465
 Walker, George Gilbert, 604
 Walker, Hugh, 1466
 Walkley, Arthur B., 605, 1487
 Wallace, Archer, 1976
 Waller, J. F., 606

- Wallis, John E. W., 1599
 Walpole, Horace, 607
 Walsh, Edmund A., 1977
 Walsh, James J., 2075
 Walters, Lettice D'Oyly, 1854
 Warbasse, James P., 298
 Warburg, Frede, 1829
 Warburton, R., 1341
 Ward, C. A., 764-65
 Ward, H. Gordon, 389
 Ward, J. L., 267
 Ward, T. Methuen, 1422
 Ward, Wilfrid, 651
 Warner, Beverley, 1692
 Warner, James H., 608
 Warner, Oliver, 1659
 Wasserman, Earl R., 1430
 Waters, Arthur W., 813
 Waters, Charles T., 1978
 Waterton, T. M., 1342-43
 Watkin-Jones, A., 1761
 Watkins, Walter B. C., 219, 1344-46
 Watson, William, 859
 Waugh, Arthur, 1770
 Wecker, Dixon, 268, 306, 1911-12
 Weekes, A. R., 1777
 Weiss, C., 677
 Welby, Reginald Earle, Lord, 651
 Welby, T. Earle, 836
 Wellek, René, 1830
 Wellstood, F. C., 766
 Welsh, Charles, 609
 Werner, A., 556
 West, Alfred, 1913
 West, William, 1620
 Westlake, F. T. B., 1979
 Whale, George, 661-62, 678, 767, 1762
 Wheatley, Henry B., 768-69, 814, 1348, 1600, 1693-94, 2076
 Whibley, Charles, 1349
 Whibley, Leonard, 269, 391, 1350
 White, Thomas, 1587
 White, W. Hale, 921, 1506
 Whitehead, Charles, 860
 White-Thomson, Sir Robert, 770
 Whitford, Robert C., 610
 Whitley, William T., 611, 1161, 1351
 Whitman, Walt, 1112a, 1352
 Whitney, Lois, 143
 Whitridge, Arnold, 1777
 Whittmore, Thomas, 345a
 Whitten, Wilfred, 588
 Wieder, Robert, 299
 Willey, Basil, 1353
 Williams, Harold, 1, 314, 1354, 1831
 Williams, Iolo A., 1355-58
 Williams, J. B., 1832
 Williamson, A. Wallace, 1359
 Williamson, Edward W., 1980
 Wilson, J. 1360
 Wilson, Mona, 112a
 Wilson, Sarah, 612
 Wimsatt, Margaret H., 1605
 Wimsatt, William K., Jr., 1393, 1601-5, 1660
 Wind, Edgar, 1361
 Windle, B. C. A., 393
 Winter, William, 771
 Winterich, John T., 1606
 Wise, Thomas J., 1315
 Wohlers, Heinz, 1695
 Wood, Frederick T., 306
 Wood, Paul Spencer, 148, 1362
 Wood, W. A., 1607
 Woolf, Virginia, 446, 613
 Woolley, David, 437
 Worsfold, T. Cato, 772
 Wotton, Mabel E., 1363
 Wright, Herbert G., 614-15
 Wright, J. D., 1914-15
 Wright, John (died 1844), 309
 Wright, John, 773
 Wright, Reginald W. M., 2077
 Yates, Frances A., 2078
 Young, Karl, 1696
 Zamick, M., 861

