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J.R.R. Tolkien: Creative Uses of the Oxford English Dictionary

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Abstract

Considers how important word choice was to Tolkien in his fiction, no doubt a result of his philological training and work on the *OED*. Tolkien frequently chose historical rather than modern versions of words, causing great confusion to editors and proofreaders.

Additional Keywords

English language—Archaic words; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Oxford English Dictionary work; Tolkien, J.R.R.—Vocabulary

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Creative Uses of the Oxford English Dictionary
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One of the first lessons learned by Freshman Composition students concerns the focussing of one's topic so that the subject matter can be addressed adequately in the allotted space. Great pains are taken to illustrate this key principle so that the papers are prepared and presented with power and precision. To my knowledge there are no instructors of English anywhere who are teaching and illustrating the opposite precept, that is, expanding the topic sufficiently that no amount of space would be adequate. Into this obvious breach I have joyously come. To speak of J.R.R. Tolkien at all is to embark on a life-long exploration of the Belegaer, the Great Sea; to do so in conjunction with the *New English Dictionary* is to make the voyage in a walnut shell.

A detailed history of the Dictionary, which has become known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, is far too grand to give here, but a few items would be appropriate and helpful[1]. On the fifth and nineteenth of November, 1857, Richard Chenevix Trench (then Dean of Westminster) presented a paper entitled "On some Deficiencies in our English Dictionaries" to the Philological Society of Great Britain. So extraordinary were his observations that the Society not only encouraged the publication of his paper, but passed a resolution to produce a "New English Dictionary" rather than supplement the existing edition. This was in January of 1858; the first section would not be published for 26 years. Although the first two general editors, Herbert Coleridge and F.J. Furnivall, made enormous progress towards the realization of the task, it was not until Dr. James A.H. Murray became involved in January of 1879 that the final organizational procedures were established and the labor begun in effective earnest. On April 19, 1882 the first batch of copy was sent to the printer. On January 18, 1884, Part 1 (A-Ant) was available in advanced copy. As the enormity of the work became apparent, additional editors were contracted who worked simultaneously on various sections of the Dictionary: Henry Bradley, William Alexander Craigie, and Charles Talbot Onions. Notwithstanding the intervention of the Great War and the deaths of Dr. Murray (1915) and Dr. Bradley (1923), the final portion of the *New English Dictionary* appeared in April of 1928. Of the 15,487 pages in the Dictionary, over 7200 pages had been edited by Sir James Murray.

The "Historical Introduction" of the *OED* indicates several categories of individuals who participated over the years: Contributors, Sub-editors, Assistants, Proof Readers, and Other Helpers. The Assistants are divided into three groups according to the amount of time actually spent working on the Dictionary. In the third group, assigned to Henry Bradley's staff, is listed (Prof.) J.R.R. Tolkien.

Of Tolkien's relationship to the four editors we have little, but there is enough to give us a glimpse of the fraternity among lexographers. James Murray died several years before J.R.R. Tolkien joined the staff, but he knew and entertained from time to time one of Murray's daughters, Rosfrith (*Biog.*, p. 158; *Letters*, pp. 336, 430), and her nephew, Father Robert Murray, with whom he corresponded (*Letters*, #142, 156, 209[2]. Sir James' direct contribution to Tolkien's creative works will be discussed below. According to Humphrey Carpenter, Henry Bradley thought well of his assistant: "His work gives evidence of an unusually thorough mastery of Anglo-Saxon and of the facts and principles of the comparative grammar of the Germanic languages. Indeed, I have no hesitation in saying that I have never known a man of his age who was in these respects his equal (*Biog.*, p. 101)". Tolkien studied Old Norse at Oxford under William Craigie and eventually succeeded him there as the Rawlinson and Bosworth Professor of Anglo-Saxon. It was Craigie who found Tolkien a position on the staff of the *New English Dictionary*. When C.T. Onions died in January of 1965, Tolkien referred to him as "My dear old protector, backer, and friend... the last of the people who *were* 'English' at Oxford and at large when I entered the profession." (*Letters*, p. 353) His association with these men and the *OED* cannot be underestimated. He once said of that time "I learned more in those two years than in any other equal period of my life." (*Biog.*, p. 101) He was learning about language.

Henry Bradley's assignments as editor had given him responsibility for the parts "L" (1901-03), "M" (1904-08), "S-Sh" (1908-14), "St" (1914-19), and "W-We" (1920-23). Carpenter tells us that Tolkien's first few weeks at the work-room engaged him in the research of the words warm, wasp, water, wick (lamp), and winter. A perusal of those entries in the *OED* would give one an indication of the kind of labor young Tolkien was involved with. He enjoyed himself.

Word Choice in the Texts

Tolkien's concern about word choice in his narratives and scholarly works are legendary and reflective to some degree of his experience with the *OED*. Humphrey Carpenter, discussing Tolkien's painstaking approach to scholarship, writes:

> Tolkien had a passion for perfection in written work of any kind, whether it be philology or stories. This grew from his emotional commitment to his work, which did not permit him to treat it in any manner other than the deeply serious. Nothing was allowed to reach the printer until it had been revised, reconsidered, and polished... (*Biog.*, p. 138)

On another occasion, Tolkien indicated that every word of *The Lord of the Rings* had been carefully considered. An irritation to him was the impertinence of those who had the temerity to "correct" his English for him. The first instance that we have record of, however, dealt with *The Hobbit*. This he received with good grace. In a letter to Stanley Unwin, Tolkien answers a question about the use of dwarves.

> No reviewer (that I have seen), although all have carefully used the correct dwarfs themselves, has commented on the fact (which

I only became conscious of through reviews) that I use throughout the 'incorrect' plural dwarves. I am afraid it is just a piece of private bad grammar, rather shocking for a philologist; but I shall have to go on with it. Perhaps my dwarf -- since he and the Gnome are only translations into approximate equivalents of creatures with different names and rather different functions in their own world -- may be allowed a peculiar plural. The real 'historical' plural of dwarf (like teeth of tooth is dwarrows, anyway: rather a nice word, but a bit too archaic. Still I rather wish I had used the word dwarrow. (Letters, 23-4).

Here Tolkien 'confesses' the private grammar, but allows for it creatively. Three months later he necessarily addressed the same issue; he is determined "to go on with it", as he said. To the Editor of The Observer he replied:

> And why dwarves? Grammar prescribes dwarfs; philology suggests that dwarrows would be the historical form. The real answer is that I knew no better. But dwarves goes well with elves; and, in any case, elf, gnome, goblin, dwarf are only approximate translations of the Old Elvish names for beings of not quite the same kinds and functions. (Letters, 31)

Here we see his appeal to linguistic aesthetic, "dwarves goes well with elves", as a justification for the usage. However, in the next paragraph of the same letter he declares, "These dwarves are not quite the dwarfs of better known lore." In both letters he has suggested that his dwarves are not like dwarfs and the new plural (which came originally out of "bad grammar") is now the product of an ex post facto distinction having been made between Middle-earth and Earthly lore which then is used to justify the new word. A bit circular, perhaps, but this is creative philology, not historical linguistics.

But it does not end here. In the present edition of The Hobbit we have this prefatory note:

> In English the only correct plural of dwarf is dwarfs, and the adjective is dwarfish. In this story dwarves and dwarvish are used, but only when speaking of the ancient people to whom Thorin Oakenshield and his companions belonged. (H, 8)

And by the time that the Appendices in The Lord of the Rings were published, the elaboration was complete.

It may be observed that in this book as in The Hobbit the form dwarves is used, although the dictionaries tell us that the plural of dwarf is dwarfs. It should be dwarrows (or dwerrows), if singular and plural had each gone its own way down the years, as have man and men, or goose and geese. But we no longer speak of a dwarf as often as we do of a man, or even of a goose, and memories have not been fresh enough among Men to keep hold of a special plural for a race now abandoned to folk-tales, where at least a shadow of truth is preserved, or at last to nonsense-stories in which they have become mere figures of fun.

But in the Third Age something of their old character and power still glimpsed, if already a little dimmed: these are the descendants of the Naugrim of the Elder Days, in whose hearts still burns the ancient fire of Aule the Smith, and the embers smoulder of their long grudge against the Elves; and in whose hands still lives the skill in works of stone that none have surpassed.

> It is to mark this that I have ventured to use the form dwarves, and so remove them a little, perhaps, from the sillier tales of these latter days. Dwarrows would have been better; but I have used that form only in the name Dwarrowdelf, to represent the name of Moria in the Common Speech: Phurunargian. (III, p. 415)

It is not impossible that all of this had been worked out prior to the writing of The Hobbit but the evidence makes it seem unlikely. Here we have in this last citation, a narrative pearl that has grown from a little grain of sand for which J.R.R. Tolkien decided to accept responsibility in his own creative fashion. Tolkien might be pleased to know that both The American Heritage Dictionary and my word processor accept dwarves as an alternative spelling for the plural of dwarf.

There were instances, on the other hand, when those who attempted to chasten his vocabulary felt the heat of his learning. In a letter to Katherine Farrer in the summer of 1957, the philologist in Tolkien exults:

> I am afraid that there are still a number of 'misprints' in Vol. 1 [The Fellowship of the Ring]! Including the one on p. 166. But nasturtians is deliberate, and represents a final triumph over the high-handed printers. Jarrold's appear to have a highly educated pedant as a chief proof-reader, and they started correcting my English without reference to me: elfin for elven; farther for further; try to say for try and say and so on. I was put to the trouble of proving to him his own ignorance, as well as rebuking his impertinence. So, though I do not much care, I dug in my toes about nasturtians. I have always said this. It seems to be a natural anglicization that started soon after the 'Indian Cress' was naturalized (from Peru, I think) in the 18th century; but it remains a minority usage. I prefer it because nasturtium is, as it were, bogusly botanical, and falsely learned. (Letters, p. 183)

The nasturtian argument is an interesting one for the OED does declare that Tolkien's spelling is the corrupted form. However, as he indicates, the OED sources for representative citations for the two forms are sharply divided between the botanical pedants and the English flower-lovers. He sides with the flower-lovers, a natural inclination on his part. The issue with further and farther has to do with simple semantics. In the OED the two words differ with reference to the meaning of far. In modern English, further does not represent the comparative of far, meaning literal distance; that is to say, it does not mean more far. Anciently, the two were more closely related in meaning and were somewhat interchangeable. Interestingly enough, and in any case, further is the older form by three centuries. A similar historical

motivation appears to have decided the elfin and elven issue. The earliest usage of elfin dates to the late 16th century; elven is preferred from the 12th to the 14th century. It would appear that if Tolkien is given the choice between two variants of a word and one is an historically older form, he will choose the elder. This literary technique will be treated later in this paper in another setting.

A perusal of the Tolkien's galley sheets[3] of *The Lord of the Rings* at Marquette University reveals the correction process that Tolkien pursues throughout the first volume of *The Lord of the Rings*, farther and the other words and phrases are crossed out and the original selections written in the margins. So successfully does he censure the proof-reader that similar corrections of galleys are not necessary in the second and third volumes.

Some of this rebuking of the printers was in good humor, however. In the corrected galleys (Series 3, Box 2, File 14) containing the chapter "At the Sign of the Prancing Pony", there is an interesting question raised by the proof-reader. After Frodo recites the poem "The Man in the Moon Came Down Too Soon":

> There was loud and long applause. Frodo had a good voice, and the song tickled their fancy. 'Where's old Barley?' they cried. "He ought to hear this. Bob ought to learn his cat the fiddle, and then we'd have a dance.' (I, 172)

The proof-reader, apparently, underlined the word "learn" and wrote in the left margin "teach?" Immediately beneath this question is written "No indeed! Mr. Badger in the Wind in the Willows would learn you better."

In all of these instances given above, Tolkien had specific reasons for using the words which he had chosen, mostly for historical and aesthetic reasons. In this case, a survey of the *OED* entry "learn" reveals that one of its acceptable meanings is "to impart knowledge". Now considered "vulgar" usage by the editors of the *OED* (notwithstanding Disraeli and Robert Louis Stevenson), it was prominently used in the 14th through 17th centuries. By the choice of one obscure verb Tolkien evokes ancientness and vulgarity at the same time.

In September of 1955 Tolkien wrote to Hugh Brogan about the use of archaisms in *The Lord of the Rings*. In addition to explaining his personal pain when somebody summarily dismisses a deliberate archaism (such as the proof-readers, no doubt) and his feeling that real archaic English is far more terse than modern English (giving several examples to prove his point), he admits:

> Of course, not being specially well read in modern English, and far more familiar with works in the ancient and 'middle' idioms, my own ear is to some extent affected; so that though I could easily recollect how a modern would put this or that, what comes easiest to mind or pen is not quite that. (*Letters*, p. 225)

His natural inclination, then, is for the older vocabulary and syntax, but is not solely based on frequent contact with older languages; there is academic justification as well and sometimes deliberate humor.

Calligraphy

Some of the examples of historical allusion and *OED* usage are more difficult to see at first because they are disguised by the writing systems invented for the Elvish languages. In the facsimile for the *Book of Mazarbul* (*Pictures*, #23) an interesting subscript is use to represent "e-following". Note the calligraphic representations for the three words below:

d i m r i ll d a le

a l o ne

s t o ne

In each case the subscribed dot indicates an "e" following the consonant to which it is attached. Now note the representations for the following three words:

y e s t re d ay

n o v e mb re

s u ff re

It can be easily seen that the "e-following" dot produces some interesting looking words. The oddity of the spelling of these latter three is swept away when the *OED* reveals that each of these is an accepted form during the 10th to the 14th centuries. Consider the following from the "Pointed Style" facsimile of *The Adventures of Tom Bombadil* (*Pictures*, #48).

sw a ll ow i ng

b l ow i ng

w a llw o i ng

It is obvious that the symbol connected to the "s" and "o" characters in swallowing and the "o" character in blowing signifies "w-following". What is strange to the eye is that this same symbol is attached to the "ll" character instead of the "o" character in a word which in context is obviously wallowing. The *OED*, naturally, rescues us with the 13th and 14th century variant "wallwoing". It is another historical flavoring, deliberate and natural to Tolkien's sensibilities. The "Pointed Style" *Errantry* has wandrr, undoubtedly a natural contraction of the archaic wandrer cited in the *OED* for wanderer.

As interesting as these are (to me at least), there is one of these hidden orthographic constructions that should interest every Tolkien fan and scholar. On the title page of *The Lord of the Rings* the following inscription in Tengwar is found:

j h on   r on al d r e u el t ol k i en

The oddity here is the spelling of Professor Tolkien's first name John as Jhon. The only reference in the *OED* to the latter spelling associates it with the 14 century spelling of the St. John's Berry, the flowering barberry. This in and of itself is not particularly informative until combined with the facts that Hobbit given names were predominantly flower names and that Tolkien once declared that "except for size, I am myself a Hobbit." Thus, it appears, with an archaic metathesis in an invented script Tolkien identifies himself and the age in which he was most comfortable.

As long as we are discussing Hobbit names, here are a few from the *OED* which are not normally thought of as flowers: Goldilocks, a species of buttercup; Loni, honeysuckle; Goold, marigold; May, blossoms of the hawthorn; Pearl, a chinese ornamental bearing racemes of white flowers; Salvia, ornamental sage. The list goes on. There is one more fascinating irony, however. Lobelia, Bilbo and Frodo's nemesis, is referenced in the *OED* as a flowering plant; but Old English *lob* means "spider". There is a linguistic and character synthesis almost as intriguing as "Gollum"!

Tolkien's familiarity with the *Oxford English Dictionary*, its style, and editors allowed him to use his experiences in elaborately creative manners. The classic example is, for me, the one that appears in *Farmer Giles of Ham.*

Blunderbuss

Farmer Giles of Ham was originally written for Tolkien's children sometime in the 1930's. In the early spring of 1938 read this story, considerably revised, to an undergraduate society at Worcester College. It was received well and subsequently published with Pauline Baynes' illustrations in the autumn of 1949 (*Letters*, pp. 39, 119; *Biog.* 165-66). On December 18, 1949, Tolkien responded to a letter from Naomi Mitchison regarding his little story:

> As for 'Farmer Giles' it was I fear written very light-heartedly, originally of a 'no time' in which blunderbusses or anything might occur. Its slightly donnish touching up, as read to the Lovelace Soc., and as published, makes the Blunderbuss rather glaring -- though not really worse than all mediaeval treatments of Arthurian matter. But it was too embedded to be changed, and some people find the anachronisms amusing. I myself could not forgo the quotation (so very Murrayesque) from the Oxford Dictionary. (*Letters*, p. 133)

The reference to Sir James Murray is apropos as he had been sole editor for the *New English Dictionary* at the time that the entry for "blunderbuss" had been compiled and printed (March, 1887). The definition itself (without all of the historical and linguistic apparatus) is four-fold, but only the first is cited in the text of *Farmer Giles*:

> 1. A short gun with a large bore, firing many balls or slugs, and capable of doing execution, within a limited range without exact aim. (Now superseded, in civilized countries, by other fire-arms.) (*CEOED*, p. 237)

The story-line where the quotation appears is germane to the discussion at hand. Farmer Giles' has been asleep in his house when Garm, his talking dog,

awakens him to the fact that a giant has just stamped Galathea, Giles' favorite milkcow, "flat as a doormat" and is doing other deprecations about the farm. Giles doesn't totally believe Garm, as he concludes:

> Still, property is property; and Farmer Giles had a short way with trespassers that few could outface. So he pulled on his breeches, and went down into the kitchen and took his blunderbuss from the wall. Some may well ask what a blunderbuss was. Indeed, this very question, it is said, was put to the Four Wise Clerks of Oxenford, and after thought they replied: "A blunderbuss is a short gun with a large bore firing many balls or slugs, and capable of doing execution within a limited range without exact aim. (Now superseded in civilized countries by other firearms.)"
>
> However, Farmer Giles's blunderbuss had a wide mouth that opened like a horn, and it did not fire balls or slugs, but anything that he could spare to stuff in. And it did not do execution, because he seldom loaded it, and never let it off. The sight of it was usually enough for his purpose. And this country was not yet civilized, for the blunderbuss was not superseded: it was indeed the only kind of gun there was, and rare at that. People preferred bows and arrows and used gunpowder mostly for fireworks.
>
> Well then, Farmer Giles took down the blunderbuss, and he put in a good charge of power, just in case extreme measures should be required; and into the wide mouth he stuffed old nails and bits of wire, pieces of broken pot, bones and stones and other rubbish. Then he drew on his top-boots and over-coat, and he went out through the kitchen garden. (*FGH*, p. 14-15)

In effect here, Tolkien gainsays the entire *Dictionay* definition and thus the blunderbuss of the story is no blunderbuss, but something almost entirely different: a creation forged out of words. We have seen this before.

Another anachronistic reference is to the "Four Wise Clerks of Oxenford" who are undoubtedly Murray, Bradley, Craigie, and Onions. Although Oxenford is indeed only a short distance from "Ham", the Four Wise Clerks would not appear on the scene in order to be questioned for centuries. Yet this is, as Tolkien told Mitchison, a "no time" story where anything can be brought into the story from any era as long as it is adapted into the setting of the story.

Before leaving *Farmer Giles of Ham* it would be well to look at another creative use of the *OED*, or at least the *OED* as catalyst. Tolkien is quite clear that the setting for Farmer Giles is in Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire with a little excursion into Wales (*Letters*, pp. 130-01). Humphrey Carpenter expands on this observation:

> There is less mystery about the origins of another story that Tolkien wrote at sometime during the nineteen-thirties, perhaps in part to amuse his children, but chiefly to please himself. This is Farmer Giles of Ham, whose territory, "The Little Kingdom', is

Oxfordshire and Buckinghamshire, and which grew from the implications of the place-name Worminghall (meaning 'reptile-hall' or 'dragon-hall'), a village a few miles to the east of Oxford. (*Biog.*, p. 165)

Tolkien makes a similar reference in a letter to Furth, Allen & Unwin on July 24, 1938 in which he declares that the capital of the 'Little Kingdom' is at Thame (*Letters*, p. 39), a little town which David Doughan informs us in a letter to *Mythlore* is about 10 or 12 miles east of Oxford and about 4 miles east of Worminghall in present-day England (*ML* 40, pp. 48-49)[4]. The issue here is the spelling of Thame and how it came to be spelled with an 'h'. A perusal of the *OED* indicates that Thames (and thus the village on its shores) for centuries was spelled 'Tames' (or something akin) without the 'h' until the beginning of the 16th century at which time the current spelling took hold. Doughan points out that there are many rivers and place names which retain the originally spelling. An appeal to the historical linguistic apparatus of the *OED* offers no explanation as to why the change took place. In fact, all of the more obvious influences (Latin, French, Britannic, Welsh, etc.) point in the other direction, that is, the retention of the ancient spelling without the 'h'.

Almost as if in response to this apparent aberration, Tolkien (as the narrator of the story) comments that "Thame with an 'h' is a folly without warrant". However, in the context of the story he skillfully gives the linguistic information that answers the unanswerable question. After the conquest and domination of Giles over the dragon Chrysophylax a period of mutual tolerance begins:

Chrysophylax remained long in Ham, much to the profit of Giles; for the man who has a tame dragon is naturally respected. He was housed in the tithebarn, with the leave of the parson, and there he was guarded by the twelve likely lads. In this way arose the first of the titles of Giles: Dominus de Domito Serpente, which is in the vulgar Lord of the Tame Worm, or shortly of Tame. As such he was widely honored; but he still paid a nominal tribute to the King: six oxtails and a pint of bitter, delivered on St. Matthias' Day, that being the date of the meeting on the bridge. Before long, however, he advanced the Lord to Earl, and the belt of the Earl of Tame was indeed of great length. (*FGH*, p. 74)

Two pages later we receive the "coup de grace":

Now those who live still in the lands of the Little Kingdom will observe in this history the true explanation of the names that some of its towns and villages bear in our time. For the learned in such matters inform us that Ham, being made the chief town of the new realm, by a natural confusion between the Lord of Ham and the Lord of Tame, became known by the latter name, which it retains to this day; for Thame with an 'h' is a folly without warrant. Whereas in memory of the dragon, upon whom their fame and fortune were founded, the Draconarii built themselves a great house, four miles north-west of Tame, upon the spot where Giles and Chrysophylax first made acquaintance. That place became known throughout the kingdom as Aula Draconaria, or in the

vulgar Worminghall, after the king's name and his standard.

The face of the land has changed since that time, and kingdoms have come and gone; woods have fallen, and rivers have shifted, and only the hills remain, and they are worn down by the rain and the wind. But that name endures; though men now call it Wunnle (or so I am told); for villages have fallen from their pride. But in the days of which the tale speaks Worminghall it was, and a Royal Seat, and the dragon-standard flew above the trees; and all things went well there and merrily, while tailbiter was above ground. (*FGH*, p. 76-77)

One of the great ironies in all of this, is that in neither case, in Ham or Thames, is the 'h' pronounced. The <u>whole</u> issue is fatuous or "folly without warrant". And were Tolkien to be made aware of the fact that there is an estuary in southeastern Connecticut, the Thames, flowing into Long Island Sound that is referred to vocally with the 'h' pronounced...? The joy of the story is, however, that it is all in fun.

There is, perhaps, a little melancholy note in the last paragraph quoted above from the story: "villages have fallen from their pride". Their pride was to be in their names and the long, deep historical roots from which those names came. As the face of the land has wasted away (much too literally for Tolkien) so that they can no longer be recognized, so also it is with their names. Worminghall, with all of its wonder, has been worn away to Wunnle, which makes no sense at all. One more thing, interpretive on my part; the 'h' intrusion into Tame is just as stupid as the intrusions of the "aerodromes and bomb-practices targets" into the heart of the Little Kingdom that curtailed the sequels to *Farmer Giles of Ham* (*Biog.* p. 166). If J.R.R. Tolkien did not have that in mind at the time he wrote, I think he would see the correlation now.

In summary, Tolkien's great awareness of vocabulary and etymology that was nurtured during his work on the *OED* was incorporated into his art. We have only touched on a small aspect of the entire process and a somewhat esoteric and involved aspect at that. As Tolkien wrote to R. W. Burchfield, the Editor of the *OED* in 1970, concerning the origin of the word <u>hobbit</u>:

The matter of <u>hobbit</u> is not very important, but I may be forgiven for taking a personal interest in it and being anxious that the meaning intended by me should be made clear.

Unfortunately, as all lexicographers know, 'don't look into things, unless you are looking for trouble: they nearly always turn out to be less simple than you thought'. (*Letters*, p. 404)

NOTES

[1] For a detailed historical account of the creation of the *OED*, see pp. v-x in the *Compact Edition of the Oxford English Dictionary*, Volume 1, (Oxford University Press, 1971).

[2] Of interest is the fact that Father Murray (whom JRRT called "Rob") helped officiate at Tolkien's funeral in 1973 (*Biog.*, p. 260).

Kindreds, Houses & Populations, from page 38

ion and Glorfindel make five; while the last two may
be the two may be the kindreds of Penlod. So we
have five Houses with seven kindreds. Also it is men-
tioned in *Lays of Beleriand* that Thingol has 33 Cham-
pions (*LB*, 157). If these are the Lords of the Houses,
then it must be remembered that the estimate for
Doriath is median, or that there could be a greater
number of germinal Houses than is shown. Certainly
Doriath is described as being the greatest Elven realm
of Beleriand and falls out that way on the chart.

In conclusion, it seems plausible that there are
some 245,000 to 290,000 Elves in Beleriand in 150 F.A.
This number rises to 410,000 to 480,000 in 450 F.A..
Throughout Middle-earth and Valinor Elven population
can be estimated as 800,000 to 1,000,000 in 450 F.A.
After 450 F.A. the Great Battles with Morgoth resulted
in drastic changes in Elven population worldwide. It
rightfully deserves a study by itself which would set
the stage for the Elves of the Second Age.

FOOTNOTES

[1] J.R.R. Tolkien, *Unfinished Tales* edited by
    Christopher Tolkien. Boston, Houghton Mifflin,
    1980. (hereafter *U*) pp. 232-234. *The Silmarillion*
    edited by Christopher Tolkien. Boston, Houghton
    Mifflin Co., 1977 (hereafter *S*) p. 194. *The Letters
    of J.R.R. Tolkien* edited by Humphrey Carpenter.
    Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co., 1981 (hereafter *L*), p.
    425.

[2] J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Book of Lost Tales Part II* edited
    by Christopher Tolkien. London, George Allen and
    Unwin, 1984 (hereafter *LT-2*) p. 173.

[3] J.R.R. Tolkien, *The Lays of Beleriand* edited by
    Christopher Tolkien. Boston, Houghton Mifflin Co.,
    1985 (hereafter *LB*) p. 72

Seeing Williams' Work, from page 18

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[3] The Tolkien Collection of the Memorial Library at
    Marquette University in Milwaukee, Wisconsin con-
    tains all of the original manuscripts holographic,
    typed, and typeset copy for *The Hobbit* and *The*

Lord of the Rings plus an enormous amount of
unpublished material related primarily to these
two works. As is indicated in the text of the
paper, the marginalia quote comes from Tolkien's
personal galleys now in the Library. The quote is
used with permission of the Tolkien estate and is
copyright for it belongs to the Estate, F.R. Wil-
liamson, Executor (Oxford).

[4] See also a rather elaborate (but scholarly) discus-
    sion of this and other items in T.A. Shippey's *The
    Road to Middle-Earth* (Houghton Mifflin, 1983), pp.
    73-76.