

A CRITICAL STUDY OF JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN AND *THE SLANG DICTIONARY*

A Dissertation

by

DRAGANA DJORDJEVIC

Submitted to the Office of Graduate Studies of  
Texas A&M University  
in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

May 2010

Major Subject: English

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## ABSTRACT

A Critical Study of John Camden Hotten and *The Slang Dictionary*. (May 2010)

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Many lexicographers found some words unsuitable for inclusion in their dictionaries, thus the examination of general purpose dictionaries alone will not give us a faithful history of changes of the language. Nevertheless, by taking into account cant and slang dictionaries, the origins and history of such marginalized language can be truly examined. Despite people's natural fascination with these works, the early slang dictionaries have received relatively little scholarly attention, the later ones even less. This dissertation is written to honor those lexicographers who succeeded in a truthful documentation of nonstandard language. One of these disreputable lexicographers who found joy in an unending search for new and better ways of treating abstruse vocabulary was John Camden Hotten. This study investigates the importance of Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* in the evolution of dictionary making.

I analyze how many editions exist, the popularity of the 1864 edition, and differences between this and preceding editions, suggesting the inexorable growth of Hotten as a compiler. A short history of British cant and slang lexicography is provided and questions concerning the inclusion and exclusion of obsolete words and who makes such decisions are answered. Key

terms such as slang and cant are defined and discussed briefly within the context of recent, relevant scholarship.

The conclusions drawn from this research are laid out in extensive annotations embedded in the lexical items of a critical edition demonstrating once again that Hotten's compilation was extremely important in the evolution of dictionary making. That Hotten's work was accepted as authoritative is evidenced by the number of allusions and borrowings from it as seen in the work of later lexicographers: Barrère and Leland draw extensively upon it in *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*, 2 vols. (1889-90) as do Farmer and Henley in *Slang and Its Analogues*, 7 vols. (1890-1904), and Eric Partridge in *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937).

Hotten's work seems to have been very influential in the preservation of words as well. A vast number of slang words that are cited in Hotten's dictionaries were used for a long time among the common people; in fact, the popular literature of the nineteenth century, particularly historical fiction, draws upon this vocabulary, and may well prove to be specifically indebted to Hotten's work. Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* and Joyce's *Ulysses* are full of slang expressions; Conan Doyle shows himself familiar with the terminology of pugilism in *Rodney Stone*, as does George Bernard Shaw in *Cashel Byron's Profession*.

This dissertation places John Camden Hotten as a writer/publisher/compiler and his work within contemporaneous scholarly argument, and, contrary to popular opinion, acknowledges the publisher's significant contributions to the development of Victorian literature and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century lexicography.

DEDICATION

In Memory of John Camden Hotten

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to thank my committee members, Dr. Jennifer Wollock, Dr. Jan Swearingen, and Dr. Rodney Hill, for their support throughout the course of this research. A special thanks goes out to my committee chair, Dr. J. Lawrence Mitchell, for offering his knowledge, guidance and encouragement when I needed it most. This dissertation owes more to his patience and diligence than words can tell.

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Finally, thanks to my parents for teaching me the importance of education and to my husband Nikola for his continuous support, encouragement, patience, and love.

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## CHAPTER I

## INTRODUCTION

A dictionary is a historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view; and the wrong ways into which a language has wandered, or been disposed to wander, may be nearly as instructive as the right ones in which it has traveled.

Richard Chevenix Trench<sup>1</sup>

Dictionaries, in any form—etymological, general, business, or medical—are, and always will be, historical documents. As Sidney I. Landau observes, lexicography, as a craft of dictionary making, is a way of doing something useful since no work of linguistic scholarship is more used or more helpful than a dictionary. His research actually shows that a dictionary and the Bible are probably the most common works in American homes.<sup>2</sup> Indeed, dictionaries are used as reference works in everyday life: Students employ them frequently while learning a new language; literary critics and historians seize upon them for background information, while playwrights, poets, novelists, and film-makers turn to them for lively contemporary or period dialogues. In brief, dictionary makers have an important task to record the language that changes

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This dissertation follows the style of *MLA Manual*.

<sup>1</sup> Trench, Richard. *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*. London, 1860.

<sup>2</sup> Landau, Sidney. *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. 310.

frequently, and their work is of high value in our society, and thus should be appropriately respected and appreciated.

Nevertheless, the preeminent figure in dictionary making, Dr. Samuel Johnson, ironically defines a lexicographer as “a harmless drudge.”<sup>3</sup> He compares the mistakes of an engineer and a chemist to those of the compiler of dictionaries and concludes that, by comparison, the mistakes of the lexicographers are indeed harmless. But the lexicographer is more than merely a harmless drudge, as Johnson well knew. Lexicographers are obliged to record the language truthfully, and if they document it incorrectly and incompletely, the language is impoverished. Since a dictionary *is* “an inventory of the language,” it is not the task of the compiler of a dictionary to select only the *good* words of a language.<sup>4</sup> Yet, earlier lexicographers often excluded vulgar and obsolete words from their works. Even Dean Richard Chevenix Trench, a contributor to *The Oxford English Dictionary*, did not always follow his own principles and deleted many vulgar terms because he deemed them inappropriate. Since many lexicographers found some words unsuitable for inclusion in their dictionaries, the examination of general purpose dictionaries alone will not give us a faithful history of changes of the language or any clear idea of what words people used for curses or such taboo subjects as sex and excretion. Nevertheless, by taking into account cant and slang dictionaries (extremely popular among people in the early modern period), the origins and history of such marginalized language can be truly examined.

The history of cant and slang lexicography is long and frequently disreputable. Despite people’s natural fascination with these works, the early slang dictionaries have received relatively little scholarly attention, the later ones even less. Unlike contemporaneous mainstream

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<sup>3</sup> Landau 36.

<sup>4</sup> Landau 67. Trench qtd. in Landau.

dictionaries, such as Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language* (1755),<sup>5</sup> dictionaries of slang are far more often used than studied. This dissertation is written to honor those lexicographers who succeeded in a truthful documentation of nonstandard language. While mainstream dictionary writers have a comprehensive job to record all the standard words in a particular language, their less respectable colleagues, slang dictionary compilers, have the difficult assignment of recording slang even while it is changing. One of these disreputable lexicographers who found joy in an unending search for new and better ways of treating abstruse vocabulary was John Camden Hotten. In 1859, he first published *The Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*,<sup>6</sup> which proved to be very popular among the public and went through four editions in Hotten's lifetime (the 2<sup>nd</sup> in 1860, the 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1864, and the 4<sup>th</sup> in 1872). This compilation was the first substantive work that provided evidence of contemporary marginalized language through innovative methods. Not only did Hotten pioneer numerous practices in slang dictionary making, such as the inclusion of quotations from the literary sources and word etymologies, but he was also the first to give a "Bibliography of Slang and Cant" in which he listed some 120 titles for the first time ever and added his own critical comments on each. Hotten's dictionary is, in fact, the most comprehensive record of nineteenth-century slang, but it has never received the recognition and admiration it deserves. This dissertation is intended to put John Camden Hotten and his slang dictionaries in their place: both as fit objects for academic study and as constitutive parts of a tangled tradition.

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<sup>5</sup> Published on 15 April 1755 and written by Samuel Johnson, *A Dictionary of the English Language*, sometimes published as *Johnson's Dictionary*, is among the most influential dictionaries in the history of the English language.

<sup>6</sup> The abbreviated title *The Slang Dictionary* will be used in this study.

For that reason, the sketch of Hotten's life and work is designed in the first chapter not to exhaust the subject, but merely to place this writer/publisher/compiler and his work within contemporaneous scholarly argument. Since Hotten, as a publisher, has received very poor press from both his contemporaries and later historians, I examine his controversial publishing practices, re-evaluate the dispute over his name, and, contrary to popular opinion, acknowledge the publisher's significant contributions to the development of Victorian literature and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century lexicography.

Furthermore, I discuss *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* in the context of the general and specialized dictionaries available at the time. This study demonstrates how the dictionaries are related to each other, considering not only which earlier glossaries they used, but also how they used them. As a result, the second chapter gives a short history of British cant and slang lexicography, forming the introduction to the study and laying the theoretical and critical foundations for the dissertation. It begins with a general overview of the development of slang dictionaries, from the earliest short glossaries to the most recent multiple-volume works. Questions concerning the inclusion and exclusion of obsolete words and who makes such decisions are answered, and key terms such as slang and cant are defined and discussed briefly within the context of recent, relevant scholarship while the emphasis is put on the importance of Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* in the evolution of dictionary making.

Performing comprehensive research and providing evidence of Hotten's contributions, the third chapter analyzes in depth the historical, descriptive, and linguistic aspects of the most important edition of Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*—the third edition, printed in 1864. First, I analyze how many editions exist, the popularity of the third edition, and differences between this

and preceding editions, suggesting the inexorable growth of Hotten as a compiler. Second, by examining historical lexicography, this study demonstrates Hotten's selectiveness in his appropriation of available sources and thus identifies distinctive features of *The Slang Dictionary*'s content and methodology. And third, by comparing Hotten's entries to the same slang terms included in late nineteenth- and twentieth-century slang dictionaries, this study shows how important this reference work was in the preservation of slang terms and in the evolution of dictionary making. This comprehensive research on the 1864 edition of Hotten's dictionary reveals much invaluable information on ephemeral aspects of language and paves the way for my proposed plans to compile a new critical edition of *The Slang Dictionary*, a sample of which is laid out in Appendix A.

## CHAPTER II

## HOTTEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE LITERARY WORLD

*Victorian Publishing Practices*

The readers will be acquainted here with the Victorian literary culture and publishing laws, under which all nineteenth-century publishers had to work, in order to explain why the controversy around Hotten's work arose and to argue further for his unique significance and positive influence on the literary world. Hotten's life, early interests, and authored as well as edited texts are placed within this context in order to prove that he was indeed one of the most significant publishers of the nineteenth century because of his extraordinary contribution to the development of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century Anglo-American literature. I start from the belief that the more we know about the local conditions of Victorian publishing, the better we shall understand Hotten's genius and his importance.

Much of our knowledge about Victorian writers, publishers, and readers has been synthesized from John Sutherland whose interests lie in the areas of Victorian fiction, the history of publishing, and twentieth-century fiction. In *Victorian Novelists and Publishers*, Sutherland covers the topic of the world of publishing novels from 1830 to 1870, a period in which John Camden Hotten worked as a publisher and a book collector. For most modern critics, nineteenth-century fiction has come to be identified with the great Victorian novelists and "their rather shadowy accomplices," the Victorian reading public.<sup>7</sup> Yet commonly in this era, we find business geniuses such as renowned publishers like John Blackwood and Alexander Macmillan

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<sup>7</sup> Sutherland, John. *Victorian Novelist and Publishers*. London: The Athlone Press, 1976.

partnering or fostering creative geniuses of writers like George Eliot or William Thackeray. Some of fiction's triumphs were actually begotten by publishers rather than authors. Even where the publisher did not directly interfere in the novelist's life, the composition of his fiction, or the form of his literary vehicle, the publisher's skills were often as instrumental to success as anything the author might contribute. As Sutherland most vividly describes it, it is an undeniable reality that a good publishing house could take material as unpromising as an unknown novelist's "Manchester Love Story" and turn it into the bestseller we know as *Mary Barton*, while a bad one could bring a novel as great as *Wuthering Heights* to stillbirth.<sup>8</sup> In this respect we might say that William Thackeray, Charles Dickens, Anthony Trollope and other novelists of their standing owe much of their success to the publishers they found.

There were two groups of publishers. Sutherland names the first group "Booksellers and Publishers" and other "Printers and Publishers." The first group was more imaginative and successful. One of the most reputable publishing houses in the nineteenth century was Chapman and Hall which was noticeably innovative when it came to finding new ways to market fiction. Then there was Longman's who published genres other than fiction because of its distinguished pedigree. Macmillan's came into the business rather later than some others and was therefore very careful about money. For that reason they were especially conscientious in their dealings with inexperienced novelists and dealt only with the books which "were chosen to last."<sup>9</sup> The second group was comprised of "Printers and Publishers" who lacked the pioneers' bright ideas, but made up for that lack in their technical expertise in production and distribution. Among them, the most reputable houses were Bradbury and Evans, Tinsley Brothers, Hurst and Blackett,

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<sup>8</sup> Ibid 5.

<sup>9</sup> Sutherland 3.



Saunders and Otley, and Routledge, to name a few.<sup>10</sup> One may not generalize too easily from such descriptions, but the difference between these two groups of publishers is indisputable.

Among all of the nineteenth-century publishers, however, one name stands out and incites many controversial opinions on his practices. John Camden Hotten, very often called “the last of the great piratical publishers,” was the founder of the publishing house now bearing the name Chatto & Windus.<sup>11</sup> Unlike many other publishers who looked back to the author-publisher clubs of the eighteenth century, Hotten looked forward to the commercialism of the twentieth. He was believed to think solely on what profits he could make from publishing. Hotten was much more opportunistic than other publishers, but this same opportunism which often gave him an edge over competitors also regularly lost him authors. Hotten could pick winners—such as when he was the first publisher to introduce American humorists to the British public when no one else was willing to take the chance—but unlike Routledge, Hotten never managed to hold a major writer throughout his career. All of the famous writers with whom Hotten cooperated in the early part of their careers in England left with the suspicion that Hotten had somehow done them wrong and with an atmosphere thick with accusation and sometimes even law suits.

By investigating various interactions between British and American writers and the “piratical publisher,” I will show that none of the humorists or other writers would have reached the fame and recognition they did in the nineteenth century if it were not for Hotten’s genius. Their acceptance in conservative England was the outcome of collaboration and compromise with Hotten. This chapter will demonstrate that all of the writers who worked with Hotten and

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<sup>10</sup> Ibid 7.

<sup>11</sup> Ganzel, Dewey. “Samuel Clemens and John Camden Hotten.” *Library* 20 (1965): 230-42. 231.

were materially influenced by the publishing system, for good or ill, had become successful and accepted, in one way or another, because of Hotten's skilled judgment and intellectual and business decisions.

### *International Law*

The dispute over John Camden Hotten is generally provoked by his controversial publishing practices. Among his contemporaries, Hotten was known primarily as a greedy and successful pirate. He had a reputation as a publisher who dealt fast and loose with copyright laws. Similarly, his ventures as a "king of smut" have achieved a measure of notoriety in our day through Steven Marcus's *The Other Victorians*.<sup>12</sup> In the mid-twentieth century Dewey Ganzel calls him "the last of the great piratical publishers" and depicts Hotten as a "voracious fly-by-night printer with no professional scruples—a literary harpy who was hardly better than a common thief."<sup>13</sup> Reading of his professional activities, one is tempted to think of him as a dirty old man. Although his notorious reputation was in part deserved, it is also a bitterly unfair description derived quite understandably from the frustrations which many American authors and their English counterparts felt about the absence of international copyright laws. Since the blame for (and extreme dislike of) unfair publishing practices fell primarily on printers who obeyed bad laws rather than on the bad laws themselves, Hotten has fallen into this largely undeserved disrepute.

The copyright situation in England was somewhat confused, in part because of the Copyright Act of 1842,<sup>14</sup> which had extended the duration of some but not all past copyrights,

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<sup>12</sup> Marcus, Steven. "Pisanus Fraxi, Pornographer Royal." *The Other Victorians; A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England* (1966): 68-74. 72.

<sup>13</sup> Ganzel 230.

<sup>14</sup> For more information on Copyright Act of 1842 see *The Companion to the British Almanac, for the year 1843*. London, 1843. 151-3.

but also because of copyright issues with respect to America. There was no international copyright agreement. In the absence of an international treaty, a book which had already been copyrighted in the United States could not also be copyrighted in England. Publishers such as Hotten took advantage of this situation and introduced pirated trans-Atlantic editions within a matter of weeks of the publications in America. However, British publishers who “pirated” the works of American authors were matched by American publishers who printed, without permission, works by the great Victorians. Although the emphasis fell on Hotten’s bad publishing practices, virtually all English and American publishers competed in the enormous market for cheap editions of popular literature in the mid-nineteenth century—often with works stolen abroad.

The verdict against Hotten is particularly ironic, for perhaps no publisher in England wrote so lucidly and fairly on the question of copyright; none was a better advocate for strong international laws to protect the property of authors and publishers from unauthorized publications. As a relatively small publisher, Hotten had to follow the prevailing publishing practices in order to be competitive, but unlike many of his wealthier competitors, he did not accept the status quo as either moral or inviolable. Although Hotten followed these practices himself, he attacked the status quo in theory as subverting the movement for international copyright. He understood that what was needed was mutual copyright, which would benefit authors and the reading public on both sides of the Atlantic. “Rights,” Hotten declared, “are the creation of public law and ... in the absence of such law and rights there can be no infringement.”<sup>15</sup> Hotten actually wrote a book in defense of his publishing practices, *Literary Copyright: Seven Letters Addressed to Earl Stanhope* (1871), which champions strong

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<sup>15</sup> Ganzel 231-232.

international laws. In *Seven Letters*, Hotten states that “[he is] confident that this [existing freelance] system has been, and ever will be, one of the greatest obstacles to placing International Copyright on a satisfactory footing. It tends to create among the publishing class a very peculiar ‘sinister interest.’”<sup>16</sup> Then he goes even further and advocates an author boycott.

These are not the arguments of a “pure little pirate,” as Paine has called him. Indeed, they suggest that Hotten was, in fact, one of the more sophisticated publishers in London. Though only thirty-eight in 1870, he had already had twenty-four years of experience in printing and selling books and had acquired a taste and knowledge rare among publishers. Most important, perhaps, was the fact that he had experience with publication practices on both side of the Atlantic. At sixteen he had sailed with his brother to America and remained there for eight years—important years for him professionally, for during this voyage he became acquainted with the work of American writers, particularly American humorists who were then beginning to acquire national fame. By further investigating his life journey and contemporaneous practices, one can better paint a picture of Hotten’s growth as a professional publisher, understand his business dealings, and appreciate his contributions to the Victorian literary world.

Hotten was a puzzle, a cluster of contradictions which, given that we have no personal papers and thus very little access to his private life, are not likely ever to be satisfactorily resolved. However, there is enough evidence in the books of letters from this period to suggest the outlines of his less-private relationships. In addition, Steven Marcus’s book on Victorian pornographers, *A Study of Sexuality and Pornography in Mid-Nineteenth-Century England*, and Dewey Ganzel’s article, “Samuel Clemens and John Camden Hotten,” which establishes the

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<sup>16</sup> *Literary Copyright* 118-119.

correspondence between Mark Twain and the London publisher, give a fair account of Hotten's dealings and his private life.

John William (later changed to Camden) Hotten was born of Cornish parents on 12 September 1832 in Clerkenwell, London, and according to his own account, “showed a great passion for books” at an early age. In 1846, when fourteen, he was apprenticed to a bookseller and the author of an Anglo-Saxon Grammar, John Petheram, of 71 Chancery Lane, where he started spending a few hours each day in the shop. Steven Marcus suggests that Hotten here secured any old books and tracts which might suit his collection and that he also laid aside anything which he thought might interest the historians.<sup>17</sup> Only two years later, Hotten left for the West Indies with his elder brother. From the West Indies, the two brothers moved on to the southern United States, where Hotten acquired some experience as a journalist. They separated in New Orleans, from where Hotten accompanied a Mr. Tannery to Galena, Illinois. In 1856, he returned to the United Kingdom and set up a small shop as a bookseller at 151B Piccadilly. Since his capital was limited, he specialized in reprinting works in the public domain in cheap shilling editions—a business decision of great risk because it demanded a shrewd assessment of public tastes and a wide knowledge of available titles.<sup>18</sup> Although Hotten had opened his bookshop and what was to become his publishing house in 1856, he issued only a handful of books between 1857 and 1863. In the 1850s and 1860s, he mostly wrote and contributed articles on literary news to a number of journals, such as *Literary Gazette* (1862), the *Parthenon* (1862-63), and the *London Review* (1863-64).

Before long, however, Hotten broadened his interests, tested the markets, exploited the niche of readership, and started publishing different genres. Nothing compares with the range of

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<sup>17</sup> Marcus 68.

<sup>18</sup> Ganzel 233.

books Hotten issued as a publisher.<sup>19</sup> Austin Allibone gives the most complete and impressive bibliography of all works published by Hotten's house in his *Critical Dictionary of English Literature and British and American Authors* (for a complete catalogue, see Appendix C). As his activities expanded, Hotten moved into a larger shop at 74-75 Piccadilly, where he continued bookselling and publishing until his death on 14 June 1873. He achieved success rapidly, and at the time of his death in 1873 had placed himself, according to the obituary tribute of a friend, "at the very summit of his calling." Ashbee writes, "A modest tombstone [in Highgate Cemetery] was erected to his memory by the London booksellers."<sup>20</sup>

Andrew Chatto, who had worked for Hotten since 1856—latterly as his general manager—bought the firm from Hotten's widow, Charlotte, with the help of his silent partner, the amateur poet, W. E. Windus, one of whose collections of verse had been published by Hotten. In 1873, the firm founded by Hotten became known as Chatto & Windus and grew to be one of the most respectable publishing houses in the late nineteenth and twentieth century.

This short overview of Hotten's life shows clearly that his training and practices as a bookseller led him to publish a wide and disparate collection of titles. The problems of publishing were by no means Hotten's only interests, and neither was *Literary Copyright*, mentioned above, his only book. Hotten actually wrote over thirty-five books himself and published, collected, or edited over six hundred titles that cover various popular and rare topics.

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<sup>19</sup> According to the British Library pre-1975 General Catalogue, Hotten published just fifteen titles between 1857 and 1863 (this total does not include the lists of "Books for Sale" and "Books Wanted" frequently issued by Hotten as a bookseller. His most active period of publishing spanned less than ten years between 1864 and his death in 1873. During this period the British Library pre-1975 Catalogue recorded some 166 titles issued by Hotten. In fact his small enterprise was much more prolific than that, as the surviving records reveal.

<sup>20</sup> Marcus 69.

The breadth of Hotten's interests was indeed remarkably wide. He had undertaken both safe and risky tasks and engaged himself in printing anything that came to his attention. He wrote or published various works ranging from safe classical and traditional texts to more risky and rarely discussed topics such as pornography and controversial poetry. Hotten's works were so numerous, in fact, that he disguised his authorship with pseudonyms such as Titus A. Brick, Theodore Taylor, and Joshua Sylvester, and he occasionally even printed his books anonymously. The complete catalogue of Hotten's publications is listed in Appendix C; however, a selective list of the works that he authored and of those which Hotten edited and published is introduced here to show the variety of his interests and the continuing value of his work.

### ***Hotten as an Author***

Hotten was only twenty-seven in 1859 when he collected and printed *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant and Vulgar Words*. As we shall see shortly in the following chapter which honors Hotten's role in the development of lexicography, his *Slang Dictionary* was one of the earliest on this subject, apart from Frances Grose's *Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue* (1785). Hotten's work on slang had enough continuing value to be used extensively as a reference book by many contemporary lexicographers and to be reissued numerous times in the twentieth century (notably in 1922 and 1972). Hotten's interest in etymology led him to translate the *Liber Vagatorum* (the sixteenth-century "beggar book," originally edited by Martin Luther in 1528) from the German. Hotten's 1859 copy was the first translation in English, and it retained a positive enough reputation to be the basis for a new edition in 1932. His most ambitious work was a *Handbook of Topography and Family History of England and Wales* (1863), for which he consulted over 20,000 books in order to compile and publish a faithful history.

Apart from local histories, Hotten was also interested in unusual and very popular histories at the time. He wrote *The History of Playing Cards* (1865) under the pseudonym Edward Taylor and co-authored with Jacob Larwood *The History of Sign Boards* (1866) which went through five editions in the first year of its publication and was frequently reprinted by Chatto & Windus well into the twentieth century, reappearing as late as 1985.

Hotten's knowledge of the book market was best demonstrated by his biography of William Thackeray: *Thackeray, the Humourist and the Man of Letters: The Story of His Life, Including Selections from His Character Speeches* (1864, last republished in 1971) which he published under the pseudonym Theodore Taylor. As a genre, eccentric biography was familiar to early and mid-Victorian readers, and it was treated as a literature of amusement and moral instruction. It seems that Hotten sought only to answer the public interest in eccentrics, and ten years after he had written Thackeray's biography, Hotten wrote and published under his real name the biography of Samuel Clemens: *Mark Twain: A Sketch of His Life* (1874). Despite a few minor errors, this first biography of Clemens, was according to Ganzel "remarkable for its accuracy and for the new information it contains, which must have come from someone who knew Clemens well in the United States."<sup>21</sup> It is believed that from 1864 to 1873 Hotten continued to write other short successful biographies, among them the lives of Charles Dickens and Henry Morton Stanley, the newspaperman and explorer. A preliminary exploration of the critical reception of Hotten's biographical collection suggests that it was treated as attractive, thoughtful, and philosophical because of its depictions of "monstrous bodies, deeds, and souls, and responses to sorrow."<sup>22</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Ganzel 241.

<sup>22</sup> Ganzel 238. *Athenaeum* 23 Apr. 1870 qtd in Ganzel.



However, Clemens's biography was one of the last things Hotten wrote and acknowledged; both *Charles Dickens: The Story of His Life* (1870, last reissued in 1978) and *H.M. Stanley: Records of His Life* (1879) were published in London anonymously. Although there is no comprehensive study explaining or suggesting Hotten's reasons to hide his authorship, it is well-known that he used pseudonyms quite often.

One of Hotten's possible reasons might have been to disguise his name because of the contempt it incited because of his alleged poor publishing practices; it is more probable, though, that Hotten was not concerned with claiming authorship as much as he was with selling his books. From the vantage point of the twenty-first century and the postmodern idea of authorship and originality, it is hard to understand Hotten's indifference towards claiming his work, but being a successful bookseller and publisher as well as a prosperous businessman meant much more to him than a modern writer can understand.

### ***Hotten as a Publisher***

Surely Hotten's behavior and Hotten's exploration of the role of the publisher were both far from traditional. He frequently seemed to be playing around with the function of the publisher, squeezing and pummeling it into different shapes, trying out new roles and practices to see how, or if, they would work. Hotten often researched the topics of his new publications and wrote long introductions almost like an experienced scholar would do; sometimes he added extensive notes. Occasionally he kept the edition in its original form, though quite frequently he employed the new reprints in order to advertise his earlier and current publications. That is, there is a seamless transition from one sort of Hotten's publishing practices to another, so seamless that in certain circumstances it is difficult to say where one publishing genre ends and another

begins. The detailed consideration of his “novel publishing” practices is given here to illustrate Hotten’s versatility and his contributions.

At the very beginning of his publishing career, Hotten did not experiment much, and his early interests lay in conventional topics. Since his capital was limited, Hotten specialized in reprinting works in the public domain in cheap shilling editions. His earliest reprints are books of humor such as John Tabois Tregellas’s *Farmer Brown's Blunders* (1857), *Original Edition of the Famous Joe Miller's Jest*s (1865), W. S. Gilbert’s *The "Bab" Ballads* (1868), "Wolley Cobble," *Walk up! Walk up! and See the Fools' Paradise* (1872), and George Coleman’s *Broad Grins* (1872).

After shrewdly assessing public taste and acquiring a wide knowledge of available titles, Hotten reprinted many classical texts and started a more challenging business. John Bunyan’s *Profitable Meditations* (1860), Honoré de Balzac’s *Les Contes Drolatiques* (1860), Aeschylus’s *Prometheus Bound* (1867), Daniel Defoe’s *The Life and Strange Surprising Adventures of Robinson Crusoe* (1869), *Translations from C. Baudelaire* (1869), Jacob Ludwig Carl Grimm’s *German Popular Stories* (1869), Pedro Calderon de la Barca’s *The Two Lovers of Heaven: Chrysanthus and Daria* (1870), Geoffrey Chaucer’s *The Canterbury Tales* (1870), Sir Thomas Malory’s *Le Mort d'Arthur* (1871), *The Odes of Anacreon* (1871), François Rabelais’s *Works* (1871), Émile Erckman’s *The Conscript; or, The Invasion of France* (1871), *Gesta Romanorum* (1872), Boccaccio’s *Decameron* (1872), and many other popular and profitable classical reprints were reintroduced to the Victorian reading public fresh from the ink of Hotten’s publishing house. That Hotten was sure of his choices and pleased with his editions is evident in the letter he wrote to Dr. Doran boasting of his success on 25 November 1869. Hotten describes his

publication as “the best edition of *Robinson Crusoe*’ since the days when the author issued his own edition.”<sup>23</sup>

The fact that Hotten was a self-centered and challenging but never shy or dull publisher is unquestionable. Even when he was reprinting classical texts, he would always find ones which provoked controversy. For that very reason, Hotten chose to publish such notorious scientific and technological texts as *Darwinism Tested* (1869), Michael Faraday’s *Chemistry of a Candle* (1869), *More Worlds Than One* (1869), *Brewster’s Stereoscope & Other Works* (1869), and *Martyrs of Science* (1869). After being engaged in the defense of his publishing practices and writing his own book advocating the movement for international copyright, Hotten continued publishing texts on a variety of current and political topics. He first reprinted John Bright’s *Speeches on the Public Affairs of the Last Twenty Years* in 1869 in order to give an accurate account of public speeches and support textual integrity and truth. Hotten accused Bright of deleting some of the important speeches in order to protect the public’s feelings whereas he was determined to present them as faithfully as he could. In Bright’s own edition of the speeches, Hotten argued, some passages about Gladstone, of whose cabinet Bright had later become a member, were omitted in order to falsify history in the interest of politics; for Hotten, “the interest of the public in such matters is summed up in truth and accuracy.”<sup>24</sup> Although *Literary Copyright* may be primarily a defense of his own publishing practices, clearly it is also an eloquent plea for what Hotten calls “The Rights of Readers.”

Still fighting for the rights of readers and the untamed truth, Hotten published Benjamin Disraeli’s *Speeches on the Conservative Policy of the Last Thirty Years* (1870) and W. E. Gladstone’s *Speeches on Great Questions of the Day* (1870), as well as various current

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<sup>23</sup> Ganzel 233.

<sup>24</sup> *Literary Copyright* 101.

controversial texts, such as *Louis's Own Account of the Fight at Dame Europa's School* (1871), *John's Uncle . . . Thinks it Time to Say a Word* (1871), Edward Legge's "Killed at Saarbruck": *An Englishman's Adventures* (1871), *The Story of Alsace & Lorraine* (1871), John Hawkins Gascoigne's *A System of National Defence, etc.* (1871), and *The Goings On of Mrs. Brown at the Tichborne Trial* (1872).

At the same time, Hotten was interested in old and rare books. Since he was a Fellow of the Ethnological Society, he had access to most of the rare books and he edited several works of archaeology and ethnology. After compiling a *Handbook of the Topography and Family History* in 1863, Hotten served as a publisher to many authors of local histories and heraldry. *The Roll of Arms of the Princes, Barons . . . to the Siege of Caerlaverock in 1300* (1864), *The Cistercian Priory of S. Leonard . . .* (1866), *A Complete Parochial History of the County of Cornwall* (1867-73), John Cussans's *The Handbook of Heraldry* (1869), Alexander Chichester's *History of the Family of Chichester . . .* (1871), and Edward Breese's *Kalendars of Gwynedd* (1873) were printed under Hotten's supervision. In his publication catalogue, he further included historical reprints and facsimiles such as *The Little London Directory of 1677* (1863) and *The Statutes of Henry VII* (1869).

Drawing simultaneously on this well-established practice of issuing facsimiles and on his legitimate interest in vernaculars, Hotten reprinted *Captain Grose's Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue 1785* in 1866, Herbert Coleridge's *A Glossarial Index to the Printed English Literature of the Thirteenth Century* in 1862, as well as a language reference work, *Argot Parisien*, in 1873 (see Appendix C for the complete list of works published by Hotten). Hotten's concentration on vernaculars and his contributions to the development of nineteenth- and twentieth-century lexicography are discussed in the following two chapters; however, it should be noted here that

after publishing *Life in London; or The Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn and Corinthian Tom* by Pierce Egan, Hotten became increasingly curious about street language, sporting terms, and pugilistic lingo. His work on Egan's book, full of unusual contemporary terminology, might have influenced him to start collecting and publishing the first comprehensive dictionary of nineteenth-century slang. Hotten indeed was interested in unusual topics and was always driven to bring something new to the British literary scene. Hotten's genius and unlimited enthusiasm were manifested in the number and the variety of his published works.

In many ways the subjects Hotten published are logically related to each other, as the order in which they are listed here may suggest. What is most striking about this list is not so much its diversity as its range. It stretches from the driest piece of antiquarianism through the most respectable collections of political speeches to "pornography," a genre strictly forbidden by the Obscene Publications Act of 1857.<sup>25</sup> As a man and as a publisher, Hotten's interests were wide, and he pursued them all with relentless enthusiasm that tended to ignore contemporary boundaries of subject and taste. All this suggests that, for Hotten, it might have been difficult to see where "legitimate" publishing ended and pornography began, both within and between these categories. It could be argued, though, that while no other publisher could risk such publications, Hotten was cautious enough that he did not issue his pornographic works until the

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<sup>25</sup> It has to be noted here that pornographic works in the nineteenth-century England were not equivalent to modern day pornography. Those were merely texts that included some sort of obscene language that was strictly forbidden by the OPA. However, reading this genre was a famous pastime of gentlemen. "The Obscene Publication Act or Lord Campbell's Act, officially known as 'An Act for more effectually preventing the Sale of Obscene Books, Pictures, Reprints, and other Articles,' gave extraordinary power to police magistrates, enabling them to give Authority by Special Warrant to any Constable or Police Officer into such House, Shop, Room, or other Place [containing obscene materials] as may be necessary, to enter in the Daytime, and if necessary to use Force, by breaking open Doors or otherwise, and to search and seize all such Books, Papers, Writings, Prints, Pictures, Drawings, or other Representation." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

late 1860s and early 1870s, more than a decade after the Obscene Publications Act had been passed, when the public morality of later Victorians had changed and was a bit more permissive.

As Paley puts it, Hotten was indeed almost the only “respectable English publisher of tabooed literature.”<sup>26</sup> He made this branch of literature more popular than any other publisher. Although Hotten did not profit much from selling pornographic books to a carefully selected clientele (i.e. higher social classes), he “took a special interest in this branch of his business and was wont to call it his “flower garden.”<sup>27</sup> Indeed, Hotten seems to have had a special affection for tabooed subjects, and he made little attempt to disguise this fact, even advertising some of his “so deemed pornographic” works with his other publications in sale catalogues. While other publishers of pornography have not left documentary and physical evidence of their activities for legal, financial, and social reasons, Hotten has left visible traces in historical records. Although not complete, the Hotten out-letter books contain occasional references to pornographic publishing, and the Hotten ledger books also include infrequent folios that yet give some insight into the production history of pornographic, or near-pornographic, works.<sup>28</sup>

Hotten’s pornographic list is remarkable. In 1869, he first published J. G. Bertram’s *Romance of the Rod* (1869) followed by “Expert,” *The Romance of Chastisement* (1871), *Rodiad* (1871), *The Merry Order of St Bridget* (1872), and *Exhibition of Female Flagellants in the Modest and Incontinent World* (1872). Not only did Hotten publish pornographic texts, but he also wrote several volumes of pornography which were printed in small numbers and did not sell very well. In 1869, he classified his editions of John Davenport’s *Aphrodisiacs* (1869), followed

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<sup>26</sup> Paley, Morton D. “John Camden Hotten, A.C. Swinburne, and the Blake Facsimiles of 1868.” *Bulletin of New the York Library* 79 (1976): 259-296. 261.

<sup>27</sup> Paley 261. Ashbee qtd. in Paley.

<sup>28</sup> Eliot, Simon. “Hotten: Rotten? Forgotten? An Apologia for a General Publisher.” *Book History* 3 (2000): 61–93. 78.

by Johann Heinrich Meibom's *De Flagorum usu in Re Medica et Venera* (1872) and Richard Payne Knight's *Ancient Worship* (1873), as "Anthropological" titles. That it is difficult to say where one publishing genre ends and another begins is obvious in this case of the relationship between anthropology and pornography. Moreover, to make matter more confusing, Hotten published another of Payne's works, *A Discourse on the Worship of Priapus* (1865), and John Wilkes's *An Essay on Women*, both of which seem to cover the topic of erotica. Although erotic literature never accounted for more than a fraction of Hotten's publications, he seems to have had more than a pecuniary interest in it. Far from being a lucrative source of income, Hotten's erotica seems scarcely to have sold at all. When we observe that fewer than ten of Hotten's hundreds of published volumes can be classified as erotica, the conclusion seems inescapable that Hotten got more pleasure than profit from this part of his business.

When Andrew Chatto, the junior partner who purchased the firm, sold off the tabooed books, *Female Flagellants* had sold no more than 30 of 250 copies; *The Merry Order of St. Bridget* only 50 of 500; John Wilke's *Essay on Women* only 25 of 250. The remainder of these and of some other titles was bought by J.W. Bouton, the New York dealer and bookseller with whom Hotten had previous dealings. These preserved pornographic works show the publisher's sincere interest in this branch of literature and his continued efforts to present tabooed works in their faithful forms and to keep the integrity of texts regardless of intimidating laws. His publications further attest to Hotten's willingness to take chances and risk his reputation in order to preserve such works of art, no matter how socially unacceptable that particular branch of literature is.

It should be remembered, though, that not all books in this tabooed category were pornographic. Hotten was also aspiring to be a publisher of advanced literature. For example,

apart from his interest in pornography and erotica, Hotten's publishing lists show special concentrations in Americana and avant-garde poetry. Hotten's interest in poetry began, no doubt, during the period he spent in the United States, from 1848 to 1856. When he returned to London and set himself up as a publisher in 1857, he already possessed a thorough knowledge of popular American poetry and became interested in the controversial poetry of British authors as well.

Because of Lord Campbell's Act, even portions of various English poets' works were often deemed "tabooed" in Hotten's time because of the moral scruples of different publishers. For example, Anne Gilchrist was unable to include excerpts from William Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* in her late husband's *Life* because Macmillan did not find it appropriate. However, Hotten was a publisher prepared to take risks, and he knew how to stay on the right side of the law. In 1866, Hotten saw his chance when Moxon & Co. decided to withdraw Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* for fear of prosecution. Hotten came to an agreement with Swinburne and became his publisher.

After first publishing Algernon Charles Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* in 1866, Hotten continued to publish works of many different British poets: Alfred Tennyson's *Lost Poems* (1862), which caused much ado in Hotten's early years as a publisher; Alfred Austin's *The Season: A Satire* (1869), which contained penetrating lines and was marked by some promise both in wit and observation; Percy Bysshe Shelley's *The Poetical Works of Percy Bysshe Shelley* (1871), in which Hotten introduced Shelley's unconventional life and uncompromising idealism, combined with his strong disapproving voice, that made him an authoritative and much-denigrated figure during his life and afterward; J. Hector Courcelle's *Adeline: A Poem in Seven Cantos* (1871); John Wilkes's *Essay on Woman* (1871), a "pornographic" poem that was considered obscene and blasphemous and caused a great scandal in the eighteenth century; and



Robert Burns's *The Merry Muses of Caledonia* (1872), a collection of bawdy lyrics that were popular in the music halls of Scotland as late as the twentieth century and which showed Burns's political and civil commentary at its bluntest.

The intriguing collaborations between Hotten and three British poets are discussed in detail here in order to illustrate Hotten's practices which brought contempt upon the publisher and ruined his posthumous reputation. Many aspects of the contemporary publishing industry were investigated in order to challenge the notions of a clean distinction between legal and illegal dealings and a publisher's right and wrong intentions. The more we are acquainted with the facts and counterarguments concerning the world of publishing, the better we will understand Hotten's challenges, risks, and contributions to the British poets' popularity.

Algernon Charles Swinburne (1837–1909) was an English poet who was controversial in his own day. It was Hotten who had established Swinburne as a poet of great importance by publishing *Poems and Ballads* in 1866. When Swinburne's original publisher, James Bertrand Payne, who managed Moxon & Co after Moxon's death in 1858, heard that *The Times* was preparing to attack the book on moral grounds, Payne withdrew one thousand printed copies of *Poems and Ballads* in 1866. Routledge then declined the opportunity of considering it, and for a time it seemed as if Swinburne's career as a poet might be buried. It was at this point that Hotten came forward. He offered Swinburne 200 pounds for the right to publish *Poems and Ballads*, and Swinburne consequently withdrew his earlier works from the Moxon firm and transferred them to Hotten.<sup>29</sup> Swinburne then published, at Hotten's urging, a defense entitled *Notes and Poems and Reviews*, followed by *A Song of Italy* (1867), *Dolores* (1868), *William Blake* (1868), and *Notes on the Royal Academy Exhibition* (1868). Hotten, as D.M. Low has remarked, "had

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<sup>29</sup> Paley 261.

transformed himself into what every publisher must become if he wishes his name to mean anything in literary history—a vital collaborator, willing to finance and market wares which possess inspiring, experimental, and even explosive qualities.”<sup>30</sup>

Hotten indeed had the courage and perseverance to help Swinburne with his daring works; nonetheless, the collaboration was a short-lived one. Hotten did not publish a single new work of Swinburne’s after 1868 since they had numerous disagreements concerning payments and copyrights. Swinburne had, for some time, been trying to transfer his earlier works to another publisher and would communicate with Hotten through lawyers. Thus, the relationship which had begun so promisingly in 1866 lasted only two years, though Hotten’s death prevented the matter from going to the law courts. Ironically, however, Andrew Chatto offered Swinburne terms the poet found acceptable, so even after Hotten’s death, Swinburne’s works continued to be published by the firm that Hotten had founded.

That it was Hotten who, in fact, contributed to the poet’s early popularity did not eradicate Swinburne’s anger toward him, and almost fifteen years after Hotten’s death, Swinburne voiced his concerns and expressed his disgruntlement in a letter attacking the publisher’s reputation. The vehemence of Swinburne’s language suggests problems deeper than those of old rights and royalties, forcing us to question not Hotten’s actions so much as Swinburne’s imagination. Whether or not one agrees, it is evident in this letter that Swinburne largely condemned himself in his vague criticisms of Hotten without ever actually specifying what the publisher did wrong. Moreover, Hotten’s letter books do not show the remotest awareness of any reason for Swinburne’s animosity other than disputed royalty figures. We must

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<sup>30</sup> Paley 293. Low qtd. in Paley.

therefore ask to what extent we should judge Hotten for these practices instead of weighing them against his positive accomplishments as Swinburne's publisher.

Although Hotten had avoided Swinburne's lawsuit during his lifetime, he was not so fortunate when Tennyson's "illegal" publication or Blake's "forgeries" came into question. Numerous contemporaneous historians condemned Hotten for bad publishing practices, among which accusations of misdating and fabrication were most common, and these damaged his posthumous reputation, thereby inflaming the controversy around his name. As we will soon see, there is some element of truth in some of the charges against Hotten, but for the most part these have been vastly exaggerated to justify the publisher's Machiavellian image, and he was rather wrongfully accused.

Through his association with Swinburne, Hotten became aware of another British author: William Blake. William Blake (28 November 1757–12 August 1827) was an English poet, painter, and printmaker who is now considered a seminal figure in the history of both the poetry and visual arts of the Romantic Age. Despite his recognized influence, the singularity of Blake's work makes him difficult to classify. The nineteenth-century scholar William Rossetti characterized Blake as a "glorious luminary" and as "a man not forestalled by predecessors, nor to be classed with contemporaries, nor to be replaced by known or readily surmisable successors."<sup>31</sup>

John Camden Hotten has an important place in the history of Blake studies. He was the publisher of the first book of criticism on Blake, *William Blake: A Critical Essay* by Algernon Charles Swinburne (1868), and his facsimile of Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*

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<sup>31</sup> "William Blake." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

(1868) was the first published facsimile of an illuminated book. Swinburne's critical essay was the first of these to be published. Although Hotten had no role in the conception of this book—it was originally to be published by Moxon's and was in proof in 1866 when it was transferred to Hotten—he did make one invaluable contribution to it: the idea of the facsimile illustrations, which included the first color plates of Blake's work ever to be published since the originals.

Yet Hotten is not so much known for these pioneering publishing ventures as he is for the so-called "John Camden Hotten forgeries, drawings once in Hotten's possession and later falsely attributed to Blake."<sup>32</sup> Hotten's Blake projects have never been given the attention they deserve, but Paley's article on this subject, "John Camden Hotten, A.C. Swinburne, and the Blake Facsimiles of 1868," offers some insight into the issues in question.

We now come to the single matter of the "forgeries" which have most damaged Hotten's name. Rumors of the "Hotten forgeries" have doubtlessly circulated through the years, but in Paley's article we have the first documented statement of what has become a received belief: that John Camden Hotten was a forger and a cheat who unloaded a large number of spurious Blake drawings on the art market. Referring to the fake illustrations in Blake's *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell*, Graham Robertson wrote to Kerrison Preston in January 1940 that he was aware that an "array of wrong'uns exist in America, mostly emerging in the first place from the cellar of a certain Mr. John Camden Hotten."<sup>33</sup> In addition, W. Graham Robertson, a great collector to whom Blake scholars are indebted, wrote that

Hotten evidently published several volumes of Swinburne. His 'Blakes' mostly pretending to be stray leaves from the Prophetic Books, printed separately and 'worked up' apparently emerged from concealment in the late 'seventies,

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<sup>32</sup> Paley 273.

<sup>33</sup> Paley 281.

appeared in an exhibition at Boston, and got themselves into the 1880 edition of Gilchrist, where they appear in a little separate list and are regarded with some doubt.<sup>34</sup>

The truth is that Hotten never stated that these were Blake's original illustrations; he actually found the best illustrator possible faithfully to reproduce Blake's original plates, some of which were held in the British Museum. On 16 January 1867, Hotten obtained a "formal ticket of admission to Print-Room ... where the plates were eventually chosen to be reproduced and bound into the Swinburne volume."<sup>35</sup> The book was eventually published with eight plates (nine including the composite title page), five of which are presumably reproductions of British Museum originals. Evidently the preparation of the *William Blake* book and his already well-established work on facsimiles gave Hotten the idea to issue his reproduction of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* as part of an ambitious plan to publish all of Blake's illuminated works. Hotten had, for the first time, put the color reproductions of Blake's plates into the hands of readers who had never seen an original illuminated book. The Hotten facsimile of *The Marriage of Heaven and Hell* is so fine in its outlines that even today it can help us understand the details in some of the plates.

Alfred Tennyson, 1st Baron Tennyson, FRS (6 August 1809 – 6 October 1892), much better known as "Alfred, Lord Tennyson," was Poet Laureate of the United Kingdom during much of Queen Victoria's reign and remains one of the most popular poets in the English language.<sup>36</sup> Tennyson apparently knew Hotten and his reputation and had no respect for his integrity. In 1862 Tennyson sued Hotten for selling an edition of his early poems. With typical

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<sup>34</sup> Paley 260.

<sup>35</sup> Paley 269.

<sup>36</sup> "Lord Alfred Tennyson." *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

verve, Hotten advertised this as Tennyson's *Lost Poems* and claimed that "they have been collected with considerable care and labor by a gentleman of great literary taste [i.e., J. Dykes Campbell] in Western Canada" and printed "at the Backwoods press."<sup>37</sup> The book was actually printed in Toronto, Canada, by James Dykes Campbell. Tennyson's lawyers were able to show that the poems had been pirated from *Poems, chiefly Lyrical* (1830) and *Poems* (1832). This is a second example of a relationship between Hotten and an author that had ended in condemnation and a lawsuit. Yet Hotten's defense had some literary if not legal weight when he later questioned the rights of a famous poet, especially the Poet Laureate, to suppress his own early works or to publish them only in revised form.

Although he was known primarily as a successful pirate among his contemporaries, Hotten seems to have regarded himself as something of a theorist about literary property and publishing practices. Nevertheless, the discrepancy between Hotten's theories and his own publishing practices is evident in this dubious publication of Tennyson's *Lost Poems*. On one occasion (in the letter dated 25 July 1872), Hotten declared vehemently that "it is not proper—not honest to the public—to put *second edition* on a title page, when no second edition has been printed."<sup>38</sup> He further asserted that the system of fictitious "second" and "third editions," when in reality only one has been printed, is part of the old, rotten publishing system that could be cleaned out to the great advantage of the general public. Even though he wrote a book on copyright, elaborating on the false practices of the trade and advocating the truthfulness and the originality of the text, Hotten was not above indulging in the questionable practices he so roundly condemned in others. Just three months before Hotten's letter denouncing the practice of

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<sup>37</sup> Paley 284. "In Chancery/Master of the Rolls/ Between Alfred Tennyson, Plaintiff/ and / John Camden Hotten, Defendant/ Amended/ Bill of Complaint" qtd. in Paley.

<sup>38</sup> Paley 286.

generating false second editions, Hotten re-launched George Browning's *Poems* on the market by the simple expedient of printing some new title pages for the remaining three hundred copies, claiming that this remainder constituted a second edition.<sup>39</sup>

No doubt the behavior of many publishers revealed in production and account ledgers were less admirable on occasions than their public pronouncements would lead us to believe. In Hotten's case, however, it is the symmetry and force of the double standards that is so impressive. It is an emphatic statement of clear principle succeeded or preceded by an equally clear and emphatic opposite case in practice. Hotten's controversial and double-standard policies is addressed vehemently in the work of Simon Eliot: "Hotten: Rotten? Forgotten? An Apologia for a General Publisher." Eliot presents a comprehensive study of Hotten's publishing practices, asserting that a sufficient range of examples of Hotten's contradictions has been offered to suggest that "we are dealing with a very complex or, at least, a very bifurcated mind":

In most cases 'hypocrisy' seems the wrong word for this; it would be more accurate to suggest that Hotten seemed capable of believing in and embracing two quite contrary values and of behaving in two quite contrary ways with equal vigor at different times. He seems to have been able and happy to commute between two or more value systems. This frequently displayed moral mobility allowed Hotten to run a publishing company that was distinguished by the scale both of the range it covered and the risks it took.<sup>40</sup>

Not only did Hotten steal from British writers and run into condemnation by the Victorian public, he also consistently pirated the works of American authors despite his cogent arguments in favor of mutual copyright.

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<sup>39</sup> Eliot 87. "Folio 126 of ledger book 1 records 300 of Title, 2nd edit & 2pp" qtd. in Eliot.

<sup>40</sup> Eliot 86.

Though Hotten's interests in American literature began during his years in the United States, those interests were most notable in his choice to edit and publish American books of humor. His lists had many such titles, in particular the "local color" humorists he had first read in America: James Russell Lowell's *The Biglow Papers* (1864), Charles Farrar Browne's *Artemus Ward: His Travels* (1865), Oliver Wendell Holmes's *Wit and Humour* (1867), Samuel Langhorne Clemens's *The Innocents Abroad* (1868), Moncure Conway's *The Earthward Pilgrimage* (1870), and Francis Bret Harte's *Lothaw; or, The Adventures of a Young Gentleman* (1871) all appeared in England over Hotten's imprint.

Since illegal publishing practices made the author captive to a given publisher, Hotten only attacked such practices in theory and followed them himself. If the authors complained about the piracy, he would use their success against them. For example, Hotten used reports of Mark Twain's success as an excuse for pirating his work. On the other hand, he defended his practices by stating that he wrote to Clemens before the book appeared, to secure his permission, but received no reply. In any case, with or without the author's approval, Hotten rarely paid anything to American authors for their trans-Atlantic editions. In light of contemporary publishing practices, this was not particularly reprehensible, for Hotten's risk was great and his margins of profit small. Moreover, American humorists should have been appreciative of the fact that Hotten contributed significantly to their early popularity in England. Although pirated, his texts were textually accurate and handsomely printed and bound. That Hotten took great care in his publications is supported by Paley's claims that most of his texts are faithful copies of the American editions.<sup>41</sup> In support of his integrity and in recognition of his role in transmitting

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<sup>41</sup> Paley, Morton D. "John Camden Hotten and the First British Edition of Walt Whitman – 'A Nice Milky Cocoa-Nut.'" *Publishing History* (1979): 5-34.



American literature to the British reading public, a plaque was dedicated to Hotten at an Indianapolis library in 1901.<sup>42</sup>

Samuel Langhorne Clemens (November 30, 1835 – April 21, 1910), better known by the pen name Mark Twain, was an American author and humorist who chronicled his travel experiences with burlesque humor in *The Innocents Abroad or The New Pilgrims' Progress*. In 1872, Clemens published a second piece of travel literature, *Roughing It*, as a semi-sequel to *Innocents*. These books are his records of a pleasure trip:

If it were a record of a solemn scientific expedition it would have about it the gravity, that profundity, and that impressive incomprehensibility which are so proper to works of that kind, and withal so attractive. Yet not withstanding it is only a record of a picnic, it has a purpose, which is, to suggest to the reader how he would be likely to see Europe and the East if he looked at them with his own eyes instead of the eyes of those who traveled in those countries before him. I make small pretense of showing anyone how he ought to look at objects of interest beyond the sea – other books do that, and therefore, even if I were competent to do it, there is no need.<sup>43</sup>

Clemens had gone to London in 1870 seeking fame and fortune. At that time he, like many American authors, went to England for a few years primarily because of contemporary transatlantic publishing practices. Hotten was the first to introduce American humorist Samuel Clemens/Mark Twain to England. Since his British editions of *Innocents Abroad* included a long preface by Clemens's old friend Edward P. Hingston, the collaboration between the author and

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<sup>42</sup> Ibid 31.

<sup>43</sup> "Mark Twain" *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

the publisher was evidently legitimate. Hotten's contention (mentioned earlier) that he was willing to pay Clemens may be honest as well, for apparently he paid both Francis Bret Harte and Artemus Ward for their work. Hotten's letters to Clemens are not extant, so we cannot therefore judge how reasonable his terms in fact were, but that he made some attempt at remuneration seems clear. Hotten even wrote in his defense:

To any American author who may either write or edit for me, I will make payments to the best of my ability; but if it is left for me to gather up newspaper trifles, trifles cast off and forgotten, and left to me to obtain a market for their sale in a collected form—for such non-copyright raw material, liable to such a contingency, I am not prepared to pay anything, and I do not think any man in his senses would pay.<sup>44</sup>

We can judge from Ganzel's article that even though Hotten had to compile the material by himself and with the help of his associates, the British edition was a faithful copy of the original. Yet, Clemens was furious at Hotten's decision to include in the British edition the sketches of which he did not approve. It should be argued in Hotten's favor that he edited the sketches with care and included only those he felt sure were Clemens's own. For example, his first issue included a sketch called "Vengeance" which had been printed by Mrs. John Wood, the American actress, in *Bill of the Play* and attributed there to Clemens. When, however, the editor of *Cassell's Magazine* subsequently claimed the sketch, Hotten dropped it from the book which shows the publisher's scrupulousness.<sup>45</sup>

Shortly after he died on 14 June 1873, Hotten's widow sold his business. Ward, Lock, and Taylor, another publisher of shilling editions, secured the plates for most of Clemens's books

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<sup>44</sup> Ganzel, Dewey. "Samuel Clemens and John Camden Hotten." *Library* 20 (1965): 237.

<sup>45</sup> *Ibid* 237.

which Hotten had published. Hotten's plates of *Innocents Abroad* were then sold, along with the bulk of Hotten's catalogue, to his good friend and former assistant Andrew Chatto.

It is one of the ironies of literary history that Hotten's successor, the firm of Chatto and Windus, would become, in a very few years, Clemens's English publisher and would happily remain so for most of his lifetime. There are letters, largely unpublished, that give some background for Clemens's anger at Chatto and Windus's predecessor. However, more extensive work remains to be done to help explain Clemens's reluctance to transfer his allegiance from George Routledge and Sons, who were his authorized English publishers in the early 1870, and give some indication of why he eventually made the change to Chatto and Windus. This is, however, the second example of a writer disgruntled with Hotten who yet kept a strong business relationship with his successor.

That Clemens's accusations were empty and that Hotten was a consistent and trustworthy publisher is supported by the fact that with the exception of the six sketches which Hotten himself discarded, all the sketches which appeared originally in *Choice Humorous Works*, but not in Routledge's *Sketches*, were retained by Clemens in the second edition of his book *The Choice Humorous Works of Mark Twain, "Revisited and Corrected by the Author,"* published in 1874 by Chatto but retaining Hotten's original biographical memoir. This again proves that although pirated, Hotten's works were textually reliable and of continuing value.

Yet not all his trans-Atlantic activity was piratical. In 1868, Hotten published the first selection of Walt Whitman's poems to appear in England. This volume, edited by William Michael Rossetti, whom Hotten had approached for the task, was published with Whitman's approval. In 1867, Rossetti noted in his diary that the publisher John Camden Hotten had asked him to edit a selection of Walt Whitman's poems and that Hotten agreed to pay him 25 pounds

for this work. The result of this arrangement, to which Whitman would later agree, was the first publication of a book by Whitman in England: *Poems by Walt Whitman, Selected and Edited by William Michael Rossetti*, 1868. According to Gay Wilson Allen, “this edition was a turning point in [Hotten’s] career, for it won him the attention and later support of several writers who were to be of great help to him, personally, financially, and as promoters of his fame.”<sup>46</sup> The publicity Whitman’s work had gained for Hotten also added to his reputation. He was eventually perceived as a successful and trustworthy private publisher. Something of the energy of Hotten’s entrepreneurship may also be gathered from the anecdote told by George R. Sims concerning Bierce’s work. Ambrose Gwinnett Bierce was yet another American editorialist, journalist, and satirist ready to introduce his works to the British public. Soon after Bierce’s arrival in London in 1872, he showed cuttings of his American newspaper writings to John Thomson, Swinburne’s former secretary, who after seeing them exclaimed, “My boy Hotten will jump at them.” The result was Bierce’s first British volume, *The Friend’s Delight*, published that same year.<sup>47</sup> These trans-Atlantic books quickly whetted the English appetite for American books, and nearly nine hundred works by American authors would soon be reprinted in England, in various forms. Three legal publications are discussed here to explain Hotten’s roles in promoting Anglo-American literature.

Walter Whitman (May 31, 1819 – March 26, 1892) was an American poet, essayist, journalist, and humanist whose work was very controversial in its time, particularly his poetry collection which was described as obscene for its overt sexuality. As there was still the shadow

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<sup>46</sup> Burke, W. J. *The Literature of Slang*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1939. 188.

<sup>47</sup> Grenander, M. E. “California’s Albion: Mark Twain, Ambrose Bierce, Tom Hood, John Camden Hotten, and Andrew Chatto.” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 72 (1978): 455-75. 456.

of Lord Campbell's Act<sup>48</sup> hanging over publishing in England, Hotten was the only publisher brave enough to publish Whitman in England. Since Whitman would not consent to enough modifications to eliminate the controversial verses in his work, Hotten was determined to preserve every word that he could without incurring legal trouble. Hotten also moved with impressive speed and energy to place Whitman's poems before the public; only four months elapsed between the date of Rossetti's agreement and the publication of the first volume. In 1868, the same year in which Swinburne's *William Blake: A Critical Essay* as well as a color facsimile of Blake's *Marriage of Heaven and Hell* appeared, Hotten published the first British edition of Whitman's *Poems*.

*Poems* encountered immediate fame and success. According to Paley's research and public records, Hotten informed Rossetti that he sent Whitman a "most flattering review," one of the friendliest notices yet written of Hotten's edition of Whitman's collection, by Charles Kent, editor of the *Sun*, who wrote four columns of criticism.<sup>49</sup> Whitman himself recognized what Hotten had done for him as a literary figure, asserting in the letter written to Taubel: "How good that English crowd has been to me—the whole crowd: I want to be forever recognized."<sup>50</sup>

Because of Hotten's unique effort to promote Whitman's poems in England, Whitman became willing to let Hotten sell his English publication of *Poems* in the United States, on the condition of paying him one shilling for every copy disposed of there (letter dated 17 February 1868). Soon after Hotten agreed to the terms for the American sales, the London publisher sent a book to Whitman; after receiving the first copy, Whitman praised it saying that "it is a faithful

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<sup>48</sup> See footnote 25.

<sup>49</sup> Paley, Morton D. "John Camden Hotten and the First British Edition of Walt Whitman – 'A Nice Milky Cocoa-Nut.'" *Publishing History* (1979): 5-34. 20.

<sup>50</sup> Paley 23. Whitman qtd. in Paley.

presentation of his original work.”<sup>51</sup> He additionally thanked Hotten for the received Academia criticism and papers with notices in them.

Eventually, however, Whitman must have noticed that Hotten’s promises were empty. He received no royalty payments from Hotten, and he seemed to have some premonition, or perhaps warning, that Hotten was contemplating a pirated edition of the complete *Leaves of Grass*. Whitman had not complained of dismemberment before, so it must have been the knowledge that Hotten had dealt unfairly with him that led him to change his opinion on the publisher. Thus, the author-publisher relationship which had been so promising ended in quite justified bitterness and anger on Whitman’s part.

As Whitman suspected, the *Poems* of 1868 was not to be Hotten’s last Whitman publication, but it was, in fact, the only legal one. However, fearing Lord Campbell’s Act, Hotten decided not to publish a British edition of *Leaves of Grass* but rather appeared to be merely the seller of an American publication. He was wise in knowing what could and what could not be done, and he dared to do what others did not: he published a complete edition of *Leaves of Grass* in London in 1873—a fitting sequel to the *Poems* of 1868, had it not been both a piracy and a forgery.

When a few copies of *Leaves of Grass* found their way into England from America, the general verdict of those who had an opportunity to examine the book was that much of it was indescribably filthy, most of it mere incoherent rhapsody, none of it what could be called poetry in any sense of the word. These initial opinions and fierce criticism changed quickly enough as the interests of the Victorian public became less conservative. Whitman was fairly quickly accepted in England and his poems, ruthlessly condemned earlier, were praised now. Satisfied

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<sup>51</sup> Paley 18.

with the book's success and sale profits, Whitman's publisher continued to promote American humorists, especially the ones who challenged Victorian principles and moral values.

James Russell Lowell (February 22, 1819 – August 12, 1891), a Romantic critic, editor, and diplomat, was among the first of American poets to rival the popularity of British poets. Lowell believed that “the poet played an important role as a prophet and critic of society,” and he was therefore committed to various controversial causes.<sup>52</sup> This professor of *Belles Lettres* at Harvard University, Cambridge, was already known in England as an American poet of high reputation and as a satirist of genuine excellence. Hotten, however, noticed that in one aspect, that of a writer of humorous poetry, Lowell had yet to be introduced to the British public. After being republished three or four times in the United States, Lowell was introduced by Hotten as a humorist by publishing *The Biglow Papers* for the first time in England. That he soon aroused the English appetite became evident in the fact that about 50,000 copies of *The Biglow Papers* later sold in Britain.

Not only did Hotten publish the new British edition, but he also added a preface, introduction, and numerous notes to Lowell's book. As mentioned earlier, Hotten experimented with his role as a publisher and often edited his publications, giving, in this case, a background of Lowell's life, his literary interests, and authorial innovations. The Introduction to *The Biglow Papers* and Hotten's editorial notes are examples of Hotten's contribution to the development of British literature and lexicography.<sup>53</sup> In this introduction, Hotten gave a brief history of New England, including the history of Plymouth Rock and the foundations of the United States of America. He went on to talk about different Latin and British poets in order to acquaint the

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<sup>52</sup> “James Russell Lowell.” *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

<sup>53</sup> Hotten's extensive notes on dialectal and linguistic changes are discussed in the following chapter that documents his role as a lexicographer.

public with the poems that preceded and influenced Lowell's writings. He also traced the ancestors of Mr. Biglow in order to find a poet in his immediate family. Hotten's continuous efforts to provide readers with the background of the author, his works, and literary history are, in general, evidence of this publisher's profound interest in various academic subjects and give him some of the characteristics of a book collector, editor, and an author rather than a traditional publisher.

No matter what his contributions were to the Victorian literary world and the development of lexicography, John Camden Hotten had the misfortune to incur the enmity of men on whose words he lived and to be taken at face value without the possibility of response. Hotten's practices nevertheless should be defended since his work stimulated many changes in conservative nineteenth-century Britain. This chapter not only illustrates the culture of that time, publication practices, and Hotten's extensive work, it also argues against the validity of all the harsh criticisms which destroyed Hotten's reputation. Many negative comments and condemnations by contemporary authors and later critics are collected and discussed below in order to provide enough evidence to refute the existing views and show Hotten's lifetime contributions and innovations to literature.

John Camden Hotten has had very poor press from both his contemporaries and later historians. At best, Hotten's actions have been regarded as shady and, at worst, positively criminal.<sup>54</sup> For example, after his death Mark Twain referred to him as "John Camden Hottentot" in *The Spectator* (1201-02); in a letter written to his long-time friend who prefaced Hotten's edition of his poems, Swinburne wrote that "[Hotten's] death of a surfeit of pork chops

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<sup>54</sup> Eliot 63.



illustrated the dangers of cannibalism”<sup>55</sup>; even the second-rate wit George Augustus Sala composed an epitaph that, “in the various biographies of Ambrose Bierce, is still with us: ‘Hotten/Rotten/Forgotten’”; Bierce himself claimed that Hotten had died in order to cheat him of a hundred pounds. All the best stories concerning Hotten involve questionable deals, exploitations of writers, violent arguments, and even blackmails and lawsuits.

What had Hotten done to provoke such abuse and to make the world so ready to believe he was a criminal as well? As prior exploration suggests, the answer lies in a combination of circumstances, some of which were Hotten’s own responsibility, some of which concerned the moral standards of the Victorian period, and some of which he was entirely ignorant. To put the case against him bluntly: he published a number of volumes of pornography; he misnumbered and misdated a few of his publications; he printed works by several British authors, including Tennyson, against their wishes; he “pirated” the works of certain American authors; and he incurred the implacable enmity of Swinburne. This seems like a damaging list of accusations, but its weight diminishes upon close examination. What little remains must be balanced against Hotten’s positive achievements.

### *In Hotten’s Defense*

Most of Hotten’s misdeeds with respect to false dating and false numbering were performed in his “flower garden.” While other pornographic publishers experimented with numerous dubious practices in order to earn money, Hotten’s primary sin was in the false dating of the reprinted editions. Many nineteenth-century pornographic publishers would take the existing volume, divide it in half, add a few pages of new matter to each half, and publish it as another new work in two volumes, this time for three times the original price. Others would take

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<sup>55</sup> Paley 261.

sections or chapters from novels, give them a new title, and print them as complete works. William Dugdale, who was, according to Marcus, “the Napoleon of crime,” would publish anything he could lay his hands on. He reprinted the pornography of other pornographic publishers, sometimes changing the title, sometimes not even bothering to. He would not only reprint old works and fob them as new; he would also do the reverse.<sup>56</sup>

The most obvious example of Hotten’s practice of misdating concerns his sequel to Payne Knight’s treatise. This book was written by John Davenport, a pornographic hack whom Marcus regards with a certain amount of sympathy and respect. At the bottom of the title page is printed, “London: Privately Printed 1869.” The work was, in fact, printed in 1873—Hotten died before it came out of the press. The custom of back-dating a new text was as common in this business as the practice of up-dating an old one, and one may add that in about half the cases of this practice, no conceivable function is served. But as Steven Marcus has pointed out, Hotten had such practices in common with almost all other publishers of pornography; it seems to be part of the game to make something of a mystery around the forbidden book, misleading the reader about the author, date, and attribution, even where there seems to be no material motive for doing so.<sup>57</sup>

On the contrary, the false numbering of the new editions served the purpose of successful advertising. Hotten would use an abundance of adjectives and exaggerations when writing a circular in advertisement of his work, and his paragraphs often read something like “Beautifully printed on toned paper, and only ONE HUNDRED COPIES, for private distribution.”<sup>58</sup> Thus, for example, 100 copies of an edition of *Aphrodisiacs and Anti- Aphrodisiacs* by John Davenport

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<sup>56</sup> Marcus 74.

<sup>57</sup> Marcus 72. Ashbee qtd. in Marcus’s *The Other Victorian*.

<sup>58</sup> Ibid 72.

were advertised, but 250 were actually printed. In Hotten's defense, it should be noted that this illustrates the almost universal custom of misrepresenting the number of copies of a privately printed and "limited" edition, which never hurt the author or the publicity of his work and, indeed, only added to it.<sup>59</sup>

As already mentioned, Hotten incurred the enmity of his contemporaries and was accused of the misrepresentation and piracy of Tennyson's *Lost Poems*. Only recently a complete reappraisal and investigation of the legal documentation was performed by Simon Eliot and described in detail in his article "Hotten: Rotten? Forgotten? An Apologia for a General Publisher," defending Hotten's practices. Eliot's sources and data are used here to explain better Hotten's attitude towards false publications of the Poet Laureate's work and the publisher's defense of his habitually judged practices.

On 30 July 1862, a Bill of Complaint was filed in the Court of Chancery by Alfred Tennyson, Plaintiff, against John Camden Hotten, Defendant. The amended Bill of Complaint, submitted on 1 August of that year, tells the whole story. To summarize, Hotten published in 1862 the poems that had been discarded by Tennyson during his literary career. Since the publisher was aware of his illegal practice, he advertised the *Lost Poems* 1830-1833 as having been "collected with considerable care and labor [*sic*] by a gentleman of great literary taste in Western Canada."<sup>60</sup> By stating that this was so far "the only copy that has reached this country," Hotten emphasized that in the absence of international law, this edition came "legally" to him from a trans-Atlantic country, and by making his pitch on the grounds of rarity and aesthetic quality—"Only a very few copies have been privately printed"—he devised the best possible strategy for selling this dubious edition to enthusiasts in the rapidly maturing rare-books market

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<sup>59</sup> Eliot 89.

<sup>60</sup> Eliot 68.

of the later nineteenth century. However, Tennyson's authorized publisher Frederick Mullet Evans, one of the trustees of the late Edward Moxon, the publisher of Tennyson's poetry from 1832 until the publisher's death in 1858, noticed this fake advertisement in Hotten's Piccadilly bookshop and revealed the scam and consequently accused the publisher of the illegal activity.

This was indeed explicit and precise piracy, as the Bill of Complaint declared, but it was, as one might expect of Hotten, piracy with style. Although the practice was completely illegal and financially hurt the author to some extent, Hotten's publication of *Lost Poems* brought into light the rare collection of Tennyson's early poems which the poet himself did not want to publish, thus adding to the Victorian literary corpus and Tennyson's popularity.

At a time when British publishing was undergoing a period of rapid and sometimes painful transitions, when new and pushy publishing houses were beginning to emerge, it was comforting to know that some of the firms, such as Hotten's, cared about the public interest and the integrity of texts as much as they cared about profits. Hotten indeed acted in morally questionable ways and he did sometimes follow bad laws; nevertheless, his brilliant thoughts and innovative practices added greatly to the changes in the Victorian standards.

Hotten's unauthorized transatlantic publications brought him additional dishonor. The failures Hotten had with great American writers such as Twain and Whitman have been well-documented in Morton Paley's article, "John Camden Hotten and the First British Edition of Walt Whitman," and in Dewey Ganzel's "Samuel Clemens and John Camden Hotten." Both Whitman and Clemens were disgruntled by the fact that Hotten never paid them for their transatlantic editions despite his great earnings. However, most claims concerning Hotten's profits are without merit, and there is a comprehensive study proving them wrong. The figures outlined in these articles show that Whitman and Twain were mistaken regarding the extent of

Hotten's earnings. When Hotten died on 14 June 1873, no more than 1000 copies could have been sold in the period of his life in which *Poems* was in print—slightly more than five years. As the price of the book was 5 shillings, the most Hotten could have grossed from sales was 250 pounds, which would have left him with a maximum net profit of 67 pounds, without taking into account the value of Hotten's own labor and overhead.<sup>61</sup> Of course, these figures do not mitigate the breach of trust Hotten committed in not paying the royalties that Whitman and Twain had a right to expect, no matter what the amount, but it does put Hotten's character in a somewhat more favorable light than the customary prejudiced view.

This combination of prudence and avuncular goodwill sits uncomfortably with the reputation for loose practice that Hotten had acquired by the late 1860s and that has stayed with his name ever since. There is no doubt that Hotten took advantage of, intentionally or unintentionally, the lack of a copyright agreement between the United States and the United Kingdom, and by doing so exploited many American writers such as Walt Whitman and Mark Twain. On the positive side, it could be said that Hotten did them and their works a service in that he introduced and promoted American writing in Britain and, by doing so, laid the groundwork for subsequent publishers, such as Chatto & Windus, to market Mark Twain and others effectively.

In histories of the exploitation of contemporary texts unprotected by mutual copyright, Hotten has always been a useful British counterweight to all those examples of unprincipled American reprintings. Whatever happened on the other side of the ocean repeated itself in Britain; therefore, the frequent accusations made against Hotten seem unfounded and his practices perfectly permissible. Ambrose Bierce, another American author who initially was

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<sup>61</sup> Paley 27.

bitter at Hotten, wrote years later that, although he had “a pretty dark reputation as a ‘pirate’ among American authors, who accused him of republishing their books without their assent,” the absence of international copyright laws gave him a legal and moral right to do so.<sup>62</sup> Although, many modern historians have corroborated Bierce’s judgment and have put Hotten in a much more positive light, during his lifetime, Hotten had to fight alone against the prejudiced and unfounded accusations. In the “Exact Facsimile” of *Much Ado About Nothing*, Hotten wrote the defensive and campaigning comment on the biased opinions of audiences: “A great deal of prejudice in this country has been shown against this publisher. His works should be read by independent minds, and an opinion formed totally apart from the attacks that have been made upon him.”<sup>63</sup>

Similarly, he sent vehement complaints against the misrepresentation of his image to his editors and booksellers:

I don’t know why it is but I have always imagined that other houses had your good wishes before mine. I must apologise for saying so, because I am doubtless in error, but your [assistance?] in the sale of “Elia” & the other books you take from us will help remove my unhappy impression.<sup>64</sup>

Hotten was a man who did not seem to have been very dependent on the opinions of others for his self-esteem. When he had failures or crises, Hotten usually learned from them. That gave him a strength and an unflappability that was commonly irritating to more conventional authors and publishers. Having an inexhaustible confidence, Hotten defended his

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<sup>62</sup> Grenander 461.

<sup>63</sup> Eliot 85.

<sup>64</sup> Eliot 87. “Letter to J. M. Menzies dated 7 May 1867” qtd. in Eliot.

image on 23 July 1872 to Hugh Rowley, author of one of Hotten's joke books, *Puniana*, who apparently warned him of his "enemies." Hotten wrote in a confident way:

Thanks for your caution about "enemies," but I assure you I have many warm friends—friends who *know* me. Only the [?] & those who *don't* know me, can be called "enemies," and occasionally it does good—clears the atmosphere—to drop a [stink?] pot, like Mr. Brown. . . . Someday, when you are in town, & have half an hour to spare, we will have a chat about "enemies."<sup>65</sup>

As a publisher, Hotten was well aware of the negative aspects of his business. Informed by his experiences, he was sure that the writers whom he presented and with whom he collaborated were appreciative of his contributions, while his "enemies" simply did not know him well enough. It is interesting how much more respectable Hotten looks when the accumulated grime of his authors' prejudices is cleaned off. Indeed, shortly after these habitual misunderstandings and the resulting bitterness between authors and the publisher diminished, Hotten became known as a successful and accepted publisher.

For instance, Hotten's character is sufficiently revealed to us by his memorializing friend Thomas Wright, an antiquary who took his degree at Cambridge in 1834 and was one of the founders of both the Camden Society and the British Archeological Society. In the following text, Wright enlightens us about Hotten's successful years as a publisher:

During the last eight years he occupied a position as publisher second to none in the trade. His acuteness in feeling the pulse of the bookmarket, in gauging the

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<sup>65</sup> Eliot 88.

public taste, and supplying it with exactly the sort of literary pabulum it required, was truly extraordinary.<sup>66</sup>

At the time of his death in 1873, Hotten had placed himself, according to the obituary tribute of a friend, “at the very summit of his calling.” In addition, when Hotten’s books were auctioned for sale right after his death, even the *New York Daily Graphic* paid honor to the infamous publisher on 19 December 1873: “Rarely has there been a more interesting sale than that of the late Mr. John Camden Hotten’s literary and art collections in London. Mr. Hotten was a zealous collector of out-of-the-way books, prints, and scraps of every description” including a “remarkable lot...of upwards of six thousand tracts and pamphlets on every conceivable subject.”<sup>67</sup>

Whatever the rights and wrongs of Hotten’s British publications and re-publications of American authors are, he cannot effectively be charged with piracy since there was no law governing copyrights in the anarchic conditions in the years before the Chace Act of 1891.<sup>68</sup> Accordingly, modern historians should recognize him as “not guilty” on the charges previously discussed. The preconceived and damaging list of accusations against this “piratical” publisher must be changed when most of the stories are proven to be untrue and the ones possibly true have been exaggerated to justify the publisher’s deceitful image. This study continues to show that all of the criticized practices must be balanced against Hotten’s achievements as a publisher.

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<sup>66</sup> Eberhart, George M. “New Publications” the Review of Victorian Yellowbacks and Paperbacks, 1849-1905: *Hotten, Chatto & Windus, and Chapman & Hall* by Chester W. Topp. *College and Research Libraries News* 59. 9 (1998): 713.

<sup>67</sup> Grenander 457.

<sup>68</sup> The International Copyright Act of 1891 more commonly referred to as the “Chace Act” is the first U.S. congressional act that extended limited protection to foreign copyright holders. For more information on this act, refer to Bowden, Edwin T. “Henry James and the Struggle for International Copyright: An Unnoticed Item in the James Bibliography.” *American Literature* 24. 4 (1953): 537-540.



He was indeed a publisher who knew how to stay on the right side of the law, one who recognized the public's needs, one with a brave character and a trained pornographer's eye—the one “at the very summit of his calling.”

### *Conclusion*

This scholarship gives us a somewhat different perspective on the preconceptions of the publisher's image. After demonstrating that most of the negative judgments are without much foundation, Hotten's practices indisputably look more mainstream. As Simon Eliot passionately puts it, “What an astonishing man he was, and what a remarkable publisher!”<sup>69</sup> In his relatively short publishing life, Hotten produced a very wide and diverse collection of titles and authored and edited many works. Using his journalistic training, he could produce books quickly to respond to an immediate public interest. His toughness and chancy character allowed him to publish important collections, such as Swinburne's and Whitman's poems, at a time when more respectable publishers would simply not take the risk. His curiosity and passion helped him compile and publish many works deemed pornographic, even though they never really brought him profit but did make his name recognizable in a later, less conservative era.

In fact, Hotten's daring personality made him innovate in a range of genres and promote the study of popular culture a good one hundred years before it became a respectable academic subject. His interest in historical and cultural information to be derived from ephemeral literature anticipated important features of twentieth-century scholarship. His greatest contributions to nineteenth- and twentieth-century publishing were his experiments with new markets for books and new types of books to fit those markets. For instance, according to Eliot, “along with Routledge, Hotten was one of the first publishers to experiment successfully with 6d. paperback

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<sup>69</sup> Eliot 91.

reprints of classic novels.”<sup>70</sup> This was achieved nearly seventy years before Penguin adopted the same binding and the same price. Moreover, his liberal enthusiasm, accompanied by a willingness to risk and to gamble, helped him create new types of publishing activity. Hotten’s “Blake projects” and his understanding of the growing importance of illustrations to the successful marketing of books marked him out as a man in advance of his time. By writing thorough introductions and textual notes to his publications, Hotten proved to be as much a scholar as a publisher. And by anticipating yet another feature of modern publishing—advertising—he only confirmed his brilliance.

Many book historians do not attend to advertising, regarding it as a peripheral, secondary activity much less illuminating than, say, author-publisher correspondence. However, together with price, advertising defines the relationship between a book and its market, and thus its potential readers.<sup>71</sup> Since the part of the market at which Hotten was aiming was very small, advertisement played an important role in his trade. For example his pornographic volumes were sold only by subscription, so Hotten would write circulars for the issues he published in order to present the topic they covered in the best light. This was, of course, mostly done with exaggeration: “This is a very extraordinary volume upon a subject that is now attracting the almost universal attention of the learned and curious in Europe.”<sup>72</sup> This type of advertisement marks the point at which a publisher commits himself to a particular view of the work he is selling.

Publishers’ advertisements and catalogues, by their very nature, were promotional materials and therefore should not be considered wholly reliable sources. Books were announced

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<sup>70</sup> Eliot 90.

<sup>71</sup> Eliot 88.

<sup>72</sup> Ibid 70.

as “ready” even when they were not ready. Texts were promised as “forthcoming” when they had yet to be submitted by their authors. Most publishers indulged in such practices, and Hotten—as in all things—indulged more than most.

Close to the end of *Life in London*, Hotten added a chapter on “Notices of an Independent Press.” Here he claims that it is customary to append to the second editions of books, and to the second works of authors, short sentences commendatory of the first, under the title of *Notices of the Press*. These, as he has been given to understand, are procurable at certain established rates, payments being made either in money or advertising patronage by the publisher, or by an adequate outlay of servility on the part of the author. Hotten further asserts that it would be more economical to prepare a sufficient number of such notices himself and preface them to this edition rather than await the contingency of a second. Here in fact, Hotten employed the unconventional practice of advertising his other publications in the first edition of this book.

Hotten’s cunning was even better presented in the “Note to Title-Page of Original Edition” that preceded Hotten’s Introduction to *The Biglow Papers*, where on three full pages he gives the background of his publications and summarizes the unfair views of his work presented by other editors. He apologizes for not being able to limit himself to a single page and takes the reader “into [his] private closet... to exhibit to [them] the diplomas which [he] already possess[es].”<sup>73</sup> Hotten further emphasizes his contributions and concerns about the omission of his name by pretending that he does not care that other publishers excluded him from the acknowledgments:

And I am the rather induced to this from the fact that my name has been unaccountably dropped from the last triennial catalogue of our beloved *Alma*

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<sup>73</sup> Lowell, James Russell. *The Biglow Papers*. London, 1864. xii.

*Mater.* Whether this is to be attributed to the difficulty of Latinizing any of those honorary adjuncts (with a complete list of which I took care to furnish the proper persons nearly a year beforehand), or whether it had its origin in any more culpable motives, I forbear to consider in this place, the matter being in course of painful investigation.<sup>74</sup>

Another form of advertising over which publishers had even firmer control, and for which they had to pay much less, was the inserted catalogue commonly bound in at the back of a book. Here, in eight, sixteen, or thirty-two pages (as most catalogues were), the publisher could present the entire output of his firm, if he so chose, to best advantage. Being produced quickly on cheap paper, these inserted catalogues could, if necessary, be changed almost as frequently as newspaper and magazine advertisements. That Hotten took this form of advertising seriously is evidenced by the number of catalogues he produced. For example, in the 1880 edition of *Life in London*, Chatto lists 32 pages of works published by Hotten and Chatto and Windus. Almost all of Hotten's publications I have encountered are included in this list of works.

We now come to the single problem of cataloguing and establishing the number of books Hotten published before his death, at which time his firm became Chatto & Windus.<sup>75</sup> Simon Eliot has done an exhaustive study of Hotten's publications, investigating all the preserved ledgers, and he categorized Hotten's works into nineteen diverse groups: Humor, American Literature, European Literature, Reprints of Traditional and Classic Texts, Poetry, Novels, Critical, Biographical, and Learned Works, "How to" Books, Puzzle Books, Current and Topical,

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<sup>74</sup> Ibid xii.

<sup>75</sup> With the creation of Chatto & Windus, the Hotten archives were absorbed into those of the new firm. The first ledger book in the Chatto archive is in fact mostly concerned with pre-Chatto production c. 1865-73 and thus gives a clear if not completely comprehensive account of some of the quantitative aspects of Hotten's publishing career during the last nine years of his life.

Politics, Illustrated Works, Historical Reprints and Facsimiles, Local Histories and Heraldry, Popular Histories, Science and Technology, Anthropological, and Pornographic.

Readers are encouraged to examine the lists of Hotten's works previously documented by the British Library,<sup>76</sup> Simon Eliot,<sup>77</sup> and Austin Allibone which are also recorded here in Appendix C. As the overlap between the British Library Catalogue and the Chatto ledger book is far from complete, it would be a conservative estimate to suggest that in these last nine years Hotten published more than five hundred titles. However, it is important not to judge such an innovative publisher as Hotten purely on the number of titles that he left behind him, but to consider further his significant contributions to the development of Victorian literature and late nineteenth- and twentieth-century lexicography.

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<sup>76</sup> The 166 titles from the BL catalogue represent only a subset of Hotten's production. The Chatto ledger book 1 contains some 498 folio pages, most of which are dedicated to a single title. Some folios represent titles that Hotten published directly or bought in and then published under his own imprint. This ledger book contains 446 titles.

<sup>77</sup> Eliot suggests that the ledger book allows us to move in closer and actually establish the number of copies for each title. Every ledger folio carries details of initial and subsequent print-runs. In terms of first editions and first impressions, the ledger recorded that these 446 titles resulted in 971,993 copies. The inclusion of subsequent impressions and editions raises Hotten's output in the eight years between 1865 and 1873 to nearly 1.5 million copies. For a smallish firm that had evolved out of a bookselling business over a very short span of time, these are impressive figures. However, it is not Hotten's production of titles per se that was particularly remarkable.

## CHAPTER III

## A STUDY AND OVERVIEW OF SLANG DICTIONARIES

The temptation to write a lengthy history of Non-Standard language must be resisted in this study, since this is not a history of cant and slang. The emphasis throughout is on Hotten's slang dictionary itself rather than the terms it lists. But a word or two must be said concerning the nature of these forms of locutions. *Shelta*, or the secret language of Gaelic bards and tinkers, goes back over a thousand years, but it is still understood in part by certain tribes of gypsies. This term is often replaced with (*r*)*roma*, *traveler*, or *Gypsy* in different sources used for this research. *Canting*, or a secret begging language, is as old as organized beggary and has been handed down from generation to generation.<sup>78</sup> Its primary purpose is to deceive, to defraud, and to conceal. Cant is always secret and is used by beggars and criminals to hide their dishonest and illegal activities from their victims. It is low and vulgar. When appropriated by fashionable circles, however, it becomes slang. When it loses its secrecy and passes into a common speech, it becomes colloquial. *Colloquialisms* are used in informal speech and writing; they are widely spread and widely understood. This type of language changes more rapidly than Standard English and is not geographically restricted except perhaps at a national level. On the other hand, *slang* was invented as an antidote to grammar. The rigid formalism of the schools was tempered by the

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<sup>78</sup> It is assumed that English canting words are mixed with Gypsy cant; Latin corruption brought in by pardoners and begging friars; Dutch words brought over by smugglers, fishermen, adventurers, returning soldiers, and banished gypsies, rogues, and vagabonds; common English words applied in a figurative sense, thus taking on a new meaning to initiated; onomatopoeic or echoic words which imitate the sounds of things; and the mixture of secret words handed down by various guilds, brotherhoods, religious sects, and secret societies—Burke, W. J. *The Literature of Slang*. New York: The New York Public Library, 1939. 59.

ribald democracy of street slang. Slang terms are characteristically short-lived and tend to be used by a closed group of people, often united by a common interest. Some of these rude expressions found their way into the chaste pages of the dictionaries, but not before they had been sterilized. While some slang terms become more widely used and enter into colloquial use or even standard language, most, however, fall from use altogether.<sup>79</sup>

***A Short History of Slang & Cant Dictionaries from the Beginning to 1859***

Although cant and slang lexicography has not been considered respectable, records show that the history of cant and slang lexicography can be traced back five hundred years. The first attempt to make a study of cant in England was in the sixteenth century. Alphabetized word-lists of cant (the secret language of thieves, gypsies, and tramps) began to appear in works such as Thomas Harman's *A Caveat or Warning for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds* (1567) and Robert Greene's *A Notable Discovery of Coosnage* (1591). The temptation for the compilers of such cant word-lists was to include all cant terms in order to sell them as protection against thieves and vagabonds.<sup>80</sup>

When Thomas Harman published his *A Caveat or Warning for Common Cursitors, Vulgarly Called Vagabonds* in 1567, he must have had little idea that the short glossary of beggars' language placed at the end of his book would be the most influential part of his work. Since the cant vocabulary could not have been extensive at that time, Harman's glossary lists only 111 cant words "despite his deep interest and wide acquaintance with

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<sup>79</sup> Collins Cobuild's *Dictionary of the English Language* and Burke's *The Literature of Slang* are used to define these terms.

<sup>80</sup> First word lists were made especially for women allegedly to help them understand the secret language of thieves and protect themselves in the streets of London.

rogues.”<sup>81</sup> He arranged these words by random classification (body parts, clothes, food, etc.), and he defined them for the most part by a single synonym. He hoped to clear England of its undeserving poor by revealing their tricks and disguises. Instead he became the father of canting lexicography: a tradition more often entertaining than practical. According to Starnes and Noyes, Harman’s book was the first work to carry a glossary of cant terms and may therefore be considered the first remote precursor of the cant dictionary.<sup>82</sup>

Robert Greene’s *A Notable Discovery of Coosnage* and *The Second Part of Conny-Catching* were both published in 1591. Greene’s conny-catching pamphlets relate to “the company of cousoners and shifters rather than the fraternitie of vacabondes,” as Landau puts it.<sup>83</sup> Greene’s *A Notable Discovery of Coosnage* contains eight phrases that describe different “laws of pick-pocketing.” Even though Greene was more interested in the fictional possibilities of his material than in the glossary, he offers a wealth of background on the methods and language of vagabonds in his various pamphlets.

By the seventeenth century, rogue literature showed a surprising lapse, so the advance toward a cant dictionary halted. Similarly, there were not many word-lists of slang published at that time. No wholly independent cant or slang glossaries were produced for almost a century, but these terms remained in language, mostly used by people of various low social classes. There is not much of a tendency to employ slang in the writings from the early Renaissance to the early eighteenth century. Setting aside obsolete words, there are said to be no more than a hundred incomprehensible terms in all of Shakespeare’s comedies. We can appreciate the humor of Samuel Butler, the satire of John Dryden, the wit of William Congreve,

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<sup>81</sup> Starnes, De Witt T., and Gertrude E. Noyes. *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604-1755*. New York: U of North Carolina P, 1946. 214.

<sup>82</sup> Starnes and Noyes 215.

<sup>83</sup> Landau 55.



even the scurrilities of Tom Brown, as clearly as though they had been written yesterday. In Jonathan Swift's *Polite Conversation*, among all the homely and familiar sayings, there is no slang; Henry Fielding and Tobias Smollett, in all their pictures of life, with all their coarseness and indecency, put little slang into the mouths of their characters. We can understand Macbeth and Falstaff without dictionary or glossary. The seventeenth- and eighteenth-century slang that was employed by a handful of writers cannot be taken as an exemplar of the polite, or even of the ordinary, conversation of their day. It seems that if a large collection of slang words existed, they had been made use of only by illiterate persons and were banned from refined society. In fact, the revival and fascination with cant in the latter part of the seventeenth century corresponded with an increasing interest in criminal biography, and it "coincide[d] with a general sense that crime rates were increasing."<sup>84</sup> It was during this period, right after the Restoration, when prisoners' confessional autobiographies became profitable, that rogue literature and the cant glossary were simultaneously revived by Richard Head.<sup>85</sup>

Richard Head, who was writing during the turmoil of the Restoration, produced three canting lists, each based on Harman's, but each adding something of its own to the preceding lists. A complete canting dictionary is added to Richard Head's *The Canting Academy, or, the Devils Cabinet Opened* (1673). Written twenty years before B.E.'s sizeable slang dictionary was published, *The Canting Academy* contains important material for the study of historical lexicography since it records almost 300 cant words. Head was the first since Harman to give any serious discussion of his sources as well as to take into account the constant changes in

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<sup>84</sup> Coleman, Julie. *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries*. NY: Oxford UP, 2004. vii.

<sup>85</sup> By 1610, according to James T. Henke, the author of *Gutter Life and Language in the Early "Street" Literature of England*, "no picaresque literature out of Spain was so rich [. . .] as the English" (97)—qtd. in Landau, Sidney. *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography*. Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 1989. 31.

cant. He acknowledges that his sources were rogues from Newgate who were forced to change their vocabulary for describing secret practices since their own words could betray them. A new feature of this dictionary is the double word list, the first part translating cant into English and the second, English into cant. Head's lists were adapted and reissued until the end of the eighteenth century.

From the turn of the eighteenth century, dictionaries eventually began to incorporate contemporary colloquial expressions of the common people (vulgus); thus cant and slang came to be associated with one another. A dictionary of non-standard language in general first appeared in 1698: B. E.'s *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting; Crew, in Its Several Tribes, of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, and Cheats*, which spawned families of word-lists. B.E.'s dictionary is the product of a bustling metropolis, "which drew inhabitants from around the country and traded with the New World as well as the Old."<sup>86</sup> It was deemed perhaps the most important dictionary of slang ever printed, largely because it was so heavily plundered by later dictionary makers. For example, short glossaries appended to accounts of the *Life of Bampfylde-Moore Carew* and Nathan Bailey's *General Dictionary of English* drew upon B.E.'s *The New Canting Dictionary*, published in 1725.

Bampfylde-Moore Carew's *The Surprising Adventures of Bampfylde-Moore Carew* (1738) was first published in 1738, but the vocabulary was enlarged for the 1779 edition. This dictionary went through many editions under varying titles in Carew's lifetime (the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition being published in 1812), and it held its popularity for a century or more.<sup>87</sup> The numerous

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<sup>86</sup> Mitchell, Lawrence J. "Plumbing the Depth: A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue." A Handout 1. College Station: Texas A&M University, 1995. 1-7.

<sup>87</sup> Starnes, De Witt T., and Gertrude E. Noyes. *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey*

publications of B.E.'s and Carew's books in the eighteenth century suggest how easily available these dictionaries were to the compilers of the late eighteenth- and nineteenth-century slang dictionaries.

Drawing upon sixteenth-, seventeenth-, and early eighteenth-century cant and slang dictionaries, Francis Grose published *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* in 1785. Francis Grose is an important figure in historical lexicography. Although working in the same era as when *Johnson's Dictionary* was published and when there was a desire for the purification of the English language and standard dictionary writing, Grose compiled the earliest and the most substantive English slang dictionary. In the preface to his first edition of *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785), Grose observed that ordinary dictionaries are useless in a search for "the terms of well-known import at New-market, Exchange-alley, the City, the Parade, Wapping, and Newgate."<sup>88</sup> He was indeed the first one to present these word-lists as a tradition and to give due credit to some of his sources. In addition, Grose was the first to catalogue more recent changes in the language to enrich the new publications. *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* proved to be very popular and went through three editions in Grose's lifetime (the 2<sup>nd</sup> in 1787 and the 3<sup>rd</sup> in 1796), and there were subsequent editions under a variety of titles, e.g., *Lexicon Balatronicum*. The last edition, revised by Pierce Egan (best known as the author of *Boxiana*), was issued in 1823. The fact that Grose acknowledged in his introduction that he collected terms from "other modern authors" makes us aware that English

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to *Johnson 1604-1755*. New York: U of North Carolina P, 1946. 226.

<sup>88</sup> Grose, Francis. *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. Menston: Scholar P, 1785. ii.

lexicography was on the threshold of a new period when a comparatively extensive study would become fashionable.<sup>89</sup>

Grose's dictionary would also produce its own family of copiers and imitators in the nineteenth century. John Badcock and John Camden Hotten each had access to Grose's work, but each produced a significantly new contribution to the records of the changing language. Like Grose, they made sure that their readers were aware of their extensive written sources; unlike Grose, they used them critically. Both attempted, through extensive use of citations, authorities, and etymologies, to present scholarly and authoritative reference works. Both also emphasized their use of slang-speaking informants, though Badcock commented on non-standard pronunciation much more than Hotten did. While Badcock was an accurate and observant recorder of sporting jargon, Hotten's dictionary became a testimony of contemporary slang.

Indeed, the slang lexicography was in its peak in the nineteenth century for the simple reason that slang was used in all spheres of Victorian life. In order to understand Hotten's work and his contributions to the development of lexicography and the literary world, we need to consider the social settings under which he had worked and to reflect on the arguments which arose concerning slang in his time.

#### *Arguments Concerning Slang in Nineteenth-Century England*

Unlike the Renaissance, in Hotten's time, a person could not read one single parliamentary debate as reported in a first-class newspaper without meeting with scores of slang words. People would hear slang every day in terms from judges in their robes, at every mess table, at every bar, at every college commons, in every dining-room. Slang was always present in the Victorian era. Burglars, beggars, imposters, and swindlers had their own jargon. Mariners,

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<sup>89</sup> Ibid iii.

too, used the terms of their craft, and mechanics borrowed from the technical vocabulary of their trade. And there were cant words and terms used traditionally in schools and colleges and in the playing of games, all of which were orally authorized if not set down in written form. *Placers, squatters, diggers, nuggets, cradles, claims*—these were words used in Hotten's time but not a dozen years before. But slang does not end here. It reaches the very pinnacles of society.

The queen and duchesses had their own language which only the high social classes could understand. This slang of the fashionable and aristocratic worlds is mostly imported from France. They employ words such as *thé dansant, the beau monde, chaperon, vis-à-vis, entremets*, and *faux-pas*, among others.<sup>90</sup> And when her highness and her ladies do decide to speak English, they employ a delightful accent and a liberal use of superlatives. An opera singer they heard yesterday was a *divine creature*; if they are tired, they are *awfully bored*; if the duchess's face is pale, she is in a *perfect fright*; and the comic actor they just saw was *killing*.

Then there was the slang of criticism: literary, dramatic, artistic, and scientific. Such words as *aesthetic, transcendental, the unities, a myth*, such phrases as *an exquisite harmony, aerial perspective, nervous chiaroscuro*, and the like were used recklessly, without the least relation to their real meanings, their real uses, their real requirements. Similarly, the Victorian stage had its own slang, both before and behind the curtain. Actors spoke of such and such a farce being a *screamer*, and the tragedy being *damned* or *goosed*. *A part* has so many *lengths*; a *piece* will *run* so many nights. When no salaries are forthcoming on Saturday, the *ghost doesn't walk*.<sup>91</sup>

Lacking the intelligibility of Shakespeare's plays, the popular literature of the nineteenth century, particularly historical fiction, was riddled with slang vocabulary. Charles Dickens

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<sup>90</sup> Brook, G. L. *The Language of Dickens*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1970. 92.

<sup>91</sup> *Ibid* 93.

employed slang and dialects in his numerous works to identify his characters as members of specific social, political, and economic communities, and Thackeray's *Vanity Fair* included many vernacular expressions to describe life in England. Pierce Egan was the first to introduce sporting terms and pugilistic lingo to the nineteenth-century public with his widely accepted work *Life in London; or The Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn and Corinthian Tom* (1823). At the same time, Jonathan Badcock gave a truthful representation of early nineteenth-century England's vocabulary of the ring and the stable in his publication *The Dictionary of Turf, the Ring, the Chase* (1823). These works were widely distributed and read throughout England, and the public undoubtedly became acquainted with pugilistic terms and peculiar phraseology through these authors.

Slang was used so frequently and so arbitrarily in the Victoria era that the lack of any clear and competent authority to establish what words are classical and what merely slang, what obsolete and what improper, became a source of perpetual tribulation and uncertainty. In this immense number of new words being continually coined and disseminated throughout British history lies the chief difficulty of the English language. Therefore, the demand to legalize slang and include it in the dictionaries became so strong at the beginning of the nineteenth century that the argument continued in the subsequent decades. Lexicographers were drawn into the center of this discussion and became aware of the problems they might encounter.

In 1860, in his article on the exclusion of certain words from a dictionary, Herbert Coleridge<sup>92</sup> placed before the Philological Society the question of exclusion, i.e., what words should a dictionary omit? He mentioned such words as *devilish* which he defined as *vocabular parodies*, *devilship* being a parody of lordship, etc. Such coinages as *foolometer* and

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<sup>92</sup> Burke 22.

*correggiosity* are discussed as well, and words on the margins of slang are included in his article, in which he suggests that they should be legalized and incorporated in general dictionaries. In the same year, Richard Chevenix Trench, Irish clergyman, philologist, and poet, asserted that “A dictionary is a historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view; and the wrong ways into which a language has wandered, or been disposed to wander, may be nearly as instructive as the right ones in which it has travelled.”<sup>93</sup> It is clear here that Trench, who was also one of the main contributors to the *Oxford English Dictionary*, advocated inclusion of all popular slang words and colloquialisms in such a “historical document” of the British nation. Even Dr. Samuel Johnson included a great number of words italicized as *cant*, *low*, or *barbarous* in his earlier editions of *Johnson’s Dictionary*,<sup>94</sup> though he excluded them from the later editions, recognizing the problems associated with their definition. Lexicographers were pressured by Victorian grammarians to purify the language and support the standard language. The dispute continued well into the twentieth century when, in a reminiscent mood, George William Russell recalled the slang of his boyhood at Harrow, some Dickensian slang, and some of the more picturesque expressions of his contemporaries. He mentioned a book called *Happy Thoughts*, which contained much slang of the 1860s. In his article “Slang,” Russell asserted that “In dictionary making the right thing is to choose from the number of slang words such as have distinctive signification well marked, and such as have proved their usefulness in long years of service. ... As for the rest, half of them should be discarded altogether for what they are—fresh

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<sup>93</sup> Trench, Richard. *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*. London, 1860. 17.

<sup>94</sup> Johnson, Samuel *A Dictionary of the English Language*. London, 1755. 384-395. His later editions also contain an Appendix of Americanisms.

from the ditch and smelling of it, or, at the best, without the shade of meaning that isn't nasty even when it is new."<sup>95</sup>

According to mainstream nineteenth century views, dictionaries should indeed be the depositories of words already legitimated by usage. Society is the workshop in which new terms are elaborated. When an individual uses a new word, it is sometimes rejected in society if ill-formed and adopted and, after due time, laid up in the depository of dictionaries if well-formed. George Augustus Sala, a well known compiler of slang terms and phrases and a correspondent of the famous Victorian publication *Household Words*, categorically stated that "If the evil of slang has grown too gigantic to be suppressed, let us at least give it decency by legalizing it." In 1853, he advocated the production of a new dictionary which would include slang terms, and he also suggested a few words which would properly be included in such a dictionary, such as slang terms for money, drinks, thieves' slang, fashionable slang, etc. Sala asserted that

Slang should be proscribed, banished, prohibited, or that a New Dictionary should be compiled, in which all the slang terms now in use among educated men, and made use of in publications of established character, should be registered, etymologized, explained, and stamped with lexicographic stamp, that we may have chapter and verse, mint and hallmark for our slang.<sup>96</sup>

It seems that John Camden Hotten published *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* in 1859 as an answer to Sala's demand. In these times when slang was a part of

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<sup>95</sup> Burke 39. *The Academy* 68 (1905): 279-280. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>96</sup> Sala, George Augustus. "Slang." *Household Words* 183 (1853): 73-78.

For an account of Sala and his contributions to *Household Words* see Percy Fitzgerald's *Memories of Charles Dickens, with an account of "Household Words" and "All the year round" and of the contributors thereto*. Bristol, 1913.



everyday life, when the strict rules of eighteenth-century Puritanism were slowly diminishing, and when there was an urgent need for a slang dictionary, John Camden Hotten took upon himself this immense assignment. Although this substantial dictionary of slang was widely accepted by the general public, the authority and legality of slang remained the subject of heated academic discussions in the years to come.<sup>97</sup>

Many nineteenth-century historians and literary critics were afraid that “if the reckless and indiscriminate importation and incorporation into our language of every cant term of speech from the columns of American newspapers, every Canvas Town epithet from the vocabularies of gold-diggers” do not cease, the fertility of language may degenerate “into the feculence of weeds and tares.”<sup>98</sup> Grammarians worried that persistence in such a course must inevitably tend to debase and corrupt that currency of speech which has been the aim of the greatest scholars and publicists, from the days of Elizabeth onwards, seeking to elevate, to improve, and to refine the language. Accordingly, they believed that the language must be purified and the slang and cant phrases that “dirty the stream” should be banned from dictionaries.

In “The Function of Slang,” Brander Matthews outlined the history of slang and cant and made a sharp distinction between the two classes of words. As he put it, both bear the “bend sinister of illegitimacy. . . . Slang of metropolis is always stupid, be it New York or London or Paris, but of the metropolitan slang the most virile is that of outlaws.”<sup>99</sup> Even earlier, Balzac had detected this virility and the foolishness of slang and asserted descriptively: “A man should choose his words at least as carefully as he chooses his clothes.”<sup>100</sup> The general scholarly

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<sup>97</sup> The success is evident in the fact that 17,000 copies were sold immediately and the second edition was issued just one year later.

<sup>98</sup> Sala 75.

<sup>99</sup> Burke 38. *Harper's Monthly Magazine* 87 (1893): 304-312. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>100</sup> *Ibid* 38.

opinion was that the growth of slang meant the decay of language and that slang is of very modern date. In 1888, *The Family Herald* showed the nature of slang and its dangerous influence on society by stating that “Ignorance uses slang, because ignorance copies Idleness which is parent of synonym.”<sup>101</sup> The history of slang was briefly outlined in this article, and a great many well-chosen slang words of the Victorian era were given. The compiler designated the eighteenth century as “the century of the gallows” that gave us much of our criminal slang. Accordingly, Ambrose Bierce saw slang in a negative light and stated his opinion on slang in his article “Some Sober Words on Slang.”<sup>102</sup> Bierce remonstrated against slang and took a swing at George Ade’s and Wallace Irwin’s works: “Slang has many hateful qualities as a dog has bad habits, but its essential vice is its hideous lack of originality, for until a word or phrase is common property it is not slang.”

In reality, originality in creating slang is not essential, but the psychological factors involved in the creation and use of slang locutions are highly important, for after all slang is fundamentally a state of mind, a manifestation of man’s inherited sense of humor and satire. Robert Louis Stevenson, Scottish novelist, poet, and essayist, said that “all speech, written or spoken, is a dead language, until it finds a willing and prepared hearer.”<sup>103</sup> Walt Whitman retorted that “Slang ... is the wholesome fermentation or eructation of those processes eternally active in language, by which froth and specks are thrown up, mostly to pass away, though

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<sup>101</sup> Burke 34. *The Family Herald* 61 (1888): 333-334. qtd. in Burke. In *Death in the Afternoon*, Ernest Hemingway asserts that “all our words from loose using have lost their edge.” Carl Sandburg retorts that “Slang is a language that rolls up its sleeves, spits on its hands and goes to work.”

<sup>102</sup> Burke 36. *Cosmopolitan Magazine* 43 (1907): 335. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>103</sup> Stevenson, Robert Louis, Edmund Gosse, and Sir Leslie Stephen. *The Works of Robert Louis Stevenson: Essays and Reviews*. NY: The Davos Press, 1906.

occasionally to settle and permanently crystallize.<sup>104</sup> If we take Whitman's account seriously, we can assume that probably a great number of our vital words were once slang; thus, it would be hard to explain their etymologies if it were not for early slang dictionaries.

In defense of slang, *Saturday Review* published the essay "The Philosophy of Slang" which asserted that "The essence of slang is that it embodies the instinct of familiarity precisely in the same way as does a nickname when applied to a person...it is by no means confined to the rude and humbler classes. It is murmured in Mayfair as well as shouted in Whitechapel."<sup>105</sup> This article suggested a positive trait of slang phrases which is often left unmentioned. Even Sir Walter Alexander Raleigh made a distinction between good slang and bad slang in his book *Style*.<sup>106</sup> He distinguished though between technical slang—the slang words peculiar to the politician, the writer, the artist, the sportsman, the criminal, the man of streets, etc.—and other kinds of slang. Furthermore, in *A Word of Slang*, Eliza Cook stated that "it is a mistake to suppose that slang is allied to 'vulgarity' only."<sup>107</sup> She listed some ballroom, technical, legal, medical, and political slang and emphasized its values, while Thomas Trollope, in *What I Remember*, spoke of the slang in his youth, also to differentiate between slang which is vulgar and that which is not.<sup>108</sup> According to S. I. Hayakawa, who did not recognize the flaws of substandard speech, the "good" and only existing slang is the poetry of everyday life.<sup>109</sup> Similarly, G. K. Chesterton added that "All slang is metaphor, and all metaphor is poetry," while

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<sup>104</sup> Burke 32. *Slang in America*, 1892. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>105</sup> Burke 38. "The Philosophy of Slang." *Saturday Review* 88 (1899): 226-227. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>106</sup> Raleigh, Sir Walter Alexander. *Style*. London: Edward Arnold, 1897. 27-32.

<sup>107</sup> Cook, Eliza. *A Word of Slang*. London, 1849. 138.

<sup>108</sup> Trollope, Thomas. *What I Remember*. London: Bentley and Son, 1887. 50-52.

<sup>109</sup> Burke 20. *Language in Action* qtd. in Burke.

George Philip Krapp thought that “Slang is a necessary element in the freshening of language, but it is almost always more expressive than the situation demands.”<sup>110</sup>

Indisputably, though, slang keeps a language fresh and flexible. It brings new blood to a language which is eternally threatened with over-refinement. Referring to these strict language rules and the over-sophistication of language, Harry Peck asserted that “It is a national superstition with us that ‘the dictionary’ came down from heaven, and that it contains all that is necessary to our linguistics salvation, when supplemented by the cut-and-dried pronouncements of a grave grammarian.”<sup>111</sup> The truth is, he argues, that the truly enlightened person uses language with carelessness, but it is a masterly carelessness that always keeps within the limits of good taste. The speech employed in the Victorian era is frequently colloquial, but not vulgarly colloquial. It draws freely upon slang, yet always upon a slang which a gentleman can use. It is, indeed, in the various uses of slang that the little touches become very subtle and that the positive values and implications of slang overcome its deficiencies.

#### *Hotten as a Lexicographer: Different Uses of Slang in the Nineteenth Century*

Drawing upon these controversial views, Hotten compiled his dictionary in the belief that slang is worthy of serious study, that slang has an important function to perform, and that philologists cannot afford to neglect a field of investigation so rich in material and so close at hand. Since slang was an inevitable feature of Victorian life, Hotten considered the social, political, literary, and linguistic implications of slang, and he documented it in his most valued work—*The Dictionary of Modern Slang*.<sup>112</sup> And there was no better candidate at that time to record and study the history of slang than an author and a publisher who encountered

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<sup>110</sup> Ibid 21. *The Defendant*, 1901. qtd. in Burke.

<sup>111</sup> In his “What is good English and Other Essays” originally published in *The Bookman*. New York, 1898. 125-130.

<sup>112</sup> Titles *The Dictionary of Modern Slang* and *The Slang Dictionary* are used in this text.

substandard speech on a daily basis. From the time that Hotten had opened his bookshop and what was to become his publishing house in 1856, he issued numerous works between 1857 and 1873. While preparing them for the press, Hotten became interested in a wide range of subjects and acquainted himself with many implications of slang and other marginalized language.

In 1870, Hotten published *Charles Dickens: The Story of His Life* anonymously. While researching his life and works, Hotten recognized that Dickens placed many slang and cant phrases in the mouths of his characters in an attempt to present a lower class British speech. The use of slang and dialects is an extremely important literary choice in narrative and playwriting since characters are defined primarily by their language, which in turn identifies them as members of specific geographical, social, economic, and political communities. “Slang,” as an informal linguistic variety used by a specific social group, “seems to fall into the category of social dialect or sociolect.”<sup>113</sup> In *Oliver Twist* the two Bow Street Runners, Blather and Duff, who are sent to investigate the burglary at Mrs. Maylie’s, speak a distinctive dialect, with a plentiful mixture of cant. Dickens used cant to introduce the language of the underworld and nineteenth-century thieves, and Hotten diligently recorded Dickens’s findings in his reference work. Similar to other Victorian writers, Dickens realized that substandard speech, rich in catch-phrases, offers a wider range of ways of expressing social and economic differences, and he made an attempt to present those differences through the language in which characters speak. Squeers, a schoolteacher in *Nicholas Nickleby*, has many different styles of language, suitable for many different occasions. When he is alone with the boys, he uses the direct and unambiguous language of the bully. Upon the entrance of a parent whom he wishes to impress, he switches to a

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<sup>113</sup> Perteghella, Manuela. “Language and Politics on the Stage: Strategies for Translating Dialect and Slang with References to Shaw’s *Pygmalion* and Bond’s *Saved*.” *Translation Review* 64 (2002): 45-53.

style of “benevolent admonition.”<sup>114</sup> Squeers’s constant use of vulgarisms helps to emphasize his unfitness to be a schoolmaster, while the failure of Oliver Twist to pick up even the smallest vulgarisms from the low-life characters with whom he comes into contact reflects the author’s belief that he is unsullied by his environment. This common practice to use substandard language to reveal characters’ social, economic, and political background was recognized early by Dickens and Hotten and remained accepted well into the twentieth century. For example, *Pygmalion*, George Bernard Shaw’s immensely popular play, written in 1914 and later adapted as a successful musical, *My Fair Lady*, displays the complicated relations between classes and the social contradictions arising from these multifaceted interactions, especially regarding their different ways of speaking. In Shaw’s *Pygmalion* (1914) and in Edward Bond’s *Saved* (1965), Cockney is perceived as both a social and regional dialect spoken by the lower classes in a specific urban area of London. “A Cockney originally meant someone born and spending all his or her life in London, traditionally within the sound of Bow Bells.”<sup>115</sup>

Besides being concerned with the social and economic implications of cant, Hotten was also interested in the origins of slang words and phrases. He was only twenty-seven in 1860 when his interest in etymology led Hotten to translate the *Liber Vagatorum: the Book of Vagabonds and Beggars* (originally edited by Martin Luther in 1528) from the German. The *Liber Vagatorum* first appeared in 1509 and ran through some eighteen editions before Martin Luther wrote a preface for it in 1528, so in 1860 *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars with a Vocabulary of their Language and a preface by Martin Luther...now first translated into English with introduction and notes by J.C. Hotten* came as no surprise. Hotten was also working at that time on his famous *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*, so the chance of

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<sup>114</sup> Brook, G. L. *The Language of Dickens*. London: Andre Deutsch, 1970. 92.

<sup>115</sup> Wright, Peter. *Cockney: Dialect and Slang*. London: B.T. Batsford, 1981. 11.

editing in his stride the vocabulary of German cant words must have been a tremendous attraction. At that time, however, there was still no work that did for German what the combined labors of Grose, Hotten, and Henley and Farmer—not to speak of the *New Oxford Dictionary*—had achieved in the lexicography of the less respectable portions of the English language. *Liber Vagatorum* was translated into Dutch (1613), English (1860) and French (1862). The book contains 345 entries of cant and vulgar words which is considerably less than any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century English glossary contains, but it represents a comprehensive work for sixteenth-century German lexicography. In this preface, John Camden Hotten, asserted that in translating it, he had endeavored as much as possible to preserve the spirit and peculiarities of the original. He acknowledged his source and confirmed that he was indebted to the long notice given to the *Liber Vagatorum*, which occurred in the article “Wiemarisches Jahrbuch,” the only one written on the “little book.”<sup>116</sup> And Hotten also apologized for the occasional “use of plain spoken, not to say coarse, words but the nature of the subject would not admit of their being softened.”<sup>117</sup> The importance of truthful presentation and the inclusion of all vulgar words known at the time inspired Hotten to publish and continue to revise his language reference work—*The Slang Dictionary*.

Hotten furthered his interest in colloquialism and dialects with his other publications. For example, his edition of *Dictionary of the Oldest Words in the English Language, covering the vocabulary from the “semi-Saxon Period of A.D. 1250 to 1300; consisting of an Alphabetical Inventory of Every Word found in the printed English Literature of the 13<sup>th</sup> Century, by the late*

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<sup>116</sup> *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, (Liber Vagatorum: Der Better Orden,)* with a vocabulary of their Language, (*Rotwelsche Sprach;*) edited, with preface, by Martin Luther, in the year 1528. Now first Translated into English, with Notes, by John Camden Hotten; 4to, with woodcuts. 1859.

<sup>117</sup> *Ibid* iv.

*Herbert Coleridge, Secretary to the Philological Society*” is marked as an invaluable work to students interested in historical or linguistic pursuits. In addition, Hotten had satisfied his genuine interest in lexicography and etymology by publishing *Romany in Europe: A Complete History of the Gypsies since their first appearance among the Nations of the West. With Notices of their Customs, Language, the various Laws enacted, &c., and the Books relating to them By William Pinkerton*. In one small volume he published, with permission of Prince Lucien Bonaparte, *Song of Solomon, in the North-Derbyshire Dialect* and for the first time treated North-Derbyshire Dialect. Later in 1867, *School and College Slang of England; or, Glossaries of the Words and Phrases peculiar to the Six great Educational Establishments of the Country* as well as *Glossary of all the Words, Phrases, Customs, Peculiar to Winchester College* came out of the press of Hotten’s publishing house, showing his developing interest in university and college slang.

Hotten’s concentration on the vernacular can also be noted in his publication of *Life in London; or The Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn and Corinthian Tom* by Pierce Egan. While working on this book, Hotten became increasingly curious about street language, sporting terms, and pugilistic lingo. Egan’s *Life in London* (1821) was the best picture of society in the days when George the Fourth was king. As an editor of the new sporting-paper, he employed peculiar phraseology and pugilistic terms in his book. Forty-eight years later, in 1869, John Camden Hotten edited a new edition of Egan’s book and appended an Introduction and Notes to the previous edition. Just as Egan wanted to show a realistic picture of his time, Hotten wanted to emphasize its value as a true picture of life fifty years later. Hotten was interested not only in historical literature but the history of language as well. Working on Egan’s book, which was fraught with unusual contemporary terminology, might have served as an additional source in the



compilation of the latter editions of his *Slang Dictionary*. Referring to the fact that both of them had collected the slang and flash words of their age and recorded them in their books, Hotten wrote: “To those venerable noodles who complain that I and my prototype, Pierce, have made this age of *flash*, I answer, any age is better than *The Age of Cant*.”<sup>118</sup>

The popularity of slang and marginalized language reached its peak in the nineteenth century and since Egan’s book became popular instantaneously, many books with the same or a similar topic came out in the next few years. One of the biggest of Egan’s rivals was John Badcock who before publishing *Real Life in London* compiled what was then termed a *Flash Dictionary*—that is, a dictionary of vulgar or slang words. Hotten must have encountered Badcock’s books while working on the edition of Egan’s *Life in London*. In his *Slang Dictionary*, Hotten gives a comprehensive and detailed bibliography of the works he consulted, and among them is Jonathan Bee’s *The Dictionary of Turf, the Ring, the Chase* (1823). It is now well-known that Badcock wrote under various names and that his preferred pseudonym was Jonathan Bee. His other two books are also important for this discussion, and they were both published in 1828: *A Living Picture of London* and *Stranger’s Guide through the Streets of Metropolis*. Hotten collected the slang and flash words previously employed in these books. Badcock’s style contains a trifle fewer of those charming words of the ring and the stable which characterize the conversations in Pierce Egan’s books but his vocabulary is still useful for the accurate representation of early nineteenth-century England.

On the other hand, through the publications of various works of American authors, Hotten became familiar with many substandard terms and Americanisms which he later used in the compilation of his dictionary. Both Walt Whitman and Mark Twain, Hotten’s contemporaries

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<sup>118</sup> Egan, Pierce. *Life in London*, 2 vols. thick 8vo, with coloured plates by Geo. Cruikshank, representing high and low life. Edited by John Camden Hotten, 1869. 15.

and business acquaintances, employed slang in their works.<sup>119</sup> Many historians share the opinion that Whitman's *Leaves of Grass* did more to freshen the English language than any other single work issued in the latter half of the nineteenth century. On account of the wide influence he had on later writers, anything Whitman had to say about slang was important historically. "Slang," he asserted, "profoundly considered is the lawless germinal element, below all words and sentences, and behind all poetry, and proves a certain freedom and perennial rankness and Protestantism in speech....Such is slang, or indirection, an attempt of common humanity to escape from bald literalism, and express itself illimitably."<sup>120</sup> While the freedom of language Whitman advocated may since been carried to excess, Hotten and his printing house were solely responsible for introducing Whitman to England to further enrich the English language.

Hotten's concern with the American language and the differences between the British and American pronunciation must be mentioned here to depict Hotten's increasing awareness of linguistic and language changes. Hotten's interests in the American language and literature began no doubt during the period he spent in the United States, from 1848 to 1856. It was, however, in editing and publishing a book of humor, James Russell Lowell's *The Biglow Papers* (1864), that he became intensely involved in the study of these differences.

Contributing greatly to linguistic knowledge, Hotten added extensive notes on the dialectal and linguistic changes in the preface of *The Biglow Papers*, dated 25 October 1859. He stated that James Russell Lowell was the first to attempt to emulate the true Yankee accent in the dialogue of his characters. This depiction of the dialect was in fact an inspiration to many writers, and since Hotten had already shown his genuine curiosity about vernaculars, it is

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<sup>119</sup> Howard, Leon. "Walt Whitman and the American Language." *American Speech* 5 (1930): 441-451.

<sup>120</sup> Whitman, Walt. "Slang in America." *The North American Review* 141 (1885): 431-435.

possible that he found in Lowell a threefold confluence of his own interests. In detail, Hotten first explains to his readers the “Yankee dialect.” Not only does he lay down seven general rules for the reader’s guidance, mostly concerning the pronunciation of New England’s words, Hotten also comprehensively describes the acquisition and changes of the language in America. He states that

First, it may be premised in a general way, any one much read in the writings of the early colonist need to be told that far greater share of the words and phrases now esteemed peculiar to New England, and local there, were brought from the mother-country. A person familiar with the dialect of certain portions of Massachusetts will not fail to recognize, in ordinary discourse, many words now noted in English vocabularies as archaic, the greater part of which were in common use about the time of the King James translation of the Bible.<sup>121</sup>

Hotten further asserts that Shakespeare stands less in need of a glossary to most New Englanders than to many native of the Old Country. Indeed, whenever a language is alive, it grows, and Hotten was well aware of it. In reviewing the British publication of Lowell’s book, it also became evident that Hotten was fascinated with peculiar non-standard words, American colloquialisms, and obscene archaisms.

As a publisher, Hotten was at an advantage, and he was able to choose what would be published and what would become popular. As a person in charge, Hotten preferred to circulate historical fiction full of vernacular language. As an opportunist, he took advantage of his position and published a few questionable works of pornography. And as a person ahead of his time, he published American poetry filled with questionable language and slang that later

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<sup>121</sup> Lowell, James Russell. *The Biglow Papers*. John Camden Hotten, 1864. 12.

provoked changes in the English language. As a result, Hotten shaped the public perceptions of which literature and type of language were acceptable. And finally, as an answer to Sala's request to legitimize slang, Hotten compiled the most comprehensive dictionary of slang at that time. By inserting slang in the most commonly used reference work, a dictionary, Hotten gave slang respectability.

Two years before the publication of his *Slang Dictionary*, Hotten had advertised the book under a working title in two volumes: *Dictionary of Colloquial English; the Words and Phrases in current use, commonly called 'Slang' and 'Vulgar:' their Origin and Etymology traced, and their use illustrated by examples drawn from the genteelest Authors*. Certainly, this work comprised the well-known *Slang Dictionary* and presented to the reader for the first time a slang lexicography with extracts from "English Printed Literature" to illustrate the actual use of each expression. The book was an immediate success. This volume presented to the world of English scholarship a work of the greatest value. In many of its sub-headings and annotations, the bibliography provided material on which one might proceed to follow out lines of investigation. It is quite certain that Hotten's work remained authoritative for nearly fifty years and still holds an important place in slang lexicography.

### ***Present Status of the Question***

There has been remarkably little work in historical lexicography in the past. The single best piece of scholarship on early slang is Starnes and Noyes's work *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson* published in 1946. Although this study goes back no further than 1755, it does have something to say about the sixteenth- and seventeenth-century precursors of Hotten's 1859 dictionary. Starnes and Noyes trace the beginnings of the cant dictionary, describe and compare some early specimens, and indicate "the slow advance in

lexicographical technique up to the publication of Grose's superior dictionary, which ushered in a new period and new standards for cant lexicography."<sup>122</sup>

William Jeremiah Burke's *The Literature of Slang* is a vast annotated bibliography of slang, cant, and dialect first published in 1939.<sup>123</sup> This is the single best bibliographical work on all the glossaries, word lists, dictionaries of non-standard English, and reviews of such ever written and was used significantly as a reference work in compiling this research.

Burke's work in the field of cant (the language of the underworld) was labor-intensive, and he has done invaluable work in two branches of American linguistics: dialect and Americanisms. His *Literature of Slang* also includes an introductory note from Eric Partridge, the most popular twentieth-century slang lexicographer, who additionally supports positive reviews of Hotten's innovative dictionary of slang. The stories of the developments of English slang and of English non-standard dictionaries, of attempts at the reform of English spelling, of the history of Early English studies, and many other themes might be traced in this volume. This is a reference book of inestimable value to all those persons who wish to obtain information on any aspect of the English and American language.<sup>124</sup> Eric Partridge praises Burke's work saying:

"Lexicographers have been called the hod-carriers of scholarship; bibliographers, the hangers-on of literature. Burke has proved, once for all, the gross libellousness of that epigram—insofar, at least, as it affects bibliographers. He richly adorns that select band of unpublicized martyrs."<sup>125</sup>

Without Burke's invaluable book, many contemporaneous reviews of Hotten's dictionary would not be verifiable for this research.

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<sup>122</sup> Starnes, De Witt T., and Gertrude E. Noyes. *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson 1604-1755*. New York: U of North Carolina P, 1946. 212.

<sup>123</sup> See *The Literature of Slang* by William Jeremiah Burke. With an Introductory Note by Eric Partridge. New York: The New York Public Library, 1939.

<sup>124</sup> *Ibid* vi.

<sup>125</sup> *Ibid* vi.

For example, Burke recorded that in 1864, Emile Daurand Forgues reviewed Hotten's dictionary in his article "La Langue du monde excentrique en Angleterre." He asserted that "this was one of the earliest and ablest of the attempts to make the copious slang of English-speaking world intelligible to Frenchmen."<sup>126</sup> In 1874, Sir Edward Burnett Tylor wrote a well informed article on the etymology of slang terms based on a close study of Grose, Hotten, Bartlett, Halliwell, and Hoppe. "The Philology of Slang" that was published in *MacMillan's Magazine* included a few typical examples out of the multitude of slang words in the published vocabularies and treated them etymologically in groups so as to display in each group a philosophical principle, or the operation of common cause.<sup>127</sup> Such methodology provided the framework for the critical samples of Hotten's dictionary.

Recently, a great interest in nineteenth-century slang has arisen. Christopher Stray's *English Slang in the Nineteenth Century* (2002) is a collection of eight reprinted works on nineteenth-century English slang that provides a conspectus of the wide range of such dictionaries produced in the heyday of slang lexicography. This is a collection that demonstrates a mixture of seriousness and humor in its celebration of the non-standard and eccentric aspects of the English language and its localized users. Stray's work is an invaluable resource for my study since chronologically in the middle of these eight texts are two famous lexicographical works by Hotten (a reprint of the 1874 edition) and by Grose (reprint of the 1811 edition). Both are set out alphabetically with short explanations, and Hotten's edition is praised for providing more etymological detail. These two works edited by Stray provide an important supplement to the

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<sup>126</sup> Burke 47. Forgues, E. D. "La Langue du Monde Excentrique en Angleterre." *Revue des Deux Mondes* 53 (1864): 462-481. qtd in Burke.

<sup>127</sup> "The Philology of Slang" was published in *MacMillan's Magazine* 29 (1874): 502-513.

*Oxford English Dictionary*'s massive account of Standard English and to John Farmer's and Joseph Wright's two large dictionaries of slang and dialect.

Jonathon Green is the leading authority on slang in England, as well as a world-renowned lexicographer. His most recent publication is the *Cassell Dictionary of Slang*, recognized as the definitive study of the subject. This work is comprehensive, including 70,000 entries. It covers the recorded lexicon of English slang from the Elizabethan period to the present day. It includes rhyming slang, street slang, idioms, colloquialisms, and even some Standard English terms where these have arisen out of slang. However, Green has also left out much occupational jargon, the now obsolete military slang of the two World Wars, and the equally defunct or obscure public school slang.

In addition, in 1996, he published *Chasing the Sun: Dictionary Makers and the Dictionaries They Made*. This immensely readable history of lexicography traces its story from the first lexicon created in pre-Babylonian Sumeria to the pinnacle of the *Oxford English Dictionary* and today's digital successors of that great masterwork. Throughout, the lives of the lexicographers themselves are told, revealing their obsessions with words and languages. Even though the word lexicographer enters from the Greek into the English language in 1658, people were making dictionaries even before then. Green devotes two chapters of his book to what he calls the first and most important dictionaries ever made—slang dictionaries. “Slang: Part I” focuses on eighteenth-century slang dictionaries and their predecessors, whereas “Slang: Part II” analyzes nineteenth-century dictionaries of the vulgar tongue, emphasizing the importance of Hotten's publications.

Lynda Mugglestone, of Pembroke College, Oxford, wrote two important works of historical lexicography: *Lexicography and the OED* (2002) and *Lost for Words: The Hidden*

*History of the OED* (2005). Both works examine the hidden history by which the great dictionary came into being, tracing—through letters and archives—the personal battles of lexicographers involved in charting a constantly changing language. The task of the dictionary was to bear full and impartial witness to the language it recorded. But behind the immaculate typography of the finished text, the proofs tell a very different story. This vast archive, unexamined until now, reveals the arguments and controversies over meanings, definitions, pronunciation, and which words and senses were acceptable—and which were not.

Mugglestone's work is invaluable for this study since it clarifies that lexicographers then, as well as now, reveal themselves vulnerable to the prejudices of their own linguistic preferences and to the influences of contemporary social history.

Finally, in 2004, Julie Coleman proposed to write four volumes of a complete history of the recording of English cant and slang—the jargon of sport, trade, and crime—which will give unparalleled insight into the history of slang. So far, she has written and published three volumes of *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries*. The first volume is an exploration of the slang and cant word-lists first published between 1567 and 1784. It considers their historical and textual contexts, as well as their contents, and determines on rather slim evidence how far those contents are to be relied upon. The second volume considers slang and cant words first published between 1785 and 1858 and some later derivative works. Coleman's comprehensive critical research on slang dictionaries from 1859 onward was issued in 2009. Since Coleman is focusing on numerous lexicographers and dictionaries, she does not perform an exhaustive study on Hotten as this work does. While this study focuses on a detailed analysis of Hotten's work, Coleman's history provides a useful overview and a complement to the findings presented here.



### *Conclusion*

As Julie Coleman puts it, “Hotten’s dictionary is, in many ways, in a class of its own.” He attempted to do for the nineteenth century what Grose had done for the eighteenth: to summarize the history of cant and slang to date, and to provide an account of contemporary non-standard usage. Hotten always wanted “to produce a book which, in its way, would be as useful to students of philology, as well as to lovers of human nature in all its phases, as any standard work in the English language.”<sup>128</sup> In fact, in the introduction of his work, Hotten asserts that his main goal is to produce “a bigger and better” dictionary. As a publisher, Hotten had a tendency to include a great number of words to augment his subsequent editions in order to sell them faster and profit from the sale, but as a lexicographer, he was discriminating in the selection of these words and studied them diligently before their inclusion, thus making his compilation “better” than the earlier dictionaries of cant and slang. John Camden Hotten was a publisher as well as a lexicographer; he could not be one without the other—like the two sides of the same coin. While Hotten’s inclination to perform linguistic research and become a reputable lexicographer is studied only in part in this chapter, the following chapter examines in detail his role as a compiler and the importance of his *Slang Dictionary* in the evolution of dictionary making.

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<sup>128</sup> Editor of the fifth edition of *The Slang Dictionary*.

## CHAPTER IV

## HOTTEN'S CONTRIBUTIONS TO THE DEVELOPMENT OF LEXICOGRAPHY

*Survey of the Research*

This chapter analyzes in depth the historical, descriptive, and linguistic aspects of Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang*. By researching historical lexicography, I demonstrate how dictionaries are related to each other—addressing not only which earlier glossaries Hotten used, but also how he used them—and thus I identify distinctive features of *The Slang Dictionary*'s content and methodology. By comparing Hotten's entries to his sources and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, I determine how reliable *The Slang Dictionary* is as a witness of contemporary cant and slang. By analyzing the number of editions that exist, the popularity of the specific edition, and how many words are included or excluded, I detail the descriptive and quantitative aspects of dictionary making. In order to better understand Hotten's role and interest in linguistic matters, differences in spelling, vowel shifts, and parts of speech are analyzed as well.

First, I collate the first edition (1859) against the second (1860), which includes 2000 known additions of lingua franca; then the third (1864) against the second which, according to Hotten, differs in 5,000 words that include better illustrations and new street phrases. The fourth edition (1872) will be excluded here since there is no difference in the number of entries or the pagination in comparison with the third edition. Except for some changes in the order of entries, the 1872 edition is the same as the 1864 edition and is essentially a reprint. The next edition, printed the following year in 1873, has many additions and is published with a new editorial note suggesting that it is the first edition published after Hotten's death by Chatto and Windus. The

first segment of this comparative study anticipates considerable evidence of deleted words (either as obsolete or unsuitable for inclusion) and added words (including both old words that had escaped attention before and new words). These additions and deletions observed in the various editions further serve to provide evidence of the demise of certain already old-fashioned terms and of the advent of newly-fashionable terms associated with back, center, court, fashion, and rhyming slang.

Second, after a meticulous comparison of all three editions and entry definitions and spellings, I have traced the etymologies of these words to be found in other dictionaries that preceded Hotten's compilation, namely B.E.'s *A New Canting Dictionary* (a1700), Vaux's *Canting Dictionary* (1812), and Francis Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785). The comparison of Hotten's entries with those of his predecessors is intended to answer the questions proposed below and to explain why Hotten's work was so successful that he needed 17,000 prints of the first edition in 1859 and an additional three editions in the following ten years. Through the examination of his theoretical conceptions and methods of word inclusion, this study shows how Hotten was critical of Grose, Vaux, and other early lexicographers and why and how his work differs from other slang dictionaries.

Third, after cross-examining these words with Hotten's precursors, I study in detail the etymologies of the selected entries in the third edition by using different search engines, among which is the *Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED)*. Each entry is further compared with the same entry in the slang dictionaries compiled and published after 1864, namely Barrère and Leland's *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant, 2 vols.* (1889-90), Farmer and Henley's *Slang and Its Analogues, 7 vols.* (1890-1904), and Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937). By following the distribution of the

selected words in the sixteenth-, seventeenth-, eighteenth-, nineteenth-, and twentieth-century cant dictionaries and by investigating their etymologies, I have reached the conclusions that are laid out in Appendix A and present a sample of the critical edition of Hotten's dictionary based on the entries under *G* and *T*.

### ***Research Question I: A Comparative Analysis of the Three Editions***

#### **Introduction**

The first research question focuses on an in-depth analysis of Hotten's dictionary and also charts the growth of the dictionary through the four editions supervised by Hotten himself. The first edition of Hotten's dictionary published in 1859 proved to be very popular among the public. Since the first rule of commercial lexicography is that the bigger the dictionary is the more informative, the more authoritative, and the better value it seems, Hotten updated his word lists and published new editions in 1860, 1864, and 1872. Only the first four editions are presented here with full bibliographical titles which descriptively explain the content of his dictionaries. According to Hotten's testimony, the first edition contains approximately 3,000 words, the second 5,000, and the third and fourth around 10,000 slang words and phrases.

#### *First Edition*

*A Dictionary of modern slang, cant, and vulgar words, used at present day in the streets of London; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the houses of Parliament; the dens of St. Giles; and the palaces of St. James. Preceded by a history of cant and vulgar language from the time of Henry VIII; shewing its connection with the gypsey tongue; with glossaries of two secret languages, spoken by the wandering tribes of London, the costermongers, and the patterers. By a*

London antiquary [John Camden Hotten]... London: John Camden Hotten, antiquarian bookseller, Piccadilly, 1859. 160 pages.

This first edition includes the history of cant, or the secret language of vagabonds, p. i-xlvi; the history of slang, or the vulgar language of fast life, p. xlix-lxxxvi; a dictionary of modern slang, cant, and vulgar words, many with their etymologies traced, p. 1-118; some account of back slang, the secret language of costermongers, p. 119-124; a glossary of back slang, p. 125-131; some account of rhyming slang, the secret language of chaunters and patterers, p. 133-139; a glossary of rhyming slang, p. 141-146; the bibliography of slang, cant and vulgar language; and a list of the books which had been consulted in compiling this work, comprising nearly every known treatise upon the subject, p. 147-160.

The dictionary contains 2,030 imperfectly alphabetized headwords/entries. This is rather fewer than the 3,000 Hotten claims, even allowing for three further glossaries: 'The Costermongers' Terms for Money' (22 headwords), 'Back Slang' (152 headwords), and 'Rhyming Slang' (140 headwords).

### *Second Edition*

*A Dictionary of modern slang, cant, and vulgar words, used at present day in the streets of London; the universities of Oxford and Cambridge; the houses of Parliament; the dens of St. Giles; and the palaces of St. James. Preceded by a history of cant and vulgar language from the time of Henry VIII; shewing its connection with the gypsey tongue; with glossaries of two secret languages, spoken by the wandering tribes of London, the costermongers, and the patterers.* By a London antiquary [John Camden Hotten]... Second edition, revised, with two thousand

additional words. London: John Camden Hotten, antiquarian bookseller, Piccadilly, 1860. 300 p.

12°

This second edition is certainly larger than the first, but not quite as extensive as Hotten suggests. The main list contains 2,750 headwords, with supplementary lists of back slang (150 headwords) and rhyming slang (144 headwords). The list of costermongers' terms for money is incorporated into the back slang glossary, which already contained most of the terms, and a glossary to a cant letter is added (18 headwords). Overall this represents a 35.47 percent increase in entries. The most important source is the first edition, from which about two-thirds of the main list is derived, but Hotten also returned to all of his original sources for a handful of new entries.

### *Third Edition*

*The Slang Dictionary; or, The vulgar words, street phrases, and "fast" expressions of high and low society. Many with their etymology, and few with their history traced... [Drawing of the "Wedge" and the "Wooden spoon."]*... Third edition. London: John Camden Hotten, Piccadilly, 1864. 305 p. 12°

The 1864 edition is another extensive revision of the dictionary. The main list contains 3,880 headwords published on 305 pages, representing an increase of 41.09 percent. Compared to the 2,030 entries in the first edition, these 3880 headwords represent a 91.13 percent increase. The three supplementary word lists are reduced slightly in size, to 309 headwords; the bibliography is the same with the exception of one item. In this edition, Hotten set 380 headwords in the main list apart by placing them at the bottom of the page; 82 % of these are from the previous edition. In comparison with other entries carried over from the last edition, the footnoted entries are significantly less likely to contain etymologies, examples of use, cited

authorities, cross-references, proverbs, pronunciation guidance, anecdotes, or semantically related terms. Most of them are labeled ancient cant and prison terms. No explanation is provided for their separation from the main word list, but perhaps Hotten was beginning to doubt his earlier editorial practices and now considered these to be marginal since only a few of them appear in Pierce Egan's 1823 edition of Grose's *Classical Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue*. Julie Coleman suggests that it is also possible that Hotten singled these entries out in order to encourage his readers to provide additional evidence.

#### *Fourth Edition*

*The slang dictionary, etymological, historical and anecdotal. A new edition, revised and corrected, with many additions. [Drawing of the "Wedge" and the "Wooden spoon."]* London: Chatto and Windus, publishers and successors to John Camden Hotten, 1872. 305 p. 12°

The bibliography is the same as in the 1864 edition. The fourth edition contains the same number of entries as the third edition, and the pagination of the dictionary part is identical. However, this edition lists in alphabetical order those 380 headwords that were placed at the bottom of the page in the third edition. Their definitions stay the same, which further suggests that Hotten did not change his earlier edition.

Even though in his *Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937), Eric Partridge lists five editions of the work originally published by Hotten himself (those issued in 1859, 1860, 1864, 1872, and 1874), I have reason to believe that the fourth edition is the last edition printed under Hotten's supervision. The two latter editions, 1872 and 1874, have raised multiple questions among recent lexicographers, and some cite John Camden Hotten as the editor of both. The fact is, however, that no editor's name appears in any edition. The prefaces of the

first and the second edition are dated 30 June 1859 and 15 March 1860, respectively, while both the third and the fourth edition include the same preface dated 1 June 1864, suggesting that the 1872 edition is nothing other than Hotten's reprint of the third edition. On the other hand, the 1874 "new edition," which was published by Chatto & Windus and renamed *The Slang Dictionary*, includes the "Preface to the Reprinted Edition" dated 20 December 1873. Since this new edition also does not state the name of the editor and Hotten died on 14 June 1873, it is likely that a new editor, Hotten's disciple Andrew Chatto, brought his predecessor's plans of an enlarged and emended dictionary to fruition and not Hotten himself.

The supporting evidence for my thesis includes the number of words added to the fifth edition. While the third and the fourth editions take account of almost the same number of entries, in Partridge's words, "the fifth edition" contains extensive additions. The 1874 edition adds a very considerable body of new information and examples to the explanatory sections but also comments significantly on changes and developments which have taken place since earlier publications. On page 347, the unknown editor points out that back slang is no longer either secret or difficult, and he adds details of back slang found in other languages. Most importantly, he includes a section on "center slang" and additional details on beggar's marks and mendicant hieroglyphs which were not considered in Hotten's earlier editions.

While, for my study, the third edition (1864) is considered the last and most important of those which Hotten himself revised and the fourth edition (1872) is nonetheless a reprint of the third edition, the comparative study of the third edition with the fifth edition of *The Slang Dictionary* (1874), published under Chatto and Windus, would be highly valuable, if performed in the future, since this reference work serves not only as a record of slang usage in the



nineteenth century, but also as a means of tracing changes and developments which have taken place prior to and after Hotten.

### **Methodology**

In the attempt to perform comprehensive research and provide evidence of Hotten's contributions, four alphabet letters that include a great number of English slang words, *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T*, were chosen selectively as the representatives of each dictionary quartile for this research.

Every dictionary can be divided into four quartiles, each including almost the same number of words of the English language. The first quartile includes the words under letters *A*, *B*, *C*, and *D*. The second quartile consists of words with initial letters *E*, *F*, *G*, *H*, *I*, *J*, *K*, and *L*. First letters of the words that are listed in the third quartile are *M*, *N*, *O*, *P*, *Q*, and *R*. The fourth quartile includes the words and phrases that start with eight letters, the same number of alphabet letters as the second quartile does: *S*, *T*, *U*, *V*, *W*, *X*, *Y*, and *Z*. Although these statistics are based on the standard dictionaries, it has been shown that in creating new words, people by analogy have tendencies to use sounds and phrases similar to standard language. It would not be unexpected to find that most of the slang words start with the letters of the alphabet that are most commonly in use in standard language as well (such as *B*, *C*, *G*, *P*, *T*, and *S*). Therefore, it is safe to assume that by selecting at least four initial letters for this research, a considerable number of slang words in Hotten's compilation will be analyzed (see Table 1).

**Table 1: Percentage of the Total Number of Entries**

Hotten's editions	1 <sup>st</sup> 1859	2 <sup>nd</sup> 1860	3 <sup>rd</sup> 1864
Total Number of Entries/headwords	2030	2750	3880
B	216	287	401
Percentages of the Total Number of Entries	10.64%	10.44%	10.34%
G	84	119	179
Percentages of the Total Number of Entries	4.14%	4.33%	4.61%
P	124	176	254
Percentages of the Total Number of Entries	6.11%	6.40%	6.55%
T	133	168	245
Percentages of the Total Number of Entries	6.55%	6.11%	6.31%
Percentage of the Total	27.44%	27.28%	27.81%

Table 1 shows the total number of entries listed under the chosen letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T* in three editions of Hotten's dictionary. The first edition includes 216 headwords under the letter *B* which represent 10.64 percent of the total number of entries in that edition (2030). The second edition records 287 entries under the letter *B* which now constitute 10.44 percent of the total number of entries (2,750). Consequently, 401 headwords under the letter *B* in the third and the fourth editions represent again 10.34 percent of the total number of entries (3,880). It is interesting that the increase of the total number of entries corresponds proportionally to the increase of the number of entries under a single letter (see Table 2). The second edition contains 287 headwords published under the letter *B*, representing an increase of 32.87 percent. The 401 entries listed under the letter *B* in the third edition show a 39.72 percent increase from the

number of entries in the second edition and an 85.65 percent increase from the number of entries in the first edition (216). Similarly, the increase in entries under letters *G*, *P*, and *T* corresponds to the increase of total number of entries (113.10%, 104.84%, and 84.21% respectively).

**Table 2: Increase in Entries through Three Editions Compiled by Hotten**

	1 <sup>st</sup> 1859 Number of Entries	2 <sup>nd</sup> 1860 Number of Entries	Increase in Entries	3 <sup>rd</sup> 1864 Number of Entries	Increase in Entries from the 2 <sup>nd</sup> Ed.	Increase in Entries from the 1 <sup>st</sup> Ed.
Total # of Entries	2030	2750	35.47%	3880	41.09%	91.13%
B	216	287	32.87%	401	39.72%	85.65%
G	84	119	41.67%	179	50.42%	113.10%
P	124	176	41.94%	254	44.32%	104.84%
T	133	168	26.32%	245	45.83%	84.21%

Nevertheless, the number of headwords under the chosen letters almost always represents a similar percentage of the total number of entries, no matter which edition is in question. As shown earlier in Table 1, headwords under the letter *B* constitute approximately 11 percent of the total number of entries in the dictionary, whereas headwords under the letter *G* make up roughly 5 percent, entries under *P* around 7 percent and those under *T* have the mean of 6.31 percent of the total number of entries in the dictionary. By analyzing these four selected letters, more than one quarter of the total number of entries (i.e. the summary of these words represents 27.81% of the total number of entries) will form the basis of my conclusions. The results identified here are valuable since by analogy the changes that we find within these 1,079 headwords are deemed to reflect the rest of the dictionary.

## Analysis and Results

### *A Comparison of the First (1859) Edition of Hotten's Slang Dictionary with the Second (1860)*

This was an exploratory review of the differences between the first two editions and an attempt to establish Hotten's methodology for augmenting the dictionary. Thus, only one letter was used in the review: entries under *B* are analyzed here. In the 1859 edition of John Camden Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*, 216 entries are discussed under the letter *B*. Just one year later Hotten added 83 entries under this letter, publishing 287 entries in the 1860 edition. Out of these entries in the second edition, 55 were slightly modified and 6 old ones were deleted. However, the difference in the number of entries is only 71. This discrepancy between the number of added entries (81) and the difference in the total number of entries between the two editions (71 and 83) is accounted for by Hotten's changed attitude towards the words that should or should not be included within separate entries. For example, six entries from 1859 edition (BLOWING UP and BLOW UP, BUZ "to pick pockets" and BUZ-FAKING "robbing," as well as BUZ-BLOAK "a pickpocket" and BUZ-NAPPER "a young pickpocket") are united as three entries in the 1860 edition. This can be explained by the fact that Hotten's intention was not just to add numerous entries in the second edition of the slang dictionary in order to raise the quantity of words, but, on the contrary, to improve his dictionary with a new and better organized series of entries. Accordingly, Hotten deliberately excludes six words that he believed were either not used as slang anymore or were used rarely and locally. For example, BLUFF "fierce, harsh but honest" and BLEST "old Popish vow" were already long-established expressions in 1860, whereas BIT "a little short time," BARRING "excepting," and BANSELL "to beat, to chastise" had their origin in the regional vocabularies—Northern speech, Hibernicism, and Stratford jargon, respectively. The entry BIT is taken from his later slang dictionaries because it became

widespread, such as “wait a bit.” The sixth entry, NOT WORTH A BEAN “little worth,” Hotten might have deleted for the simple reason that this idiom became absorbed into the colloquial standard speech.

On the other hand, the fact that Hotten slightly modifies 55 entries out of 287 further attests to his continued research and to his determination to improve the dictionary while raising numerous questions about his alterations. The changes noticed in these 55 entries are presented and discussed in the following four groups.

I. The first group includes entries which have been given more extensive and detailed etymologies. In these few entries, Hotten does not change explanations within the entries but adds accordingly (within brackets) the country of origin. There are eighteen of them: BACK OUT (term coming from the stables), BAMBOOZLE (Gypsy term), BAZAAR (Gypsy and Hindoo), BEAK (coming from Italian BECCO as evidenced in Henry Fielding’s works), BEANS (French BIENS), BIVVY (Italian BEVERE), BLOAK/BLOKE (from Gipsy and Hindoo LOKE, according to Hotten), BLOWEN (Germanic BLUHEN), BLUE MURDER (French MORTBLUE), BLUEY (German BLEI), BONE (hieroglyphic rhombus), BOOZE (Dutch BUYZEN that originated in the 14<sup>th</sup> century), BOSH (Turkish), BOSMAN (Dutch), BROWN TO (Americanism), BUFFER (Irish cant for a boxer), BUFFLE HEAD (German BUFFEL-HAUFF and BUMMAREE (Norwich meaning “to run into depth”).

Since the majority of etymologies comes from the Gypsy and Hindi languages, there is a great possibility that Hotten got hold of some Gypsy terms written and published in works before 1860, such as John Ogilvie’s well-known and widely distributed *The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language* (1841), and/or Richard Ford’s *Book of Travelers in Spain*. George Borrow’s *Romano Lavo-Lil: Word-Book of the Romany or, English Gypsy Language*, the most

authoritative dictionary of Gypsy terms, was first published in 1874 and is most likely not one of Hotten's sources unless the word lists with "gypsy poetry and certain gypsyries," on which Borrow actually based his book, circulated in England before the publishing date. It is also possible that some of his sources were early nineteenth century novels by William Harrison Ainsworth, such as *Roockwood* (1834) and *Jack Sheppard* (1840) that abound in cant words placed in the mouths of Gypsy characters.<sup>129</sup> Hotten's interest in 'gypsyries' led him to publish "Slang Terms and the Gypsy Tongue." Printed in *Bailey's Magazine of Sports and Pastimes* under the name H., J. C. M., this article describes the life of English gypsies and goes into the etymology of some of their words, showing how "they have crept into the English language as slang terms."<sup>130</sup>

Consequently, in 1860, Hotten became more interested in lexicography and started investigating words in depth, thus considerably enlarging the scope of his dictionaries. New entries in this edition were significantly more likely to include etymologies, cross references, and semantically related terms. Hotten provided here additional information for terms carried over from the first edition by giving examples of Italian or French words that were not included earlier (BEANS from French *biens*, BLUE>*mort-bleu*, BLUNT>*blond*, BONE>*bon*, and BUMPER>*bon père*). Since in the first edition, Hotten had requested from readers "cant, slang, vulgar words not mentioned in the dictionary"<sup>131</sup> as well as information about their etymology, it is possible that his readers responded and sent him quotations. Most of these findings are cited for the first time in his work, and they are still accepted in modern dictionaries of slang. While his etymologies are usually robust, there are a few that are incorrect. For example, his

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<sup>129</sup> Hotten cites Ainsworth in his bibliography. See Appendix B

<sup>130</sup> Burke 149.

<sup>131</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1859. vi.

explanation that BAZAAR comes from “gypsy and hindoo” is not considered credible, although it is not that far from the *OED* etymology that lists it as “Persian.” In addition, his explanation that BLOKE comes from the Gypsy LOKE is different from the explanation that is in the *OED* today (BLOKE>GLOAK).

Julie Coleman criticizes Hotten for his tendency to present comments from his correspondents without evaluation, producing entries that include several mutually incompatible etymologies. She considers Hotten’s unwillingness to choose between competing etymologies as a feature of his dictionary that only worsens in succeeding editions while failing to recognize Hotten’s intention to start a discussion about the origin and provide other lexicographers with a decent background and a range of information with which to work.

**II.** In a second group of words (18), Hotten added new meanings in addition to the ones stated in the 1859 edition, showing again his continuous effort to improve the dictionary. For example, BAGS “trousers,” BARNACLE “corruption of binoculi,” BENDER “over the left,” BLEST “euphemism for curse,” BLUE BILLY “the refuse, lime gas,” BOBBISH “spruce,” BONNET “a sham bidder at auction,” BOUNCER “a lie,” BOWL-OUT “to put out of the game,” BRADS “nails, properly” (which might be standardized now since it is almost a technical term today; the term went through different stages: first slang, then jargon, and currently a technical term), BRAND-NEW “fresh from the anvil, properly,” BROADSMAN “a card shaper,” BUCKLE “to bend” in 1860 instead of “to understand” in 1859, BUCKLE TO “to bend to one’s work,” BUMBAGS “trousers,” BUNG “also, to deceive, see CRAM,” BUSS “also, a kiss,” and BUTTER “to flatter” are additional slang meanings included in Hotten’s 1860 dictionary.

**III.** The third group includes entries which are explained in depth and in which definitions are supported with acknowledged literary quotations. Sixteen of these phrases evidence Hotten's interest in new expressions which come from different areas of life: gambling, boxing, criminal slang, and literary texts, to name just a few. For example, an entry BEAR is followed with a long quotation from the essay written by Dr. Warton on Pope; BED-POST is followed with the quotation from the first act of Shadwell's *Virtuoso*; BILLY BARLOW with Bulwer's Paul Clifford; BITE "noblemen" in Swift's novels; BLACK GUARD, Ben Jonson's long quotation in the 1860 edition replaces Grose's quotation in 1859; BOB "formerly BOBSTICK, BOBBY" with Sir Robert Peel's explanation; BOG term from the Inns of Court; BOG-TROTTER with a Hotten's explanation; BORE with Shakespeare's lines and *Gradus and Cantabrigiam*'s etymology of a word; BRICK with *The Jolly Bachelors*' rhymes; BUTTON "connection with Brummagem"; and BUZ NAPPER'S ACADEMY is followed with Oliver Twist's quotation.

The 1859 edition is Hotten's first attempt to write a dictionary, and he used quotations sparingly. Previous slang dictionaries did not necessarily follow this form, and Hotten's work seems to have used different models. Although Hotten frequently cites Francis Grose's comprehensive dictionary of slang published in the eighteenth century, Grose did not include long quotations for the entries nor was he interested in the etymology per se. It is likely, though, that Hotten's nineteenth century slang dictionary owes much to Samuel Johnson's 1755 standard dictionary, one of the most influential dictionaries in the history of the English language, which was the first to include long literary quotations and numerous definitions.

In the first edition, Hotten often provides citations, and according to Julie Coleman's review of the complete dictionary only "12 percent include unattributed examples of use, and a



further 6 percent cite authorities without quoting them.”<sup>132</sup> This all suggests, nevertheless, that Hotten made extensive use of numerous written sources and anecdotal materials, giving due acknowledgement to most of them, and neglecting others (most of these are popular texts which do not require citation). He cites a total of eighty different dictionaries as well as texts from the Renaissance and medieval periods.<sup>133</sup> Most commonly cited are Shakespeare (44 times) followed by Grose (26), and then an article on slang from *Household Words* (24) written by George Augustus Sala. Johnson appears sixteen times, and Mayhew nine. However, in the 1860 edition, Hotten cites authorities significantly less often. Among the ninety-three new citations under the letter *B*, William Shakespeare is cited eleven times, Charles Dickens five, and Samuel Johnson, Earle Edward Bulwer-Lytton, and *Notes and Queries* four times each.

**IV.** The fourth group includes two entries within which Hotten deleted partial explanations which he, most likely, considered incorrect after further research. Under the entry BUST in the 1860 edition, Hotten deleted his quotation from the 1859 edition which stated, “Correspondence of burst,” after deciding that the evidence is insufficient. He also changed the etymology for the word BOOZE in the 1860 edition, substituting the 1859 explanation of BOWSE “a Gypsy term” with the correct Dutch etymology BUYZEN. The constantly made revisions are valuable testimony to Hotten’s academic traits and desire to improve his work. He was discriminating in his use of data, and he questioned definitions and word meanings incessantly before including them in his subsequent dictionaries.

The selection of words that Hotten deleted and included in his dictionary of slang is very interesting. The second edition reveals to us that, as his title suggests, slang is only part of Hotten’s concern. If the implicit labels of the additional lists are excluded, about half of Hotten’s

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<sup>132</sup> Coleman, Julie. *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries*. NY: Oxford UP, 2009. 23.

<sup>133</sup> Most of these sources are cited in *The Slang Dictionary*’s annotated bibliography

labels mark terms as cant, jargon, or dialect, demonstrating his broad interest in all types of non-standard language. By following the distribution of selected words in the second editions of Hotten's dictionary, I came to the conclusion that new entries include significantly fewer terms labeled as archaic or cant, providing evidence of the demise of certain already old-fashioned words and of the advent of newly-fashioned terms associated with different social trends of his time—American (BIT, BLOW, BOTTOM, BUNKUM, BY-GOLLY), Anglo-Indian (BEBEE, BOBBERY, BURRA), school or university slang (BITCH, BATTELLS, B.N.C., BOUNCER), professional jargon (BALAAM and BARGE from printers' slang, BAFFATY from trade), military (B.K.S., BLAST, BUFFER in navy slang, BUFFS in army), and sporting slang (BABES, BADMINTON, BAT, BOTTLE-HOLDER). Also, Hotten chose to delete archaic terms and to add boxing, cock-fighting, and horse-racing terms to his slang dictionaries. At the same time he was working on this compilation, Hotten published cheap reprints of *Dr. Syntax*, written by William Combe (Coombe), and *Life in London*, by Pierce Egan, and many other books of a sporting or humorous character. Even Hotten himself claimed in the introduction of his dictionary that “the squeamishness which tries to ignore the existence of slang fails signally, for not only in the streets and the prisons, but at the bar, on the bench, in the pulpit, and in the House of Parliament, does slang make itself heard, and, as the shortest and safest means to an end, understood too.”<sup>134</sup> Hotten's additions, therefore, must be a reflection of his broadening sense of slang: he was moving away from the concentration on the language of criminals and the poor found in earlier slang dictionaries while encountering new sporting and modern slang terms in the works of modern authors.

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<sup>134</sup> J.C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1859. vii.

*A Comparison of the Second (1860) Edition of Hotten's Slang Dictionary with the Third (1864)*

While Hotten excluded some of the words from his first edition in the compilation of the 1860 edition, shown at length in the earlier analyzed *B* entries, he rarely deleted any entries from the second edition in making the 1864 edition. Entries listed under four letters of the alphabet are considered in this part of research. In the 1860 edition of Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*, 287 entries are discussed under the letter *B* while in 1864 this number is increased almost 40 percent including 401 headwords under the same letter. Similarly, the second edition counts 119 entries under the letter *G*. Four years later Hotten added 61 entries to this letter, publishing 180 entries in the 1864 edition. 254 words and phrases were included under the letter *P* in the third edition, compared to 176 entries in the second edition. The difference between the entries listed under the letter *T* in the 1860 and the 1864 editions is 79 (167 words in the second edition versus 246 in the third edition).

Clearly Hotten's intentions were mainly commercial, and he believed that by expanding the second edition of the slang dictionary, he could market the new edition more effectively. However, his contribution did not end here. This research demonstrates that the differences between the second and the third editions of John Camden Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* show the greatest growth of the editor himself as a lexicographer. Hotten not only increased the total number of words but improved his dictionary with a new and more user-friendly organization of entries. He also researched the etymologies, added new meanings, and included long literary quotations and definitions.

**I.** Hotten consulted his original sources again for a scattering of terms; thus significantly more headwords provide etymologies or usage labels. Listed here are entries which have etymologies much better explained in the 1864 edition. In these few entries, Hotten does not

change explanations within the entries but adds accordingly the country of origin either within brackets or after a semi-colon: GAB (also found in the *Danish* and *Old Norse*); GAMMY (*Gaelic, Welsh, and Irish*); GARRET (*Prison term*); GIG (*Old French GIGUE, a jig, a romp*); GLIMS (*Gaelic*); GLINN (*German—provincial*); GO (a term in the game of cribbage); GAB and GOB (*Gaelic*); GOLGOTHA (a hat, “place of a skull.” Hence the “Don's gallery,” at St Mary's, Cambridge—*Vide SKULL*); PEAKING (Term amongst drapers and cloth warehousemen); PEG (derived from the use of PEG tankards.—*See PIN*); PESKY (*Irish, PEASGACH, rough, rugged*); PLUM (*Civic Slang*); POGRAM “a fanatic” (So called from a well-known dissenting minister of this name); POKY (*Saxon, POKE, a sack*); POLONY (Cockney shortening and vulgar pronunciation of a *Bologna* sausage), and POTTED, or POTTED OUT (a gardening allusion); TALLY, “five dozen bunches of turnips” (*Costermongers’ term*); TEETH-DRAWING, “wrenching off knockers” (*Medical Students’ term*); TEVISS, “a shilling” (*Costermonger and Tramps’ term*); THIMBLE, or YACK, “a watch” (*Prison Cant*); TICKER, “a watch” (Formerly Cant, now Street Slang); TITTER, “a girl” (*Tramps’ term*); TOBY in TOBY CONSARN, “a highway expedition” (Old Cant); TOSS, “a measure of sprats” (*Billingsgate and Costermonger*); TOUTER, “a looker out,” “one who watches for customers,” “a hotel runner” (A term in general use, derived from the old Cant word); TUB-THUMPING, “preaching or speech-making” (from the old Puritan fashion of “holding forth” from a tub, or beer barrel, as a mark of their contempt for decorated pulpits).

While the 1864 edition is the first to include illustrations for four entries explaining university slang (TWO UPON TEN, OAK, BREAKY LEG, WOODEN WEDGE), significantly fewer entries are labeled as school or university slang, American, or archaic, and significantly more as dialect (GARNISH, GAWKY, TIDY, TO-RIGHTS), theatrical slang (BEN, BIG,

BUSINESS, BIRD, GAG, GOOSE, PROPS, TRUNKS), Anglo-Indian (BURRA, BEBEE, BOBBERY, GOL-MOL, GURRAWAUN, PALAMPO, PUCKEROW, PUNDIT, TAN), Anglo-Chinese (PAY, PIGEON, POSA), and prison slang (BACK JUMP, BASH, BEN CULL, BETTY, PARISH PRIG, THIMBLE) when comparing the new entries to those in the 1860 edition.

**II.** More radical editing in the third edition included updating content, the censoring of some definitions (RANDY “amorous” is taken out), and correcting inaccuracies:

1860: BURKE, to kill, to murder, by pitch plaster or other foul means. From Burke, the notorious Whitechapel murderer, who with others used to waylay people, kill them, and sell their bodies for dissection at the hospitals.

1864: BURKE, to kill, to murder, secretly and without noise, by means of strangulation. From Burke, the notorious Edinburgh murderer, who, with an accomplice named Hare, used to decoy people into the den he inhabited, kill them, and sell their bodies for dissection. The wretches having been apprehended and tried, Burke was executed, while Hare, having turned king's evidence, was released. Bishop was their London imitator. The term BURKE is now usually applied to any project that is quietly stopped or stifled-as “the question has been BURKED.” Book suppressed before publication is said to be BURKED.

Seeking a wider audience for his compilation, by 1864 Hotten invested much time into analyzing the entries, and he got a better grasp of scholarly research. To the following group of words, Hotten added new meanings in addition to the ones stated in the 1860 edition. For example, these are additional vernacular meanings included in Hotten’s 1864 dictionary: GAMMY, also CAM, (GAM) “crooked, bad”; GLIMM, “a spark”; GORGER, “sometimes employed in the sense of an employer, or principal, as the manager of a theatre”; GRAVEL, “also, to prostrate, beat to the ground”; GRAVEL-RASH, “a person subject to ‘telling its tale of a drunken fall’ is called a GRAVEL-GRINDER”; GROGGY, “or it may only mean that unsteadiness of gait consequent on imbibing too much GROG”; PANNY, “in thieves’ Cant also signifies a burglary”; PANTILE, “also means a flat cake with jam on it, given to boys at

boarding-schools instead of pudding”; PICKLE, “also, a mischievous boy; ‘what a PICKLE he is to be sure!’”; PICKLES!, “also a jeering and insulting exclamation”; PLANT, “in the sense of conceal, there is a similar word in *Argot* PLANQUER”; POLICEMAN, “fly—more especially the earlier kind known as ‘blue bottles’”; POT, “to die”; PROSS, “also, to ‘sponge’ upon a comrade or stranger for drink”; TACKLE, “to encounter a person in argument”; TAPE, “also, a military term used in barracks when no spirits are allowed”; TOUCHED, “slightly intoxicated; also said of a consumptive person”; and TWO-HANDED, “a singular reversing of meaning.”

In rare cases where the words had become obsolete, Hotten would only add this fact in brackets. For example, the entry for POLL, or POLLING in the third edition is followed by its definition and then with words, “In use in ancient times, vide *Hall’s Union*, 1548,” suggesting that he wanted to maintain a high word count in order to better sell a new edition of the dictionary. The same works with TRINE, “to hang”—*Ancient Cant*. With a meaning “to hang,” the word is included in Harman’s *Caveat* (1567), Dekker’s *Lanthorne & Candle-light* (1608) and B. E.’s *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700). The *OED* does not list any nineteenth-century works that cite this word before Hotten. This is a perfect example of the archaic words that had stopped being used in Hotten’s time but which he still included in the dictionary for commercial reasons.

**III.** The third group includes entries described with the help of such literary quotations gathered by his informants and his own research. As the dictionary’s full title suggests, Hotten introduced new expressions which came from different areas of modern life and literature: gambling, boxing, criminal slang, and literature, to name just a few. Among the thirty-four new citations under the selected letters, Shakespeare is cited seven times, Dickens three, and Johnson and *Household Words* twice each.

For example, the entry GIG “fun” is followed with a quotation from Randall’s *Diary*, GREEK “the low Irish” with Shakespeare’s allusion, whereas two different quotations are added to the term PIKE to explain better its two meanings: “to run away” with verses from a farce *The Prison Breaker* and “a turnpike” with lines from Arthur Smith’s *The Lady of the Unsuccessful Angler*. Under letters *B*, *G*, *P* and *T*, Hotten adds the following literary quotations:

1864: BILLY-BARLOW, a street clown; sometimes termed a JIM CROW, or SALTIMBANCO, so called from the hero of a slang song.—Bulwer’s *Paul Clifford*.

1864: GIG, fun, frolic, a spree. *Old French*, GIGUE, a jig, a romp. “In search of lark, or some delicious GIG The mind delights on, when ‘tis in *prime* twig.”—Randall’s *Diary*, 1820.

1864: PERCH, or ROOST, a resting-place; “I’m off to PERCH,” *i.e.*, I am going to bed. “Nor yet a single *perch*, for which my lucky stats to thank, Except the perch I’ve taken on this damp rheumatic bank.”  
—*The Lady of the Unsuccessful Angler*, by Arthur Smith.

1864: PIKE, a turnpike; “to bilk a PIKE,” to cheat the keeper of the toll-gate. No PIKE I’ve seen, the only one was that unpleasant wicket, Where threepence I was forced to pay, and now I have lost the ticket!”  
—*The Lady of the Unsuccessful Angler*, by Arthur Smith.

1864: PIKE, to run away, to be off with speed; “PIKE IT” is said as a hasty and contemptuous, if not angry dismissal; “’Twas not our fault, dear Jack; we saw the watch going into the house the moment we came there, and we thought it proper to PIKE OFF.”—*The Prison Breaker*, a Farce.

**IV.** When considering linguistics and formatting differences between the two editions of 1860 and 1864, we can observe that in editing existing entries, Hotten tended to change present participle headwords into infinitives and to make plural headwords singular. He also began to enclose phrasal headwords within quotation marks (“BACK SLANG IT,” “BLOW A CLOUD,” “BOX THE COMPASS,” “GADDING THE HOOF,” “GOD BLESS THE DUKE OF ARGYLE,” “GOWN AND TOWN ROW,” “PIG AND TINDER-BOX,” “PITCH THE FORK,”

“PUT THE POT ON.” “TAP THE ADMIRAL,” THREE SHEETS IN THE WIND,” and “TENPENCE TO THE SHILLING”) and to capitalize usage labels (i.e. old Cant [1860: old cant] and Thieves’ Cant [1860: thieves’ cant]). Other editorial changes included the systematic expansion of abbreviations (*Ho. Words* become *Household Words*, and *Sax* becomes *Saxon*), the correction of nonstandard features of his own grammar (as with PAY, “to beat any [1864: a] person,” or “serve them [1864: him] out”), and the modification of his spelling, often continuing changes he made in the last edition, but sometimes adopting a more conservative form (as in TOUCHER):

1864: TOUCHER, “as near as a TOUCHER,” as near as possible without actually touching.—*Coaching term*. The old jarveys, to show [1860: shew] their skill, used to drive against things so close as absolutely to *touch*, yet without injury. This they called a TOUCHER, or, TOUCH AND GO, which was hence applied to anything which was within an ace of ruin.

There are also some fairly systematic changes in punctuation, some of which had been introduced, but not carried through, in the 1860 edition:

1864: POTTED, or POTTED OUT, cabined, confined; “the patriotic member of Parliament POTTED OUT in a dusty little lodging somewhere about Bury Street.”—*Times* article, list July 1859. Also applied to burial, —a gardening allusion. [In the 1860 edition it was spelled Bury-street]

V. The fifth and most remarkable conclusion from this research acknowledges Hotten’s work as a lexicographer and his contributions to the growth of slang vocabulary. Even in the nineteenth century, George Augustus Sala recognized Hotten’s efforts and saw him also at work in the area of synonyms. The last edition of *The Slang Dictionary* published under Hotten’s supervision included a vast multitude of equivalents for the one generic word *Money*. “Money—the bare, plain, simple word itself—has a sonorous, significant ring in its sound and might have



sufficed, yet we substitute for it—tin, rhino, blunt, rowdy, stumpy, dibbs, browns, stuff, ready, mopusses, shiners, dust, chips, chinkers, pewter, horsenails, brads.”<sup>135</sup>

Hotten records seventeen synonyms for one word before he moves to the species of money. *Sovereigns* are YELLOW-BOYS, COOTERS, QUIDS; *crown-pieces* are BULLS and CART-WHEELS; *shillings* are BOBS or BENDERS; *sixpenny-pieces* are FIDDLERS and TIZZIES; *fourpenny-pieces* are JOEYS or BITS; PENCE, BROWNS or COPPERS and MAGS.

Similarly, for the one word *drunk*, besides the authorized synonyms TIPSY, INEBRIATED, INTOXICATED, Hotten found of unauthorized or slang equivalents the astonishing number of thirty-two: VIZ., IN LIQUOR, DISGUISED THEREIN, LUSHY, BOSKY, BUFFY, BOOZY, MOPS and BROOMS, HALF-SEE-OVER, FAR GONE, TIGHT, NOT ABLE TO SEE A HOLE THROUGH A LADDER, FOGGY, SCREWED, HAZY, SEWED UP, MOONEY, MUDDLED, MUZZY, SWIPEY, LUMPY, OBFUSCATED, MUGGY, BEERY, WINEY, SLEWED, ON THE RAN-TAN, ON THE RE-RAW, IN HIS CUPS, GROGGY, PLOUGHED, CUT, and THREE SHEETS IN THE WIND. On the other hand, for one article of drink, *gin*, Hotten listed ten synonyms: MAX, JUNIPER, GATTER, DUKE, JACKY, TAPE, BLUE-RUIN, CREAM OF THE VALLEY, WHITE SATIN, and OLD TOM.

Synonymous with a *man*, are A COVE, A CHAP, A CULL, AN ARTICLE, A CODGER, A BUFFER. A gentleman is A SWELL, A NOB, A TIPTOPPER; a *low person* is A SNOB, A SWEEP, AND A SCURF, and in Scotland A GUTTER-BLOOD. *Thieves* are PRIGS,

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<sup>135</sup> Sala, George Augustus. “Slang.” *Household Words* 183 (1853): 73-78.

CRACKSMEN, MOUCHERS, GONOPHS, GO-ALONGS. A *policeman* is a PEELER, A BOBBY, A CRUSHER; a *soldier* is A SWADDY, A LOBSTER, A RED-HERRING.

## Conclusion

The year before Hotten published the first edition of his dictionary, a group of scholars in Oxford and London had passed a resolution to begin updating Samuel Johnson's dictionary. It was not until 11 years after Hotten's death that the first fascicle of the *New English Dictionary*, later known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*, was to appear, "but it was with these modern philologists that Hotten chose to ally himself."<sup>136</sup> When his first edition came out, Hotten wrote: "It appears from the calculations of philologists, that there are 38,000 words in the English language, including derivations. I believe I have, for the first time, in consecutive order, added at least 3,000 words to the previous stock, —vulgar and often very objectionable, but still terms in every-day use, and employed by thousands."<sup>137</sup>

With the help of the contributors, Hotten knew that he could set down and enumerate a multitude of words as they came to him, but he also wanted to perform the research and had no doubt he would augment the slang terms and synonyms to at least double their amounts in the first edition. Table 2 shows that in the third edition Hotten's expectations were realized and that the total number of entries represents an increase of 91.13 percent (2,030 entries in 1859 versus 3,880 headwords in 1864). Hotten's goal to produce a "bigger" dictionary was realized.

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<sup>136</sup> Coleman 18.

<sup>137</sup> J.C. Hotten. *Slang Dictionary*. London, 1859. v-vi.

### ***Research Question II: Hotten's Sources***

In his *Slang Dictionary*, Hotten offered an extensive list of the works he had used. His annotated bibliography provided approximately one hundred nineteen works of reference and comments about earlier slang lexicographers and literary works. Even though he acknowledged various glossaries, the evidence suggests that Hotten was not only the compiler of already recorded slang and cant phrases but an active member involved in the creation of a “bigger and better” dictionary. Since Hotten offered considerable insight into his sources, this study was performed solely to reveal Hotten’s methods of collecting material for his dictionary. Through the examination of his theoretical conceptions and methods of word inclusion and exclusion, it is possible to see how Hotten’s work differed from previous slang dictionaries.

The following questions were asked: Was Hotten critical of his predecessors? Did he include all the words found in earlier dictionaries, or did he select only the ones still in use? Was the number of included words and marketing of the new edition Hotten’s sole objective, or was he concerned more about the truthful representation of modern slang? In order to answer these questions, two separate studies had to be carried out. First, well-known and easily accessible dictionaries that preceded Hotten’s compilation were compared with *The Slang Dictionary* to disclose the number and the percentage of borrowed words. I here demonstrate how Hotten used earlier glossaries, identifying thus distinctive features of *The Slang Dictionary*’s content and methodology. Second, famous literary works of the nineteenth century were consulted to distinguish how many of the modern slang phrases were recorded in Hotten’s dictionary. After comparing Hotten’s entries to the literary sources and the *Oxford English Dictionary*, it is determined how reliable the *Slang Dictionary* is as a witness of contemporary cant and slang.

## Dictionary Sources

It is not surprising that in cant lexicography, even more than in early English lexicography in general, progress has to be measured in terms of constant borrowing. In order to examine which dictionaries Hotten could possibly have known and how critically he used them, a comparative analysis of the third edition of Hotten's dictionary (1864) with previous works was performed. Cant and slang dictionaries analyzed here are B.E.'s *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725), James Hardy Vaux's *Canting Dictionary* (1812), and Pierce Egan's edition of Francis Grose's *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785-1823).

In an attempt to provide accurate data, entries listed under the letters *B*, *G*, *P* and *T* were selected and their etymologies were traced. After cross-examining these words with earlier dictionaries at hand, I studied their etymologies in the *Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED)* and examined how many of the entries were actually first cited in Hotten. This type of research helped me interpret Hotten's choices of inclusion and exclusion of particular groups of words from his slang dictionary as well as find evidence of his innovative practices, such as the inclusion of anecdotes, literary citations, and word origins, which initiated a scholarly approach to slang lexicography.

### *HOTTEN and B.E.*

A comparative analysis of the third edition of Hotten (1864) and B. E.'s *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting; Crew, in Its Several Tribes, of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, and Cheats* was performed first. Written in 1698, B.E.'s work provides the first citation for 144 entries, according to the *OED*, and includes a multitude of early cant and slang phrases. Republished in 1710 and 1725 under the original title, this

dictionary was afterwards issued under the titles of *Bacchus and Venus* (1737) and *The Scoundrel's Dictionary* in 1754.

Since this compilation seems to have inspired many slang and cant dictionaries and was easily available in the nineteenth century, it is analyzed here to reveal how Hotten approached it critically.

**Table 3: Number of Entries under Chosen Letters**

	B	G	P	T	Subtotal
B.E.'s Entries	294	137	219	299	949
Hotten's Entries	401	179	254	245	1079
Citations from B.E.	126	62	86	107	381
<i>Percentage of B.E. cited in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> ed.</i>	31.42%	34.64%	33.86%	43.67%	35.31%

The results presented in Table 3 show that 381 of B.E.'s entries listed under these four letters are used in the compilation of 1,079 entries under the same letters in Hotten's dictionary. The subtotal (35.31%) is a large percentage for a single source; thus it proves that Hotten used B.E.'s dictionary as one of his primary references. If we assume the distribution of B.E.'s vocabulary is uniform (that is, that Hotten continued to be as selective in his appropriation of B.E. as he was in the four letters already examined), then we would expect a yield of 35% of B.E.'s vocabulary in Hotten's entire dictionary.

The importance of B.E.'s dictionary in the compilation of Hotten's third edition can be demonstrated as follows. I compared the subtotal of 381 of B.E.'s citations listed in Hotten under the four selected letters with the total number of Hotten's entries for all 26 letters of the alphabet. Table 4 details the findings.

**Table 4: Percentage of B.E.'s Entries Used in Hotten Considering the  
Total Number of Entries in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition**

	B	G	P	T	Subtotal
Hotten's Entries	401	179	254	245	1079
% of the Total #	10.34 %	4.61%	6.55%	6.31 %	27.81% of 3880
Citations from B.E.	126	62	86	107	381
% of the Total #	3.25%	1.60%	2.22%	2.76 %	9.82% of 3880

The results show that the cumulative number of B.E.'s entries under the representative letters is 381. This constitutes around 10% of the total number of entries in Hotten's third edition, which contains 3880 words. Even though Hotten's entries under the letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T* only constitute 27.81% of the total number of entries in his third edition, the borrowings from B.E. (9.82 % of total entries) are sufficiently numerous to show that B.E.'s work was indeed a significant source for Hotten.

On the other hand, the question asked here is why Hotten did not include all of the entries from B.E.'s compilation, one of the lengthiest pre-eighteenth-century slang dictionaries? If we look closely at the numbers, Hotten incorporated only 40.15 percent of the total number of B.E.'s entries under the letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T* (381 out of 949). If he were as passionate about marketing and enlarging his dictionary as modern historians suggest, would Hotten not have incorporated all of them in his compilation? By comparing these words with the *OED*, this study concluded that most of the entries excluded from Hotten's compilation were indeed obsolete words out of use long before the beginning of the nineteenth century, while a few of them proved to have already been standardized in everyday speech by the mid-nineteenth century. These might be possible reasons as to why Hotten decided to take them out of his dictionary, but it is also possible that Hotten never actually had B.E.'s compilation in front of him, but drew upon a later

cant dictionary, such as Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* which also drew upon B.E.

In order to ensure that Grose's dictionary was not used as the mediator and that B.E. was one of Hotten's sources, I additionally compared and cross-referenced 381 of B.E.'s words that are included in Hotten with Grose's entries. The results show that 367 of them were cited in Grose, suggesting that Hotten might have become familiar with B.E.'s entries through Grose's *Classical Dictionary*. However, there are fourteen entries that are included in Hotten and B.E. but not in Grose. In order to find out whether these words are directly taken from B.E. or if some other eighteenth- or nineteenth-century dictionary of slang was used as the mediator, the *OED* was consulted. I traced the etymologies of fourteen words and found that only three of them are listed in the *OED* under both B.E.'s and Hotten's citations: The *OED* lists B.E. as the first dictionary to use TO SPICHE ("to robbe" in B.E. (a1700) and "to rob" in Hotten (1864)), TWELVER ("a shilling" in B.E. (a1700) and in Hotten (1864)), and MUTTON ("a contemptuous term for a woman of bad character" in B.E. (a1700) and Hotten (1864)). According to the *OED*, these words were only listed in B.E. before Hotten, suggesting that there is a direct line between the two dictionaries.

This further attests to the fact that Hotten was critical of earlier lexicographers and that he always took the trouble to investigate the words more studiously than the others. In his bibliography, Hotten often criticized his sources and condemned their willingness to steal from earlier glossaries without performing any additional research. He denounced Carew's *Life and Adventures of Bamfylde Moore Carew, the King of the Beggars, with Canting Dictionary* (1791) for being "nothing more than a filch from earlier books" and describes Ducange Anglicus's *The Vulgar Tongue: comprising Two Glossaries of Slang, Cant, and Flash Words and Phrases used*

*in London at the present day* (1857) as “a silly and childish performance, full of blunders and contradictions.”<sup>138</sup> Hotten also gave a long explanation for Grose’s *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785), attacking his decision to include obscenities:

The much-sought-after FIRST EDITION, but containing nothing, as far as I have examined, which is not to be found in the second and third editions. As respects indecency, I find all the editions equally disgraceful. The Museum copy of the *First Edition* is, I suspect, Grose’s own copy, as it contains numerous manuscript additions which afterwards went to form the second edition. Excepting the obscenities, it is really an extraordinary book, and displays great industry, if we cannot speak much of its morality. It is the well from which all the other authors—Duncombe, Caulfield, Clarke, Egan, &c. &c.—drew their vulgar outpourings, without in the least purifying what they had stolen.<sup>139</sup>

It is doubtful though that Hotten was sincere in his objections to Grose’s “obscenities.” His statement shows more like a gesture towards conventional mores under cover of which he could include such words.

#### *HOTTEN and GROSE*

Therefore, the second phase of the investigation entailed a direct comparison of Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (1864) with Francis Grose’s *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. According to Starnes and Noyes, Grose’s book was the earliest substantive English slang dictionary. First published in 1785, this compilation went through three editions in Grose’s lifetime. The last edition, revised by Pierce Egan (best known as the author of *Boxiana*) and

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<sup>138</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. ‘Bibliography’ 293-305.

<sup>139</sup> *Ibid* 304.



issued in 1823 was used for this research. While it is entirely possible that Hotten adopted a small number of terms from several of the glossaries listed and discussed in his bibliography (See Appendix B), his main source was undoubtedly Egan’s dictionary, “the best edition of Grose,” with a preference for entries including cited authorities.<sup>140</sup>

Pierce Egan’s edition of Francis Grose’s *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1823) represents important material for the study of historical lexicography since it records a great amount of flash, cant, and slang words. Grose was also the first since Richard Head’s *The Canting Academy, or, the Devils Cabinet Opened* (1673) to give any serious discussion of his sources as well as to take into account the constant changes in cant language. Hotten valued this trait, followed it, and used Grose’s dictionary critically.

**Table 5: Percentage of Grose’s Entries Used in Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition\***

CONSONANTS	Number of Entries in Egan’s Edition of Grose, 1823	Number of Entries in Hotten’s 3 <sup>rd</sup> Edition, 1864	The Appearance of Grose’s Entries in Hotten’s 3 <sup>rd</sup> Ed.	Percentage of Grose’s Entries in Hotten’s 3 <sup>rd</sup> Ed.
B	470	401	237	59.10%
G	225	179	120	67.04%
P	278	254	113	46.12%
T	280	245	93	37.96%
Total Number	1253	1079	563	52.18%

<sup>140</sup> “Egan, Pierce. *Grose’s Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, with the addition of numerous Slang Phrases*. Edited by Pierce Egan, 8vo. 1823. Hotten states in the Introduction of his *Slang Dictionary* that this is “The best edition of Grose, with many additions, including a Life of this celebrated antiquary.”

The results of this comparison show that Egan's expanded version of *A Classical Dictionary* (1823) yielded a great deal of material for Hotten; 59.10% (237 out of 401) of Hotten's entries listed under *B* were cited earlier in Grose, often with exactly the same gloss and examples. Thus the exclusive source for BABES IN THE WOODS "criminals in the stocks or pillory," BADGE COVES "parish prisoners," BALSAM "money," BAMBEE "a halfpenny," BAREL FEVER "die from drinking," and BAUDRANS "a cat" seems to be from Grose. In addition, my research illustrates that 67.04% (120 out of 179), 46.12% (113 out of 254), and 37.96% (93 out of 245) of Hotten's words listed under the letters *G*, *P*, and *S* respectively, came from Grose.

To summarize, 563 of Grose's entries are used in the compilation of 1,079 entries in Hotten's dictionary, thus constituting the subtotal of 52.18% of the total number of entries in Hotten under the letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T*. If we again assume that Hotten continued to be as selective in his appropriation of Grose as he was in a quarter of the dictionary (27 percent of the total number of entries) already examined, then we would expect a yield of 52.18% of Grose's vocabulary in Hotten's entire dictionary.

Nevertheless, the results presented in Table 5 also show that only 44.93% (563 out of 1,253) of Grose's entries listed under these four letters are included in Hotten's dictionary, raising another question as to why Hotten decided to exclude more than half of the cant and slang terms listed in Grose. The answer to this will be addressed in the third part of my research—the in-depth examination and etymology of all the entries—but it is also partially revealed in the introduction of the *The Slang Dictionary*, where Hotten announced that "the great fault of Grose's book consists in the author not contenting himself with slang and cant words, but

inserting every ‘smutty’ and offensive word that could be raked out of gutters of the streets.”<sup>141</sup>

In comparison with Grose, Hotten was more selective and included only words that were still in use in England, excluding much obscene language. In addition, Hotten provided many more terms with citations, thus making his dictionary considerably more lively than concise.

### *HOTTEN and VAUX*

In order to further examine Hotten’s methods, an important glossary of prison and thieves’ cant was consulted. “A New and Comprehensive Vocabulary of the Flash Language,” compiled and written by James Hardy Vaux, was included in the first volume of his *Memoirs* (1819). The dedicatory letter Vaux wrote to Thomas Skottowe, a Justice of the Peace in New South Wales, is dated 1812, which is the date that the *OED* adopts for Vaux’s glossary. According to this work, “which follows many of the conventions of criminal autobiography,” Vaux was a prisoner “under sentence of transportation for life” who recorded “definitions, technical, or cant words and phrases” in belief “they [can] afford you some amusement from its novelty; and that from the correctness of its definitions, you may occasionally find it useful in your magisterial capacity.”<sup>142</sup> This glossary went through several editions under varying titles in Hotten’s lifetime: *Canting Dictionary* (1812) and as a vocabulary appended to *The Memoirs of James Hardy Vaux* (1819). The several publications of Vaux’s book in the nineteenth century suggests how easily available this dictionary was to Hotten. According to the *OED*, Vaux also records seventy-five first citations of different secret terms. Since it offered a wealth of background on prison slang, Vaux’s dictionary caught Hotten’s interest in the compilation of his third edition (Table 6).

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<sup>141</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*, 1864. ‘Bibliography’ 293-305.

<sup>142</sup> Vaux, James Hardy. *Canting Dictionary*. London, 1812. ‘Dedication letter’ 224.

**Table 6: Percentage of Vaux's Entries Used in Hotten Considering the Total Number of Entries in the 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition**

	Total Number of Entries	
Hotten's 3rd edition	3880	
Vaux's <i>Memoirs</i>	332	
Citations from Vaux in Hotten	221	5.70 % of 3880
<i>Percentage of Vaux's Entries cited in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition</i>		66.57%

The study reveals that a great number of Vaux's words are included in Hotten's third edition. Even though Hotten's dictionary has 3,880 entries and Vaux has only 332 in his glossary, the fact that 221 out of Vaux's 332 entries (66.57 percent) appear in Hotten demonstrates unequivocally that Hotten had used Vaux's glossary. That Hotten was selective in the inclusion of all the headwords is evident in the fact that 111 out of Vaux's 332 entries did not find their way into Hotten's dictionary.

Since Vaux's dictionary contains a considerable number of entries, four letters of the alphabet are again selected and headwords listed under the letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T* are compared (see Table 7).

**Table 7: Percentage of Vaux's Entries Used in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> Edition\***

	Number of Entries in Vaux, 1811	Number of Entries in Hotten	The Appearance of Vaux's Entries in Hotten	Number of Entries in Vaux and Grose	Percentage of Vaux's Entries in Hotten	Percentage of Entries from Vaux used in Hotten
B	68	401	42	5	61.76%	10.47%
G	29	179	17	0	58.62%	9.50%
P	47	254	28	7	59.57%	11.02%
T	43	245	22	2	51.16%	8.97%
Total	187	1079	109	14	58.29%	10.10%
	332	56.33%				

Hotten was selective in his incorporation of the words found in other dictionaries, which is obvious in his selection of Vaux's entries. The fact that entries from Grose did not appear in Vaux or that Vaux's headwords did not appear in Egan's edition of Grose tells us that two of them had different sources. Vaux acknowledged *The Swell's Night Guide* as one of his sources, revealing that he included many words from early nineteenth-century life. Following a similar tradition, Hotten neglected many words from Vaux that were uncommon in his time.

The comparative analysis shows that 30.77 percent of the entries included at the bottom of the page in the third edition of *The Slang Dictionary* bear much resemblance to those in Vaux, suggesting that there is a direct line between the two dictionaries (see Table 8).

**Table 8: Percentage of Vaux's Entries Used in Hotten's Footnoted Entries**

	Marginalized Words in 1864	Words coming from Vaux	Percentage
B	46	14	30.43%
G	9	3	33.33%
P	24	7	29.17%
T	25	8	32.00%
total	104	32	30.77%

Out of 104 entries Hotten placed at the bottom of the page in the third edition, 32 possibly came from Vaux's glossary since they shared almost identical definitions. Most of these words are marked as "Ancient Cant" (TRINE "to hang," TOBY "a road," PETERER "Ancient term for fisherman," and POLL "thief in ancient time") and "Prison Terms" (THIMBLE "a watch," PANNY "a house," GARRET "the fob pocket," and GAG "a lie in Thieves' Cant"). General slang dictionaries were known to many, so Hotten expended greater energy on explaining the shades of meaning of canting terms. It is possible that for that reason he turned to

Vaux, whose glossary “was a genuine and original record of contemporary cant.”<sup>143</sup> Given that there is no strong evidence to disprove it, we can accept the fact that Hotten incorporated Vaux’s cant and prison terms still valid at the time he compiled *The Slang Dictionary*.

The question, then, is why Hotten decided to list so many of Vaux’s entries in the margin rather than in the main text. Was he critical of Vaux’s work and found the entries questionable? Or did he just want his audience to provide him with additional information? These questions remain to be answered, but it is clear here that Hotten had weighed the status of every word while investigating it, thereby demonstrating his editorial discrimination. By confining certain classes of words to footnotes, he is using scholarly apparatus for his own ends.

Although Hotten did use earlier dictionaries as his sources, he clearly had much to add to them, presumably from his own experience.<sup>144</sup> As we have already seen, lexicographers were not always scrupulously honest where their commercial interests and integrity collided, so it is necessary to subject Hotten’s account of the compilation of his dictionary to critical scrutiny. Given what we know about Hotten’s life, we would expect him to be diligent and studious in the examination of entries before their inclusion. The extensive and careful use of cross-references indicates that Hotten knew the material in his dictionary extremely well. It also demonstrates that Hotten was no accidental lexicographer dashing off a random selection of entries from earlier sources. As a publisher, not only did he encounter glossaries of slang and cant, but he also came across specialized dictionaries of university language and American slang, historical fiction, and

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<sup>143</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. ‘Bibliography’ 293-305.

<sup>144</sup> The three sources discussed do not cover all the words that are listed in Hotten’s *Slang Dictionary*. In fact, B.E.’s entries cover only 9.82 % (381 out of 3880, a yield of 35.31% is expected) of the total number of entries in Hotten’s third edition, whereas my analysis suggests that Grose’s citations cover definitely more than 14.51% (563 out of 3880, a yield of 52.18% is expected) and Vaux’s entries more than 5.70% (a yield of 10.10% is expected) of the total number of entries in the 1864 edition.

literary works, becoming thus well-versed in sporting and pugilistic terms, gypsy language, and Americanisms, to name a few, which he diligently recorded in his compilation.

In summary, it has been possible to demonstrate with a considerable degree of accuracy the variety and nature of dictionary sources Hotten used in the compilation of his influential *Slang Dictionary*. Nevertheless, the nature of that influence in literary terms remains to be analyzed.

### Literary Sources

In a short introduction to his bibliographical list, Hotten evaluated his early literary sources, namely Beaumont and Fletcher's comedy of *The Beggar's Bush*, Ben Jonson's *Bartholomew Fair*, and various works of Shakespeare and Brome, who each employed cant as "part of the machinery of their play."<sup>145</sup> His annotated bibliography also revealed that William Harrison Ainsworth's *Novels and Ballads, Rookwood*, and *Jack Sheppard* served as sources for the *Slang Dictionary* because "several cant words are placed in the mouths of the characters."<sup>146</sup> Among others, Jonathan Swift's "coarser pieces [which] abound in Vulgarities and Slang expressions" were consulted, as well as Henry Mayhew's unfinished work *Great World of London* (1857) which contains "several examples of the use and application of Cant and Slang words."<sup>147</sup>

It is widely accepted among historians that Mayhew was Hotten's major source and that much of the back-slang came from his work *London Labour and the London Poor*. First published in 1851, and later reissued as a periodical, this book recorded the language of the

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<sup>145</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. 'Bibliography' 293-305.

<sup>146</sup> Ibid 294.

<sup>147</sup> Ibid 297.

London poor. In speaking of costermongers, Mayhew wrote about their use of language and backward pronunciation, thereby giving the first significant discussion of back-slang. Mayhew recorded thirty-nine entries for MONEY, most of which were included in Hotten's list (FLATCH "halfpenny," YENEP "penny," NEVES-YENEP "sevenpence," GEN "twelvepence," and so on through the penny-halfpennies). Nonetheless, Hotten went further to include Mayhew's definition for RHYMING verbatim:

The cant, which has nothing to do with that spoken by the costermongers, is known in Seven Dials and elsewhere as the \*Rhyming Slang, or the substitution of words and sentences which rhyme with other words intended to be kept secret..

I learn that the rhyming slang was introduced about twelve or fifteen years ago.<sup>148</sup>

In fact, Mayhew's and Hotten's works are quoted 35 times together in the *OED*. The identical entries they list are BALMY "insane," BIT "clean, tidy, and respectable," BLOW "to lose or spend money," BLUEY "lead," BUTTON "person who acts as a decoy," DOING IN ON THE CHEAP "living economically," DRUMMER "a robber who first makes his victims insensible by drugs or violence, and then plunders them," FINNIP "a five-pound note," SITTING PAD "to sit begging by the roadside," PEG "brandy-and-soda-water," TALLY "five dozen bunches of turnips," STOOK "a pocket-handkerchief," MUZZLE "to fight or thrash," NIPPER "a small boy," RAMPSMAN "a highway robber who uses violence when necessary," SHICKERY "shabby, badly," JIGGER "a door," MUDLARK "those men who cleanse the sewers, with great boots and sou'wester hats." Sometimes the spelling varies, as in MONIKER "a person's name or signature" (MONEKURS in Mayhew and MONEKEER in Hotten), suggesting vowel shifts and different linguistic changes that were underway in nineteenth-

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<sup>148</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. 135.



century non-standard language. Furthermore, the *OED* attributes to Hotten's 1859 edition two first citations that are later quoted in Mayhew's third edition of *London Labour* (1861). These entries are MUG UP "to paint one's face" and MUNGAREE "bread, food" (MUNGARY in Hotten and NUMGARE in Mayhew). The latter example attests to the fact that Hotten was more interested in word etymology than Mayhew; thus it is no real surprise that Hotten is the first to cite this word of Italian origin.

Other possible texts that unquestionably served as sources in the compilation of the third edition of *The Slang Dictionary* are Pierce Egan's *Life in London* and John Badcock's *Real Life in London*. Hotten became familiar with these books while working on their reprints in the 1860s; thus, the street language, sporting terms, and pugilistic lingo which Hotten includes probably came directly from them. Nevertheless, Hotten might also have found contemporary pugilistic terminology in Egan's work *Boxiana; or, Sketches of Modern Pugilism*, which, according to the compiler, "gives more particularly the Cant terms of pugilism, but contains numerous (what were then styled) 'flash' words."<sup>149</sup> Beside Pierce Egan's and John Badcock's (Jon Bee) work, Hotten was also acquainted with Jack Randall's verses, the *Pugilist*, which "mostly parodies of popular authors, and abound[s] in the language of pugilism, and the phraseology of the fast life of the period," as well as with *Few Selections from his Scrap Book; to which are added Poems on the late Fight for the Championship*, both of which are cited throughout *The Slang Dictionary*.

Much of the rhyming slang came from Ducange Anglicus's dictionary, the university slang probably came from the 1803 edition of *Gradus ad Cantabrigiam; or, A Dictionary of Terms, Academical and Colloquial, or Cant, which are used at the University*, while credited

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<sup>149</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. 'Bibliography' 293-305.

sources for the gypsy terms (such as the term GITANO “a male Spanish gipsy”) were Ben Jonson’s *Masque of the Gipsies Metamorphosed* (16—) and W. H. Ainsworth’s *Rookwood* (1834).

German terms, on the other hand, evidently came from *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, (Liber Vagatorum: Der Better Orden,)* which Hotten translated and edited in 1859. Hotten was working at that time on his dictionary, so the chance of including words of foreign origin must have been inviting for him. The book contains 345 entries of German cant and vulgar words which is considerably less than any eighteenth- or nineteenth-century English glossary contains, but it represents a comprehensive work for sixteenth-century German lexicography. Hotten especially found this work fascinating, since it offered discussion on etymologies:

In a preface Martin Luther says that the “Rotwelsche Sprach,” the Cant language of the beggars, comes from the Jews, as it contains many Hebrew words, as any one who understands that language may perceive. This book is divided into three parts, or sections; the first gives a special account of the several orders of the “Fraternity of Vagabonds;” the second, sundry “*notabilia*” relating to the different classes of beggars previously described; and the third consists of a “Rotwelsche Vocabulary,” or “Canting Dictionary.” There is a long notice of the “Liber Vagatorum” in the “Wiemarische Jahrbuch,” 10te, Band, 1856. Mayhew, in his *London Labour*, states that many of our Cant words are derived from the Jew fences. It is singular that a similar statement should have been made by Martin Luther more than three centuries before.<sup>150</sup>

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<sup>150</sup> *The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars*, translated by Hotten. ‘Preface’ ix.

Americanisms incorporated in Hotten's later editions, however, must have come from the reprints of a few American books Hotten had worked on. Although many of Hotten's sources remain unidentified, it is safe to suggest that he had consulted *The Biglow Papers* while compiling *The Slang Dictionary*. Hotten was working on the publication of both books in the same year; thus, peculiar colloquialisms and words common in America must have caught his eye and widened his interest. Out of 279 words that appear in the glossary of *The Biglow Papers*, several are listed in the third edition of Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*. A comparative analysis shows that out of 12 entries from the glossary of *The Biglow Papers* under the letter B, only 4 are listed in the 1864 edition of the *Slang Dictionary* (BELLOWS(ES), BLURT OUT, BROWN, and BUST). In addition, out of 13 New England or American words from the glossary, none appeared under G, and only one out of 14 was listed under the letter P with a similar meaning (the glossary's POP "to shoot" versus the *Slang Dictionary*'s POPS "pocket pistols"). Finally, 5 out of 18 entries listed under the letter T are included in the *Slang Dictionary* (TACKLE, TATER, THUNDER, THUNDERING, and TOLLABLE, all with somewhat different wording). It has to be noted here that Hotten was selective in the inclusion of Americanisms mainly because he wanted to list only the foreign words that appear in the British vernacular. Although he was aware of other Yankee dialectal phrases glossed in *The Biglow Papers*, Hotten did not want to incorporate most of Lowell's words in his *Slang Dictionary* because they were deemed to be only American.

### **Field Research**

Hotten published the first edition of his dictionary of slang in 1859 under the title of *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Language* by a 'London Antiquary.' It is very

likely that Hotten purposely avoided recording his name and decided to give himself the title of ‘London Antiquary’ because of the associations the title carried in the nineteenth century. The Society of Antiquaries of London (SAL) was established in 1717 with the sole goal to provide “the encouragement, advancement and furtherance of the study and knowledge of the antiquities and history of [England] and other countries.”<sup>151</sup> Although the term ‘Antiquary’ is no longer commonly used, it denotes a person interested in the study of the past through its material remains. Francis Grose, a distinguished figure in slang lexicography and the most respectable precursor of Hotten, has been regarded as an eminent antiquary by modern historians. In addition, George Augustus Sala, the author of several articles on slang published in *Household Words*, was also a well-known Fellow of the Society and Hotten’s acquaintance. Since the Society’s name reflects both the antiquity of the Society and its continuing broad range of cross-disciplinary interests, Hotten must have thought that by placing ‘the editor’ of his dictionary among the gentlemen of the Society, he could give himself a more elevated status and his work more respectability. Although Ambrose Bierce claims that Sala was the “compiler-in-chief” of *The Slang Dictionary*, there is no evidence to support this doubtful claim.<sup>152</sup> On the contrary,

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<sup>151</sup> “The Society of Antiquaries of London (SAL) is the world’s premier Learned Society for heritage. It is based at Burlington House, Piccadilly, London in the United Kingdom, along with the Royal Academy and four other leading Learned Societies; the Linnean Society, the Royal Society of Chemistry, the Geological Society of London and the Royal Astronomical Society. Today’s antiquaries are drawn from the disciplines of archaeology, history, architectural history, art history, art conservation, heraldry, cultural resource management and ecclesiastical studies.” “The Society of Antiquaries of London.” *Encyclopedia Britannica*. London/New York: Encyclopedia Britannica Company, 1929.

<sup>152</sup> Ambrose Bierce argues that “If my memory serves, its compiler-in-chief was that accomplished scholar, George Augustus Sala. It was afterwards revised by Henry Sampson,” cited in *Cosmopolitan Magazine* 43 (1907): 335. In the annotated bibliography of *The Slang Dictionary*, Hotten actually criticizes the article on slang written by Sala, saying that he “gives an interesting but badly-digested article on Slang; many of the examples are wrong” (*Household Words* 183).

there is much evidence of Bierce's anger towards and condemnation of Hotten, with many suggestions that Bierce regarded him as "an unrespectable publisher of many American authors."<sup>153</sup> Therefore, Bierce's comment should be viewed with considerable scepticism. Since Hotten criticized *Household's* article "Slang" in his annotated bibliography, it is certain that Hotten was acquainted with Sala's work and that he might have used his material. The fact that Hotten's successors, Chatto and Windus, dealt directly with the original manuscripts and credited Hotten as author/compiler but never Sala, unequivocally establishes that Hotten deserves credit for the compilation of the most comprehensive slang dictionary of the times.

Of course, Hotten actually never hid the fact that his dictionary is a product of collaboration. Without a doubt, he had done a good deal of research and collected what he could from earlier sources, but much of the new material included in his dictionary also came directly from the streets of London. In his introduction, Hotten wrote a colorful account of the experiences necessary for the compiler of a dictionary such as this: he should reside in the low areas of London, live among tramps, eavesdrop on the conversations of omnibus passengers, attend preachers and courts, read newspapers and popular literature, and always carry a notebook and pencil. Hotten asked his contacts among street-sellers to collect cant and slang terms for him, and he cross-checked their material with other sources.

Assistance was also sought and obtained, through an intelligent printer in Seven Dials, from the costermongers in London, and the pedlars and hucksters who traverse the country. In this manner the greater number of cant words were

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<sup>153</sup> Bierce's attitude towards Hotten changed after the publisher's death when he credited Hotten for the success and respectability of American authors in England. However, before Hotten's death, Bierce wrote numerous letters to Hotten and his acquaintances denouncing the publisher's practices. They are all recorded and published in M. E. Grenander's article "Ambrose Bierce, John Camden Hotten, 'The Fiend's Delight,' and 'Nuggets and Dust.'"

procured. . . . The slang and vulgar expressions were gleaned from every source which appeared to offer any materials.<sup>154</sup>

Hotten was an inveterate but discriminating collector of printed data and had an almost modern understanding of the possible uses of information, particularly from sources that would have been regarded by most of his contemporaries as trivial. Hotten always emphasized his use of slang-speaking informants, giving due acknowledgement to some and belittling others. For example, under the entry TART, Hotten informs us that “[his] old servant, ‘Jim the Patterer,’ (one of the collectors of Seven Dials’ terms for the first edition of this work) has recently sent [him] some words from Birmingham” (see Appendix A, entry TART). In addition, Hotten acknowledges the help of Professor Wilson “who contributed various Slang pieces to a journal [?] and this [third] edition.” Under the entry GIGLAMPS, Hotten also credits Mr. Cuthbert Bede who “in a communication to *Notes and Queries*” provided him with valuable material explaining the term (see Appendix A).

Bearing in mind that Hotten wanted his *Slang Dictionary* to be regarded as authoritative work of reference, not merely among the general public, but among the educated, Hotten lost no opportunity for obtaining information of a useful kind. He tried to gather as many examples of contemporary slang as possible, consulting not only his informants but investigating even periodicals in addition to literary works. *Blackwood’s Magazine*, *Notes and Queries*, and *Household Words* provided several quotations for his dictionary. Hotten requested information incessantly, writing, for instance, to E. C. Bigmore: “I thought that you were going to send me a

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<sup>154</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1859. iii-iv.

few useless American newspapers. They are always acceptable & the mere packing you get with books would provide us with information.”<sup>155</sup>

### **Conclusion**

Hotten’s interest in historical and cultural information to be derived from periodical and ephemeral literature anticipated important features of twentieth-century scholarship. Indeed, by going around with his notebook and taking notes on slang words used at the track, boxing matches, cock fights, and other sporting events; by sending his friends to do field work to collect new data; by collecting and contrasting earlier and contemporary slang dictionaries; and by compiling an exhaustive list of slang words used in his time from literary sources, Hotten significantly contributed to the development of lexicography and even sociolinguistics and exemplified the new trend of collecting words which would later be employed by the *OED* editors so successfully. Hotten’s employment of this network of knowledgeable informants, periodicals, and the general public initiated the latest developments in scholarly lexicography.

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<sup>155</sup> Eliot, Simon. “Hotten: Rotten? Forgotten? An Apologia for a General Publisher.” *Book History* 3 (2000): 61–93. 87.

## CHAPTER V

## SUMMARY OF THE RESULTS

*A Critical Study of The Slang Dictionary (1864)*

As already stated, the third edition is considered the last and most important of those which Hotten himself revised. In addition to my previous research, a comparative study with the dictionaries of unconventional English following *The Slang Dictionary* (1864) was additionally performed to show how important this reference work was in the evolution of dictionary making. By following the distribution of the selected words and by investigating their etymologies, I have reached the conclusions that are laid out in Appendix A and present a sample of the critical edition of Hotten's dictionary based on the entries under *G* and *T*.

I study in detail the etymologies of the selected entries in the third edition by using different search engines, among which is the *Oxford English Dictionary Online (OED)*. Each entry is further compared with the same entry in the slang dictionaries compiled and published after 1864, namely Barrère and Leland's *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*, 2 vols. (1889-90), Farmer and Henley's *Slang and Its Analogues*, 7 vols. (1890-1904), and Eric Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937).

In order to gauge Hotten's influence in particular in the compilation of the late nineteenth- and twentieth-century slang dictionaries, I have compared 179 headwords under the letter *G* and 245 entries under the letter *T* with the terms under the same letters of the following dictionaries: Barrère and Leland's *A Dictionary of Slang, Jargon, and Cant*, 2 vols. (1889-90), Farmer and Henley's *Slang and Its Analogues*, 7 vols. (1890-1904), and Eric Partridge's *A*



*Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* (1937). Each entry is further studied in detail by using the *Oxford English Dictionary Online* (*OED*).

To summarize this point, again, I have worked out the following proportions of the slang words in the various dictionaries. Whereas Partridge's dictionary, the most comprehensive slang dictionary published in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, includes 96 percent of the examined words (407 out of 424), Barrère and Leland's work and Farmer and Henley's *Slang and Its Analogues* each contain roughly 50 percent of Hotten's entries, deeming most of them common, popular, or obsolete in 1890 and 1904, respectively (218 out of 424). The *OED*, however, as an authoritative work with a different aim, is more selective, omitting certain vulgarisms and including others. In the vast majority of instances, the omissions of unconventional English from Hotten were deliberate in the *OED*. Hence, it comes as no surprise that the *OED* contains more slang words than Hotten, but that 20 percent of the ephemeral words in Hotten are not in the *OED*.

On the other hand, the *OED* provides data that other sources are not able to offer. The *OED* makes good use of Hotten's dictionaries, citing him 383 times, showing a great range and distribution of his entries. *The Slang Dictionary* provides the first etymologies for six words and phrases (ABRAHAM MAN, COCK-A-HOOP, HOT, HOTCH, HOTTER, and WIRE), the only citation for twenty-seven entries, and the first citation for another fifty-two entries, according to the *OED* records. Taking into consideration the number of words that reappear after Hotten's first edition in many slang dictionaries of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, it becomes evident that Hotten was listing genuine examples of contemporary slang and cant.

That Hotten's work was accepted as authoritative is evidenced by the number of allusions and borrowings from it, as seen in the work of later lexicographers. In addition, the popular literature of the nineteenth century, particularly historical fiction, draws much upon this

vocabulary and may well prove to be specifically indebted to Hotten's work. George Orwell's *Down and Out in Paris and London* and *Coming Up for Air* are full of slang expressions, and his familiarity with *The Slang Dictionary* is recorded under the entries TOSHEROON and TWOPENNY in the *OED*.<sup>156</sup> Sir Arthur Conan Doyle shows himself familiar with the terminology of pugilism in *Rodney Stone*, as does James Joyce in *Ulysses*. Most significantly for my research, George Bernard Shaw specifically credits Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* as the source for his explanation of the word *pug* in his *Cashel Byron's Profession*.<sup>157</sup> All these instances where Hotten's headwords have been assimilated into later fiction are recorded in my annotations, and appropriate literary quotations are provided in the square brackets as well.

*The Slang Dictionary*, like all dictionaries, is an invaluable reference work, but this dictionary is remarkable not only as a record of slang usage in the mid-nineteenth century, but also as a means of tracing changes and developments in the English language. Language is in a state of constant change and, by their very nature, its more ephemeral aspects tend to receive scant attention. The third edition in particular not only adds a very considerable body of new information and examples to the explanatory sections but also comments significantly on these changes and developments which have taken place since the earlier publications. By performing detailed analyses of 424 entries listed in Hotten's third edition and by plumbing the depth of their distribution and changes in almost one hundred fifty years, it becomes evident that Hotten's compilation is much more than a reference work. *The Slang Dictionary* simultaneously provides information on historical and contextual materials, gives a background on life in nineteenth-century London, and records changes in orthography and linguistics variations.

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<sup>156</sup> The *OED* lists a few additional entries with both Hotten's and Orwell's quotations. Such are RHYMING, JERRY, and LUMP.

<sup>157</sup> Shaw, George Bernard. *Cashel Byron's Profession*. Carbondal and Edwardsville: Southern Illinois UP, 1968. 66-68.

In this brief summary, it is impossible to do more than hint at the great wealth of material which a dictionary of this kind includes. All those who have an interest in words and read the explanations Hotten so diligently recorded under the 424 selected headwords will find this book a fascinating storehouse of linguistic usage.

In some of the entries, Hotten gives us valuable insights into exactly how the actual sounds were spoken. It often seems that Hotten regarded peculiar pronunciation as slang. For example, Hotten explains that *God* is pronounced in some parts of England as *Gard* (sic). While a short vowel in *God* is now the norm, many people still pronounce the word with a long vowel as in *cord*. These remarks bring us face to face with the problem of the boundary between slang and variations in pronunciation. “Slang itself is normally limited to words and phrases often current over a wide area, whereas variations in pronunciation may depend on regional distribution, social stratification and even personal idiosyncrasy.”<sup>158</sup> Such variations are regarded as dialectal variants rather than slang. The research shows that remarkably few words listed in the dictionary itself would be regarded as dialectal nowadays.

*Chucklehead* now appears to be commonest in the West Country, and *gallowses*, which is referred to in the dictionary as from the North of England, still has a similar distribution. *Prog* also has a more specialized local signification in the area around Bradford (Yorkshire) where children gathering materials for Bonfire Night are said to go ‘chumpin’ for progs.<sup>159</sup>

Hotten also includes a considerable number of phrases with variant spelling. Many of these he treated more authoritatively and at greater length in his third edition. Since they

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<sup>158</sup> Most remarks on dialectal variants and their distribution today are drawn from the preface of *The Slang Dictionary* edited by J.D.A. Widdowson, 1972. v-xii.

<sup>159</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1972. ix.

originated in the time when Modern English was still experimental, few entries show numerous spelling variations.<sup>160</sup> For example, Vaux's PANNUM becomes PANNAM in Hotten, possibly suggesting a vowel shift; POGUE is recorded as a corruption of POKE, and the entries THINGUMY/THINGUMBOB and THRUMS/TRUPS "threepence" are listed differently in each subsequent dictionary (THINGUMMY, THINGAMABOB, and THRUP(P)ENCE, THRIP, to name just a few), attesting to the inconsistencies in spelling in slang words.

As stated above, some of the entries in Hotten's compilation additionally provide information on historical and contextual materials and in fact describe nineteenth-century life in London. Hence, after reading the editor's long explanation, we find out that TUB-THUMPING or street preaching was a common practice in late-nineteenth-century England, that TURF or horse racing was a very popular pastime among different classes, that Newgate was the name of a famous prison in London, and that the city was divided into three districts, TYBURNIA FELIX, TYBURNIA DESERTA, and TYBURNIA SNOBBICA. Some entries even reveal the humor of nineteenth-century culture, such as the entry TWELVE GODFATHERS, where it is explained that a jury was given the title of the godfathers "because they give a name to the crime the prisoner before them has been guilty of; whether murder or manslaughter, felony or misdemeanour." Hotten's compilation is undoubtedly an incredible resource for information on the historical background of nineteenth-century England.

What is more, *The Slang Dictionary* provides a basis for studying the evolution of slang. It is therefore especially interesting to note not only those words which have passed out of use since the 1864 edition, but also those which have been modified in meaning or are still current today. A number of the words which emanated from Oxford and Cambridge—those "hotbeds of

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<sup>160</sup> Refer to Appendix A for a full account of spelling variations.

fashionable slang,” as Hotten calls them—still remain in use with their original status and meaning. Hotten’s work seems to have been very influential in the preservation of these words. He was well aware that “the greater part of [cant and slang] vocabulary [remained] unchanged for centuries, and many of the words used by Canting Beggars in Beaumont and Fletcher, and the Gypsies in Ben Jonson’s *Masque*, [were] still to be heard among the Gnostics of Dyotstreet and Tothill-fields.”<sup>161</sup> Therefore, Hotten records slang to preserve these meanings. A vast number of slang words that are cited in Hotten’s dictionaries were used for a long time among the common people: *to prig* is still to steal; *to fib*, to beat; *lour*, money; *duds*, clothes; *prancers*, horses; *boozing ken*, an alehouse; *cove*, a fellow etc. In fact, some of the words are still in regular use, and in many cases, they are no longer deemed slang. For example, words like *bargain*, *chap*, *devilish*, *hog*, *kidnapper*, and *pot* are included in Hotten’s 1864 slang dictionary, but they are now regarded as standard words in Modern English. In the annotations, I have added more details on the usage of some of these terms in subsequent years and their inclusion in or exclusion from later slang and general dictionaries.

Most significant, however, is the fact that so many of the slang words have become somewhat modified since their inclusion in Hotten’s dictionary. A few are singled out to illustrate some of the changes which have taken place.<sup>162</sup> *Beetle-crusher* came back into vogue in the 1940s and 1950s with the advent of the thick-soled shoe for men. *Billy* is still in use in Newfoundland, for instance, in the compound *Billy-knocker*—a policeman’s truncheon. *Blackguard* as a noun also occurs in Newfoundland English in the sense of ‘somewhat obscene,’ e.g. “there is no blackguard into it” means “There’s nothing obscene in it.” *Drag* in the sense of

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<sup>161</sup> J. C. Hotten. *The Slang Dictionary*. London, 1864. ‘Preface.’ v-xii.

<sup>162</sup> Some of the examples of the headwords not listed under the researched letters *B*, *G*, *P*, and *T* are taken from the 1972 edition of the *Slang Dictionary* edited by J. D. A. Widdowson. ‘Preface.’ v-xii.

‘feminine attire worn by men’ is now in more general use, and, as with so many slang expressions, it may come as something of a surprise to find it has existed in the language for about a century. *Toddle* and *tootsie* have also survived, the former achieving more of an air of respectability, but both are confined mainly to baby-talk and to humorous contexts. *Tout*, as a noun, has developed other meanings than simply “an agent in the training districts, on the lookout for information as to the condition and capabilities of those horses entering for a coming race.” One of its common present-day usages is in the compound *ticket-tout*, a seller of tickets at grossly inflated prices before football matches and the like. Actually, many of the horse-racing terms listed in *The Slang Dictionary* are now part of everyday usage. Taking into consideration that some words, such as these, reappear after Hotten’s third edition in many slang dictionaries of the twentieth century, we can assume that Hotten has incorporated many original words from the nineteenth century in his compilation. Hence, Hotten’s goal to produce a “better” dictionary, a significant work for historical lexicography, was finally realized.

The conclusions drawn from this research are laid out in extensive annotations embedded in the lexical items in the appendix of this dissertation. This investigation of the headwords under the two letters represents a sample of the proposed research in the compilation of a new critical edition of Hotten’s dictionary.

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APPENDIX A

A SAMPLE OF THE CRITICAL EDITION OF *THE SLANG DICTIONARY* (1864)*Editorial Note*

This edition is intended for a scholarly and general audience and thus has been transcribed with care to ensure that anyone with a general interest in the etymology of slang words may understand its contents. Therefore, my editorial policy in most cases gives priority to the readability of the text over preservation of diacritics.

I have adhered to the transcription of John Camden Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*, remaining as true to the original as possible in reproducing the form of the dictionary. I have retained the original headwords and the positions of the dates, and I have indented the paragraphs according to the original. I have let Hotten's text stand precisely as in the original, with the exception of several obvious printer's errors that have been corrected. However, the order of the entries is not maintained but put into their correct positions in alphabetical order, and the exact lineation and number of pages are changed since the large spaces between entries can be disturbing to the reader. As an editor, I have also made slight punctuation changes for ease of reading. Noting Hotten's inconsistent use of apostrophes, I have placed them where they were missing in Hotten's text.

My own comments and conclusions drawn from the comprehensive research for this dissertation immediately follow each of Hotten's entries, in square brackets, which both removes the necessity for footnotes and makes Hotten's original text easily identifiable. It is impossible, in a dictionary of this sort, where so much information is gained by browsing, to impose a rigid uniformity on every entry. In order to escape the criticism of being inconsistent, I have tried to present information on each headword in the following layout:

I list the entries from Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* (1864) in the original form together with the definitions he provided. They are followed by my editorial comments always placed in square brackets. For each annotation, I first specify whether or not the headword was added to the third edition, though I omit this comment if the word appeared in Hotten's earlier editions. Then I provide further clarification of the term and register it as modern, obsolete, colloquial, slang, a prison term, thieves' slang, a nautical term, etc. This is followed by the source and the first known citations recorded in the *OED*, as well as an etymology of the term if it is found in other researched dictionaries. And finally, I include cross-references to the same entry in slang dictionaries that were compiled after Hotten, namely Barrère and Leland (B&L), Farmer and Henley (F&H), and Partridge, the full titles of which can be found in the Works Cited, in order to provide some account of Hotten's influence on later lexicographers.

I owe a very great deal to such dictionaries and glossaries as those by B.E., Grose, Vaux, B&L, F&H, and Partridge. Yet, as a detailed examination of these pages will show, I have added to them considerably from my own knowledge of the language and from my own reading. Yet the work I have done here is not exhaustive. I have spent two months just on the etymology of the word BONE and written a twenty-seven page essay on my findings. It is thus clear that an exhaustive examination of each entry in Hotten's dictionary would require many years. I am also fully aware that there may be typographical errors, and that there are inevitably numerous omissions in work of such scope.

- GAB, GABBER, or GABBLE, talk; “gift of the GAB,” loquacity, or natural talent for speech-making.—*Anglo-Norman*; GAB is also found in the *Danish* and *Old Norse*.  
 [Onomatopoeic word that derives from a verb GABBLE ‘to talk much or glibly’; ‘to chatter,’ ‘to prate.’ First cited in Burns’s *Earnest Cry* (1786) in the lines “Could I like Montgomeries fight, Or gab like Boswell,” the term was wide spread in the 19th century, especially in phrases like *Blow the gab* ‘to betray’ in Grose (1832), *Flash the gab* ‘to show off in conversation’ in Moore (1819), and *Chuck the Gab* ‘to tell the tale.’ The *OED* lists many literary sources with which Hotten might have been familiar, including Mrs. Carlyle’s *Letters* (1844) I. 293, “[He] came in to tea and sat there gabbing till ten o’clock” and R. Nicoll’s *Poems* (1842) 79, “He’s a gash, gabbin’ birkie, the Auld Beggar Man.” This word can also mean “to mock.” Although there is some uncertainty about the origin, Hotten regards it as an adoption of the Teut. words which appear as ON. *gabba* ‘to mock.’ He does not provide a detailed explanation of the meaning and origin, but he does include all that was known about the word at the time—an assumed origin, in this case. *Gabb* ‘mockery’ (GAB n), OFris. *gabbia* ‘to accuse,’ ‘to prosecute,’ and MDu. and MLG. *gabben* ‘to mock,’ ‘to deceive.’]
- GAD, a trapesing, slatternly woman.—*Gipsy*. *Anglo-Saxon*, GAEDELYNG. [Hotten included only Gipsy origin in the first edition and added “from Anglo-Saxon *gaedelyng*” to his second edition. Hotten had a tendency to include all the facts known to him, although sometimes controversial, in order to provide later lexicographers with valuable information and start a discussion. The *OED* does not list this particular meaning for a slang word but Partridge cites Hotten’s first edition as the only citation for this sense ‘an idle or trapesing woman’ (1859). Hotten’s definition was accepted by later lexicographers but the suggestion that it comes from Anglo-saxon *gaediling* is excluded in later slang dictionaries. However, the *OED* includes the etymology of GAD n, suggesting that it is a backformation of *gadling* ‘vagabond.’ It seems however that Hotten was not right about the Anglo-Saxon origin of the word.]
- GADDING THE HOOF, going without shoes. [Snowden’s *Mag. Assist* (1846) is cited in the *OED*, “Going without shoes, gadding the hoof,” and Hotten’s dictionary (1864) is quoted as well for this slang expression. Eric Partridge lists this term of low origin but does not cite any work that employs the expression except the year of first citation, 1845.]
- GADDING, roaming about, although used in an old translation of the Bible, now the word is only heard amongst the lower orders. [There are only two known citations of this verb used in the 19th century. The first one is R. L. Snowden *Mag. Assist* (1846). The second one is in Hotten’s *Slang Dictionary* (1864) 346, “Going without shoes, gadding the hoof.”]
- GAFF, a fair, or penny playhouse.—*See* PENNY GAFF. [A *penny-gaff* is ‘any public place of amusement.’ This term, most frequently used by speakers of slang, has passed into the literary vocabulary as the name for low class theatre or a vulgar music-hall. First cited in J. H. Vaux’s *Flash Dictionary* (1812) as “any public place of amusement [...], when spoken [...] in flash company.” Mayhew’s *London Labour* (1861) III. 144, expanded upon the definition, “When a professional goes to a gaff to get an engagement, they in general inquire whether he is a good ballet performer.” This term stayed in use for the next century and had multiple derived meanings including ‘brothel,’ ‘carnival,’ ‘the place of the crime,’ and even ‘home’ as a prison term for any dwelling place: *They did him in his gaff* ‘they arrested him at home,’ as cited in Paul Tempest’s *Lag’s Lexicon: A Comprehensive Dictionary and Encyclopedia of the English Prison of Today* (1950).]
- GAFFER, a master, or employer; term used by “navvies,” and general in *Lancashire* and *North of England*. *Early English* for an old man. *See* “BLOW the GAFF.” [This term is added to the 1864 edition. It was a familiar term in the 17th and 18th century mostly used in the country to mean ‘master.’ Hotten adds the second meaning, hence navvies’ ‘a foreman.’]
- GAFFING, tossing halfpence, or counters.—*North*, where it means tossing up three pennies. [This is a colloquial expression used frequently in costermongers’ circles to mean ‘to gamble,’ *esp.* to ‘toss up.’ Hotten probably took it from the 1812 J. H. Vaux *Flash Dictionary*, where it is listed as the verb *Gaff*, ‘to gamble with cards, dice, &c., or to toss up.’ Pierce Egan also defines this term in his *Life in London* (1828), suggesting that he might be Hotten’s source: “A way of tossing three coins in a hat to say who is to pay for drinks; only he who calls correctly for all three is exempt from payment.”]
- GAG, language introduced by an actor into his part. In certain pieces this is allowed by custom, and these are called GAG-PIECES. *The Critic, or a Tragedy Rehearsed*, is one of these. Many actors, however, take French leave in this respect with most pieces.—*Theatrical Slang*.  
 MR ROBSON AT BELFAST.—We (*Northern Whig*) suspected a little bit of what is professionally termed “GAG”



in Mr. Robson's *Daddy Hardacre* last night. He had occasion to say that one of the characters in the piece "understands me well enough," to which he added—"I wish some other people did the same," with an expressive glance at the pit; which we interpreted as having special reference to those appreciative persons in the audience whom we have already mentioned, who think it absolutely needful to roar with laughter at every sentence Mr. Robson utters, without the least regard to whether it be humorous or pathetic—only because Mr. Robson has fame as a comic actor.—Jan. 1863.

- [This is a theatrical term added to Hotten's third edition of the *Slang Dictionary*. Mayhew's *London Labour* (1861) III. 149 lists it as "expressions, remarks, etc. not occurring in the written piece but interpolated or substituted by the actor." The first citation of this word is recorded in Dickens's *Bleak House* (1852). The term may have its origins in Cockney: "The performance consisted of all gag. I don't suppose anybody knows what the words are in the piece," as quoted in the *Illustr. Lond. News* (1847) 10 July 27/1. The term stayed in use for a few more decades and completely disappeared from 20th-century stage conversations. In 1884, Symond uses it in his work *Shaks. Predecess.* viii. 288, "Jigs were written in rhyme, plentifully interspersed with gag and extempore action," as well as Frith in *Autobiography* (1887) I. xxv. 383, "If he [the actor] found his gag tell upon the audience he repeated it."
- GAG**, to hoax, "take a rise" out of one; to COD. [Term added to the third edition. First use recorded in 1805 as low slang; later it became a colloquialism and was used in the *Daily News* on the 16th of May 1885. Hotten probably took it from John Bee who described it as 'a joke, invention; hoax; imposition.']
- GAG**, a lie; "a GAG he told to the beak." —*Thieves' Cant*. [Term already listed in the second edition but put in the footnotes in the 1864 edition. It is believed to have originated from Vaux since there are 32 other footnoted *Prison Terms* in Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* with similar definitions to Vaux's.]
- GAGE**, a small quantity of anything; as "a GAGE of tobacco," meaning a pipeful; "a GAGE of gin," a glassful. ['a quart pot' in Harman; 'a pint' in Grose; 'a drink of beer' among Romanies; 'a pipe' in B.E., Grose, and Ainsworth. Hotten was evidently familiar with this term through these sources.]
- GALENY**, old Cant term for a fowl of any kind; now a respectable word in the West of England, signifying a Guinea fowl.—*Vide Grose. Latin, GALLINA.*
- GALLAVANT**, to wait upon the ladies.—*Old*. [Also GALLIVANT, this term is a great example of the non-standardized spelling of many slang words. Vowels were randomly employed, sometimes changing the words considerably. *Gallivant*, 'a nest of whores' comes from Bee (1823) and derives from *galeny*.]
- GALLIMAUFRY**, a kind of stew made up of scraps of various kinds. [Term added to the third edition. Taken from Grose, 'a medley,' 'a jumble,' and a 'hodgepodge made up of the remnants and scraps of the larder.' It was used in the 16<sup>th</sup> and 17<sup>th</sup> century and is quite common in Shakespeare, to mean 'a mistress' and 'the female pudent.']
- GALLIPOT**, an apothecary. [Term added to the third edition. Originates in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Grose recorded it in the first edition of *A Classical Dictionary* and Thackeray used it in his *Book of Snobs*.]
- GAFORE**, abundance. *Irish, GO LEOR*, in plenty. [ad. Irish *go leór* (= Gaelic *gu leòr, leòir*) to sufficiency, sufficiently, enough, f. *go, gu* to + *leór* sufficiency, sufficient. Now commonly viewed as Irish; in some earlier examples the proximate source seems to have been Sc. Gaelic. Commonly used in Hotten's time, 'in abundance or plenty,' this term was first cited in 1675. An additional example provided in the *OED* is H. Teonge *Diary* (1825) 25, "Provinder good store, beef...chickens, hens, galore."]
- GALLOWS**, very, or exceedingly—a disgusting exclamation; "GALLOWS poor," very poor. [Mostly used in dialect and in slang to mean 'with intensive force,' 'extremely,' 'very,' 'jolly.' Used mostly in poetry in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: *Song* in *Byron's Juan* (1823) XI. xix. *note*, "Then your Blowing will wax gallows haughty, When she hears of your scaly mistake." Mayhew lists another meaning that Hotten excludes, 'a pair of braces' also spelled *galusses*]
- GAMB**, a leg. Still used as a heraldic term, as well as by thieves, who probably get it from the *Lingua Franca. Italian, GAMBA; French, JAMBE*, a leg. [This long explanation of the term's origin is added to the third edition and is still being used for the etymology of the word GAMB or GAM. Hotten was not credited in Partridge's *A Dictionary of Slang and Unconventional English* or in Farmer and Henley although both dictionaries cite his explanation.]
- GAME**, a term variously applied; "are you GAME?" have you courage enough? "what's your little GAME?" what are you planning to do? "come, none of your GAMES," be quiet, don't annoy or confuse me; "on the GAME," out thieving. [Some of these phrases were listed in Egan's *Boxiana* which is an obvious source for the pugilistic term meaning 'courage.' In addition, *On the game*, 'thieving,' was cited in Brandon (1839) and remained in use for many years in the 19th century. Hotten provides contemporary

- phrases here without giving any further explanation.]
- GAME LEG, a lame or wounded leg. [Term of uncertain origin added to the third edition. There are no records of this phrase in either Partridge or Barrère and Leland suggesting that the term became either obsolete or was commonly used in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- GAMMON, deceit, humbug, a false and ridiculous story. *Anglo-Saxon*, GAMEN, game, sport. [Originally thieves' slang. Commonly identified with the above mentioned ME. *gamen* GAME *n*; but the chronological gap is great, and the meaning in which the modern word first appears does not favor this etymology. Perhaps there may be some untraceable jocular allusion to GAMMON *n*. This word is known in thieves' slang from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in phrases such as *to give gammon* and *to keep in gammon*: 'to engage (a person's) attention while a confederate is robbing him.' A. Smith's *Hist. Highwaymen* (1720) III and D. Haggart's *Life* (1821) seem to be possible Hotten's sources. Meaning 'talk,' and 'chatter,' this word also appears in the *Grose's Dict. Vulgar Tongue* (1796), *Gamon and Patter* as, "Commonplace talk of any profession; as the gamon and patter of a horse-dealer, sailor, etc," but Hotten does not include this meaning in his dictionary.]
- GAMMON, to hoax, to deceive merrily, to laugh at a person, to tell an untrue but plausible story, to make game of, or, in the provincial dialect, to make GAME ON; "who's thou makin' thy GAM' ON?" *i.e.*, who are you making a fool of?—*Yorkshire*. [This is a survival of the ME. *gamen* GAME *n.*, or a noun of action *f*. *gamne* vb. Possibly *gammon* and *backgammon* may have been used to denote different degrees of victory in the game of 'tables,' before they came to be used as names for the game itself; the application to the game itself is recorded early and is used with different slang meanings in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In Dickens' *Pickw.* (1837) xxiv, "Some people maintain that an Englishman's house is his castle. That's gammon." This word is also used to mean 'ridiculous nonsense suited to deceive simple persons only,' 'humbug,' and 'rubbish'.]
- GAMMY, bad, unfavorable, poor tempered. Those householders who are known enemies to the street folk and tramps are pronounced by them to be GAMMY. GAMMY sometimes means forged, as "GAMMY-MONEKER," a forged signature; GAMMY STUFF, spurious medicine; GAMMY LOWR, counterfeit coin. *Hants*, GAMY, dirty. The hieroglyphic used by beggars and cadgers to intimate to those of the tribe coming after that things are not very favourable is known as □, or GAMMY. *Gaelic, Welsh, and Irish*, CAM, (GAM,) crooked, bad. [Latter three origins are added in the third edition by Hotten. This is a cant word first recorded (according to the *OED*) in the 1893 Farmer's *Slang Dictionary* which cites definition from Grose's *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (1785): *Do you stoll the gammy? Do you understand cant?* Also used in *Tramps' slang* as 'bad,' 'not good.' This word is included in Mayhew's *Lond. Labour* (1851) I. 364 as meaning "A mark being placed on the door post of such as are bone or gammy in order to inform the rest of the school where to call and what houses to avoid." After Hotten, Barrère and Leland included this word as *Theatrical Slang* in their 1889 edition; *Gammy* 'old,' 'ugly,' 'passée.']
- GAMMY-VIAL, (Ville,) a town where the police will not let persons hawk. [First cited in Hotten; contemporary slang derived from *gammy* 'mean,' 'hard,' in Bampfylde Moore-Carew.]
- GANDER MONTH, the period when the monthly nurse is in the ascendant, and the husband has to shift for himself. [The month after childbirth, when in the 17<sup>th</sup> to early 19<sup>th</sup> century, it was "excusable for[a] husband to err." This term has been used in colloquial speech and in dialect, according to Dekker's *Wond. Kingdome* (1863) II, "Is't \*Gander moneth with him?" Special combination (mainly *slang*): gander-month, -moon, the month after a wife's confinement (allusion to the gander's aimless wandering while the goose is sitting); Brome *Eng. Moor* (a1652) III. i. 40, "I'll keep her at the least this Gander moneth, While my fair wife lies in." This phrase reappears in Grose's *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (1796), *Gander Month*, "That month in which a man's wife lies in: wherefore, during that time, husbands plead a sort of indulgence in matters of gallantry." In Hotten's time, it was mostly used in the compound *gander-moon*, for example: *Chesh. Gloss* (1886). s.v. *Gonder-moon*, "Oh, it's \*gonder moon wi' 'im; he's lost and dusna know what he's doin'."]
- GANGER, the person who superintends the work of a gang, or a number of navigators. [Term added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition as 'an overseer or foreman of a working gang.' Beginning in 1849 it was used as a colloquialism and it appeared later in Mayhew. With its more nautical connotation, it was employed in *Cornhill Magazine* in June 1884.]
- GAPE-SEED, something to look at; a lazy fellow, unmindful of his work, is said to be "looking for GAPE-SEED." [Also used as GAPESEED; added later to the 1864 edition, this term originated in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century as a colloquialism but remained in use for many centuries. In the 19<sup>th</sup> century it was used in both dialectal and colloquial speech, but it was used only in dialect in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. The term was previously cited in

- B.E. and Grose and it found its way to the pages of Partridge's dictionary through Hotten.]
- GAR, euphuistic rendering of the title of the Deity; "be GAR, you don't say so!"—*Franco-English*. [In oaths (*beggar!*, *by gar!*, *gar!*) is a corruption of *God* (cf. *gad*) that originated in late 16<sup>th</sup> century.]
- GARDEN, among tradesmen signifies Covent *Garden* Market; among theatrical performers, Covent *Garden* Theatre. [The first record of this theatrical colloquialism appeared in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition (1864). Since 1760, the term has been used to describe the Market. This market moved to Nine Elms in 1974, according to the *OED*.]
- GARDENER, an awkward coachman; an insinuation that he is both coachman and gardener, and understands the latter branch of service better than the first; "get on, GARDENER," is a most insulting expression from a cabby to a real coachman. [An awkward coachman' was first cited in Hotten's 1859 edition, while the other meanings were added in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Partridge and Henley and Farmer acknowledged Hotten's 1864 edition as the first quotation and Partridge found additional records of these meanings in 1918.]
- GARGLE, medical-student Slang for drinkables. [The word 'drinkables' substituted the word 'physic' in the 1864 edition. It is a slang word meanings 'a drink,' or 'draught of liquor.' The *OED* lists Hotten's 1860 *Slang Dictionary* as the first to include this word. It comes from the verb GARGLE [ad. F. *gargouiller* 'to gargle or gargarize; also, to rattle in the throat' (Cotgr.), f. *gargouille* throat: cf. GARGIL. In it both *gargagliare* and *gorgogliare* are found, and the Rom. and Teut. languages present a series of words in *garg-*, *gorg-*, *gurg-*, which refer to the throat or to gurgling noises produced in the throat. Diez supposes the vowel of F. *gargouille*, *gargatte*, etc. to be due to the influence of L. *gargarizare* upon words with the original *o*, as F. *gorge*, It. & Sp. *gorgia*, It. & Sp. *gorga*, but less definite causes were probably at work in the whole range of these forms. In modern Eng. *gargle* has supplanted the older *gargarize*, perhaps because it was more native in form, and was felt to be more expressive of the sound produced by the action.]
- GARNISH, the *douceur* or fee which, before the time of Howard the philanthropist, was exacted by the keepers of gaols from their unfortunate prisoners for extra comforts. [Added to the third edition, the term originated in the 17<sup>th</sup> century and was in use until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This term was recorded in Greene and B.E.]
- GARNISH, footing-money.—*Yorkshire*. [Unknown sources—Hotten lists it as dialect. And, as the *OED* points out, this may well be a ghost word due to a misapprehension by Johnson, copied by Farmer and Henley.]
- GARRET, the head. [*slang word* 'the head'; esp. in phrases *to be wrong in one's garret*, *to have one's garret unfurnished*.' First recorded in Grose's *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (1796), *Garret*, or *Upper Story*, the head. "His garret, or upper story, is empty, or unfurnished; i.e. he has no brains, he is a fool," and then in J. H. Vaux's *Flash Dict.* (1812), *Garret*, 'the fob-pocket.' Might be connected to OF. *garite*, *guerite*, watch-tower (mod.F. *guérite* watch-tower, sentry-box, refuge) = Sp. *garita* (? from Fr.), Pg. *guarita*; of Teut. origin, connected with OF. *guarir*, *warir*, to preserve, guard, cure (mod. F. *guérir* to cure), ad. Teut. \**warjan* to defend, protect; the precise formation of the n. has not been satisfactorily explained.]
- GARRET, the fob pocket.—*Prison term*. [Another footnoted prison term that came from Vaux. Hotten's 1864 is the last citation recorded in the *OED* and Partridge.]
- GARRETER, a thief who crawls over the tops of houses and enters garret- windows. Called also a DANCER, or DANCING-MASTER [First recorded in Hotten's 1864 edition, this term was used in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- GARROTING, a mode of cheating practiced amongst card-sharpers, by concealing certain cards at the back of the neck. [A noun (gerund) derived from the verb *gar(r)ote* 'to cheat' that was first quoted in 1850.]
- GAS, "to give a person GAS," to scold him or give him a good beating. Synonymous with "to give him JESSIE."
- GASSY, or GASEOUS, liable to "flare up" at any offence. [Both GAS and GASSY were cited for the first time in Hotten's second edition of the *Slang Dictionary* (1860). Partridge credits him for this explanation of the verb and an adjective.]
- GATE, THE, Billingsgate. [The term often used among fishmongers from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It was also used as a term for Newgate prison in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Hotten is credited in Farmer and Henley.]
- GATE-RACE, among pedestrians a mock race, got up not so much for the best runner to win, but for the money taken from spectators at the gate. [There is no record of this phrase in the *OED*. Partridge uses a similar definition and credits Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition for this entry. According to Farmer and Henley, this sporting slang term became colloquial in 1881 when often used in GATE-MEETING.]
- GATTER, beer; "shant of GATTER," a pot of beer. A curious Slang street melody, known in Seven Dials as *Bet, the Coaley's Daughter*, thus mentions the word in a favourite verse :—
- "But when I strove my flame to tell,  
Says she, 'Come, stow that patter,

If you're a cove wot likes a gal,  
 Vy don't you stand some GATTER?  
*In course* I instantly complied—  
 Two brimming quarts of porter,  
 With four *goes* of gin beside,  
 Drain'd Bet the Coaley's daughter.”

- GAWF, a cheap red-skinned apple, a favorite fruit with costermongers, who rub them well with a piece of cloth, and find ready purchasers. [This entry is listed in its plural form GAWS ‘cheap apples’ in the previous editions. No mention of this meaning in the *OED* but Mayhew records the term in his *London Labour*.]
- GAWKY, a lanky, or awkward person; a fool. *Saxon*, GEAC; *Scotch*, GOWK. [Meaning ‘awkward’ and ‘stupid’; ‘ungainly,’ this word is cited in many 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century literary works. It appears in the 1860 Thackeray *Lovel* ii, “I should like to know who that great tall gawky girl in the passage is.” Hotten might have encountered it when working on his biography. It is Standard or colloquial now.]
- GAY, loose, dissipated; “GAY woman,” a kept mistress or prostitute. [Frequently used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century as a *euphemism* esp. for a woman making a living by prostitution and to describe a place serving as a brothel. Today these meanings are rare. The first use of the word occurs in R. King *New Cheats of London Exposed* (1795) 17, “Those bullies who live upon whores of fashion, affect the dress and airs of men of rank and fortune, and by strutting occasionally by the side of a gay lady, add a consequence to her and themselves, and induce the ignorant cully to think that miss confers her favours on gentlemen alone.”]
- GAY-TYKE-BOY, a dog-fancier. [The term was in use from 1840-1880 as low slang. Cited in Duncombe’s *Sinks of London* (1848)]
- GEE, to agree with, or be congenial to a person. [The *OED* lists two meanings for this word. The first one is cited in the B.E.; Hotten might have taken it either from his *Dictionary of Canting Crew* or through Grose since he also listed the same meaning in *A Classical Dictionary*. a) To go; to fit, suit, etc. (only in negative phrases is listed in B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700) s.v., “*It won't Gee*, it won't hit, or go,” and in Grose *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (1785) s.v., “*It won't gee*, it won't hit or do, it does not suit or fit.” In the 1850 *Seaworthy Nag's Head* v. 35, “‘It don't seem to gee!’ said Isaac, as he was trying to adjust the stove.” The proof, however, that Hotten felt the need to add more connotations and improve his dictionary came from the fact that he listed the second meaning as well: b) Of persons: ‘To behave as is desired; to agree, get on well (*together*).’ Durfey *Pills* (1719) V. 83, “If Miss prove peevish, and will not gee, Ne'er pine..at the wanton Pug,” S. Pegge *Anecd. Eng. Lang.* (1803) 13, “In Yorkshire, in Lancashire, and other Northern parts of the kingdom where things do not suit or fit each other or where neighbours do not accord, the expression is ‘They do not Ge well together,’” Forby *Voc. E. Anglia* (a1825) s.v., “This does not ge well with that. He and she will never ge together,” Britton *Beaut. Wiltsh.* (1825) III. 374, *Gee* or *Jee*, “to agree; to go on well together,” and *Century Mag.* (1889) Dec. 225/2, “Me and the president didn't gee. He hadn't no fault to find with me; but I didn't like his ways, and I quit.”]
- GEELOOT, a recruit, or awkward soldier. [This was a nautical term first cited in J. H. Vaux *Flash Dict.* (1812), *Galloot*, ‘a soldier.’ Hotten adds this word to his 1865 edition of *Slang Dict.*, with a changed spelling *Geeloot*. It later appears in the 1867 Smyth *Sailor's Word-bk.*, *Galoot*, ‘an awkward soldier’ or ‘A soubriquet for the young or ‘green’ marine.’ Partridge believes the word comes from Dutch *gelubt* ‘a eunuch.’]
- GEN, a shilling. Also, GENT, silver. Abbreviation of the *French*, ARGENT, [a. *French argent*, and. Latin *argentum* ‘white money,’ ‘silver,’ as cited in Mayhew (1851).]
- GENT, silver. From the *French*, ARGENT. [Already in use but first cited in Hotten’s first edition (1859).]
- GENT, a contraction of “gentleman,”—in more senses than one. A dressy, showy, foppish man, with a little mind, who vulgarises the prevailing fashion. [Used in Burns, Thackeray, and Disraeli as low colloquial, except when applied derisively to those who use the term.]
- “GENTLEMAN OF FOUR OUTS;” in Ireland when a vulgar, blustering fellow asserts that he is a gentleman, the retort generally is, “Yes, a GENTLEMAN OF FOUR OUTS—that is, without wit, without money, without credit, and without manners.” [First quoted in Grose (1785) as *three outs*. Variants *four*, *five* later appeared in Hotten and referred to Ireland specifically. Farmer and Henley used Hotten’s quotation in their dictionary.]
- “GENTLEMAN OF THREE INNS”—that is, in debt, in danger, and in poverty. [Cited in Grose (1788), ‘in debt,’ ‘in danger of being hanged in chains.’ The phrase became obsolete after 1890. Hotten records it for the first time in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.]
- GEORDIE, general term in Northumberland and Durham for a pitman, or coal-miner. Origin not known; the term

- has been in use for more than a century. [The term was used in Durham University and School. Hotten's citation is accepted by both Partridge and Farmer and Henley who list this meaning among other contemporary connotations.]
- GERMAN DUCK, a sheep's-head stewed with onions; a favourite dish among the German sugar-bakers in the East End of London. [Late 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> century term cited in Hotten first and used frequently in his time.]
- GERMAN DUCKS, bugs.—*Yorkshire*. [Originally and mainly Yorkshire term first cited in Hotten's 1864 edition.]
- GET-UP, a person's appearance, or general arrangements. Probably derived from the decorations of a play.  
 "There's so much GETTING UP to please the town,  
 It takes a precious deal of coming down."  
 —*Planches Mr Buckstone's Ascent of Parnassus*. [No mention of this phrase in the *OED*. It was rarely used before 1870. Grose gives no examples; in Hotten 1859, there are none, while 1860 and 1864 include the same definition.]
- GHOST, "the GHOST doesn't walk," *i.e.*, the manager is too poor to pay salaries as yet.—*Theatrical; Household Words*, No. 183. [Used in oil drilling as 'pay day' in the US, 1954.]
- GIB-FACE, properly the lower lip of a horse; "TO HANG ONE'S GIR," to pout the lower lip, be angry or sullen.
- GIBBERISH, unmeaning jargon; the language of the Gipseys, synonymous with SLANG, another *Gipsey* word. *Somner* says, "French, GABBER; Dutch, GABBEREN; and our own GAB, GABBER; hence also, I take it, our GIBBERISH, a kind of canting language used by the sort of rogues we vulgarly call Gipseys, a *gibble gabble* understood only among themselves."—*Gipsey*. See *Introduction*. [The *gibberish* of schoolboys is formed by placing a consonant between each syllable of a word, and is called the *gibberish* of the letter inserted. Thus, if F were the letter, it would be termed the F *gibberish*; if L, the L *gibberish*—as in the sentence, "How do you do?—Howl dol youl dol." A *gibberish* is sometimes formed by adding *vis* to each word, in which the previous sentence would be—"Howvis dovvis youvis dovvis?" Schoolboys in France form a *gibberish*, in a somewhat similar manner, by elongating their words into two syllables, in the first of which an *r*, in the second a *g*, predominates. Thus the words *vous etes un fou* are spoken, *vousdregue esdregue undregue foudregue*. Fast persons in Paris, of both sexes, frequently adopt terminations of this kind, from some popular song, actor, exhibition, or political event. In 1830, the favorite was *mar*, becoming *epicemar* for *epicier*, *cafemar* for *cafe*. In 1823, when the diorama created a sensation in Paris, the people spoke in rama (*on parlait en rama*.) In *Balzac's* beautiful tale, *Le Pere Goriot*, the young painter at the boarding-house dinner-table mystifies the landlady by saying, "what a beautiful *soupeaurama!*" To which the old woman replies, to the great laughter of the company, "I beg your pardon, sir, it is *une soupe a choux*." ]
- GIFFLE-GAFFLE, nonsense. See CHAFF. *Icelandic*, GAFLA. [Slang term created by reduplication.]
- GIFT, any article which has been stolen, arid afterwards sold at a low price. [A footnoted term in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Taken from Mayhew (1851) and used from 1850 to 1890, according to Partridge.]
- GIG, a farthing. Formerly GRIG. [Cited in Grose: "A farthing. A Merry gig, a fellow as merry as a *grig*; an allusion to the apparent liveliness of a *grig*, or young eel."]
- GIG, fun, frolic, a spree. *Old French*, GIGUE, a jig, a romp. [The etymology added to the 1864 edition.]  
 "In search of lark, or some delicious GIG,  
 The mind delights on, when 'tis in *prime* twig."  
 —*Randall's Diary*, 1820.  
 "No heirs have I," said mournful Matt;  
 But Tom, still fond of GIG,  
 Cried out, "No hairs? don't fret at that,  
 When you can buy a wig."
- GIGLAMPS, spectacles. In my first edition I stated this to be a *University term*. Mr. Cuthbert Bede, however, in a communication to *Notes and Queries*, of which I have availed myself in the present edition, says—"If the compiler has taken this epithet from *Verdant Green*, I can only say that I consider the word not to be a 'University' word in general, but as only due to this inventive genius of Mr. Bouncer in particular." The term, however, has been adopted, and is now in general use. [GIG n. + LAMP *pl.* Spectacles. *slang*. Popularized by Cuthbert Bede (1853) *Verdant Green* iii, "'Looks ferociously mild in his gig-lamps!' remarked a third, alluding to Mr. Verdant Green's spectacles." In the 1887 *Punch* 30 July 45/1, "Jack's a straw-thatched young joker in gig-lamps." The term means 'spectacles' in Oxford University Slang, 1848-1860.]
- GILL, a homely woman; "Jack and GILL," &c.—*Ben Jonson*.
- GILLS, the lower part of the face.—*Bacon*. "To grease one's GILLS," "to have a good feed," or make a hearty meal.

- [This was a boxing term in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century: *A cant, or digs, in the gills* ‘a punch in the face.’]
- GILLS, a shirt collar. [First cited in Hotten, 1859, this term comes from ‘the corners of a stand up collar’ (1826), according to *The Short Oxford Dictionary*.]
- GILT, money. *German*, GELD; *Dutch*, GELT. [Money; in early use often with reference to the pay of a (German) army; now only *slang*. *bare gelt* (= Ger. *baares geld*, Du. *baar geld*) ready money. *passage gelt*: tr. of Ger. *fahrgeld* passage money. Perhaps this is a pseudo-archaism for *gold*. First cited in the mid 16<sup>th</sup> century, it remained in use until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Among many citations is B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700), *Gelt*, money. “There is no Gelt to be got.” The *OED* does not cite Grose or any other 19<sup>th</sup> century dictionary of *slang*, so they have been examined in order to find the source for Hotten’s dictionary. This word may have been taken directly from B.E.]
- GIMCRACK, a bijou, a slim piece of mechanism. *Old Slang* for “a spruce wench.”—*New Bailey*. [First cited in Grose *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* (1785) s.v., “A gimcrack also means a person who has a turn for mechanical contrivances.” Later, A. E. Baker quotes it in his *Northampt. Gloss.* (1854), *Gimcrack*, or *Gimcrank*, an universal mechanic, a Jack of all trades. “He’s quite a gimcrank, he can turn his hand to anything.” Also used in Thackeray *Pendennis* (1849) II. iii, “She praised the lovely breloques or gimcracks which the young gentleman wore at his watch-chain.”]
- “GIN-AND-GOSPEL GAZETTE,” the *Morning Advertiser*, so called from its being the organ of the Dissenting party, and of the Licensed Victuallers’ Association. Sometimes termed the TAP TUB, or the ’TIZER.
- GINGER, a showy, fast horse—as if he had been FIGGED with GINGER under his tail. [Sporting *slang* ‘a showy, fast horse’ in use since 1825 Westmacott *English Spy* I. 86, “If you want to splash along in glory with a ginger.”]
- GINGERLY, to do anything with great care.—*Cotgrave*.
- GINGER HACKLED, having flaxen light yellow hair.—*See* HACKLE. [The *OED* lists the 1839 H. Ainsworth *J. Sheppard* II. xii, “Somebody may be on the watch, perhaps that old \*ginger-hackled Jew” as the only citation for this compound word. However, it includes the following 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century citations under the noun GINGER ‘a red-haired or sandy-haired person.’ The 1785 Grose *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* s.v. *Ginger-pated* reads, “Red cocks are called gingers.” The 1797 *Sporting Mag.* IX. 338 states, “In cocking, I suppose you will not find a better breed of gingers.” As *dialect* and *slang* ‘a light sandy colour, resembling that of ginger’ appears in the 1865 Dickens *Mut. Fr.* I. ii, which also includes “Mature young gentleman; with too much ginger in his whiskers.” Dickens is actually listed as the first citation for the adjective GINGEROUS.]
- GINGUMBOB, a bauble. [Probably taken from Egan’s edition of Grose: GINGAMBOBS ‘toys, bawbles.’ There are seven other possible spellings: jig(g)am-, jiggem-, jigum-, jiggobob, jig-em-bob, giggam bobb, gigg-em-, giggom-, giggum-, gingham-, gingumbob. A humorous formation from JIG *n.* or *v.*: cf. *kickumbob*, *thingumbob*. Something odd or fanciful; a bauble, toy, knick-knack; something which one does not choose to name or specify: = THINGUMBOB. (Rarely applied to a person.) The first citations appears in B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700), *Gingumbobs*, Toies, or Baubles. No later citations are known. Partridge also lists B.E. and Grose as sources and places this term in use from the late 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century. Modern connotation for this noun in plural is ‘testicles.’]
- “GIRNIGO-GABY THE CAT’S COUSIN,” a reproachful expression said to a crying child. [First cited in the 1864 edition, modern *slang* dictionaries credit Hotten for the explanation of this expression. *Girnigo-baby* is a crying baby; *cat’s cousin* obviously refers to the shrill noise. *Girn* ‘to cry’ is a Scottish term.]
- GIVE, to strike, or scold; “I’ll GIVE it to you,” *i.e.*, I will thrash you. Formerly, *to rob*. [Hotten takes out this last remark from his next edition since it became a colloquial term in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Also a prison term cited in Vaux.]
- GLADSTONE, cheap claret, since that popular Chancellor of the Exchequer has reduced the duty on French wines. [Term of uncertain origin added to the 1864 edition.]
- GLASGOW MAGISTRATE, a salt herring.—*Scotch*. [While the first citation recorded appears in the 1833 *Chambers’s Edinb. Jrnl.* 2 Nov. 314/2, “My neighbour, thinking it absurd to mince such a matter, as a *Glasgow Magistrate*, handed up a whole one to the chairman.” It is obvious that the 1890 A. Barrère and C. G. Leland *Dict. Slang* II. 38/1 *Magistrate* (Scotch *slang*), *a herring*, took the citation from Hotten. Later, the phrase was found in the 1895 J. Nicholson *Kilwuddie* (ed. 4) 119, “Ham’s unco dear, sae, if ye like, we’s hae a ‘magistrate.’” In the 1950 *Scots Mag.* Dec. 171 herring were cured there by Walter Gibson, a merchant of Glasgow and Provost of that city in 1688, and it is perhaps because of Provost Gibson that salt herring acquired their nickname of ‘Glasgow Magistrates.’]
- GLAZE, glass; generally applied to windows. [A *slang* term for ‘a window.’ *On, upon the glaze*: ‘robbing jewellers’

- shops after smashing the windows.’ First cited with this meaning in B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700), *Glaze*, ‘the window.’ The term is listed in Grose’s 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, Johnson’s *Pirates and Highwaymen* (1719), and in Brandon.]
- GLIB, a tongue; “slacken your GLIB,” *i.e.*, “loosen your tongue.” [Mid 19<sup>th</sup> century term included in Hotten’s 1864 edition for the first time. Farmer and Henley cite the same definition as Hotten.]
- GLIM, a light, a lamp; “dowse the GLIM,” put the candle out.—*Sea and Old Cant.* GLIMS, spectacles. *Gaelic* [Origin added in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. See the explanation for GLINN below.]
- GLIM LURK, a begging paper, giving a certified account of a dreadful fire—which never occurred. [A footnoted term in Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; cited in Mayhew’s *London Labour* and in use from 1845-1880.]
- GLINN, light. *German*, (provincial,) GLIMM, a spark. [(Ultimately f. the weak-grade of the Teut. root \**glim-*, *glaim-* (see GLEAM); but the history is obscure. Possibly the word may be a modification of *glims* GLIMPSE, and a ‘light of any kind,’ a shortening of GLIMMER, its earlier synonym. It is not certain that the n. existed in OE. or ON., though some of the Continental Teut. langs. have a word of the same form and meaning; cf. MHG. *glim* (mod.G. *glimm*) masc., spark, Sw. dial. *glim* flash, Du. (obs.), Flem. *glim*, also *glimp*, glow, glance, passing appearance.) As a *slang word* ‘a light of any kind; a candle, a lantern’ is first found in a1700 B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew*, *Glim*, “A Dark-Lantern used in Robbing Houses,” then in the 1798 J. H. Vaux’s *Mem.* (1819) I. viii. 75 “When in the Cockpit all was dim And not a Mid dar’d shew his glim,” and in fiction like the 1838 Dickens *O. Twist* xxii, “Show a glim, Toby” and 1883 Stevenson *Treas. Isl.* I. v, “Sure enough, they left their glim here” which suggests it was in common use in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Pierce Egan also made a record of the term as ‘eyesight.’]
- GLOAK, a man.—*Scotch*. [(Of unknown origin; cf. BLOKE) ‘A man,’ ‘fellow,’ ‘cove’ as listed in the 1795 Potter’s *Dict. Cant.*, *Gloak*. “*high Tober gloak*, a highwayman well dressed and mounted,” and in the 1812 J. H. Vaux’s *Flash Dict.*, *Gloak*, synonymous with Gill. The *Flash Dict.* lists *Gill* as a word used by way of variation, similar to *cove*, *gloak* or *gory*; but generally coupled with some other descriptive term such as a *flash-gill* or a *toby-gill*. Denoting both ‘Man’ and ‘fellow,’ it occurs in the 1861 Mayhew’s *Lond. Labour* III. 397 (Hoppe), “If we met an old bloke we propped him” which is most likely Hotten’s source.]
- GLUM, sulky, stern; “to look GLUM,” to appear annoyed or disconcerted. [Term added to the 1864 edition. It was used in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. Now Standard English.]
- GLUMP, to sulk. [19<sup>th</sup> century word; back formation. First verb ‘to sulk’ appeared in the c1746 *Exmoor Scolding* (E.D.S.) 39, “Ya gurt chounting, grumbling, glumping..Trash. *Wilmot*. Don’t tell me o’ glumping.” The term was later used as a noun meaning ‘sulky person.’”]
- GLUMPISH, of a stubborn, sulky temper.
- GNOSTIC, a knowing one, or “sharper.”—*Nearly obsolete in this vulgar sense*. [A knowing person, ‘a downy cove’ The term was used from 1815 to 1900 but was already obsolete in 1859 when Hotten recorded it. Moore quoted it in his *Tom Crib*, “Many of the words used by the Canting Beggars in Beaumont and Fletcher’s masque are still to be heard among the Gnostics of Dyot Street.”]
- GO, a GO of gin, a quartern of that liquor. (This word, as applied to a measure of liquor, is stated by a correspondent to have arisen from the following circumstance:—Two well-known actors once met at the bar of a tavern to have a “wet” together. “One more glass and then we’ll GO” was repeated so often on either hand, that in the end GO was out of the question with both of them, and so the word passed into a saying.) GO is also synonymous with circumstance or occurrence; “a rummy GO,” and “a great GO,” signify curious and remarkable occurrences; “no GO,” no good; “here’s a pretty GO!” here’s a trouble!; GO, a term in the game of cribbage; “to GO the jump,” to enter a house by the window; “all the GO,” in fashion.—*See* LITTLE GO; also CALL-A-GO.
- “Gemmen (says he,) you all well know  
The joy there is whene’er we meet;  
It’s what I call the primest GO,  
And rightly named, ‘tis—’quite a treat.”  
—*Jack Randall’s Diary*, 1820.
- GO-ALONG, a thief.—*Household Words*, No. 183. [A footnoted term in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hotten also recorded it in his second edition since the word was quoted earlier in ‘Ducange Anglicus’ (1857) dictionary. Meaning ‘fool’ or *go-along*, it is recorded in Mayhew and Vaux. ]
- “GO DUE NORTH,” to become bankrupt, to go to Whitecross Street. [‘To go bankrupt’ originated in the Whitecross Street Prison, once situated in the north of London. According to Partridge, the term was in use from 1810-1880.]
- GOB, the mouth; mucus, or saliva,—*North*. Sometimes used for GAB, talk—  
“There was a man called *Job*,

Dwelt in the land of Uz ;  
 He had a good gift of the GOB;  
 The same case happen us.”

ZACH. BOYD.

Gaelic—GAB and GOB, a mouth. *See* GAB. [Of obscure origin; possibly a. Gael. and Irish *gob* beak, mouth, but cf. GAB *n.* In use since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, the term found its way to 1851 Mayhew’s *Lond. Labour* I. 421 “He tied my hands and feet so that I could hardly move, but I managed somehow to turn my gob (mouth) round and gnawed it away.” Also appears in Hotten’s dictionaries.]

GOB, a portion. [Londoners’ slang in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. *See* *dob*, dialect term for a small lump or ‘dollop.’] “GOD BLESS THE DUKE OF ARGYLE!” a Scottish insinuation made when one shrugs his shoulders, of its being caused by parasites or cutaneous affections.—*See* SCOTCH FIDDLE, SCOTCH GREYS. It is said to have been originally the thankful exclamation of the Glasgow folks, at finding a certain row of iron posts, erected by his grace in that city to mark the division of his property, very convenient to rub against. [This was the first record of this expression in the slang dictionaries. Later lexicographers drew upon this definition.]

GODS, the people in the upper gallery of a theatre; “up amongst the GODS,” a seat amongst the low persona in the gallery—so named from the high position of the gallery, and the blue sky generally painted on the ceiling of the theatre; termed by the *French*, PARADIS. [This is an excellent description of the slang term used since 1750 which became colloquial in 1840. Farmer and Henley took advantage of Hotten’s explanation and just added the fact that the term was “first used by Garrick because they were seated high, and close to the sky-painted ceiling.”]

GODS, the quadrats used by printers in throwing on the imposing stone, similar to the movement in casting dice.—*Printers’ term.* [First recorded in Hotten’s second edition.]

GO IT, a term of encouragement, implying, “keep it up!” Sometimes amplified to GO IT, YE CRIPPLES; said to have been a facetious rendering of the last line of *Virgil’s Eclogues*—

“*Ite domum Satura, Venit Hesperus, ite capellae;*”  
 or “GO IT, YE CRIPPLES, CRUTCHES ARE CHEAP.”

GOLDFINCH, a sovereign. [A term originated in 1820 that remained in use until 1910. It is slang, first cited in Dekker as ‘One who has plenty of gold,’ and in B.E. additional citations are: 1603 *Wonderfull Yeare Wks.* (Grosart) I. 112 “Lazarus lay groning at euery mans doore: mary no Diues was within to send him a crum, (for all your Gold-finches were fled to the woods” and 1700 B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew, Gold-finch*, “He that has alwaies a Purse or Cod of Gold in his Fob.” The second meaning recorded in Hotten ‘A gold coin’; ‘a guinea or sovereign’ was first cited in the 1602 Middleton’s *Blurt* IV. i., “If this Gold-finch, that with sweet notes flies... Can worke,” 1780 Stevens’s *Shaks. Plays. Suppl.* II. 279 *note*, “The vulgar still call our gold coins, gold-finches,” and 1828 *Sporting Mag.* XXI. 367, “He was backed by a number of individuals not overburthened with goldfinches.”]

GOLGOTHA, a hat, “place of a skull.” Hence the “Don’s gallery,” at St Mary’s, Cambridge.—*Vide* SKULL. [This is university slang first recorded in *Gradus and Cantabrigiam* in 1803. The pun is on *head* (skull and important person) and *Golgotha*, ‘the Place of Skulls’ (see New Testament), hence ‘a hat’ in Hotten, the term used from before 1860 to 1910.]

GOL-MOL, noise, commotion.—*Anglo-Indian.* [First cited in Hotten’s 1864 edition and later used regularly by other slang lexicographers.]

GOLOPSHUS, splendid, delicious, luscious.—*Norwich.*

GONNOF, or GUN, a fool, a bungler, an amateur pickpocket. A correspondent thinks this may be a corruption of *gone off*, on the analogy of GO-ALONG; but the term is really as old as *Chaucer’s* time. During Kett’s rebellion in Norfolk, in the reign of Edward VI., a song was sung by the insurgents in which the term occurs:—

“The country GNOFFES, Hob, Dick, and Hick,  
 With clubbes and clouted shoon,  
 Shall fill up Dussyn dale  
 With slaughtered bodies soone.”

[As the verb ‘to steal, to cheat,’ this term originated in 1850 as evidenced in Dickens’s *The Detective Police* (rpt. 1857), “Whence gonophing.” It is now usually spelled *gonnif* ‘thief’ from Yiddish.]

GOOD-WOMAN, a not uncommon public-house sign, representing a woman without a head,—the ungallant allusion is that she cannot scold. The HONEST LAWYER, another sign, is depicted in the same manner.

GOOSE, to ruin, or spoil. Also to hiss a play.—*Theatrical.* [Term used in the phrase *the big bird*, cf. GOOSE *n.*;



- esp. in *to get the (big) bird*: of an actor, to be hissed by the audience; hence *gen.* to be dismissed, receive the sack. Similarly, *to give (a person) the bird*, *to get the bird* was originally Theatrical slang. It is cited in the 1825 P. Egan's *Life of Actor* p. xii, "And the end of their folly marked by the attacks of the big birds (*geese*) driving them off the stage." The 1846 J. R. Planché *Aristophanes' Birds* 6 reads, "So hear him patiently before you frown Nor let his first shot bring the 'Big Bird' down." The 1865 Hotten's *Slang Dict.* s.v., 'to get the big-bird', *i.e.* to be hissed, as actors occasionally are by the 'gods.' In Ware *Passing Eng.* (1884) and (1909) s.v., Professor Grant, Q.C., had both 'the bird' and 'the needle' at the Royal on Monday. The 1886 *Graphic* 10 Apr. 399/2 To be 'goosed', or, as it is sometimes phrased, to 'get the big bird', is occasionally a compliment to the actor's power of representing villainy. In the 1895 *People* 13 Jan. 7/2 three or four of the most prominent artistes..have been...threatened with..'the bird' that is, hissing. The term was widely used well into the 20<sup>th</sup> century: The 1924 Galsworthy *White Monkey* 56 reads, "Mr. Danby had 'given him the bird.'" *Ibid.* 255, "When you were ill, I stole for you. I got the bird for it." The 1927 *Daily Express* 4 Feb. 6/4 reads, "Britons in Hollywood will get what is locally known as a 'razzberry,' which may be translated as 'the bird.'" The 1928 Wodehouse *Money for Nothing* vii. 137 reads, "would a Rudge audience have given me the bird a few years ago?" and 1957 P. Kemp *Mine were of Trouble* iii. 35, "She gave him the bird finally and for good. So he came to Spain to forget his broken heart."
- GOOSE, a tailor's pressing iron.—Originally a Slang term, but now in most dictionaries. [The term, often used in Shakespeare in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup> century as a colloquialism, became a proverbial saying in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century: "A tailor, be he ever so poor, is always sure to have a goose at his fire." The name comes from the handle being shaped like a goose's neck (1605).]
- GOOSE; "Paddy's GOOSE," *i.e.*, the white swan.
- GOOSE, "to cook his GOOSE," to kill him; the same as "to give him his GRUEL," or "settle his HASH."
- GOOSE, "to get the GOOSE," "to be goosed," signifies to be hissed at while on the stage. The BIG-BIRD, the terror of actors.—*See* BIG-BIRD.—*Theatrical*. [See the annotations below.]
- GOOSEBERRY, to "play up old GOOSEBERRY" with any one, to defeat or silence a person in a quick or summary manner.
- GOOSECAP, a booby, or noodle.—*Devonshire*. [The term originated in the late 16<sup>th</sup> century and was in use until the early 19<sup>th</sup> century. B.E. and Grose recorded it as well as Hotten but it was already in decline by his time. Harvey lists it as dialect in 1800.]
- GOOSER, a settler, or finishing blow. [As 'a knockout blow' this colloquial expression was regularly used in the 1850s. Hotten recorded it as sporting slang.]
- GO-OVER, in clerical Slang, signifies to join the Church of Rome.
- GORMED, a Norfolk corruption of a profane oath. So used by Mr. Peggotty, one of Dickens's characters. [This word must have come from the noun GORM, a vulgar substitute for '(God) damn' that is first cited in Dickens' 1849 *David Copperfield* xxi. 220, "Gorm the t'other one." The term was later widely used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: in the 1850 *Ibid.* lxiii. 618, "If a ship's cook..didn't make offers fur to marry Missis Gummidge, 'I'm gormed.'" In the 1883 *Punch* 19 May 230/2, "I'm gormed if there was more than six of one and half-a-dozen of the other." This word serves as proof that Hotten may well have been acquainted with the fiction of Charles Dickens and thus he included the slang words found in Dickens's work in his dictionary. The word remained in use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, as the *OED* citations reveal: In the 1905 E. Phillpotts *Secret Woman* I. iv, "An' coming for to count 'em..be gormed if I didn't find but three!" In the 1907 *Daily Chron.* 9 Mar. 8/5 "Well, I'm gawmed!" exclaimed Mr. Bungard, unable to suppress his surprise," and in the 1910 J. Farnol *Broad Highway* II. xviii, "I'll be gormed if it ain't a'most onnat'ral!"]
- GORGER, a swell, a well-dressed, or *gorgeous* man—probably derived from that word. Sometimes employed in the sense of an employer, or principal, as the manager of a theatre. [The latter explanation was added to Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The *OED* and Partridge credit Hotten for the first citation of this term in that sense. Often used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, this entry attests that Hotten's dictionary is a truthful record of the contemporary terms. The first meaning, 'a well dressed man,' was recorded in *The Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811).]
- GOSPEL-GRINDER, a city missionary, or tract-distributor.
- GOSS, a hat—from the gossamer silk with which modern hats are made. [Short for GOSSAMER 'A hat.' First cited in 1848 in the *Man in Moon* Feb. 83, "When you carry off a 26s. beaver be careful to leave a 4s. 9d. goss in its stead." This is the only citation in the *OED*. It is unlikely that Hotten found the term in this rare edition, suggesting that it may have been in regular use since the 1830s when this type of hat was fashionable.]
- GOSS, "to give a man GOSS," to requite for an injury, to beat, or kill him.
- GOUROCK HAM, salt herrings. Gourock, on the Clyde, about twenty-five miles from Glasgow, was formerly a

- great fishing village.—*Scotch*. [First added in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; later cited verbatim in Partridge.]
- GOVERNMENT SIGNPOST, the gallows. [The only citation is Hotten's 1860 *Slang Dict.*, \**Government signpost*. Also later plundered by Farmer and Henley and Partridge.]
- GOVERNOR, a father, a master or superior person, an elder; "which way, GUV'NER, to Cheapside?" [A low colloquial term used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. First cited in Hotten and later included in Dickens' *Pickwick* (1895) also as a colloquialism.]
- GOWLER, a dog.—*North Country Cant*. *Query*, GROWLER. [First cited in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of Hotten, Partridge list his explanation without crediting Hotten. It probably comes from *gowl* 'to howl.']
- GOWNSMAN, a student at one of the universities. A person of the town, not connected with the college, would be termed a SNOB." [This term was often used in its abbreviated form to describe a gown for the undergraduates in Oxford or Cambridge.]
- "GOWN AND TOWN ROW," a fight between the students and townsmen at Cambridge.
- GRABB, to clutch, or seize. [This term was often used in gambling from 1820-1880 and was cited in John Bee. Vaux recorded is even earlier as the verb (prison slang) 'to steal' and 'to arrest']
- GRABBED, caught, apprehended. [According to the *OED*, Dickens employed this colloquial term before Hotten in *Oliver Twist*, "Do you want to be grabbed stupid?"]
- GRABBERS, the hands. [Derived from the verb GRABB in low dialects for pickers and stealers.]
- GRACE-CARD, the ace of hearts; the six of hearts, so termed in Ireland. A Kilkenny gentleman, named Grace, being solicited, with promises of royal favour, to espouse the cause of William III., gave the following answer, written on the back of the six of hearts, to an emissary of Marshal Schomberg's, who had been commissioned to make the proposal to him:—"Tell your master I despise his offer; and that honour and conscience are dearer to a gentleman than all the wealth and titles a prince can bestow." [A long definition added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and accepted by later slang lexicographers.]
- GRAFT, to work; "where are you GRAFTING?" *i.e.*, where do you live, or work? [Transferred use of GRAFT *n.* 'To work.' Hence GRAFTING *n.* The first citation listed in the *OED* is in the 1859 Hotten's *Slang Dict.* 47 *Graft*, 'to go to work.' Later used in the 1878 *Graphic* 6 July 2/2 that reads "Perhaps in a generation or two Paddy will fail us. He will have become too refined for hard 'grafting.'" The 1890 *Melbourne Argus* 9 Aug. 4/2, reads, "'You graftin' with him?' 'No, I'm with Johnson.'" The expression was well used in the 20<sup>th</sup> century as in the 1936 J. Curtis *Gilt Kid* ii. 19, "'Where did you graft in Wandsworth?' 'Cleaner,'" in the 1958 *Times* 18 Oct. 3/3, "But his 90 minutes in the middle were worth many nets, and he was quite imperturbable in the way he grafted along [at cricket]." In the 1966 A. Prior's *Operators* xvi. 246, "The great mass of mugs were law-abiding...doing as they were told, working, grafting." This is an excellent example of the word that was introduced to the public in a written reference work by Hotten that remained in use for more than a century. Modern slang dictionaries still cite Hotten as the source and the modern use of this word is very similar to Hotten's. To describe 'any kind of work, especially hard work' it was first recorded in Hotten's 1859 edition and was soon recorded as the noun *grafter* 'a hard worker' in Australia (1891), and the noun *graft* in the US (1901) to mean "a personal and financial advantage as the result of dishonest or unethical business or political practice, especially bribery and patronage; corporate corruption in general."]
- GRANNY, to know, or recognise; "do ye GRANNY the bloke?" do you know the man? [Taken from Mayhew's *London Labour*.]
- GRANNY, importance, knowledge, pride; "take the GRANNY off them as has white hands," *viz.*, remove their self-conceit.—*Mayhew*, vol. i., p.364.
- GRANNY, a knot which will not hold, from its being wrongly and clumsily tied.—*Sea*. [Term of uncertain origin added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.]
- GRAPPLING IRONS, fingers.—*Sea*. [First cited in Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, this term comes from the nautical *grapple* 'hands,' 1790-1850. Grose included it as 'handcuffs' in his 1811 edition.]
- GRASS, "gone to GRASS," dead,—a coarse allusion to *burial*; absconded, or disappeared suddenly; "oh, go to GRASS," a common answer to a troublesome or inquisitive person,—possibly a corruption of "go to GRACE," meaning, of course, a directly opposite fate. [Also pugilistic term found in Egan, Moore, and Dickens 'to bring to the ground,' hence 'to defeat.']
- GRASS-COMBER, a country fellow, a haymaker. [A nautical term for a countryman serving as a sailor. Partridge credits Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition for the first citation and records the term as being in use from 1860 to 1910.]
- GRASS-WIDOW, an unmarried mother; a deserted mistress. In the United States, during the gold fever in California, it was common for an adventurer to put both his wife (termed in his absence a GRASS-

- WIDOW) and his children to *school* during his absence. [(Certainly f. GRASS *n* + WIDOW; cf. the equivalent MLG. *graswedewe*, Du. *grasweduwe*, Sw. *gräsenka*, Da. *gräsenke*; also G. *stroh Wittwe* (lit. 'straw-widow'). The etymological origin is obscure, but the parallel forms disprove the notion that the word is a 'corruption' of *grace-widow*. It has been suggested that *grass* (and G. *stroh*) may have been used as an opposition to *bed*; cf. the etymology of BASTARD. The second meaning may have arisen as an etymologized interpretation of the compound (cf. GRASS *n.*) after it had ceased to be generally understood; in Eng. it seems to have appeared first as Anglo-Indian.) Meaning 'An unmarried woman who has cohabited with one or more men; a discarded mistress' it is first cited in the a1700 B.E.'s *Dict. Cant. Crew s.v., Widows Weeds*. A *Grass-Widow* as, "one that pretends to have been Married, but never was, yet has Children." Also appears in the 1785 Grose's *Dict. Vulg. Tongue s.v., Widow's Weeds* as, 'A grass widow, a discarded mistress.']
- GRAVEL, to confound, to bother; "I'm GRAVELLED," *i.e.*, perplexed or confused.—*Old*. [Also, to prostrate, beat to the ground. [Used in England from the mid 16<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century. The term appears in Shakespeare but its origin is the nautical term for 'stranded.']]
- GRAVEL-RASH, a scratched face,—telling its tale of a drunken fall. A person subject to this is called a GRAVEL-GRINDER. [The term was first cited in 'Ducange Anglicus' (1855) and was in use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century in colloquial English to mean to *have the gravel rash* 'to be extremely drunk,' 1860-1930.]
- GRAVESEND SWEETMEATS, shrimps. [In use from 1860 to 1920, this term was cited for the first time in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Farmer and Henley credit him as well as Partridge.]
- GRAY-COAT-PARSON, a lay impropiator, or lessee of great tithes. [The term might have been borrowed from Grose who cites it as 'a farmer who rents the tithes of the rector or vicar.']]
- GRAYS, or SCOTCH GRAYS, lice.—*Scotch*.
- GRAY, a halfpenny, with either two "heads" or two "tails"—both sides alike. *Low gamblers* use GRAYS. They cost from 2d. to 6d. each. [Term cited in Vaux before Hotten and commonly used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this term was used to signify a 'penny' instead of 'halfpenny.']]
- GREASE-SPOT, a minute remnant, the only distinguishable remains of an antagonist after a terrific contest. [An American term adopted in England in the mid 19<sup>th</sup> century and cited in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Hotten's slang dictionary for the first time. Partridge and the *OED* credit him for recording this compound.]
- GREASING a man is bribing; SOAPING is flattering him. [*fig.* The action of bribing, in phr. *a greasing of palms*. Also an instance of this, a bribe. Originating in the mid 17<sup>th</sup> century, the term was also used in 19<sup>th</sup> century fiction. Trollope's 1887 *What I remember* III. ii. 32 reads, "Certain columns might, by good management, and certain greasing of certain palms, be acquired at no very great cost."]
- GREEKS, the low Irish. ST. GILES'S GREEK, Slang or Cant language. Cotgrave gives MERRIE GREEK as a definition for a roistering fellow, a drunkard.—Shakespeare.—*See* MEDICAL GREEK. (The Greeks have always been regarded as a jolly, luxurious race; so much so, that the Latins employed the verb *Graecari* (lit. to play the GREEK) to designate fine living and free potations, a sense in which Horace frequently uses it; while Shakespeare often mentions the MERRY GREEKS; and "as merry as a GRIG" (or GREEK) was long a favourite allusion in old English authors.) [This long annotation added by Hotten in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition shows how studious he was in the compilation of the dictionary. By listing all the meanings known to him, Hotten starts a discussion later continued by modern slang lexicographers. All of these connotations are listed again in Barrère and Leland, Farmer and Henley, and Partridge. Hotten was credited for the low Irish association although the term appeared in Bee before him. The term was not in use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- GREENWICH GOOSE, a pensioner of the Naval Hospital. [GREENWICH GOOSE is first cited in Grose according to the *OED* while the entry GREENWICH is first cited in Dickens's *Great Expectation* with the explanation: "A town on the south bank of the Thames adjoining London on the east, famous for its astronomical observatory and its hospital formerly occupied by naval pensioners." This word is used as an attribute in many slang compounds. Such are: *Greenwich barber*, 'A retailer of sand from the Greenwich pits' (Grose *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* 1785); *Greenwich-goose*, 'a pensioner of Greenwich Hospital' (*ibid.*); *Greenwich stars*, 'those used for lunar computations in the nautical ephemeris' (Smyth *Sailor's Word-bk.* 1867); *Greenwich time*, 'mean time for the meridian of Greenwich, adopted as the standard time by English astronomers.' The compound *Greenwich time* is attributed to the 1861 edition of Dickens's *Gt. Expect.* xxv, "At nine o'clock every night, Greenwich time... the gun fires."]
- GREEN, ignorant, not wide-awake, inexperienced.—Shakespeare. "Do you see any GREEN in my eye?" ironical question in a dispute. [Partridge credits Farmer and Henley for this definition although it first appeared in

- the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Hotten's *Slang Dictionary*. It is Standard English today.]
- GREEN-HORN, a fresh, simple, or uninitiated person.
- GREENLANDER, an inexperienced person, a spoon. [The term of uncertain origin added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.]
- GRIDDLER, a person who sings in the streets without a printed copy of the words.—*Seven Dials*. [*intr.* 'To sing in the streets as a beggar' is cited in Mayhew's *Lond. Labour* (1851) I. 248 "Another woman whose husband had got a month for 'griddling in the main drag' (singing in the high street)" and in the 1892 *Daily News* 8 Feb. 7/2, "They were singing a hymn, or what was better known in the begging fraternity as 'gridling.'" Hence griddler, 'a street singer.' This term is mentioned both in the 1859 *Slang Dictionary* and the 1888 Besant *Fifty Y. Ago* iv. 53 which reads, "There are hymns in every collection which suit the Gridler."]
- GRIDIRON, a County Court summons. [Term added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; also mentioned in Sala's article, but Hotten did not credit him.]
- "GRIDIRON AND DOUGH-BOYS," the flag of the United States, an allusion to the stars and stripes.—*Sea*. [Nautical term first recorded in Hotten's 1864 edition. Partridge places it between 1860 and 1910.]
- GRIEF, "to come to GRIEF," to meet with an accident, be ruined.
- GRIFFIN, in India, a newly-arrived cadet; general for an inexperienced youngster. "Fast" young men in London frequently terra an umbrella a GRIFFIN. [Anglo-Indian term that surfaced in England in 1793; the second meaning 'an umbrella' was first recorded in Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.]
- GRIND, "to take a GRIND," *i.e.*, a walk, or constitutional—*University*.
- GRIND, to work up for an examination, to cram with a GRINDER, or private tutor.—*Medical* [the term is in general use since 1933].]
- GRINDERS, a teeth. [Colloquial term used from 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- GRINDOFF, a miller. [This term was added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition in 1864. However, Partridge does not cite Hotten as a source; he lists a character in the play, *The Miller and his Men*, and places the term sometime between 1860 and 1910.]
- GRIPES, the stomach-ache.—*See* TRIPES. [Came from TRIPES 'stomach' in Grose 1785; Used rarely in the singular form after the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Hotten added the term to his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and excluded it from the previous two.]
- GROGGY, tipsy; when a prize-fighter becomes "weak on his pins," and nearly beaten, he is said to be GROGGY.—*Pugilistic*. The same term is applied to horses in a similar condition. *Old English*, AGGROGGYD weighed down, oppressed —*Prompt. Parvulorum*. Or it may only mean that unsteadiness of gait consequent on imbibing too much GROG. [Both the *OED* and Partridge's 20<sup>th</sup> century slang dictionary include Hotten's definitions verbatim. Hotten recorded all the meanings known in the 19<sup>th</sup> century: 'tipsy' might have come from Grose, pugilistic connotations from Egan or Bee, and 'too much grog' from Thackeray who is cited as the source in the *OED*.]
- GROG-BLOSSOMS, pimples on the face, caused by hard drinking. Of such a person it is often said, "He bears his blushing honours thick upon him." [Term included in Grose's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition 'a pimple caused by strong drink,' suggesting that this was Hotten's source. It was also used in Thomas Hardy and in the 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century to mean 'the red nose,' especially bulbous whether caused by strong drink or not: colloquial.]
- GROG-FIGHT, a drinking party.—*Military*. [First cited in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is a military term used from the later 19<sup>th</sup> century to early 20<sup>th</sup> century periods. Partridge and Farmer and Henley credit Hotten for this entry.]
- GRUB, meat or victuals of any kind,—GRUB signifying food, and BUB, drink. [Slang word for 'food or provender of any kind.' Colloq. phrs.: *grub up!*, the food is ready; time to eat!; *lovely grub*, good food; also *transf.* In use since the 1659 *Anc. Poems, Ball.*, etc. (Percy Soc.) 22 which reads, "Let's joyne together; I'll pass my word this night Shall yield us grub, before the morning light." The term found its way into 19<sup>th</sup> century fiction: The 1813 P. Hawker *Diary* I. 68 states, "The boys... finished the evening with some prime grub, swizzle, and singing," The 1880 E. Fitzgerald *Lett.* (1889) I. 456 reads, "I and my Reader Boy were going into the Pantry for some grub," and the 1889 'Rorl Boldrewood *Robbery under Arms* (1890) 177 includes, "We had brought some grub with us and a bottle of grog." Hotten did not include the second meaning although Grose decided to address it. In the phrases *to ride grub*, *be up a grub* (dial.) 'to be sulky or bad-tempered' (see GRUBBY), it is listed in the 1785 version of Grose's *Dict. Vulg. Tongue* s.v. meaning, 'To ride grub, to be sullen or out of temper' and later in Spurden's *Suppl. to Forby* (1858) 20 'To be up a grub', 'to ride grub,' is to be out of temper, morose.]
- GRUBBING-KEN, or SPINIKIN, a workhouse; a cook-shop. ['A low eating house' was in use from 1820-1850 as

- cited in Mayhew (1851).]
- GRUBBY, musty, or old-fashioned.—*Devonshire*. [See GRUB]
- GRUEL, “to give a person his GRUEL,” to kill him. An expression in all probability derived from the report of a trial for poisoning. Compare “to settle his HASH,” and “cook his GOOSE.” [Hotten made the connection between these terms for the first time. Partridge lists these meanings without crediting Hotten, but it is evident he used his dictionary. The terms are deemed pugilistic and nautical. Most likely they are taken from *Sporting Life*.]
- GULFED, a University term, denoting that a man is unable to enter for the classical examination from having failed in the mathematical.\* Candidates for classical honours were compelled to go in for both examinations. From the alteration of the arrangements, the term is now obsolete.—*Cambridge*. [Probable source is *Seven Years at Cambridge* (1827) cited in the *OED*. Partridge includes Hotten’s explanation and also lists it as obsolete, proving again that Hotten’s etymologies and definitions are robust.]
- GULL, to cheat, deceive; also, one easily cheated. [Term added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. No mention of it in the *OED* or among the later slang lexicographers. It might have become Standard by late 19<sup>th</sup> century since it was already colloquial in Hotten’s time.]
- GULLY-RAKERS, cattle thieves in Australia, the cattle being stolen out of almost inaccessible valleys, there termed GULLIES. [A footnoted term in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The inclusion of this entry for the first time in 1864 suggests that Hotten had used the Australian slang dictionaries as reference works. Partridge credits Hotten for this term while the *OED* cites *Bush Life in Queensland* (1881) for the Australian meaning.]
- GULPIN, a weak, credulous fellow, who will gulp down anything. [Also, ‘a credulous person, a simpleton’; Nautical term meaning ‘a marine.’ Both words are contemporaneous with Hotten. Grose cites it as GULL ‘a simple credulous fellow, easily cheated. Partridge turns to Hotten for early connotations and includes two more 20<sup>th</sup> century meanings.]
- GUMMY, thick, fat—generally applied to a woman’s ankles, or to a man whose flabby person betokens him a drunkard. [The *OED* considers the term Standard English. Hotten excludes more abusive meanings of GUM that are cited in Grose as ‘abusive language’ “Come, let’s have no more of your gum.” Partridge makes a mistake and cites Grose’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition for Hotten’s definition.]
- GUMPTION, or RUMGUMPTION, comprehension, capacity. From GAUM, to comprehend; “I canna GAUGE it, and I canna GAUM it,” as a Yorkshire exciseman said of a hedgehog. [According to *The Shorter Oxford Dictionary*, this is a colloquialism in existence since 1719. Grose used it as *gawm*, ‘to understand,’ hence possibly *gawmtion* or *gumption* ‘understanding.’]
- GUNNER’S DAUGHTER, a term facetiously applied to the method of punishing boys in the Royal Navy by tying them securely to the breech of a cannon, so as to present the proper part convenient for the cat, and flogging them. This is called “marrying” or “kissing the GUNNER’S DAUGHTER.” [This nautical term was first recorded in 1821 to mean ‘to be flogged,’ and survived until the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is also included in Byron’s and Florence Marryat’s works. *A gunner’s daughter* is a nautical jocularly and probably eligible as slang that became a colloquialism.]
- GUP, gossip.—*Anglo-Indian*. [Often cited as colloquial ‘gossip, scandal’ in the *OED*, this term came from the Hindi *gap* which means ‘tattle.’ It was sometimes used as *gup-gup* (recorded in 1809) and as *gup* (recorded for the first time in 1864 Hotten’s *Slang Dictionary*.)
- GURRAWAUN, a coachman, a native Indian corruption of the English word coachman. For another curious corruption of a similar kind, see SIMKIN.—*Anglo-Indian*. [Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition is the first citation for this Anglo-Indian word. Later lexicographers credit Hotten and take his definition verbatim.]
- GURRELL, a fob.—*Westminster Slums*. [A footnoted term in the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hotten lists this item in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition as well but puts it in a footnote of the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition probably expecting new information on the word. It seems that the *OED* did not find any other quotation for *gurrell* so both the *OED* and Farmer and Henley use Hotten’s definition.]
- GUT-SCRAPER, a fiddler. [Term added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. According to Partridge, this term was used from the 18<sup>th</sup> to the 20<sup>th</sup> century as a jocular colloquialism.]
- GUTTER BLOOD, a low or vulgar man.—*Scotch*. [In Grose, this term is listed under *guts and garbage* ‘a very fat man or woman.’ According to the *OED*, ‘a vulgarian’ is mainly a Scots colloquialism.]
- GUTTER LANE, the throat. [In rare use since the 1684 *S. G. Angl. Speculum* 483 which reads, “All goeth down \*Gutter-lane (a small lane in the City). Applicable to great Gluttons and Drunkards.” A possible source is the 1700 *B. E. Dict. Cant. Crew, Suit and Cloak* which reads, “good store of Liquor, let down Gutter-lane” or Grose who lists this compound with the meaning ‘the throat,’ ‘the swallow,’ ‘the red lane.’]
- GUY, a fright, a dowdy, an ill-dressed person. Derived from the effigy of Guy Fawkes carried about by boys on

Nov. 5. [An effigy of Guy Fawkes traditionally burnt on the evening of November the Fifth, usu. with a display of fireworks. Also in full *Guy Fawkes*. Guys were formerly paraded about in the streets on the anniversary of the 'Gunpowder Plot' (Nov. 5). They are now more frequently exhibited by children collecting money for fireworks during the days preceding Nov. 5. The figure is habited in grotesquely ragged and ill-assorted garments (hence sense 2), and was formerly accompanied by other similar effigies (representing unpopular persons), to which the name of 'guys' is often given by extension. The term appears in the 1868 Dickens *Uncomm. Trav.* xxi: "Once on a fifth of November I found a 'Guy' trusted to take care of himself there, while his proprietors had gone to dinner." In the meaning mentioned in Hotten, 'A person of grotesque appearance, esp. with reference to dress'; a 'fright,' the word was first used in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century: 1836 *Lett. fr. Madras* 9, "The gentlemen are all 'rigged Tropical', grisly Guys some of them turn out!" The 1861 Hughes *Tom Brown at Oxf.* xxvi. 246 reads, "He was such an old guy in his dress." The 1880 *Daily Tel.* 15 Oct.: "We have far too many sculptured 'Guys' in the metropolis," and the 1893 Vizetelly *Glances back* I. ii. 33: "Little boys were dressed up to look the greatest of guys."]

GYP, an undergraduate's valet at *Cambridge*. Corruption of GYPSY JOE, (*Saturday Review*); popularly derived by Cantabs from the *Greek*, GYPS, (γύψ) a vulture, from their dishonest rapacity. At *Oxford* they are called SCOUTS. [A similar definition appeared in Grose, suggesting *A Classical Dictionary* was Hotten's source for this entry.]

\*These men's names appeared in the list of "DEGREES ALLOWED." The name, "GULF" for this list is said to have arisen from the boast of a former "wooden spoon." "I would have you to know there is a great GULF between me and the captain of the poll."

[Perhaps short for GIPSY or for GIPPO. Used at *Cambridge* and *Durham*, 'a college servant, esp. one who attends on one or more undergraduates.' In the first quotation from 1750 the meaning appears to be somewhat different. The *OED* lists the following quotations: Dodd's *Poems* (1767) 31, "No more the jolly Jips...carol out their songs. *Note*. Are an idle useful set of hangers on the college, who procure ale, pence &c., by running errands, and doing little services for their masters," The 1799 *Spirit Publ. Jrnls.* (1800) III. 216 reads, "The College Gyps, of high illustrious worth, With all the dishes in long order go." The 1824 *Gradus and Cantabrigiam* 128 "To avoid...gate-bills he will be out at night as late as he pleases..climb over the College walls, and fee his Gyp well." In the 1819 H. K. White in *Rem.* I. 209, reads "My bed-maker, whom we call a gyp, from a Greek word signifying a vulture, runs away with everything he can lay his hands on." In the 1822 Scott *Nigel* xvi, "No scout in Oxford, no gip in Cambridge ever matched him in speed and intelligence, and 1839-40 Thackeray *Catherine* viii, reads "I was a gyp at Cambridge." The *OED* cites only one work that includes the term after Hotten: 1894 Wilkins and Vivian's *Green Bay Tree* I. 234, "The spiritual destitution of bedmakers and gyps."]

- T, “to suit to a T,” to fit to a nicety.—*Old*. Perhaps from the T-square of carpenters, by which the accuracy of work is tested. [The *OED* cites *Humours Town* (1693) as the first citation. This phrase appeared in seven works before Hotten’s 1859 dictionary, but he does not cite any of them as the source. The term must have been obsolete in 1859 since it is not included in any subsequent slang dictionaries.]
- TABOOED, forbidden. This word, now very common, is derived from a custom of the South-Sea Islanders, first noticed in “Cook’s Voyages.” [The term most likely becomes popular by 1890. Barrère and Leland (B&L 1890), Farmer and Henley (F&H 1904), and Partridge (1984) did not include this entry.]
- TACK, a taste foreign to what was intended; a barrel may get a TACK upon it, either permanently mouldy, sour, or otherwise. [The *OED* considers it Standard English. Partridge thinks it is nautical and that it originates in 1830s. Hotten was not acknowledged in any of the dictionaries.]
- TACKLE, clothes.—*Sea*. Also to encounter a person in argument. [This was a popular use of the word in New England, though not elegant. The *OED* lists Webster’s 1828 edition as the first citation of this word from the *Dial. Northampton*, while Dickens uses similar meaning in his 1840 *Barn Rudge*, ‘to come to grips with,’ ‘to enter into a discussion or argument with; to attack.’ B.E. and Grose also include this word that originates, according to Partridge, in nautical slang in the late-17<sup>th</sup> century and was used until the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Although written later, Hotten’s dictionary includes only the definition of a verbal encounter. Hotten lists this word in the Glossary of *Biglow Papers*, but does state that the expression comes from America.]
- TAFFY, (corruption of *David*.) a Welshman. Compare SAWNEY, (from *Alexander*.) a Scotchman. [B. E. *Dictionary of Canting Crew* (a1700) cites this word with a capital T and with the meaning that came from the corruption of the word David. Taffy or David was a nickname of anyone with a Welsh name or accent. TAFFY’S DAY is the first of March (B.E. late-17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century). The *OED* does not give more than three citations for this word, so we can assume that the phrase was not a “common” slang use. Quite differently, SAWNEY originates also from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century, but it was cited in few works as the nickname for the Scotchman before the 20<sup>th</sup> century. It seems that SAWNEY was more familiar than TAFFY. Taffy came from David (when Welsh are speaking English, they devoice the consonants; thus, [d] becomes [t] and [v] becomes [f]) and Sawney from Alexander (Every Scot was called Sawney, a mainly pejorative and colloquial nickname. Alexander becomes Sander, Sandy, and then, with cluster simplification, becomes Sanny, and with an additional vowel change, Sawney). However, more interestingly, Hotten does not list B.E. as one of his sources, and the *OED* does not list Hotten. For example, Hotten lists two entries for SAWNEY: ‘the Scotchman,’ and ‘a simpleton.’ “He sung of Taffy Welch and Sawney Scot.” The *OED* does not list any other source before 1882, neglecting to credit Hotten’s inclusion of this term. Grose’s dictionaries do not list this second meaning and only Eric Partridge adds it in his critical edition in 1931.]
- TAG, an actor. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Barrère and Leland include this term as ‘theatrical.’ Partridge cites Hotten as a source, and places the term in use from 1860 to 1910.]
- TAG-RAG-AND-BOBTAIL, a mixed crowd of low people, mobility. [First cited in Samuel Pepys’s *Diary* (1660) and was often used later by Wolcott, Hogg, Byron, and Dickens. The expression is not included in later slang dictionaries.]
- TAIL-BLOCK, a watch.—*Sea*. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is cited as a nautical term in later slang dictionaries. Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition is credited as the first citation of this term.]
- TAIL-BUZZER, a thief who picks coat pockets. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2nd edition. *Tail-buzzing*, ‘that kind of pick-pocketing,’ was in use from 1845. *Tail-buzzer*, ‘a pickpocket,’ is first cited in Hotten’s 1859 edition and is picked up by other slang lexicographers who credit him as the source. The term becomes obsolete by 1930. It is assumed to come from *tail*, ‘the breech,’ + *buzz*, ‘to steal.’ Orig., it would seem, of a thief specializing in removing articles from hip-pockets.]
- TAKE, to succeed, or be patronised; “do you think the new opera will TAKE?” “No, because the same company TOOK so badly under the old management;” “to TAKE ON,” to grieve; *Shakspeare* uses the word TAKING in this sense. To “TAKE UP for any one,” to protect or defend a person; “to TAKE OFF,” to mimic; “to TAKE HEART,” to have courage; “to TAKE down a peg or two,” to humiliate, or tame; “to TAKE UP,” to reprove; “to TAKE AFTER,” to resemble; “to TAKE IN,” to cheat or defraud, from the lodging-house-keepers’ advertisements, “single men TAKEN IN AND DONE FOR,”—an engagement which is as frequently performed in a bad as a good sense; “to TAKE THE FIELD,” when said of a *General*, to commence operations against the enemy; when a *racing man* TAKES THE FIELD he stakes his money against the favourite.
- TAKE BEEF, to run away. [Barrère & Leland (B&L) and Partridge cite Hotten’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition as a source and do not

- add anything about the term.]
- TAKE IN, a cheating or swindling transaction,—sometimes termed “a DEAD TAKE IN.” *Shakspeare* has TAKE IN in the sense of conquering. TO BE HAD, or TO BE SPOKEN To, were formerly synonymous phrases with TO BE TAKEN IN. [The term is included as a verb *to take in*, ‘to deceit,’ in B.E.’s *New Canting Dictionary* (1725). As a noun, it first appears in Frances Burney’s *Evelina* (1778), Jane Austin’s *Mansfield Park* (1814), and *Blackw. Mag.* (1818). The *OED* does not list any later citations except Baron Edward Lytton’s 1858 work. Partridge cites Hotten’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition. This phrase soon becomes standard.]
- TALKING, a stable term, of a milder kind, applied to those horses which are addicted to ROARING. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hotten’s definition is listed in the later slang dictionaries. No origin or dates of use are listed, but B&L include an additional citation from *Daily Telegraph*.]
- TALL, extensive, exaggerated,—generally applied to conversation, as LOUD is to dress, or personal appearance; “TALL talk that,” *i.e.*, conversation too boastful or high-flown to be true. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The *OED* cites Eachard, ‘tall words and lofty notions,’ to convey grandiloquent and highflown language. The expression was colloquial in 1670. In 1844, Kendall uses it as ‘extravagant and exaggerated’ in America. The term becomes anglicized and was first recorded in Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.]
- TALLY, five dozen bunches of turnips.—*Costermongers’ term*. [Used in Market-gardening. Most likely taken from Mayhew (1851). In market-gardening, Five dozen (cabbages, bunches of turnips, etc.) is cited in *Lond. Labour* I. 92, “I buy turnips by the ‘tally.’ A tally’s five dozen bunches,” 1883 *Daily News* 6 Sept. 2/7 “Cauliflowers, 5s. per tally,” and in 1891 *Times* 28 Sept. 4/2 Cabbages, “1s. 6d. to 2s. 6d. per tally; ..marrows, 2s. 6d. to 3s. 6d. per tally.” The term was in earlier use, and did not become obsolete until the 17<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TALLY, “to live TALLY,” to live in a state of unmarried impropriety; “TALLY-WIFE,” a woman who cohabits with a man to whom she is not married; a “TALLYMAN” is an accommodating salesman who takes payment by installments to suit the convenience of the purchaser. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The *OED* credits Hotten for this expression. Partridge and B&L credit him as well, but B&L adds that the expression becomes popular by 1890. The term is cited in 1877 *5 Years’ Penal Servitude* iii. 246, “I never took to a moll except on tally,” *Ibid.* vi. 377, “A man she was then living ‘tally’ with,” 1890 *Notes & Quotes* 7th Ser. X. 297/2, “To ‘live tally’ is quite a common expression amongst the working classes in Lancashire, as is also tally-woman,” and in 1901 M. Peacock in *Folk-Lore* June 174, “He had for years been ‘living tally’ with a woman that is in cohabitation without marriage.”]
- TAN, to beat or thrash; “I’ll TAN your hide,” *i.e.*, give you a good beating. [Originated in 1670 and used rarely before 1825. After that, it is cited as being common slang and colloquial use by Brockett, Forby, Haliburton, Wood, and Curtin. It was in standard use in Great Britain and Scotland in the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and the British National Corpus lists many authors who used this expression. Nowadays, it is in rare use and is considered archaic.]
- TAN, an order to pull.—*Anglo-Indian*.
- TANNER, a sixpence. Gypsy, TAWNO, little, or *Latin*, TENER, slender? [This term is interesting since Hotten provides the detailed etymology in his 1864 edition. They are all listed under different relevant headwords.: “Perhaps gypsy *tavmo* (*tdno*), little, or *Latin tener*, slender.” It is more likely to have been derived directly by the ancestors of the gypsies from the Indian silver coin *tango*, or *tana*, which has been rated from fivepence (Malcolm, 1815), to sevenpence-halfpenny, which is its present value in Turkestan (Anglo-Indian Glossary). This would make its average value sixpence. The obvious derivation is the Sanskrit *tanka*, a weight of silver equal to four moshas, a stamped coin. The word has been in use over a vast territory. The threepenny piece (*rupenny bitto*) is the only coin which is specially called ‘little’ in gypsy, and it is most unlikely that a sixpence would be called a particularly small coin, while fourpenny, threepenny, and even twopenny silver coins were in circulation. First cited in *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811), J. H. Vaux’s *Flash Dictionary* (1812), and Charles Dickens’s *The Life and Adventures of Martin Chuzzlewit* (1844). All of these works were available to Hotten, and since he listed the first two in the bibliography of his *Slang Dictionary*, it is evident that those were his sources. The quotation from *Sporting Times* reads “Old Alec don’t like to win with favourites. I shall ‘ave my *tanner* on Timothy.” This word was still in use in England until change in coinage to decimal system in 1970s.]
- TANNY, or TEENY, little. Gypsy, TAWNO, little. [The *OED* does not list any entries with this meaning under TANNY or TEENY. It only states that TEENY is a colloquialism or dialect for TINY, but the origin does not come from Gypsy, but Old French TÂNE, TAWNY. There is nothing about the origin of TAWNO in the *OED*. See discussion on etymology under TANNER.]
- TANTREMS, pranks, capers, frolicking; from the *Tarantula* dance?—See account of the involuntary frenzy and



- motions caused by the bite of the tarantula in Italy.— *Penny Cyclopaedia*. [Colloquial and later standard English 1850-1910. Hotten thought his term *tantrum* is distinct from *tantrum* that was first cited in Grose and made a connection with *tarantella*, ‘a rapid, whirling Italian dance.’ The *OED* gives a different origin for the word and many later slang lexicographers questioned it. However, all of them include Hotten’s explanation and credit him. In case the origin is not strong, they do not have to take the blame.]
- TAPE, gin,—term with female servants. Also, a military term used in barracks when no spirits are allowed.—*See* RIBBON. [First cited in *New Canting Dictionary* (1725). Later used by Lytton (1830) and Thackeray (1837) before Hotten included it in his dictionary of slang words.]
- TAPER, to give over gradually, to run short. [In use from late 1850s. Hotten’s first edition is credited for this term by later slang lexicographers.]
- “TAP THE ADMIRAL,” to suck liquor from a cask by means of a straw, said to have been first done with the rum-cask in which Lord Nelson’s body was brought to England, to such an extent as to leave the gallant Admiral high and dry. [This is a nautical term; late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century. *Tapping the admiral*, means ‘secretly boring a hole through a spirit cask and sucking the contents out through a quill or straw.’ According to Barrère and Leland, the phrase originates from the story of an admiral who died aboard ship some distance from England. He had wished to be buried at home, and to preserve his body the officers placed it in a cask filled with spirits, and securely nailed the head of the cask down. During the voyage home, an Irishman of the marines was continually drunk, and where he got his liquor was a great mystery. For some drunken breach of discipline, he was ordered to be flogged, but he was promised forgiveness if he would tell who had supplied him with drink. Upon that he confessed that he had been “so hard up for a drink, that he’d *tapped the admiral*,” *i.e.*, made a hole in the cask and sucked out through a tobacco pipe the spirit in which the admiral’s body was preserved.—Barrère and Leland, 1890.]
- TAP-TUB, the *Morning Advertiser*,—so called by vulgar people from the fact that this daily newspaper is the principal organ of the London brewers and publicans. Sometimes termed THE GIN AND GOSPEL GAZETTE. [An expression added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Barrère and Leland as well as Partridge acknowledge Hotten and add no new information about the term.]
- TARADIDDLE, a falsehood. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. ‘A lie, especially a pretty one’ used from 1790 until mid 19<sup>th</sup> century; by 1930 becomes slightly obsolete; B&L list it as common English, ‘travellers’ tales or yarns.’ Grose’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and *The Examiner* (1828) are listed in the *OED*.]
- TAR-BRUSH, a person, whose complexion indicates a mixture of Negro blood, is said to have had a lick of the TAR-BRUSH. [A nautical word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Any one of mixed blood is said to have had a touch of the *tar brush*—B&L but they do not credit Hotten. Partridge does not include this sense at all.]
- TAR OUT, to punish, to serve out. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and cited verbatim in later slang dictionaries. Colloquialism used from 1860 to 1910. Hotten is credited for this term in Partridge.]
- TARPAULIN, a sailor. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It was spelled TARPAWLIN, but not after 1850. It is nautical slang first cited in Cleveland (1647) and Bailey (1725). TAR was much used by sailors: *tarry-brecks*, *Jack tar*.]
- TART. My old servant, “Jim the Patterer,” (one of the collectors of Seven Dials’ [neighbourhood in London] terms for the first edition of this work,) whose unfortunate habit for contracting small loans induced me at length to lend him a whole half-crown at once, in the hope that he might not pay, and thus not trouble me again, has recently sent me some words from Birmingham, where he says he is doing well with “a SCHWASSLE BOX, having learnt the squeak.” Amongst them is the following, given in Mr Jim’s own words:—
- “TART, a term of approval applied by the London lower orders to a young woman for whom some affection is felt. The expression is not generally employed by the young men, unless the female is in ‘her best,’ with a coloured gown, red or blue shawl, and plenty of ribbons in her bonnet—in fact, made pretty all over, like the jam tarts in the swell bakers’ shops.”\*
- \* The language used by Mr Jim is certainly far above his position in life. This evidence of education existing amongst certain persons of the tramping fraternity has been alluded to at page 23. [Tart becomes a common expression for a young lady, an actress of smart personal appearance and fine manners. There seems to be some doubt as to whether the term is an aspersion on the lady’s character or not, as maybe seen from a case of an actress who brought an action against the *Sporting Times* for calling her a *tart*, which created much amusement at the time. The word *tart* also designates a mistress or girl with whom one has had only casual intimacy, or even a wife. Also any girl or woman. Formerly one’s mistress was termed “my jam,” or “my little bit of jam.” The term is apparently from a simile between a sweet jam *tart* and a girl (compare “cherry pie” for a girl), but it has been suggested that it originated in the song “Good - bye, sweetheart.” *Tart* was originally schoolboys’ slang, probably abbreviated from *tartar* in this instance. Cited

- in *Sporting Times*, “For it’s probable that if I called a girl ‘a *Tart*’ to-day, She would summons me next week.” The latest synonym for *tart* is “bun.” *Tart* is a word generally recognized and understood in the United States. It is sometimes used as an uncomplimentary epithet, an abbreviation from *tartar*. The *OED* lists the following sources: 1931 ‘G. Orwell’s *Coll. Essays* (1968) 71, “This word [*sc.* *tart*] now seems absolutely interchangeable with ‘girl’, with no implication of ‘prostitute.’ People will speak of their daughter or sister as a *tart*,” 1959 I. & P. Opie *Lore & Lang. Schoolch.* xv. 327, “In the south of England a girl is often spoken of as a ‘*tart*’ (referred to as such by boys aged 11), and...no disrespect is implied by the word. A ‘posh *tart*’ is indeed a general term of admiration for a well-dressed, nice-looking girl.” Also Mayhew gives examples of educated workmen: 1851 Mayhew *Lond. Labour* I. 199/1, “I’ve been a cake and a \**tart*-seller in the streets for seven or eight years,” and 1848 Thackeray *Van. Fair* I, “When he was rich he would buy Leader’s pencil-case, and pay the \**tart*-woman.”]
- TARTAR, a savage fellow, an “ugly customer.” CATCHING A TARTAR. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Cited in B&L and not included in Partridge. It was used in figurative meaning, “a savage; a person supposed to resemble a Tartar in disposition; a rough and violent or irritable and intractable person: when applied to a female, a vixen, a shrew, a termagant” from the 17<sup>th</sup> to late 19<sup>th</sup> century. The *OED* lists 1663 Dryden’s *Wild Gallant* II. i, “I never knew your grandmother was a Scotchwoman: Is she not a Tartar too?” 1771 Smollett’s *Humph. Cl.* (1815) 146, “He is generally a tartar at bottom; a sharper, a spy, or a lunatic,” 1778 Johnson’s in *Mme. D’Arblay’s Diary* 23 Aug., “They will little think what a tartar you carry to them,” 1818 Byron *Juan* I. clxxxiv, “His blood was up: though young, he was a Tartar,” and 1865 Dickens’s *Mut. Fr.* I. viii, “The old man was an awful Tartar.” The expression was used as Standard English in the 19<sup>th</sup> century in common English, thus Partridge decided not to include it.]
- TAT-BOX, a dice-box. [This is gambling slang. Originally from late 17<sup>th</sup> century. The *OED* lists B.E.’s *Dictionary of Canting Crew* (a1700) and J.H. Vaux’s *Flash Dictionary* (1812) among first citations. Partridge credits Hotten’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition in his compilation.]
- TATER, “s’elp my TATER,” another street evasion of a profane oath, sometimes varied by “s’elp my GREENS.” [*S’elp my tater!* is the earliest form of *S’welp my tater!* and is first cited in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition of Hotten. Later slang dictionaries use his definition and credit Hotten. The *OED* does not list this entry. Hotten, however, includes this entry in the glossary of the *The Biglow Papers* and explains it as a vulgar equivalent for a person’s estate. In *BP*, he also lists the meaning as ‘potato.’ It has to be taken under consideration that Hotten does not list British meanings in the glossary of *The Biglow Papers*, but rather, American.]
- TATLER, a watch; “nimming a TATLER,” stealing a watch. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Originates in late 17<sup>th</sup> century; cited in Shadwell (1688) and B.E. (a1700). Regularly in use from the 18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TATS, dice. [First cited in the 17<sup>th</sup> century in Shadwell (1688) as ‘false dice.’ Later listed in Grose’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition, Hotten (1859-64), Farmer and Henley (1887), “Rattle the tats, or mark the spot.” Barrère and Leland do not list this term most likely because it was regularly used in the 1890s.]
- TATS, old rags; MILKY TATS, white rags. [Canting term. Gypsy *tat* or *tats*, not only rags, but coarse sack-cloth. Hindu *tat*, sack-cloth. Hence *tatten* in English. Milky *tats*, white linen. Mayhew explains the term in his *London Labour and the London Poor*, “Now I’ll tell you about the tats-gatherers; buying rags they call it, but I call it bouncing people.”]
- TATTING, gathering old rags. [The *OED* lists Hotten’s 1873 *Slang Dictionary* as the first citation for TOTTING ‘bone’ while this phrase was previously included in his 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Origin is, however, unascertained. The phrase does not stay in contemporary use, but it appears in 1926 in *Glasgow Herald* under quotes, ‘tattling,’ which is the Northern form of TOTTING. I assume it is connected to the OE form TAETTEC, ‘a rag,’ and TATTY, an adjective before in use as, ‘of hair, tangled,’ and now, ‘dirty, old,’ and/or TACKY, ‘cheap behavior.’ TATTING also appears in *Listener* in 1969.]
- TATTOO, a pony.—*Anglo-Indian*. [A word added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Partridge excludes it, Barrère & Leland and Farmer & Henley list the same meaning and origin without crediting Hotten. This is a term for a native-bred Indian pony. Also *attrib.* as *tattoo horse, mare*. Abbreviated TAT is used often as well. According to the *OED*, the term was first cited in 1784 in Seton-Karr’s *Select. from Calcutta Gaz.*, and in 1886 *Blackw. Mag.* Sept. 365/1 “Drawn by tattoos and bullocks” the latest. There are few more citations from the 19<sup>th</sup> century, suggesting that TATTOO was a contemporary term. Hotten had a tendency to include Anglo-Indian words in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, hence *tattoo*.]
- TAW, a large or principal marble; “I’ll be one on your TAW,” I will pay you out, or be even with you,—a simile taken from boys aiming always at winning the TAW when playing at marbles. [Derived from the games of

- marbles, *taw* being the large and gen. superior marble with which one shoots. This is a colloquialism from the late 1780s and early 1800s that was in use by 1890, except among schoolboys. Grose includes the term in his 2<sup>nd</sup> edition, as does Vaux. B&L exclude the term; Partridge gives a longer explanation of usage.]
- TEAGUELAND, Ireland. [An obsolete word that was used as slang in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. First cited in B.E.'s *Dictionary of Canting Crew* (a1700) and also mentioned in Grose. Late 17<sup>th</sup>-19<sup>th</sup> century, colloquial for 'an Irishman.']
- TEA-FIGHT, an evening party, alias A MUFFIN-WORRY. [An entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. According to the *OED*, first cited in Albert Smith (1849). This slang word became colloquial in 1880 and was in occasional use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century: Manchon *tea-shine*, and *tea-scramble*.]
- TEA-SPOON, five thousand pounds.—*See* SPOONS. [An entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hotten's successors kept the word in the dictionary until the 5<sup>th</sup> edition. It was in a commercial use in the 1860s and 1870s.]
- TEETH, "he has cut his *eye* TEETH," *i.e.*, is old and cute enough. [This term is still in use in England.]
- TEETH-DRAWING, wrenching off knockers.—*Medical Students'* term. [To wrench the handles and knockers from street doors: 1840-1870. Originally and chiefly a medical students' term that was listed in both Partridge's and B&L's dictionary.]
- TEETOTALLER, a total abstainer from alcoholic drinks. [Contemporaneous mid-19<sup>th</sup> century use of this meaning. Barrer does not list these terms; Partridge provides a different meaning, 'non-aristocratic joke,' and places its origin in late 19<sup>th</sup> century, 1885-1900 (Baumann).]
- TEETOTALLY, amplification of TOTALLY. [Linguistic process of reduplication of the word TOTALLY; also mid-19<sup>th</sup> century slang word.]
- TE-HE, to titter, "Upon this I TE-HE'D ;" *Madame d'Arblay*. As an interjection it is as old as *Chaucer*.—*See Miller's Tale*—"TE-HE, quod she, and clapt the window to." [An entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Extremely rare use of the expression excluded from the later editions of Hotten and other slang dictionaries.]
- TELL ON, to tell about, to talk of.
- TENCH, the Penitentiary, of which it is a contraction.—*See* STEEL. [An entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition; thieves' slang abbreviated from House of Detention; not included in Partridge but B&L give better explanation.]
- TEN COMMANDMENTS, a virago's fingers, or nails. Often heard in a female street disturbance. [This entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition becomes popular by 1890 when B&L cite it as common; in use from 1540, (Haywood) 'the ten fingers and thumbs, especially of a wife.']
- "TENPENCE TO THE SHILLING," a vulgar phrase denoting a deficiency in intellect. [Both Shaw and Hotten used it in a negative contemptuous sense. A sum of money equal to ten pennies; sometimes used contemptuously, as *only tenpence in the shilling*, etc. because the amount is incomplete; In use in England since 1971 with a meaning 'a coin worth ten (new) pence' that superseded the earlier 'two-shilling piece or florin.' Also *attrib.* as *tenpence coin, piece*, a decimal coin worth ten pence. So *transf.*, a foreign coin of roughly equivalent value, a franc, a lira. The *OED* lists the following citation of the phrase suggesting its long life: 1592 Marlow *Jew of Malta* IV. iv, "Gentleman! he flouts me: What gentry can be in a poor Turk of tenpence?" 1749 Fielding *Tom Jones* XIV. iii, "As sure as ten-pence, this is the very young gentleman," 1860 Hotten *Dict. Slang* (ed. 2) 235, "*Tenpence to the shilling*, a vulgar phrase denoting a deficiency in intellect," 1903 Farmer & Henley *Slang* s.v., "*Only tenpence in the shilling*, a description of weak intellect," as well as Barrère & Leland's *Dictionary of Slang and Jargon* and Partridge's *Unconventional English*. There are also many 20<sup>th</sup> century citations: 1922 J. Buchan *Huntingtower* vii. 142, "There's a certain old lady, an aunt of Mr. Quentin and his sisters, who has always been about tenpence in the shilling," 1971 P. Purser *Holy Father's Navy* xxiv. 114, "I gave her a ten pence piece and hurried away," 1974 A. Fowles *Pastime* xii. 98, "Awkward, that had been, in a phone box. He'd used up two ten pences," and 1976 G. Seymour *Glory Boys* xi. 144, "He put down two tenpence coins," suggesting popular use of this expression.]
- TESTER, sixpence. From TESTONE, a shilling in the reign of Henry VIII., but a sixpence in the time of Queen Elizabeth.—*Shakespeare. French*, TESTE, or TETE, the head of the monarch on the coin. [It was used as 'a head' in the time of Chaucer (1386) and Caxton (1484) and as 'a sixpence' from the mid-16<sup>th</sup> century (1546). The historical relations of these words are not quite clear, but app. med.L. *testorium*, *-eria*, It. *testiera*, Sp. *testera*, OF. *testière*, and ME. *testere*, go together in form, as do med.L. *testrum*, OF. and ME. *testre*, and perh. also med.L. *testura* and ME. *testur*; though the senses are specialized in different langs. The other Eng. forms appear to have been assimilated to various endings in *-er*, *-ar*, *-or*, *-our*, and (erratically) *-ern*, *-orn*.]
- TEVISS, a shilling.—*Costermonger and Tramps'* term. [An origin added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. B&L, F&H, and

- Partridge credit Hotten's 1<sup>st</sup> edition as their source. However, Paul Beal, an editor of later Partridge's editions rejects Partridge's contorted derivation from back slang of *shill* and suggests instead malformation of *stiver*.]
- THEATRE, a police court; a place for acting, or assuming a part which is not natural to the performer. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. In thieves' slang, it means 'a police court,' and was first recorded in 'Ducange Anglicus' (1857). In Army slang, it means 'the guardroom.' It was used until 1935, according to Partridge.]
- THICK, intimate, familiar. *Scotch*, CHIEF; "the two are very CHIEF now," *i.e.*, friendly. [B&L mark it as a popular term, but do not include that it is of Scotch origin. Refer to the phrase "thick as thieves"]
- THICK; "to lay it on THICK," to flatter unduly, to surfeit with praise or adulation. [This entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition is still used. *To lay it on thick*, 'to flatter in an exaggerated manner' originated in Winchester College, while a *thick* was used to denote 'a stupid fellow.]
- THICK-UN, a sovereign; a crown piece, or five shillings. [Formerly, a gold sovereign (*half a thick 'un*, ten shillings); *to smash a thick 'un*. Also, a crown or five-shilling piece, and rarely in mod. use applied *loosely* to a pound. First citation is 1848, *Sessions Papers Cent. Criminal Court* (Kent cases).]
- THIMBLE, or YACK, a watch.—*Prison Cant*. [This, in canting, generally means a watch. The gypsies, however, apply it to both watch and purse; and this confusion of terms is also to be found occasionally among thieves in America. It is probable that the Romany word meaning purse is by far the oldest, since the Hindi word, 'zambil,' is a purse or wallet. Gypsy is popularly supposed to be a *melange* of many languages; but in the Anglo - Romany about forty-nine words out of fifty are not merely Hindustani, but to a very great extent indeed Hindi - Persian, approximating often much more closely to an old form than modern Hindi itself. This was the opinion of E. H. Palmer. The *OED* does not list this meaning, but it attributes the adjective THIMBLED 'having or furnished with a thimble' or in *Thieves' slang*, 'wearing a watch' to 1812 J. H. Vaux's *Flash Dict*. Used later in literature by Hawthorne in *Snow Image* (1879) and other authors.]
- THIMBLE-RIG, a noted cheating game played at fairs and places of great public thronging. [Thimble-rigger became common by the 1890s and, as explained in B&L, was a cheating game played like this: A pea is placed on a table, and the man rapidly covers it successively with three or four thimbles, which are then laid on the table. You are then asked to point out the thimble which is supposed to cover the pea, but which is concealed under the cheat's nail or up his sleeve. The *OED* cites J. Greenwood's *Dick Temple*, "The poor trumpery beggars—converted clowns, and dog-stealers, and tramps, and *thimble-riggers*— a poor out-at-elbows crew."]
- THIMBLE-TWISTERS, thieves who rob persons of their watches. [1830s game; contemporaneous slang with Hotten's dictionary. He might have been the first to include this expression in a slang dictionary. Partridge, Farmer & Henley, and Barrère & Leland credit Hotten's 1st edition for recording this thieves' slang.]
- THINGUMY, THINGUMBOB, expressions used for the name of a thing which cannot be recollected at the instant. [First cited in Smollett (1751) and Grose's 1<sup>st</sup> edition, this term meant 'a vulgar address or nomination to any person whose name is unknown. The term was used regularly in literature from the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century. Farmer and Henley include it in *Slang and Its Analogues*, as do Lytton (1832) and Thackeray (1862). More recently, David Crystal has researched the expanded context of such a nonce-word. He remarks that "the frequency with which it appeared was amazing. I was struck by the unexpectedly high use of nonsense words, used in order to signal a breakdown in the speaker's ongoing mental processing – when a word has become completely unretrievable. Collecting nonsense words is an interesting pastime. I have found 30 to date, as follows: a thing group: thingamabob, thingamabobbit, thingamajig, thingummy, thingummybob, thingy, thingybob a wh- group: whatchacallit, whatchacallem, whatchamacallit, whatever, whatsiname, whatsit, whatsits, what not, whosis, whosit, whosits a d- group: deeleebob, deeleebobber, diddleebob, diddleydo, diddleything, diddlethingy, dingus, dingdong, dingy, dooda, doodad, doohickey a g group: gadget, geega, gewgaw, gimmick, gizmo, goodie and a small miscellaneous group: hootenanny (US only), lookit, widget, and oojamaflop." Partridge's dictionary lists all the different meanings of these derivations, including the dates of use. See under THINGUMMY, p. 1220.]
- THINSKINNED, over nice, petulant, apt to get a RAW.—*See* that term. [Also 'sensitive to criticism, ridicule, or abuse; easily hurt or offended; touchy.' Later slang lexicographers exclude the term from their dictionaries.]
- THREE-CORNERED-SCRAPER, a cocked hat.—*Sea*. [This entry added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition is nautical slang from the 19<sup>th</sup> century; first recorded in the *Saturday Evening Post* (16 March 1822) and in Hotten's 1864 edition. The expression is not included in B&L, while Partridge credits Hotten.]
- "THREE SHEETS IN THE WIND," unsteady from drink.—*Sea*. [Originally a sea phrase; intoxicated, or nearly so.

- The *OED* cites Pierce Egan's British text *Real Life* (1821) and an American *Two Years before the Mast* (1840), which tells us that expression is Nautical. Later included in Stevenson's *Treasure Island* (1883) which was also about the sea. The expression is now "three sheets to the wind" and is widely used in England and Scotland, hence colloquial rather than slang.]
- THREE-UP, a gambling game played by costers. Three halfpennies are thrown up, and when they fall all "heads," or all "tails," it is a mark; and the man who gets the greatest number of marks out of a given amount—three, five, or more—wins. The costers are very quick and skilful at this game, and play fairly at it amongst themselves; but should a stranger join in they invariably unite to cheat him. [First cited in Mayhew (1851) and Hotten's 1<sup>st</sup> edition, this slang became colloquial in the 1900s. This modern 19<sup>th</sup> century game was played in Scotland by old men in a lane until the mid-20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- THRUMMER, a threepenny bit. [First citations are B. E.'s *New Dict. Canting Crew* (1699) and *Swell's Night Guide* (1846). Hotten lists Swell's *Night Guide through the Metropolis* in his bibliography, which is evidently his primary source for this entry.]
- THRUMS, threepence. [Repr. colloq. or dial. pronunc. of THRUP(P)ENCE –three-pence. This obs. Slang word appears in many works before Hotten, among which are most interesting for this study (1699) B. E. *New Dict. Canting Crew, Thrumms*, 'threepence' and (1846) *Swell's Night Guide* 78, "There is a hanger on here who teaches the art of self defence-thrums (three pence) a lesson." The fact that Hotten did not include another slang word for threepence THRIP, also cited in B.E. for the first time, raises the question about non-standardized spelling of slang words. A vowel shift is evident here, as THRIP becomes THRUP, also cited in Hotten. THRIP n. 'short of THREEPENCE, first cited in B.E. *Dictionary of Canting Crew* (a1700) was later used by W.G. Simms in *Guy Rivers* (1837) and J.C. Harris in *Free Joe* (1887). The obvious sound change and variations of the word 'threepence' explain why one term was more in use than others]
- THRUPS, threepence. [See THRUMPS]
- THUMPING, large, fine, or strong. [Colloquialism, 'of striking size, extent, or amount; exceptionally large or heavy'; 'huge,' 'whacking,' 'whopping.' First cited in Fleming's *Panopl. Epist* (1576) and Grose's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. The term is included in later slang dictionaries, but it is listed as 'common' in B&L. It is still in use. ]
- THUNDERER, the *Times* newspaper, sometimes termed "the THUNDERER of Printing-House Square," from the locality where it is printed. [The journalistic term; this sobriquet was given to the chief London daily because of the unusual force and vigor displayed in a series of articles formerly contributed to its columns by Captain Edward Sterling. The meaning might have also come from a figurative sense, 'A restless warrior; a powerful declaimer or orator, an utterer of violent invective, or the like'; *spec.* as a sobriquet of the London *Times* newspaper. For the same entry in the glossary of the *Biglow Papers*, Hotten lists these meanings: political principles, oratorical copyright, party-ism. ]
- THUNDERING, large, extra sized. [It is a common expression for something very large, superlative. It was cited in *Globe*, "Young women employed in drapery establishments may be interested to learn that if their employer accuses them of telling *thundering* lies, they are justified in leaving their situation without notice," and in J Greenwood's *Tag, Rag, & Co*, "He took me into his confidence, with the professed object, as he himself declared, of proving to me "what a *thundering* fool he had been." This is also a euphemism common in New England, for the profane English expression *devilish*. Perhaps derived from the belief, common formerly, that thunder was caused by the Prince of the Air, for some of whose accomplishments consult Cotton Mather—*The Biglow Paper's* Glossary.]
- TIB'S EVE, "neither before Christmas nor after," an indefinite period; like the Greek Kalends, TIB'S EVE has a future application; an indefinite period of past time is sometimes said to be "when Adam was an oakum boy in Chatham dockyard." [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. B&L and Partridge include similar definitions marking *St. Tib's Eve* or *Evening* a 'proper' term. The term is Anglo-Irish, first cited in Grose (1785). It seems that by the time Hotten compiled his dictionary, the term was already colloquial.]
- TIBBING OUT, going out of bounds.—*Charterhouse*. [This term was used as an adjective, *tibby* 'very eccentric; mad' in Charterhouse School and John Bee lists *tibby* n. as a term for head. A verb *tib out* 'to break bounds' is mainly public and Charterhouse slang, first cited in Hewlett (1840), according to the *OED*. Thackeray also employs it in his works. The origin of the term is obscure and it became *tibble* in the late 19<sup>th</sup> and 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TICK, credit, trust. *Johnson* says it is a corruption of *ticket*,—tradesmen's bills being formerly written on tickets or cards. ON TICK, therefore, is equivalent to *on ticket*, or on trust  
In use in 1668. Cuthbert Bede, in *Notes and Queries*, supplies me with an earlier date, from the *Gradus ad*

*Cantabrigiam*

\*\*No matter upon landing whether you have money or no—you may swim In twentie of their boats over the river UPON TICKET.”—*Decker’s Gulls’ Hornbook*, 1609.

[It appeared as early as 1642 in *British Museum MS 37999*, Dryden (1668), Fielding (1742), Thackeray (1849), and Hughes’s *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861) and is still in use. It is used now in the phrase *on the never*. *On the tick* was used rarely in the 1980s and 1990s, according to the *British National Corpus*, since the word was already old fashioned.]

TICKER, a watch. Formerly Cant, now street Slang. [‘The pendulum or escapement of a clock or watch’; also (*slang*) ‘a watch’ (rarely, as in quot. 1910, ‘a clock’). Pierce Egan’s *Boxiana* (1821) and Dickens’s *O. Twist* (1838) are among few citations in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This term was cited only in *Oracle* (1800) before Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition.]

TICKET, “that’s the TICKET,” *i.e.*, what was wanted, or what is best. Corruption of “that is not etiquette,” by adding, in vulgar pronunciation, *th* to the first *e* of “etiquette;” or, perhaps, from TICKET, a bill or invoice. This phrase is sometimes extended into “that’s the TICKET FOR SOUP,” in allusion to the card given to beggars for immediate relief at soup kitchens.—*See* TICK. [*That’s the ticket*, ‘that is the proper thing, exactly what is required.’ In this sense, *ticket* is the equivalent of the French *etiquette*, of which the original meaning is label, notice posted up, hence arrangement, ceremonial. The term is used in Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor* (1851), “Quite the real *ticket*,” and in Mark Twain’s *Huckleberry Finn*, “‘Deed, that ain’t the *ticket*. Miss Mary Jane,’ I says, ‘by no manner of means.’” Also slang ‘a pawn-ticket’ in Dickens (1835). In American slang, “what’s the *ticket* on it?” inquires about the the price of something. The *OED* discusses the etymology of the term. In 16<sup>th</sup> c. (1528) *tiket*, aphetic form of *etiket*, a. obs. F. *etiquet* ‘a little note, bill, or ticket; especially such a one, as is stuck upon the gate of a Court, signifying the seisure of an inheritance by order of justice’; or the parallel F. *étiquette* ‘a ticket fastened within the mouth of a Lawyers book bag, and containing the titles of the books, [etc.]; any inscription, superscription, title, note, or mark set on the outside of a thing; also, a token, billet, or ticket, delivered for the benefit, or advantage of him that receives it’ (Cotgr.): OF. *estiquet(te)* (1387 in Hatz.-Darm.), f. *estiquer*, to stick, fix, from Teutonic; ad. OLG. *stek-an* = OHG. *stehhan*, Ger. *stechen* to stick, fix. The primary sense was ‘a little note or notice affixed to anything, a label’, whence extended as in Cotgrave, and in the senses below. It is notable that our earliest instances are Irish and Scotch; but English examples in some senses appear c1600. *See* also ETIQUETTE, repr. a later sense of the Fr. word.]

TIDY, tolerably, or pretty well; “how did you get on to-day?”—“Oh, TIDY.”—*Saxon*. [The *OED* lists ME *tid* ‘time’ TIDE + -Y as the etymology; it recognizes two colloquialisms: ‘fairly satisfactory,’ ‘pretty good,’ ‘fair’ (in quality); decent, and ‘Considerable; pretty big.’ Dickens (1838, 1844) and Mayhew (1851) were using them in both senses. Hotten might have used them as the source.]

TIDDLYWINK, slim, puny; sometimes TILLYWINK. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is cited as a provincial term in B&L. Partridge credits Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and places the term between 1863 and 1930. The *OED* lists Trollope as the first author to use the adjective *tiddly* ‘Very little, tiny.’ Frequently in phrases *tiddly bit*’ in 1868. The *OED* was inaccurate, since the word was in use earlier and Hotten included it in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition of the slang dictionary, a few years before Trollope. The word was widely used as a colloquial expression through mid 20<sup>th</sup> century.]

TIED UP, given over, finished; also married, in allusion to the hymeneal knot, unless a jocose allusion be intended to the *halter*, (altar.) [Most likely from a noun *tie-up* ‘a knock out blow’, ‘a settler’ in boxing (1818). Hence, a conclusion, a finale in *Blackwood’s* (1823). Shakespeare and Dickens used it in this sense; see verb TIE in the *OED*. As a verb *tied up* is listed in Vaux (1810), as the *OED* records it.]

TIFF, a pet, a fit of ill humour. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Meaning ‘a slight outburst of temper or ill-humor, this term appears in Bailey (1727) and Thackeray (1840) ‘Numerous tiffs and quarrels.’ Etymology is problematic; possibly comes from tiff ‘liquor.’ No other successors’ slang dictionaries include the first meaning ‘a pet.’]

TIFFIN, a breakfast, *déjeuner à la fourchette*.—*Anglo-Indian Slang*. [Anglo-Indian and pidgin ‘luncheon,’ at least in English households. Also to *tiff*, to take luncheon. As there is no plausible or possible derivation of the word from any Eastern tongue, the authors of the Anglo-Indian Glossary believe it to be a local survival of our Old English colloquial or slang term. Grose (1785) defines *tiffing* as eating or drinking out of meal time, or, as Americans would say, “drinking in between drinks.” To take a little *tiff* is an old fashioned term for such a mere bit and sup (especially the sup) in the United States (*tif*, old English for a draught of liquor. Also *tift*, (common in America), where it has certainly no Anglo-Indian connection. It is probably an old derivation from the same root with “tip” and “tipple.” To *tiff* or take luncheon is correct. To *tiffin* is

- generally used by lady-novelists who have not been in India, and it is denounced as "bad grammar, according to Anglo-Indian use," in the *Anglo-Indian Glossary*. The Anglo-Indian word *tiffin*, according to Sala, is in common use in hotel advertisements in South Africa. Lawn-tennis, picnics, and flirtation fill up the time of the poor expatriated wives and daughters from *tiffin* to afternoon tea.—*Daily Telegraph*. Later it appeared in 1867 Wedgewood's *Dict. Eng. Etymol.*, *Tiffin*, "now naturalised among Anglo-Indians in the sense of luncheon, is the North country *tiffing* (properly sipping)."]
- TIFFY, easily offended, apt to be annoyed. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition for the first time and is cited as such in many slang dictionaries following Hotten's compilation. There are no additional comments in origin or usage.]
- TIGER, a parasite; also a term for a ferocious woman. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It was used from 1837 to 1860 as a 'parasite,' and from 1827 until after 1890 as 'ferocious woman.' The terms are cited in later dictionaries, although regarded colloquial. Thackeray (1847) and Scott (1827) used the expression in their fiction.]
- TIGER, a boy employed to wait on gentlemen; one who waits on ladies is a page. [A boy acting as outdoor servant originates in 1840 and is cited in Byrne's *Red, White, and Blue* (1862).]
- TIGHT, close, stingy; hard up, short of cash; TIGHT, spruce, strong, active; "a TIGHT lad," a smart, active young fellow; TIGHT, drunk, or nearly so; "TIGHT-laced," puritanical, over-precise. Money is said to be TIGHT, when the public, from want of confidence in the aspect of affairs, are not inclined to speculate. [Hotten has listed many meanings of this word, but he also left out plenty of the mainly standard expressions in his time. It is interesting, though, that most of them continued to be used if not as slang, than in everyday conversations as colloquialisms, especially 'drunk' and 'stingy.' Some of the phrases listed here became standard words while some became obsolete. Of a person in financial straits, *hard up* (*dial.* or *slang*), Hotten's citation was preceded by Webster's (1828), "A man tight in his dealings," and F. M. Whitcher's *Widow Bedott Papers* 30 (1846-7) (Bartlett), "The Deacon was as tight as the skin on his back; begrudged folk their victuals when they came to his house." The term was also used in journalism, 1846 *Daily News* 21 Jan. 4/6, "In Paris money is 'tight' also, and discounts difficult." In addition, tight as 'drunk' is cited in Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, "In about half-an-hour they were as thick as thieves again, and the *tighter* they got, the *lovinger* they got. B&L include George Augustus Sala anecdote in which he tells an amusing story of Macready in connection with this word "and I guess he's *tight* as a peep."]
- TIGHTNER, a dinner, or hearty meal.—See SPITALFIELDS' BREAKFAST. [The name of a district in the east of London (so called from St. Mary Spital), used as an attribute. It is in use from early 19<sup>th</sup> century and the *OED* cites 1864 edition of *Slang Dict.* for one of the meanings: 'Spitalfield's breakfast, at the East end of London this is understood as consisting of a tight necktie and a short pipe.']
- TIKE, or BUFFER-LURKING, dog-stealing.—See GAY TIKEBOY. [The *OED* does not have anything on TIKE compounds. Partridge, however, credits Hotten's 1<sup>st</sup> edition for *tyke-lurking* 'dog stealing.']
- TILL-BOY, an apprentice or shopman who makes free with the cash in his master's till. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition. Later lexicographers credit Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition but do not add any new notes on origin or usage.]
- TILE, a hat; a covering for the head.  
 "I 'm a gent, I 'm a gent,  
 In the Regent-Street style,—  
 Examine my vest.  
 And look at my TILE."—*Popular Song*.
- Sometimes used in another sense, "having a TILE loose," *i.e.*, being slightly crazy.—See PANTILE. [This 19<sup>th</sup> century slang word is cited in *Sporting Mag.* (1825), Dickens's *Pickw.* (1837), and Pierce Egan's *Book of Sports*, "At a few minutes before one, Sam threw his *tile* into the ring." Tile (common in 1890s), a hat, sometimes also used for any head covering by the lower orders. The comparison of the head to a house or habitation is obviously appropriate and familiar. Thus, the metaphor of a *tile*, as the covering of the house or head, is not incongruous. The hat, or *tile*, as used in this sense, is erroneously supposed to be a corruption of 'pantile' or 'sugarloaf,' because hats shaped like a sugarloaf were sometimes worn. By a similar metaphor, the hat, and sometimes the hair, was called the "thatch," and less commonly the "slate." The similarity in idea of many expressions of the slang of different nations is exemplified in this as in other instances. Thus, in French argot, *ardoise*, a slate, stands for 'hat' or 'cap,' as well as *tile*, and in Spanish cant *tejado*, or *techo*, is literally a 'tile-roof.' Dr. Brewer thinks *tile* is from Saxon *tigel*, to cover, to which is due the English provincial *teag*, an article of headdress.]
- TIMBER MERCHANT, or SPUNK FENCER, a lucifer-match seller. [Tobias Smollett's *The Expedition of*

- Humphry Clinker* (1771) is one of the rare citations in the *OED*. Barrère & Leland and Farmer & Henley do not include this slang term, while Partridge quotes Hotten's 1<sup>st</sup> edition.]
- TIME O' DAY, a dodge, the latest aspect of affairs; "that's your TIME O' DAY," *i.e.*, *Euge*, well done; to PUT A PERSON UP TO THE TIME O' DAY, let him know what is o' clock,—to instruct him in the knowledge needful for him. [*Time o' day* 'the latest affair' is boxing slang that originates in early 19<sup>th</sup> century. First cited in *The London Guide* (1818), Egan's *Boxiana* (1821), Jon Bee (1823), Ainsworth (1834), and Dickens (1828). Also *time of day* (popular and thieves), that's the *time of day*, that's the thing, how matters stand, or ought to stand. The *OED* lists Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, "Pop that shawl away in my castor, Dodger, so that I may know where to find it when I cut; that's the *time of day!*." To know the *time of day*, to be wide-awake ; to be put up to the *time of day*, to be initiated, made expert., alluding to teaching a child how to tell the time from a clock.]
- TIME, cabman's Slang for money. If they wish to express 9s. 9d. they say that "it is a quarter to ten;" if 3s. 6d., half-past three; if 11s. 9d., a quarter to twelve. Cab drivers exultingly say the police cannot comprehend the system. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is not listed in subsequent slang dictionaries of B&L, F&H, or Partridge. It is possible that it became obsolete.]
- TIN, money,—generally applied to silver. [This slang word said to have been first applied to the small silver coins of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, which before their recall in 1817 were often worn quite smooth without trace of any device, so as to resemble pieces of tin. First citation is the 1836 edition of Smith's *Individual, Thieves' Chant* later edited by F&H. Dickens used it in his *Old C. Shop* and since Hotten includes many slang terms from Dickens's books, it is evident that Dickens is one of the primary sources of his *Slang Dictionary*. The *OED* cites Dickens as the first citation of *tin tack* 'a tack, or short light iron nail, coated with tin.' In his 1839 book *Nickolas Nickelby*, Dickens "A parcel of tin tacks and a very large hammer." The lines of the 1840 *Old C. Shop* xxviii, read "Mrs. Jarley served out the tin tacks from a linen pocket." Later G. R. Sims uses this word in 1887 *Mary Jane's Mem.* vii. 91, "He had trodden on a tin-tack on the carpet, point up." In the 20<sup>th</sup> century, this word was used by other fiction writers and it appeared in various colloquial phrases, such as, *to come (or get) down to tin tacks* = *to come (or get) down to brass tacks*. Found in 1921 G. B. Shaw *Pen Portraits* (1932) 183, "Keats...had he lived, would no doubt have come down from Hyperions and Endymions to tin tacks as a very full-blooded modern revolutionist." In mid 20<sup>th</sup> century, the word was still in use: 1949 *Buoyant Billions* (1950) III. 45, "Do let us get back to tin tacks. Is Clemmy going to marry him or is she not?"]
- TINGE, the percentage allowed by drapers and clothiers to their assistants, upon the sale of old-fashioned articles.—*See* SPIFFS. [Slang word of obscure origin. The *OED* does not give this meaning for TINGE, but it cites Hotten's 1859 edition as the first and only quote for SPIFF *n*. It would be safe to name Hotten as the first citation of this term since Partridge cites Hotten's 1860 edition as well. Unfortunately, the word was not picked up and in later use.]
- TIN-POT, "he plays a TIN-POT game," *i.e.*, a low or shabby one. In the *Contes d'Eutrapel*, a French officer at the siege of Chatillon is ridiculously spoken of as Captain TIN-POT—*Capitaine du Pot d'Etain*.—*Billiards*. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1864 edition and a meaning 'of inferior quality.' Today it is still used in the phrase TIN-POT dictator, 'poor, bad.' Tin-pot becomes common by 1890 and used as 'low,' 'mean,' as a *tin-pot* game'; 'worthless,' as in a *tin-pot* company. The term is cited in *The Golden Butterfly* "I shall have correspondents all over the world, and I shall have information of every dodge goin', from an emperor's ambition to a *tin-pot* company bubble," and in *Sporting Life* "Most of the men whom one met at the Castle had been under the patronage of sportsmen amongst the Upper Ten, and no *tin-pot* heroes could get a footing." This term is cited as Naval, a contemptuous term for an ironclad in Partridge.]
- TIP, advice or information respecting a horse-race, so that the person TIPPED may know how to bet to the best advantage. Notice when and where a prize-fight is to come off. Private information of any kind — *See* TIPSTER. [In the sporting world, *tip* has the signification of private information, on the chances of a horse winning, supposed to be derived from some trustworthy source. Straight *tip*, direct information from the owner or trainer of a horse, and generally direct information or hint on any subject. From *tip*, a cue, in showman's slang; cited in *Pall Mall Gazette*, "I don't know how he knows about horses, but he does; he is generally right. He's a tout—makes it his living going round giving *tips*," and in *Sporting Times* (1821) "No matter what paper or tout proclaims, Take only the *tip* from " 'Truthful James;"]
- TIP, a *douceur*; "a good TIP," a piece likely to be set in an Addiscombe or Sandhurst examination, hence, "that's the TIP," *i.e.*, that's the proper thing to do. "To miss one's TIP," to fail in a scheme.—*Old Cant*. [Sporting slang term used from 1810 to 1850. Cited in Vaux (1812) as a noun, 'money concerned in any dealings or contract; synonymous with *dues*.' It also occurs in *Boxiana* (1821), in nuance 'entrance money.'



- Hence, *That's the tip* in Hotten. As a cant term, it is cited in B&L and as sporting slang, in Partridge. The expression, *That's the tip*, 'that is the proper thing to do,' became common by 1890]
- TIP, to give, lend, or hand over anything to another person; "come, TIP up the tin," *i.e.*, hand up the money; "TIP the wink," to inform by winking; "TIP us your fin," *i.e.*, give me your hand; "TIP one's boom off," to make off, depart.—*Sea*. [These two entries for TIP were under one in 1860 edition, but Hotten decided to place them under two different entries in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The word is so extensively used as to be hardly slang.]
- TIPPER, a kind of ale brewed at Brighton. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The *OED* cites Dickens (1844) with verbatim definition, 'A kind of ale brewed at Brighton.' The word earlier appeared in 1785 *Tipper's Tombstone* (Newhaven Churchyard), "The best old stingo he both brewed and sold."]
- TIPSTER, a "tout," or "turf" agent who collects early information of the condition and racing capabilities of horses in the training districts, and posts the same to his subscribers to guide their betting.  
 "The racing TIPSTERS have much less patronage than formerly, before "Geoffrey Greenhorn" laid a trap for them, and published the tips he received in *The Life*. Professor Ingledue, M. A., the mesmerist, is silent; and if their subscribers, 'for whose interests I have collected my old and able staff, with many additional ones, who are already at work in the training districts,' could only get a sight of the 'old and able staff,' they would find it consisting of a man and a boy, 'at work' in the back room of a London public-house, and sending different winners for every race to their subscribers."—*Post and Paddock*, by the Druid.
- [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It originates in racing in 1862 and by 1884 is in general use as colloquial (See TIP above). Tipster is cited in *Sporting Times* which reads "'Sir, I am a tipster!' he said proudly. 'I seldom bet for myself,'" and in *Bird o' Freedom*, "It is an open secret that tipsters pay for their advertisements on an unusually high scale." Both Partridge and B&L include the term in their dictionaries.]
- "TIP THE DOUBLE," to "bolt," or run away from a creditor or officer. Sometimes TIP THE DOUBLE TO SHERRY, *i.e.*, to the sheriff. [Low slang that was first recorded in Wright's *Morning at Bow Street* (1838), "in plain words he tipped them the double, he was vanished." The expression is listed as common in B&L (1890).]
- TIP-TOP, first-rate, of the best kind. [This adjective was already colloquial in Hotten's time. It originates before 1721, in Vanbrugh, "In tip-top spirits," and George Eliot uses it later, as well. The term is still in use as 'splendid, excellent.']
- TIP-TOPPER, a "swell," or dressy man, a "Gorger." [*Blackw. Mag* (1822), P. Egan's *Boxiana* (1829), and Thackeray's *Ravenswing* (1837) are some of the works that included this slang phrase in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Partridge comments that this form is seldom used to qualify as unconventional: "it is merely eccentric."]
- TIT, a favourite name for a horse. [Apparently of onomatopoeic origin, as a term for a small animal or object; found also to some extent in Scandinavian and Icel.; cf. Norw. dial. *titta* little girl, *tîta* a little fish, trout, sprout, minute growth, little kernel, little ball or marble, Icel. *titr* a little plug or pin, also, a titmouse (Norw. *tite*): see also TITLING, TITMOUSE, in which *tit* occurs much earlier than by itself. TIT was also used as a name for a horse small of kind, or not full grown; however, it was more often applied in depreciation or meiosis to any horse; a nag. In use since the 16<sup>th</sup> century, often in fiction: Jane Austen's *Northanger Abbey* and Ainsworth (1834) as *twit*. The term is not included in B&L and F&H and is now rarely used.]
- TIT FOR TAT, an equivalent. [In phrase, TIT FOR TAT, has been in use since 1556. However, a variation of TIT FOR TAP was known a century earlier. The phrase is wholly or partly onomatopoeic. One blow or stroke in return for another; an equivalent given in return (usually in the way of injury, rarely of benefit); retaliation. Also used as rhyming slang for 'hat'. Cf. TITFER. The whole phrase is used often as a *n.*, and sometimes as *adj.* or *adv.*
- TITIVATE, to put in order, or dress up. [To put finishing touches to oneself was a colloquialism used from 1805. Dickens uses it in *Boz*, "Regular as clockwork—breakfast at nine—dress and tattivate a little." Perhaps it comes "from *tidy* with quasy-Latin ending of cultivate"—*OED*. The term is still in use.]
- TITLEY, drink, generally applied to intoxicating beverages. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1859 and 1864 editions as the first citations for TIDDLY *n.* and *adj.* Although Hotten never lists the adjective "tipsy", the *OED* still contributes this modern 20<sup>th</sup> century use of the word to Hotten. According to the *OED*, origin for TIDDLEY is uncertain, but might have come from either TIDDLYWINK, which is a dialect of baby-talk for 'little' or TIDDLY 'drunk,' first cited in Hotten.]
- TITTER, a girl; "nark the TITTER," *i.e.*, look at the girl.—*Tramps' term*. [From *tit*, used by Dryden as a contemptuous term for a girl. Wright gives *tit* as provincial for, 'smart or proud girl'; a light *tit*, a strumpet. Probably from *titmouse*. *Tytmouse*, the *pud. fent.* (Halliwell). The *OED* lists 1812 J. H. Vaux *Vocab. Flash Lang.* in *Memory* as the first citation, 'a young woman or girl.' E. J. Wakefield (1845) *Adventure in N.Z. I.* xi. 319, "A chief was called [by whalers] a 'nob'; a slave, a 'doctor'; a woman, a 'heifer'; a girl, a 'titter,'" *Sydney Slang Dict.*(1882) 6/2, "Nark, to watch, to look after; 'Nark the *titter*', watch the girl." In addition,

- Barrère & Leland (1890) borrow the term from Hotten's dictionary when writing *Dict. Slang* (1890) II. 356/2, "Only a glass of bitter! Only a sandwich mild! Only a stupid titter! Only she's not a child!" as well as Partridge who gives modern citation in his 1984 edition: *Landfall* (1953) Sept. 179, "Boys, she's a larkly little titter."]
- 'TIZER, the *Morning Advertiser*.—See TAP TUB.
- TIZZY, a sixpence. Corruption of TESTER. [Slang of obscure origin; originates in 1804 and was used until the 20<sup>th</sup> century; included in *Sporting Mag.* (1829) and F&H. Barrère & Leland exclude the term, deeming it common.]
- TOAD-IN-THE-HOLE, a kind of pudding, consisting of a piece of meat surrounded with batter, and baked. Also, a term applied to advertising mediums.—See SANDWICH. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. A sandwich board: mostly London (1864 until 1920). Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition is credited for the term in the *OED* and Partridge. Comes from the meat dish so named. Barrère & Leland do not include the term.]
- TOASTING-FORK, a derisive term for a sword; a regulation sword, indicative of the general uselessness of that weapon. [Used by Shakespeare, Dickens in *O. Twist* (1838), and Hughes in *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861). Grose recorded the term first in 1785.]
- TOBY CONSARN, a highway expedition. TOBY is Old Cant. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. TOBY CONSARN is listed as TOBY CONCERN in 'Ducange Anglicus', which must be Hotten's source in this case 'the practice of highway robbery (1811 to 1880).]
- TOBY, a road; "high TOBY, 'the turnpike road. "High TOBY spice," robbery on horseback.—*Don Juan*, canto xi., 19. [Thieves' slang, apparently altered through *toba'*, *toba* from *tobar*, the word for 'road' in Shelta, the cant or secret language of the Irish tinkers: see Note below. (*the toby*: the highway as the resort of robbers; 'the road'; also *transf.* highway robbery (called also *the toby concern*, *toby lay*); hence *to ply* or *ride the toby*, to practise highway robbery; *the high* (or *main*) *toby*, highway robbery by a mounted thief; also, the highway itself; *the low toby*, robbery by footpads.) The word was in use from early 19<sup>th</sup> century and Hotten must have taken it either from *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811) or J. H. Vaux's *Flash Dictionary* (1812). Also included in Barrère & Leland (1890), "This word is as much in use as ever among 'travellers,' who now call it 'tober.' 'Tober' is probably the older word.]
- TODDLE, to walk as a child. [A common term by 1890 (Barrère & Leland), provincial English. Considered Standard English by the *OED*.]
- TO-DO, (pronounced quickly, and as one word,) a disturbance, trouble; "here's a pretty TO-DO," here is an unpleasant difficulty. This exactly tallies with the *French* word AFFAIRE (*à faire*).—See *Forby's Vocabulary of East Anglia*. [No mention of this term in later slang dictionaries or the *OED*.]
- TOFF, a dandy, a swell of rank. Corruption probably of TUFT.—See TOFT. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Also *toffer*, a well-dressed gay woman. Derived from the Yiddish or Hebrew *toff*, *tov*, *tuw*, literally 'good,' and used in an extended sense which perfectly warrants its application to good or a fine appearance. *Toft* good; *toffer*, better; *toffest*, best; *jam toff*, good day, a festival; *toff peg*, a good groschen; *toff malluschim*, fine clothes. A probable derivation is from *tiff*, to deck oneself out, or *toft*, a dressy individual. *To/*, often applied to an over-dressed clerk or draper's assistant, who apes the swell. An old *toff*, an old beau. The term is cited in *Sporting Times*, "Up I sport-loving *toffs*, tool your drags o'er the sward, And, forsooth I since a coster may elbow a lord."]
- TOFFER, a well-dressed "gay" woman. [A vulgar perversion of TUFT, as formerly applied to a nobleman or gentleman-commoner at Oxford. An appellation, originally given by the lower classes, to a person who is stylishly dressed or who has a smart appearance; a swell; hence, one of the well-to-do, a 'nob.'—Mayhew's *London Labour* (1851). Term was also used for 'a fashionable whore' as low slang from 1860 to 1914. Hotten changed the definition in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition: 'a fashionable whore' appeared in his 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.]
- TOFFICKY, dressy, showy. [another derivative of TUFT. Again 'showy, vulgarly dressy': low, 1860 to 1910. Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition is credited in later slang dictionaries.]
- TOFT, a showy individual, a SWELL, a person who, in a Yorkshireman's vocabulary, would be termed UPPISH.—See TUFT. [See TOFFER as well. A variation of TOFF; probable source is Mayhew (1851). If not *toff* debased, then *tuft* corrupted.]
- TOG, a coat. *Latin*, TOGA.—*Ancient Cant*. [A shortening of TOGMAN, used in Vagabonds' Cant as early as the 16<sup>th</sup> century. Its currency in the 19<sup>th</sup> century was no doubt aided by its obvious connection with TOGA; cf. TOGE.] As a *Cant* and *slang* for 'A coat; any outer garment' it is quoted in G. Andrews *Dict. Slang & Cant* (1809), J. H. Vaux *Flash Dictionary* (1812), and *Sporting Magazine* (1821)—all of which are listed in Hotten's bibliography.]
- TOG, to dress, or equip with an outfit; "TOGGED out to the nines," dressed in the first style. [A fanciful phrase that

- originates in the 18<sup>th</sup> century with a meaning that a person is well and gaily dressed. Although it was used earlier, the entry was first recorded in Vaux (1812), and later in Grose and Hotten.]
- TOGGERY, clothes, harness, domestic paraphernalia of any kind. [Cited in *Sporting Mag.* (1821) and *Blackw. Mag.* (1827). As ‘clothes,’ the term is first recorded in Vaux and becomes popular by the time Barrère & Leland wrote their dictionary, whereas as ‘harness,’ the term is cited in Hotten’s 2<sup>nd</sup> edition but it was already slightly obsolete in 1850s.]
- TOGS, clothes; “Sunday TOGS,” best clothes. One of the oldest Cant words—in use in the time of Henry VIII.—*See* Cant [*Togs* was used for garments in the time of Henry VIII. From the Anglo - Saxon *tygan*, or else from the same root with the Latin *toga*, a covering ; like *tugurium*, hut or roof. Indo-Germanic *teg*, to cover; hence *tego*, *tegere*. German *dach*, a roof. "Thatch," a roof, is of the same family. This word seems to be the same as the old term *tugs*, same meaning, as in under *tug*, a petticoat. *Tug* clothes, working clothes. Also possibly from the AngloSaxon *teog*, material, stuff, and *tege*, a binding, tying (*ligatura*, *rexus*). *Tygan* (Boswell), to tie together. Tugged out reminds *as* of *teohjan*, from the same root, signifying to adorn, trick out, *exornare* (Beowulf, 5871). Latin *toga*. The word is used in Dickens’s *Oliver Twist* “Look at his *togs!* Superfine cloth, and the heavy swell cut I Oh, my eye, what a game!” and is cited as common in Barrère & Leland. This is what Australians call their bathing suits today.]
- TOKE, dry bread. [Origin uncertain. Cited first as slang in Dickens’s *Letters* (1843). (A piece of) bread; also *fig.* Hotten’s 1<sup>st</sup> edition is credited by later slang lexicographers. Toke is now a verb for smoking weed thus *take a toke*, means “have an inhale of weed”]
- TOL-LOL, or TOL-LOLLISH, tolerable, or tolerably. [A slang word first cited in Bennett’s *Beggar Girl* (1797). Hotten must have taken it from *Sporting Mag.* (1809). After Hotten, F&H include the term “That is, tol-lol-Ish!” Evidently made by the reduplication of the first syllable of *tolerable*.]
- TOLL-SHOP, a Yorkshire correspondent gives this word as denoting in that county a prison, and also the following verse of a song, popular at fairs in the East Riding:—
- “But if ivver he get out agean,  
And can but raise a frind,  
Oh ! the divel may tak’ TOLL SHOP,  
At Beverley town-end!”
- [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is a provincial prison slang included in Barrère & Leland. Partridge gives another meaning ‘a perfect room (where caning is done)’ : in use from late 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TOM AND JERRY, a low drinking shop. Probably some allusion to Pierce Egan’s famous characters in his *Life in London*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Indeed, those were the characters in Egan’s *Life in London* (1828) and their behavior was always riotous: Tom and Jerry is rather Standard English than colloquial. *Tom-and-Jerry shop* or *T.-and-J. shop* was in use since 1835 (*Sessions*, February) and it stayed colloquial until 1910. The term later elaborates to jerry-shop, a low beer-house, recorded 1834, Hotten’s 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, F&H, and the *OED*.]
- TOMBSTONE, a pawnticket—“In memory of,” &c., a well-known Slang expression with those Londoners who are in the habit of following “My Uncle.” [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is listed as the first and only citation for the term in Partridge and B&L, who deem it popular.]
- TOM-FOOL’S COLOURS, scarlet and yellow, the ancient motley. Occasionally as a rhyme,
- “Red and yellow,  
TOM FOOL’S colour.”
- A proposition is said to be TOM FOOL when it is too ridiculous to be entertained or discussed. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is cited as rhyming slang in Partridge who provides more meanings ‘jewellery,’ and places the term between the mid 19<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TOMMY, bread,—generally a penny roll. Sometimes applied by workmen allowance. [Apparently personified as *Tommy Brown*, altered to *brown Tommy* and *tommy*. Similarly a hunk of grey bread distributed at Minto House, as part of a Hogmanay gift to the village children, used to be called *Tom Gray*. First cited in Grose’s *Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue* (1796). Barrère & Leland credit Hotten’s 2<sup>nd</sup> edition and include more citations, namely *Daily Telegraph* and *The Little Ragamuffin*, suggesting that the term became popular by 1890. Partridge states that *Tommy* was the usual name for food among navies. Also a ‘baker’s shop.’ Originally, a store belonging to an employer whose workmen were obliged to take out part of their earnings in *tommy* or food.]
- TOMMY, a truck, barter, the exchange of labour for goods, not money. Both term and practice general among English operatives for half-a- century.
- TOMMY DODD, in tossing when the odd man goes out. A phrase in frequent use at the London Music Halls. Origin not known. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Barrère & Leland credits Hotten and cite verbatim

- definition. Partridge includes a longer explanation, but also credits Hotten. In tossing coins, either the winner or the loser, by agreement; the mode of tossing. In 1863, there was a music hall song, "Heads or tails are sure to win, Tommy Dodd, Tommy Dodd."]
- TOMMY-MASTER**, one who pays his workmen in goods, or gives them tickets upon tradesmen, with whom he shares the profit. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1860 *Slang Dictionary* as the first and only citation for *Tommy-master*. Hotten's 1873 edition is cited for the first use of *Tommy-Bag*.]
- TOMMY-SHOP**, where wages are generally paid to mechanics or others, who are expected to "take out" a portion of the money in goods. [Appears in many works from 1830, but not in slang dictionaries or Barrère & Leland and Farmer & Henley; seems it was in general use later.]
- TOM-TOM**, a street instrument, a kind of small drum beaten with the fingers, somewhat like the ancient tabor; a performer on this instrument. It was imported, doubtless, with the *Nigger* melodies, TOMTOMS being a favourite instrument with the "darkies." [A native East Indian drum; extended also to the hand-beaten drums of Asia and Africa, generally. The term was in use since 1693.]
- TOM TOPPER**, a waterman, from a popular song, entitled, "*Overboard he vent*." [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. A ferryman; any river hand: Low London; from 1860. First cited in Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, this term is connected with TOM TUG. The quotation from a popular song, entitled "Overboard he vent" is provided in the 5<sup>th</sup> edition of Hotten's dictionary and the connection is made with TUG, "Presumably from that vessel, though perhaps extracted from 'the smack stage-play.']
- TOM TUG**, a waterman. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition as well. See TOM-TOPPER.]
- TONGUE**, "to TONGUE a person," *i.e.*, talk him down. TONGUED, talkative. [Dialect or slang: A talkative person. The *OED* lists the following citation: a1700 B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew*, "*Tongue-pad*, a smooth, Glib-tongued, insinuating Fellow," 1709 O. Dykes *Eng. Prov. & Refl.* (ed. 2) 230, "T was pleasant enough to hear two Tongue-Pads a-scolding, and giving one another the Lie," 1821 *Joseph the Book-Man* 70, "Determin'd every ear t'engage Thus spoke the tonguepad of a sage," 1882 Jago *Cornw. Gloss.*, "*Tongue-pad*... a chatterer, a very talkative person." Hence *tongue-pad v., trans.* 'to assail with words'; 'to scold'; also *intr.* (with *it*) 'to tattle,' 'chatter'; whence *tongue-padder, tongue-pad; tongue-padding vbl. n.*, 'scolding.']
- TONY LUMPKIN**, a young, clownish country fellow. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Term for 'a fool,' 'a simpleton' originates in the mid-17<sup>th</sup> century and was in use until the early 19<sup>th</sup>. B.E. and Grose record the word that must have become obsolete by Hotten's time. None of the later slang dictionaries included the term. Tony comes from Ant(h)ony as an abbreviation of the name.]
- TOOL**, "a poor TOOL," a bad hand at anything. [This meaning cannot be found in any later slang dictionaries.]
- TOOL**, to drive a mail coach, or any other vehicle. [Used in *Sporting Magazine* (1812) and Dickens's works (1835-1865). The term is applied to motor-vehicles, boats, and aircrafts in the 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TOOL**, to pick pockets. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. The *OED* does not list this meaning for the verb. It also does not give any citations for the TOOL noun 'a pickpocket, the member of a pair or team of pickpockets who actually picks pockets before *Leaves from Diary Celebr. Burglar* (1865). Since Hotten's dictionary was written earlier, it seems that the *OED* should have given him the credit.]
- TOOL**, a very little boy employed by burglars to put in at small apertures, so as to open a door for the larger thieves outside. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition as a footnoted term. This is actually the first citation of the word, which is later recognized in the *OED* and Farmer & Henley. The term was used from 1840 to 1910, according to Partridge who also credits Hotten for the explanation of the entry.]
- TOOLER**, a pickpocket. MOLL-TOOLER, a female pickpocket. [See TOOL 'to pick pockets.' A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. Thieves' slang: *to tool* is applied to stealing, picking pockets, and burglar; derived beyond doubt from the gypsy word *tool*, to hold, handle, or take. In all the Continental Romany dialects it is *tulliwawa*. Later slang lexicographers recognize Hotten's definition and include the term in their dictionaries.]
- TOOTH**, "he has cut his eye TOOTH," *i.e.*, he is sharp enough, or old enough, to do so; "up in the TOOTH," far advanced in age,—said often of old maids. *Stable term* for aged horses which have lost the distinguishing mark in their teeth. [The stable term reappears in later slang dictionaries and Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition is credited.]
- TOOTSIES**, feet, those of ladies and children in particular. In married life it is said the husband uses this expression for the first six months, after that he terms them HOOFS. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. This is a playful and affectionate colloquial expression for a child's and a woman's small feet. It was first recorded in Thackeray (1854) and was in use, according to the *OED*, until 1890.]
- TOOZLE**, to romp.—*Scotch*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is not included in subsequent dictionaries. It

- must be a dialect that was not widespread.]
- TOP, the signal among tailors and seamstresses for snuffing the candle; one cries TOP, and all the others follow, he who last pronounces the word has to snuff the candle. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. First cited in *Dk. Buckhm.'s Wks.* (1687) and *B. E.'s Dict. Cant. Crew* (1700) as 'typsy.' Unsteady, like anything having the upper part too heavy for the lower, as of a boat or ship. Top-heavy becomes common by 1890.]
- TOPPED, hanged, or executed. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. *Top* 'To behead,' 'to hang' is mostly used in passive and it originates in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is implied in *topping cheat*, *t. cove*, and *topman*, or *topsman*, though not separately recorded before 1811 in *Lex. Bal. Topping cove* or *fellow* was in use from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> century and is cited in Coles, B.E., and Grose.]
- TOPPER, anything or person above the ordinary. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is not cited in later dictionaries since it was colloquial even in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. *The British Apolo* (1709) lists it as 'a thing or person exceptionally good in his or its kind.']
- TOPPER, a blow on the head; "give him a TOPPER and chance it," "let him have a TOPPER for luck."—*Pugilistic Slang*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is also thieves' slang for a hat or wig. It becomes popular by 1890 (Barrère & Leland), tobacco left in the bowl of a pipe, a tall hat. The *OED* cites Ainsworth's *Rookwood* which reads, "Vile Jem, with neat left-handed stopper, Straight threatened Tommy with a *topper*."] ]
- TOP-SAWYER, the principal of a party, or profession. "A TOP-SAWYER signifies a man that is a master genius in any profession. It is a piece of *Norfolk Slang*, and took its rise from Norfolk being a great timber county, where the *top* sawyers get double the wages of those beneath them."—*Randal's Diary*, 1820. [The same verbatim definition is given in Grose's 1823 edition of *Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue*, which suggests again the borrowing tradition in making dictionaries in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. This phrase also appears in *Sporting Mag.* (1826). *Top-sawyer* becomes general by the 1890s, denoting 'excellence,' and 'superiority.' It is derived from the rule of the sawpits; the top man has to work harder and is more responsible for the job than the man who stands below. This term is of many special applications. As a *sporting term*, 'a renowned horse that excels others in speed and endurance' is listed in *Bird of Freedom*, "when there has usually been a *top-sawyer* in the field." As *Thieves' slang*, 'an expert thief, one who has gained distinction among his fellows by his achievements,' it is used by Dickens in *Oliver Twist*, "Wasn't he always a *top-sawyer* among you all?" and by J. Greenwood in *A Converted Burglar*, "who were ambitious 'to be *top-sawyers* when as yet they were fit for nothing but to pick up chips.'" Top-sawyer is also used commonly as 'a rich person': Thackeray's *The Newcomers*, "A great person. He had paid the postboys, and travelled with a servant like a *top-sawyer*." This term is also used among Costermongers 'the largest and best fruit placed at the top of a basket,' and in *Tailors slang* as 'a collar.' Also applied to the fore part of a garment.]
- TOPS, dying speeches and gallows' broadsides. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition.]
- TOPSY-TURVY, the bottom upwards. *Grose* gives an ingenious etymology of this once Cant term, viz., "*top-side turf-ways*,"—turf being always laid the wrong side upwards. [Term of unknown origin; Dickens uses it in *Dombey* (1848).]
- TO-RIGHTS, excellent, very well, or good. [A well known phrase used from 1330; cited often in 18<sup>th</sup> and the 19<sup>th</sup> century literature.]
- TORMENTORS, the large iron flesh-forks used by cooks at sea—*Sea*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. 'A cook's big forks,' a nautical slang, is first cited in *Bill Truck* (1823)—Baumann. Rather rare in singular, though it does so occur in C.J.R. Cook's *The Quarter Deck* (1844).]
- TORPIDS, the second-class race-boats at Oxford, answering to the Cambridge SLOGGERS. [University slang at Oxford. The races rowed in Lent Term in eight-oared clinker-built open boats: originally designating the boats; later also the crews. "The 'Torpids boats' were originally the second boats of a college, which until 1837 rowed with the "Eights." They are understood to have started c 1827, when Christ Church put a second boat on the river; but no record of the name is found until 1838, when it was apparently well established. In that year, the Torpids were made a class by themselves, and raced in the days between the Eight-oared Races (which were not then continuous). In 1852 they were moved to the Lent Term, and reorganized on their present basis." (W. E. Sherwood.) Partridge, and Farmer & Henley cite this term under *togger*. Barrère & Leland credits Hotten for this definition.]
- TOSHERS, men who steal copper from ships' bottoms in the Thames. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. The *OED* credits Hotten's 1st edition for this meaning and Mayhew's *London Labour* (1851) for 'the one who searches for valuable refuse in drains and sewers.' This nautical

- term probably comes from *tasi*, a copper basin in Turkish-Persian. In Oxford slang, it means ‘an unattached student’; in Gypsy ‘food,’ ‘victuals,’ and it is obsolete.]
- TOSS, a measure of sprats.—*Billingsgate and Costermonger*.
- TOT, a small glass; a “TOT O’ WHISKY” is the smallest quantity sold. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It comes from *tot*, ‘a small drinking vessel, especially a child’s mug’ that soon became used for ‘a very small quantity of liquor.’ First used in dialect (1828) and then colloquialized after 1850.]
- TOUCH, a slang expression in common use in phrases which express the extent to which a person is interested or affected as “a fourpenny TOUCH,” *i.e.*, costing that amount.—*See* an example in Mr, afterwards Sir Erasmus, Philipp’s Diary, at Oxford, in 1720. (*Notes and Queries*, 2d series, p. 365.) Sept. 22. “At night went to the ball at the Angel, *A Guinea Touch*.” It is also used at Eton in the sense of a “tip,” or present of money. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. *Touch* is synonymous with cost or ‘damage’; a penny ride in an omnibus is a penny *touch*. It was used in the Eton School for ‘a present of money.’ Formerly a cant word for ‘a slight essay,’ as cited in Swift.]
- TOUCHED, slightly intoxicated; also said of a consumptive person. [Also ‘slightly insane.’ The term becomes standard English despite general opinion, thus to touch means ‘to affect mentally.’ In the sense cited in Hotten, ‘intoxicated, the term did not appear in any of the later slang dictionaries, suggesting he had made a mistake recording the term.]
- TOUCHER, “as near as a TOUCHER,” as near as possible without actually touching.—*Coaching term*. The old jarveys, to shew their skill, used to drive against things so close as absolutely to *touch*, yet without injury. This they called a TOUCHER, or, TOUCH AND GO, which was hence applied to anything which was within an ace of ruin. [This definition is taken directly from Hotten’s *Slang Dictionary* and cited in both Barrère & Leland and Farmer & Henley. Both dictionaries also credit Hotten for his work.]
- TOUCHY, peevish, irritable. *Johnson* terms it a low word. [First citation is from 1618 and the term was often used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. Barrère & Leland does not include the term while Farmer & Henley and Partridge list a different meaning, now colloquial, ‘a small amount of something.’ The slang or low word Hotten recorded did not stick long enough.]
- TOUT, in sporting *phraseology* a TOUT signifies an agent in the training districts, on the look-out for information as to the condition and capabilities of those horses entered for a coming race.—*See* TIPSTER. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. See TIPSTER for more information.]
- TOUT, to look out, or watch.—*Old Cant*. [To be on the lookout, to watch carefully was used from the mid-17<sup>th</sup> to Mid-19<sup>th</sup> century, and in the 19<sup>th</sup> century only in literary revival. The term was cited in Coles, B.E. and Grose.]
- TOUTER, a looker out, one who watches for customers, a hotel runner. A term in general use, derived from the old Cant word. [A thieves’ lookout man, low slang used in Dickens (1844)—*OED*.]
- TOWEL, to beat or whip. In *Warwickshire* an oaken stick is termed a TOWEL—whence, perhaps, the vulgar verb. [Provincial English *towl*, to beat with a stick. In Norfolk, a man who has been cudgeled is said to have been “rubbed down with a blackthorn *towel*.”]
- TOWELLING, a rubbing down with an *oaken TOWEL*, a beating. [The term is cited in 1851 Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor*, “I got a *towelling*, but it did not do me much good.”]
- TOWN-LOUT, a derogatory title at Rugby School for those pupils who reside with their parents in the town, in contradistinction to those who live in the boarding-houses. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Again, this was the first citation of the term acknowledged by later dictionaries.]
- TOW-POWS, grenadiers. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and Hotten is recognized as the first citation of the term by the *OED* and later slang lexicographers. Partridge, however, thinks that it is a misspelling of TOW-ROW ‘a grenadier’ in Army slang, first cited in Grose and used from 1780 to 1860. Barrère & Leland include the same term as Hotten TOW-POW, suggesting that it may be a variation of the term and not a misspelling.]
- TRACKS, “to make TRACKS,” to run away.—*See* STREAK.
- TRANSLATOR, a man who deals in old shoes or clothes, and refits them for cheap wear. [A cobbler, one who turns worn-out shoes into good ones, or ‘as good as new.’ In 1757 Sewell writes that *translator* was an established word more than a century ago—, and gives the Dutch *schoenlappen* as its equivalent; literally shoe-patcher. Although used from early 17<sup>th</sup> century, Hotten must have taken it from Mayhew’s *London Labour* (1851). Used as slang in the phrase “A ‘translated’ pair of shoes.”]
- TRANSLATORS, second-hand boots mended and polished, and sold at a low price. Monmouth Street, Seven Dials,

- is a great market for TRANSLATORS. [Translators, 'secondhand boots' are used by Mayhew in *London Labour and the London Poor*, "He will part with anything rather than his boots, and to wear a pair of secondhand ones, or *translators*, as they are called, is felt as a bitter degradation by them all.]
- TRANSMOGRIPHY, to alter or change. [Also spelled TRANSMOGRAPHY, -APHY, -RIPHY, -MIGRAPHY. It was used from the early 1700s, but implied even earlier as a rather low word. Holland (1656), B.E. (1725), and Burns record it in their dictionaries. B.E. asserts that *transmigraphy* is the correct form: if so, *transmigrate* probably supplies, via illiterate corruption, the etymology.]
- TRAP, a "fast" term for a carriage of any kind. [A smallish, sprung carriage; in Britain especially a gig, but in Australia and New Zealand, a 'four wheeled carriage.' The term was in colloquial use since 1805 and became standard after 1900. Perhaps extracted from *rattle trap*.]
- TRAPS, goods and chattels of any kind, but especially luggage and personal effects; in Australia, SWAG. [Traps 'personal effects, belongings, baggage' was a colloquial term since 1813, according to the *OED*. *Traps* is abbreviation of *trappings*, hence in Australia a *swag* that was first recorded in Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition and included in later slang dictionaries which list *Slang Dictionary* as their source.]
- TRAP, "up to TRAP," knowing, wide awake,—synonymous with "up to SNUFF."
- TRAP, a sheriff's officer. [In thieves' slang, a very old term for the police, detective force. Ainsworth includes the term in his *Jack Sheppard*, "'But where are the lurchers?' 'Who?' asked Wood. 'The traps,' responded a bystander. 'The shoulder-clappers,' added a lady," and Charles Dickens in *Oliver Twist* "'What's become of the boy?' . . . 'Why the traps have got him, and that's all about it,' said the Dodger sullenly."]
- TRAPESING, gadding or gossiping about in a slatternly way.—*North*. Generally applied to girls and women in low neighbourhoods whose clothes are carelessly fastened, causing them to trail on the ground. [The *OED* only gives 'that traipses; going about in a slovenly manner that originates in late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Egan's 1823 edition of Grose's dictionary lists this word TRAPES 'a slatternly woman, a careless, sluttish woman.']
- TRAVELLER, name given by one tramp to another. "A TRAVELLER at her Majesty's expense," *i.e.*, a transported felon, a convict. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, but within the text in the 2<sup>nd</sup> edition. TRAMP *n.* is now *dial.*; a gypsy.` Also, a travelling showman. *Gentl. Mag.* (1763), Jamieson's *Traveller*, 'a beggar' (1825), and Mayhew's *London Labour* (1851) are among first citations. Although Grose's 1796 edition included a slang verb TO TIP THE TRAVELLER, 'to tell wonderful stories, to romance'; and 'to deceive,' 'to befool,' Hotten did not opt for this entry. However, TRAVELLER *n.* 'a convict,' might be a backformation of this verb used in Grose.]
- TREE, "up a TREE," in temporary difficulties,—out of the way. *American expression*, derived from RACCOON or BEAR-HUNTING. When Bruin is TREED, or is forced UP A TREE by the dogs, it means that then the tug of war begins.—*See* 'COON. Hence when an opponent is fairly run to bay, and can by no evasion get off, he is said to be TREED. These expressions originated with Colonel Crockett, of Backwoods' celebrity. In *Scotland* the phrase is "up a CLOSE," *i.e.*, a passage out of the usual track, or removed from observation. [This expression is included in Partridge and the *OED* and not in Barrère & Leland and Farmer & Henley. None of them, however, list Hotten. It seems that this long explanation is much more informative than the others. *In up a three*, 'concerned; done for; in a serious difficulty' is colloquial expression in the United States (1825) which was anglicized in 1840 and used in Thackeray, "having up a tree, as the Americans say.' The expression also appears in Baumann "Up a tree for tenpence, up a gum-tree.]
- TRIANGLES, a Slang term for *delirium tremens*, during a fit of which everything appears out of the SQUARE. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is also listed as the first citation in the subsequent dictionaries which credit Hotten's 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is a low word in 1864, which became obsolete by 1930. A perversion of *tremens*, probably *on the trembles* and perhaps also with an allusion to the percussive musical instrument. Hotten, however, suggests that it is because, 'during *delirium tremens*' one sees everything out of the square.']
- TRIMMINGS, the necessary adjuncts to a cooked leg of mutton, as turnips' bread, beer, salt, &c. Bets are frequently made for a leg of mutton and TRIMMINGS. Or one person will forfeit the mutton if another will "stand the TRIMMINGS." It is generally a supper feast, held in a public house, and the rule is for the landlord to charge as TRIMMINGS everything, except the mutton, placed on the table previous to the removal of the cloth. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Later dictionaries do not include this meaning, and neither does the *OED*, suggesting that the definition Hotten provided might not be correct or robust.]
- TRINE, to hang.—*Ancient Cant*. [Perhaps arising from a shortening of the phrase *trine to the cheats*, 'go to the gallows, be hanged.' With a meaning 'to hang,' the word is included in Harman's *Caveat* (1567), Dekker's *Lanthonne & Candle-light* (1608) and B. E. *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700). The *OED* does not list any 19<sup>th</sup> century works that cite this word before Hotten. This is a perfect example of the archaic words that ceased

- usage by Hotten's time, but were nonetheless included in his dictionary for commercial reasons. The term comes from Old English, *'to trine,'* to put in the aspect of a *trine* (Old English *trine*, triple), a triad, alluding to the three beams of the gallows, formerly termed the "triple tree," or "mare with three legs." In gypsy *trin* (three) *bongo drums* means the cross or the crooked road. ]
- TRIPES, the bowels.  
 "Next morning Miss Dolly complained of her TRIPES,  
 Drinking cold water had given her the gripes."  
 [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It was popularly used for 'the belly' in 1890, according to Barrère & Leland. First cited in Grose, this low colloquialism is very rarely used after the 18<sup>th</sup> century, but is retained in songs.]
- TROLLING, sauntering or idling, hence TROLL and TROLLOCKS, an idle slut, a MOLL, which *See*. [The *OED* does not list this meaning for TROLL, noun or adjective. In *Classical Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue* (1785), Frances Grose uses a word MOLL as 'a girl, a woman; esp. a prostitute, a whore.' Now it is used rarely. However, in 1859, Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* lists MOLL-TOOLER, 'a female pickpocket.' It is certain that Hotten continued the tradition of using the word *Moll* as conventional proper name or nickname for a prostitute that started in the 17<sup>th</sup> century, perhaps after the name of *Mary Magdalene*.]
- TROLLY, or TROLLY-CARTS, term given by costermongers to a species of narrow cart, which can either be drawn by a donkey, or driven by hand. [a mid 19<sup>th</sup> century name for a LORRY, ROLLEY, RULLEY, 'locally applied to a low cart of various kinds, e.g. a costermonger's cart; at Yarmouth, a narrow cart or sledge adapted for the 'rows' or narrow alleys.' A Yarmouth trolley is sometimes locally called a TROLLEY-CART.]
- TROT, to "run up," to oppose, to bid against at an auction. Private buyers at auctions know from experience how general is the opposition against them from dealers, "knock-outs," and other *habitués* of sales, who regard the rooms as their own peculiar domain; "we TROTTED him up nicely, didn't we?" *i.e.*, we made him (the private buyer) pay dearly for what he bought. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, but the expression and the meaning were not later picked up. The *OED* cites only Hotten's *Slang Dictionary* (1864) for the meaning, 'to bid against at an auction in order to force up the price; to make or accept a spurious bid for (an item at auction) in order to force up the price,' "We trotted him up nicely, didn't we?" *i.e.*, we made him (the private buyer) pay dearly for what he bought." (Thieves), to steal in broad daylight. (Common), to trot out, to draw one out in order to bring into evidence his capability or foibles, the simile being a horse that is trotted up and down by a horsedealer in the presence of a purchaser.]
- TROTTER, a tailor's man who goes round for orders.—*University*. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1860 edition among first citations for this entry, but the word originates from TROT, 'the one who moves or goes about briskly and constantly; also, a tailor's, dressmaker's, or milliner's girl messenger'; at *Dublin University*, its slang meaning is 'one who goes to Dublin for a degree, without residence'; at Oxford (cf. *term-trotter*); at *Durham University*, a day-student (cf. TROT *v.*). The term 'to trot one's terms,' at Durham University, meant to keep one's terms as a day-student: cf. TROTTER. This meaning was in use from 1416 by many fiction writers. Hoccleve, T. Howell, C. Keith, and C. Bronte employed it in their works (*i.e.* *J. Eyre* in 1847) as well as Farmer & Henley did in 1883's *Durham University Journal* and later, Oscar Wilde in *Importance of being Earnest* (1899) and J. R. R. Tolkien in *Fellowship of Ring* (1954).]
- TROTTER CASES, shoes. [The *OED* lists Thomas Hood's *Sentimental Journals* (1821) and Charles Dickens's *Oliver Twist* (1838) as the first citations for this entry. Comes from TROTTERS 'feet.']
- TROTTERS, feet. Sheep's TROTTERS, boiled sheep's feet, a favourite street delicacy. [The term is cited in Carew's *Gentl. Mag* (1755), B.E., and Mayhew's *London Labour* (1851). It was used from the 17<sup>th</sup> to 20<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TRUCK, a hat—from the cap on the extremity of a mast.—*Sea*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Truck (nautical), a hat. From the cap on the top of the mast. (American), odd bits and ends, rubbish, plunder of little value. From provincial English *truck*, rubbish. Mark Twain's *Huckleberry Finn*, "No use to take truck and leave money." The term also means by extension bad food, and corresponds in this instance to the English 'scrane,' broken victuals, food; from *serane*, refuse.]
- TRUCK, to exchange or barter. [In use from 1440. Employed by Ben Johnson and Keats; figurative meaning in use from the 16<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TRUCK-GUTTED, pot-bellied, corpulent.—*Sea*. [Nautical slang first cited in Hotten's 2<sup>nd</sup> edition and obsolete by 1935.]
- TRUCKS, trousers. [Google scholar cites Hotten as the only citation. 'Trucks' becomes a popular term for trousers



- and is not included in any later slang dictionaries. Synonymous with ‘trolley - wags.’]
- TRUMP, a good fellow; “a regular TRUMP;” a jolly or good-natured person, —in allusion to a THUMP card; TRUMPS may turn up,” *i.e.*, fortune may yet favour me. [Used as a colloquialism signifying ‘A person of surpassing excellence; a first-rate fellow;’ a ‘brick’ since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. It appears in *Sporting Mag.* (1819) and Dickens’s *The Posthumous Papers of the Pickwick Club* (1837). Originates from the card term French *trionphe*. It verges on slang, but can hardly be classified as such.]
- TRUFF, to steal.—*North Country Cant*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and placed in footnotes. This is yet another example of the word that Hotten added in his 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and was the only known citation for the term Barrère & Leland, Farmer & Henley, and Partridge use his definition, credit Hotten as a source, and include that the term is extracted from the 18<sup>th</sup>- mid 19<sup>th</sup> century Scots *truff*, to obtain deceitfully, pilfer, steal.]
- TRUNKS, trousers—*Theatrical*. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It is just a different spelling for TRUCKS, used in theatrical slang (see TRUCKS).]
- TUBS, a butterman. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition as a low word first recorded in 1864, but becomes obsolete by 1930; the term is extracted from butter in tubs.]
- TUB-THUMPING, preaching or speech-making, from the old Puritan fashion of “holding forth” from a tub, or beer barrel, as a mark of their contempt for decorated pulpits. [Originated in 1662 but commonly used only in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century. Tub-thumping is a common term for street preaching. It is cited in *Funny Folks*, “Another, who waxed rather warm, was requested not to do any *tub-thumping*.” Possibly extracted from *Tub-preacher*. *Tub-preacher* is an old term for a ranting, dissenting preacher. Also “tub-drubber.” “Business and poetry agree as ill together as faith and reason; which two latter, as has been judiciously observ’d by the fam’d *tub-drubber* of Covent Garden, can never be brought to set their horses together.”—*T. Brown’s Works*. ]
- TUCK, a schoolboy’s term for fruit, pastry, &c. TUCK IN, or TUCK OUT, a good meal. [Term for food, especially sweets pastry. Often cited in Hughes’s *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*: “The slogger looks rather sodden, as if he didn’t take much exercise and ate too much *tuck*.” To *tuck* is also a provincialism signifying to eat, hence *tuck*; tuck-shop, a pastry cook-shop. Come along down to Sally Harrowell’s; that’s our schoolhouse tuck-shop—Hughes: *Tom Brown’s Schooldays*.]
- TUCK-UP-FAIR, the gallows. The notion of tucking up in connexion with hanging is derived from tucking up the bedclothes before going to sleep—the last preparation. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition and added for the first time in slang lexicography. Partridge and Barrère & Leland credit Hotten for this expression and it is recorded as obsolete by 1930.]
- TUFTS, fellow-commoners, *i.e.*, wealthy students at the University, generally the sons of noblemen, who pay higher fees, dine with the Dons, and are distinguished by golden TUFTS, or tassels, in their caps. [The gold tassel formerly worn by titled undergraduates at Oxford and Cambridge (see quot. 1894). Originally, at Oxford, a distinction of the sons of those peers who had a vote in the House of Lords, after 1861 of all peers and their eldest sons; after 1870 made optional. Used by Langhorne *Plutarch* (1770), Hughes’s *Tom Brown at Oxford* (1861), and Thackeray’s *Shabby-genteel* (1840).]
- TUFT-HUNTER, a hanger on to persons of quality or wealth—one who seeks the society of wealthy students. Originally *University Slang*, but now general.—*See* preceding. [The derivation of the word is from the *tuft* or gold tassels the noblemen and fellow commoners used to wear at the University. The expression is now general in society. Oxford slang which originated in 1755 according to the *OED* and used by Thackeray in many works (1849-55). Previous examples show us that Hotten researched works of another 19<sup>th</sup> century fiction writer apart from Dickens. He must have used Thackeray’s works while compiling his slang dictionary. Notice other annotations that cite Thackeray’s works.]
- TUMBLE, to comprehend or understand. A coster was asked what he thought of *Macbeth*,—“the witches and the fighting was all very well, but the other moves I couldn’t TUMBLE to exactly; few on us can TUMBLE to the jaw-breakers; they licks us, they do.” [Hotten often used anecdotal material to explain his entries. In this sense *to tumble* is very general in England among turfs, costermongers, roughs and thieves. The term is cited in *Sporting Times*, “Although I did not *tumble* to the real essence of the business for some minutes, yet I got in at the finish,” and in Mayhew’s *London Labour and the London Poor*, ““I can’t *tumble to that barrihin*,’ said a young fellow, ‘it’s a jaw-breaker.’” *To tumble to it* is to allow oneself to be taken in, to believe a falsehood, with the implication of a certain degree of eagerness. As Provincial Slang, *to tumble to the racket*, is ‘to get accustomed to a thing.’ In American English, *tumble* means to agree to anything, to assent: “Now as for this speculation which you propose. It may be a very fine thing, but I don’t tumble to it.—*American Newspaper*.]

- “TUNE THE OLD COW DIED OF,” an epithet for any ill-played or discordant piece of music. Originally the name of an old ballad, alluded to in the dramatists of Shakspeare’s time. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It has a meaning of a grotesque and unpleasant noise. It is a colloquial jocular expression that was first recorded in Marryat. Farmer & Henley and Partridge include it in their dictionaries, but do not credit Hotten.]
- TUP, a young bullock. *Smithfield*, and drovers’ term. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. *Smithfield*, and drovers’ term was an error that disappeared by the 5<sup>th</sup> edition. Tup, properly a ram, occurs in the slang phrase a *stray tup on the loose*, i.e., a man looking out for a girl. Barrère & Leland and Partridge include this term; the error is corrected.]
- TURF, horse-racing, and betting thereon; “on the TURF,” one who occupies himself with race-course business; said also of a street-walker, nymph of the *pavé*. [*The Turf*, often with a capital T, has the meaning of ‘The grassy track or course over which horse-racing takes place; hence, the institution, action, or practice of horse-racing; the racing world.’ In 1755, *Gentl. Mag.* and in 1785, Francis Grose (*Dict. Vulg. Tongue*), use it in the sense of ‘a horse racer, or jockey.’ In his 2nd edition, Hotten lists both meanings under one entry, but in his 3rd edition, Hotten recognizes the slang phrase *on the turf* ‘engaged in prostitution’ separately. The *OED* lists his 2nd edition as the first cited source for this phrase, and the meaning has been accepted since, often used in the late-20<sup>th</sup> century as well: 1860 Hotten *Dict. Slang*, 1899 ‘J. Flynt’ *Tramping*, 1936 H. Asbury *French Quarter*, 1962 Parker & Allerton *Courage of his Convictions*, 1984 J. O’Donoghue *Sergeant Horn’s Murder Trap*. Additional meanings in Hotten’s time included the following: (Printers), a synonym for a printing machine, the cylinder of which has a peculiar rocking motion. (Thieves), cart; to nap the flog at the *tumbler*, formerly to be whipped at the cart’s tail. (Turf), a term applied to a worthless horse not steady on its legs. The latter term is cited in *Sporting Times*: “Its representatives likewise cut a better figure than Tom Fergusou’s three tumblers.”]
- TURKEY MERCHANTS, dealers in plundered or contraband silk. Poulterers are sometimes termed TURKEY MERCHANTS in remembrance of Horne Tooke’s answer to the boys at Eton, who wished in an aristocratic way to know who *his* father was: a TURKEY MERCHANT, replied Tooke—his father was a poulterer. TURKEY MERCHANT, also, was formerly Slang for a driver of turkeys or geese to market. [The latter sense originated in the late-17<sup>th</sup> century and is recorded in B.E., but became a ‘poulterer’ in the mid-18<sup>th</sup> to mid-19<sup>th</sup> centuries. Grose and Hotten recorded the terms, and later dictionaries cite Hotten as a source.]
- TURNED OVER, to be stopped and searched by the police. [Hotten changed this expression from TURNED OVER to TURNED UP in the 1860 edition, perhaps because Grose listed it as TURNED UP ‘acquitted, or discharged, for want of evidence.’ The phrasal verbs are always confusing and hard to distinguish, even in Standard English, and they probably vary even more in slang usage. Hotten’s quotation of the TURNED OVER phrase is the only one listed in the *OED*, suggesting that he made a mistake in recording it: *Criminals’ slang* cited in 1859 Hotten *Dict Slang*, *Turned over*, to be stopped and searched by the police. However, F&H picked the term up, credited Hotten, and listed a quotation from Horsley’s *Jotting from Jail* (1877). It is possible either that both terms were used interchangeably or that TURN OVER was picked up by mistake.]
- TURNED UP, acquitted by the magistrate or judge for want of evidence. [Taken directly and verbatim from Grose, *turned up* in this sense is not listed in the *OED*. *Turned up* ‘arrested’ is listed as thieves’ slang in B&L and F&H. Further research is needed to find the proper uses of phrasal terms in English slang.]
- TURNER OUT, a coiner of bad money. [First cited in Hotten’s 1859 edition, this term is credited to later lexicographers. It is most likely extracted from *turn out* ‘to produce,’ ‘to manufacture.’]
- TURNIP, an old-fashioned watch, so called from its thickness. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It has been used often since the early 19<sup>th</sup> century (1829) because of the watch’s resemblance to a small turnip.]
- TURN OUT, personal show or appearance; a man with a showy carriage and horses is said to have a good TURN OUT. [This theatrical term was first recorded in Mayhew (1851), according to the *OED*.]
- TURNOVER, an apprentice who finishes with a second master the indentures he commenced with the first. [Turnover is a trade slang; an apprentice transferred from one master to another is called a *turnover*. Hotten’s definition is cited verbatim in Barrère & Leland.]
- TURNPIKE SAILORS, beggars who go about dressed as sailors. [This term was in use from 1835-1900 and cited in Brandon and Mayhew (1851) before Hotten’s 1st edition.]
- TURN UP, a street fight; a sudden leaving, or making off. [*Turn-up* becomes common slang for a prize-fight, but it also can refer to a street fight. It is cited in *Punch*: “‘Ah, well,’ said young Bob, ‘I suppose we shall still be allowed to have our private *turn-ups*, and I can tell you it’s pretty warm work sometimes.’”]

- TURN UP, to appear unexpectedly. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, although it is obviously colloquial and regularly used now.]
- TURN UP, to quit, change, abscond, or abandon; “Ned has TURNED up,” *i.e.*, run away; “I intend TURNING IT UP,” *i.e.*, leaving my present abode, or altering my course of life. Also to happen; “let’s wait, and see what will TURN UP.” [In use as slang since 1620 and becoming standard in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the term is listed as slang in Vaux and Hotten and as common in Barrère & Leland (1890).]
- TUSHEROON, a crown piece, five shillings. [The *OED* lists Hotten’s 1859 edition as the first citation for TOSHEROON entry. The etymology is unknown. This word came back to use in the 20<sup>th</sup> century. George Orwell uses it in *Down & Out in Paris & London* (1933), and Anthony Burgess uses it in *Doctor is Sick* (1960). Later in 1978, *Daily Mirror* cites  
 “All sorts of things, places and creatures we believed were everlasting have vanished, like trams, tosheroons and Constantinople.” This word is a great example of how Hotten’s work was accepted by later writers and how he contributed to the development of lexicography.]
- TUSSLE, a pull, struggle, fight, or argument. *Johnson* and *Webster* call it a vulgar word.
- TUSSLE, to struggle, or argue. [The term was first cited in Hotten’s 1859 edition, and it does not appear in Barrère & Leland or Farmer & Henley. It seems that it stopped being used sometime before 1890.]
- TWELVER, a shilling. [The *OED* lists B.E. as the first author to use this word. The entry TWELVER is explained as obsolete slang with the meaning ‘A coin worth twelve pence.’ The following quotations are given:  
*a1700 B. E. Dict. Cant. Crew, Twelver, a Shilling* and *1725 in New Cant. Dict. 1732 Tricks of Town 15*  
*oachmen... demanding t’other Twelver or Tester above their Fare.* Since this word is not listed in Grose this is a good example to suggest Hotten used directly B.E.’s *Canting Crew*.]
- TWELVE GODFATHERS, a jury, because they give a name to the crime the prisoner before them has been guilty of; whether murder or manslaughter, felony or misdemeanour. Consequently it is a vulgar taunt to say, “You will be christened by TWELVE GODFATHERS some day before long.” [Low slang, this word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is footnoted. This is yet another example of an expression that was first cited in Hotten’s 1864 edition and was continually cited in subsequent slang dictionaries.]
- TWICE-LAID, a dish made out of cold fish and potatoes.—Sea. Compare BUBBLE AND SQUEAK and RESURRECTION PIE. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It was cited for the first time in 1864 as a low word that became obsolete 1890 except in nautical slang, Bowen defines it as ‘any see dish that is cooked for the second time’ and derives it from ‘the old name for rope made of the best yarns of an old rope.’]
- TWIG, style, *à la mode*; “get your strummel faked in TWIG,” *i.e.*, have your hair dressed in style; PRIME TWIG, in good order and high spirits. —*Pugilistic*. [Both sets of senses were obsolete 1860. *Twig* ‘style’ was in use as low slang since 1806 and was included in the lines of Charles Dibdin’s song. *Prime twig* was included in Vaux (1812) and as a pugilistic term in Randall’s *Diary* (used 1840-1870).]
- TWIG, “to hop the TWIG,” to decamp, “cut one’s stick,” to die.
- TWIG, to understand, detect, or observe. [Twig became popular by 1890, according to B&L. It is a Lincolnshire term, meaning ‘to understand,’ but was commonly used in slang with the further meaning of ‘perceive, see, notice, observe.’ From the Irish *tuigim* ‘I understand, discern.’ Whitley Stokes compares the Irish *tuigim* and the old Irish *tuccu* with the old Latin *tongere*, Gothic *thagkjan*, Icelandic *thekkja*, and English *think* (Irish Glossaries). The term is used in Dickens’s *Pickwick Papers* (“They’re a *twiggin* of you, sir,”) and in *Moonshine* (“The giant kept dropping in, usually followed by a crowd of ragamuffins, whilst the gamin shouted in French the equivalent of ‘*Twig* his legs, Bill?’ for he was dreadfully in-kneed”). The term is also possibly derived from the Anglo-Saxon *trig-spraec*, an ambiguous, double-meaning speech, hence, *tweogan*, to doubt.]
- TWIST, brandy and gin mixed. [This term is defined in the *OED* as slang for ‘a beverage consisting of a mixture of two liquors or ingredients, as tea and coffee, gin and brandy.’ Among the first citations are B. E.’s *Dictionary of the Canting Crew* (a1700), Joseph Addison’s *The Spectator* (1712), *New Canting Dictionary* (1725), and Jon Bee’s *Slang Dictionary* (1823), all of which were readily available to Hotten. The verbatim definition appeared in Egan’s edition Of Grose’s *Classical Dictionary*.]
- TWIST, capacity for eating, appetite; “Will’s got a capital TWIST.” [*Twist* as suggesting a good appetite probably alludes to the *twitting* or gnawing sensation in a hungry man’s stomach—to the pangs of hunger—which is exactly rendered by the French slang phrase *avoir une crampe an pylore*. It is curious to note also the term *tortiller* ‘to eat, literally to twist, coil’ (formerly *tordre*). It is said of a glutton, “Il ne fait que tordre et avaler.” Oliver Twist was apparently so called by Dickens on account of his propensity to ask for ‘more.’ The term is used in *Bird of Freedom*: “‘An egg,’ cried Shakebacon, who has a *twist*. ‘Bosh!’” Becoming

- common by 1890, *Twist* is also cited by Grose and in B&L's dictionary; Partridge places the term between 1780 and 1930 when it was already obsolete ]
- TWITCHETY, nervous, fidgety. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1859 edition as the first and only early citation for this entry. The word was picked up later in the 20<sup>th</sup> century by W. Greene in *Death in Deep South* (1936), and it also appeared in *Nature* in 1973. This adjective originates from the verb or noun TWITCH + ET + -Y, perhaps after *crotchety*, *fidgety*, etc. It was used in medical journals from 1804 with the meaning 'a quick, involuntary, usually slight movement of a muscle, etc., esp. of nervous origin; a convulsive or spasmodic jerk or quiver.']
- TWITTER, "all in a TWITTER," in a fright or fidgety state. [Though having a similar meaning to TWITCHETY, *twitter*, however, is not listed in any other slang dictionaries with this sense. *Twitter* is rather defined as a 'tipsy fellow, not frightened,' according to the *OED* and Partridge. ]
- TWO-FISTED, expert at fisticuffs. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition, and it presents the first record of this term. It is actually a variation of two-handed, 'ambidextrous.']
- TWO-HANDED, awkward, a singular reversing of meaning. [This is a colloquialism, meaning 'big, bulky, strapping,' that is of obscure origin. T. Brown used the term in *Saints in Uproar* (1687) and B. E. defined it in his *Dict. Cant. Crew* (a1700) as 'a swinging two-handed Woman.' In 1749, Fielding employed it again in *Tom Jones*, and the phrase continued to be used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century.]
- TWOPENNY, the head; "tuck in your TWOPENNY," bend down your head. [The *OED* lists Hotten's 1859 dictionary as the first citation for 'the head.' This slang meaning was rarely cited in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, but other 20<sup>th</sup>-century writers picked up this tradition, and George Orwell is cited for his use of the term in *Collected Essays, Journalism and Letters* (1968).]
- TWOPENNY-HALFPENNY, paltry, insignificant. A TWOPENNY-HALF-PENNY fellow, a not uncommon expression of contempt. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is the first record of the word that was much-used in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. The form *tuppenny-ha'penny* 'inferior, insignificant' is used in urban colloquial language in 1909.]
- TWOPENNY-HOPS, low dancing rooms, the price of admission to which was formerly—and not infrequently now—twopence. The clog hornpipe, the pipe dance, flash jigs, and hornpipes in fetters, *a la* Jack Sheppard, are the favourite movements, all entered into with great spirit and "joyous, laborious capering."—*Mayhew*. [*Twopenny-hops* is a colloquial term for 'a cheap dance' and had been in use since 1850. It became obsolete by 1904, according to F&H. As seen from Hotten's definition, the term was cited from *Mayhew's London Labour*.]
- "TWO UPON TEN," or "TWO PUN' TEN," an expression used by assistants to each other, in shops, when a customer of suspected honesty makes his appearance. The phrase refers to "two eyes upon ten fingers," shortened as a money term to "TWO PUN' TEN." When a supposed thief is present, one shopman asks the other if that TWO PUN' (pound) TEN matter was ever settled. The man knows at once what is meant, and keeps a careful watch upon the person being served. If it is not convenient to speak, a piece of paper is handed to the same assistant, bearing the to him very significant amount of L2:10:0—*Compare* SHARP, JOHN ORDERLY. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. The value of Hotten's dictionary is seen in his explanation of the practices in trade, providing a cultural background of London and its inhabitants. ]
- TYBURNIA, the Portman and Grosvenor Square districts. It is facetiously divided by the Londoners into TYBURNIA FELIX, TYBURNIA DESERTA, and TYBURNIA SNOBBICA. The old gallows at Tyburn stood near the N.E. corner of Hyde Park, at the angle formed by the Edgware Road and the top of Oxford Street. In 1778 this was two miles out of London. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. Hotten gives an incredible amount of historical background of 19<sup>th</sup>-century London and its districts. Grose records the allusive use of this term and lists TYBURN BLOSSOM 'a young thief or pickpocket, who, in time, will ripen into fruit borne by the deadly never-green' and TYBURN TIPPET "'a halter' which became rather obsolete in 1821." See Latimer's sermon before Edward VI A.D. 1549.]
- TYBURN COLLAR, the fringe of beard worn under the chin.—*See* NEWGATE COLLAR. [A footnoted term in the 1864 edition, this term is included within the text in the 2nd edition. The *OED* does not recognize this compound and cites only *Newgate* and *Tyburn*. Newgate is the name of a famous prison in London, and under this entry we can find NEWGATE KNOCKER *n.* 'a lock of hair hanging down the cheek, twisted back from the temple towards the ear.' This meaning can be found in Henry Mayhew's *London Labour* (1851): "As for the hair, they say it ought to be long in front, and done in 'figure-six' curls, or twisted back to the ear \*Newgate-knocker style." On the other hand, the *OED* defines TYBURN as the place of public execution for Middlesex until 1783, situated at the junction of the present Oxford Street, Bayswater Road, and Edgware Road. Its name was in allusive use in the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries in a wide variety of

- compounds such as *Tyburn check, coach, collop, face, jig, piccadill, saint, stretch, string, tie, tiffany, tribe, wright, Tyburn blossom*, etc. In 1796, Frances Grose employed \**Tyburn Blossom*, as “a young thief or pickpocket, who in time will ripen into fruit borne by the deadly never-green” in his *Dictionary of Vulgar Tongue*. Although it is well-known that Grose’s dictionary was an inspiration to Hotten, Mayhew’s entry NEWGATE KNOCKER was probably Hotten’s source for this entry. Since TYBURN or NEWGATE COLLAR was not listed in earlier dictionaries, it seems likely that people were playing with the allusive meanings of the two places and using them interchangeably: Tyburn (old); *Tyburn blossom*, a young thief; to preach at *Tyburn cross*, to be hanged, alluding to the penitential speeches made on such occasions. ]
- TYE, or TIE, a neckerchief. Proper hosier’s term now, but Slang thirty years ago, and as early as 1718. Called also SQUEEZE. [Although the word originates from the Old English *teah* ‘rope,’ the slang meaning ‘a neckerchief’ came to use in 1860. The *OED* lists C. M. Younge’s *Hopes & Fears* as the first citation, although Hotten used it a year before in his 1st edition of *Slang Dictionary* with the same meaning, ‘a lady’s ornamental necklet or scarf.’ The *OED* also lists late 19<sup>th</sup>- (*Montgomery Ward Catal*, 1895) and early 20<sup>th</sup> century works which employ this slang meaning of the word. Interestingly enough, there is no connection in the *OED* between TIE and SQUEEZE under the TIE, TYE *n.* entry. However, under the SQUEEZE entry, the *OED* lists an earlier use of this slang or cant meaning ‘The neck.’ J. H. Vaux’s *Flash Dict* (1812), *Sporting Mag* (1821), Pierce Egan’s *Boxiana* (1828) are listed as first citations, and they are most likely the sources for Hotten’s dictionary. Farmer & Henley employed this meaning of SQUEEZE ‘the neck’ in their 1866 work, suggesting that many lexicographers were familiar with this meaning and included it in their slang dictionaries.]
- TYKE, a clownish Yorkshireman. [This word is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition. It can also mean a dog. Grose lists it as ‘a clown: a Yorkshire tyke.’]
- TYPO, a printer. [This entry is added to the 3<sup>rd</sup> edition and is a term of familiarity applied by one typographer to another, the abbreviation being obvious. Also French.]

APPENDIX B

THE BIBLIOGRAPHY  
OF  
SLANG, CANT, AND VULGAR LANGUAGE;  
OR,  
A LIST OF THE BOOKS WHICH HAVE BEEN CONSULTED IN  
COMPILING THIS WORK,  
COMPRISING NEARLY EVERY KNOWN TREATISE UPON THE SUBJECT.

SLANG has a literary history, the same as authorized language. More than one hundred works have treated upon the subject in one form or other,—a few devoting but a chapter, whilst many have given up their entire pages to expounding its history and use. Old Harman, a worthy man, who interested himself in suppressing and exposing vagabondism in the days of good Queen Bess, was the first to write upon the subject. Decker followed fifty years afterwards, but helped himself, evidently, to his predecessor's labours. Shakspeare, Beaumont and Fletcher, Ben Jonson, and Brome, each employed beggars' Cant as part of the machinery of their plays. Then came Head (who wrote *The English Rogue*, in 1680) with a glossary of Cant words "used by the Gipsies." But it was only a reprint of what Decker had given sixty years before. About this time authorised dictionaries began to insert vulgar words, labelling them "Cant." The Jack Sheppards and Dick Turpins of the early and middle part of the last century made Cant popular, and many small works were published upon the subject. But it was Grose, burly, facetious Grose, who, in the year 1785, collected the scattered glossaries of Cant and secret words, and formed one large work, adding to it all the vulgar words and Slang terms used in his own day. I am aware that the indelicacy and extreme vulgarity of the work renders it a disgrace to its compiler, still we must admit that it is by far the most important work which has ever appeared on street or popular language; indeed, from its pages every succeeding work has, up to the present time, drawn its contents. The great fault of Grose's book consists in the author not contenting himself with Slang and Cant terms, but inserting every "smutty" and offensive word that could be raked out of the gutters of the streets. However, Harman and Grose are, after all, the only authors who have as yet treated the subject in an original manner, or have written on it from personal inquiry.

- AINSWORTH'S (William Harrison) Novels and Ballads. London, V.D.  
Some of this author's novels, such as *Rookwood* and *Jack Sheppard*, abound in Cant words, placed in the mouths of the highwaymen. The author's ballads (especially "Nix my dolly, pals, fake away") have long been popular favourites.
- ANDREWS' (George) Dictionary of the Slang and Cant Languages, Ancient and Modern, 12mo. London, 1809.  
A sixpenny pamphlet, with a coloured frontispiece representing a beggar's carnival.
- A NEW DICTIONARY OF THE JAUNTING CREW, 12mo. N. D.  
Mentioned by John Bee in the Introduction to his *Sportsman's Slang Dictionary*.
- ASH'S (John, LL.D.) New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language, 2 vols. 8vo. 1775.  
Contains a great number of Cant words and phrases.
- BACCHUS AND VENUS; or, A Select Collection of near Two Hundred of the most Witty and Diverting Songs and Catches in Love and Gallantry, with Songs in the Canting Dialect, with a DICTIONARY, *explaining all Burlesque and Canting Terms*, 12mo. 1738.  
Prefixed is a curious woodcut frontispiece of a *Boozing-Ken*. This work is scarce, and much prized by collectors. The Canting Dictionary appeared before, about 1710, with the initials B. E. on the title. It also came out afterwards, in the year 1751, under the title of the *Scoundrel's Dictionary*, —a mere reprint of the two former impressions.
- BAILEY'S (Nath.) Etymological English Dictionary, 2 vols. 8vo; 1737.  
Contains a great many Cant and Vulgar words;—indeed, Bailey does not appear to have been very particular what words he inserted, so long as they were actually in use. *A Collection of Ancient and Modern Cant Words* appears as an appendix to vol. ii. of this edition, (third.)
- BANG-UP DICTIONARY; or, The Lounger and Sportsman's Vade Mecum, containing a copious and correct

- Glossary of the Language of the Whips, illustrated by a great variety of original and curious Anecdotes, 8vo. 1812.  
A vulgar performance, consisting of pilferings from Grose, and made-up words with meanings of a degraded character.
- BARTLETT'S Dictionary of Americanisms; a Glossary of Words and Phrases colloquially used in the United States, 8vo. *New York*, 1859.  
It is a curious fact connected with Slang that a great number of vulgar words common in England are equally common in the United States; and when we remember that America began to people two centuries ago, and that these colloquialisms must have crossed the sea with the first emigrants, we can form some idea of the antiquity of popular or street language. Many words, owing to the caprices of fashion or society, have wholly disappeared in the parent country, whilst in the colonies they are yet heard. The words SKINK, to serve drink in company, and the old term MICHING or MEECHING, skulking or playing truant, for instance, are still in use in the United States, although nearly, if not quite, obsolete here.
- BEAUMONT and FLETCHER'S Comedy of *The Beggar's Bush*, 4to, 1661, or any edition.  
Contains numerous Cant words.
- BEE'S (Jon.) Dictionary of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase, the Pit, the Bon Ton, and the Varieties of Life, forming the completest and most authentic Lexicon Balatronicum hitherto offered to the notice of the Sporting World, by John Bee, [*i.e.*, John Badcock,] Esq., Editor of the *Fancy*, *Fancy Gazette*, *Living Picture of London*, and the like of that, 12mo. 1823.  
This author published books on Stable Economy under the name of Hinds. He was the sporting rival of Pierce Egan. Professor Wilson, in an amusing article in *Blackwood's Magazine*, reviewed this work.
- BEE'S (Jon.) Living Picture of London for 1828, and Stranger's Guide through the Streets of the Metropolis; shewing the Frauds, the Arts, Snares, and Wiles of all descriptions of Rogues that everywhere abound, 12mo. 1828.  
Professes to be a guide to society, high and low, In London, and to give an insight into the language of the streets.
- BEE'S (Jon.) Sportsman's Slang; a New Dictionary of Terms used in the Affairs of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase, and the Cockpit; with those of Bon Ton and the Varieties of Life, forming a *Lexicon Balatronicum et Macaronicum*, &c., 12mo, *plate*. *For the Author*, 1825.  
The same as the preceding, only with an altered title. Both wretched performances, filled with miserable attempts at wit.
- BLACKGUARDIANA; or, Dictionary of Rogues, Bawds, &c., 8vo, WITH PORTRAITS, [by *James Caulfield*.] 1795.  
This work, with a long and very vulgar title, is nothing but a reprint of Grose, with a few anecdotes of pirates, odd persons, &c., and some curious portraits inserted. It was concocted by Caulfield as a speculation, and published at one guinea per copy; and, owing to the remarkable title, and the notification at the bottom that "only a few copies were printed," soon became scarce. For philological purposes it is not worth so much as any edition of Grose.
- BOOK OF VAGABONDS.—*See* under LIBER VAGATORUM.
- BOXIANA; or, Sketches of Modern Pugilism, by Pierce Egan, (an account of the prize-ring,) 3 vols. 8vo. 1820.  
Gives more particularly the Cant terms of pugilism, but contains numerous (what were then styled) "flash" words.
- BRANDON. Poverty, Mendicity, and Crime; or, The Facts, Examinations, &c., upon which the Report was founded, presented to the House of Lords by W. A. Miles, Esq., to which is added a *Dictionary of the Flash or Cant Language, known to every Thief and Beggar*, edited by H. Brandon, Esq., 8vo. 1839.  
A very wretched performance.
- BROME'S (Rich.) Jovial Crew; or, The Merry Beggars. Presented in a Comedie at the Cockpit, in Drury Lane, in the Year (4to) 1652.  
Contains many Cant words similar to those given by Decker,—from whose works they were doubtless obtained.
- BROWN'S (Rev. Hugh Stowell) Lecture on Manliness, 12mo. 1857.  
Contains a few modern Slang words.
- BRYDGES' (Sir Egerton) British Bibliographer, 4 vols. 8vo. 1810-14.  
Voi . ii., p. 521, gives a list of Cant words.
- BULWER'S (Sir Edward Lytton) Paul Clifford. V. D.  
Contains numerous Cant words.
- BULWER'S (Sir Edward Lytton) Pelham. V. D.  
Contains a few Cant terms.
- BUTLER'S Hudibras, with Dr Grey's Annotations, 3 vols. 8vo. 1819.  
Abounding in colloquial terms and phrases.
- CAMBRIDGE. Gradus ad Cantabrigiam; or, A Dictionary of Terms, Academical and Colloquial, or Cant, which are



- used at the University, *with Illustrations*, 12mo. Camb., 1803.
- CANTING ACADEMY; or, Villanies Discovered, wherein are shewn the Mysterious and Villanous Practises of that Wicked Crew—Hectors, Trapanners, Gilt, &c., with several new Catches and Songs; also Complete Canting Dictionary, 12mo, *frontispiece*. 1674.  
Compiled by Richard Head.
- CANTING: a Poem, interspersed with Tales and Additional Scraps, post 8vo. 1814.  
A few street words may be gleaned from this rather dull poem.
- CANTING DICTIONARY; comprehending all the Terms, Antient and Modern, used in the several Tribes of Gypsies, Beggars, Shoplifters, Highwaymen, Foot-Pads, and all other Clans of Cheats and Villains, with Proverbs, Phrases, Figurative Speeches, &c., to which is added a complete Collection of Songs in the Canting Dialect, 12mo. 1725.  
The title is by far the most interesting part of the work. A mere make-up of earlier attempts.
- CAREW. Life and Adventures of Bamfylde Moore Carew, the King of the Beggars, with Canting Dictionary, portrait, 8vo. 1791.  
There are numerous editions of this singular biography. The Canting Dictionary is nothing more than a filch from earlier books.
- CHARACTERISMS, or the Modern Age Displayed; being an Attempt to Expose the Pretended Virtues of Both Sexes, 12mo, (part i., Ladies; part ii., Gentlemen,) *E. Owen*. 1750.  
An anonymous work, from which some curious matter may be obtained.
- CONYBEARE'S (Dean) Essay on Church Parties, reprinted from the *Edinburgh Review*, No. CC., October 1853, 12mo. 1858.  
Several curious instances of religious or pulpit Slang are given in this exceedingly interesting little volume.
- CORCORON, (Peter.) The Fancy, a Poem, 12mo. 182-  
Abounding in Slang words and the terms of the prize-ring. Written in imitation of Moore's *Tom Crib's Memorial*, by one of the authors of *The Rejected Addresses*.
- COTTON'S (Charles) Genuine Poetical Works, 12mo. 1771.  
"Scarronides, or Virgil Travestie, being the first and fourth Books of Virgil's *Aeneis*, in English burlesque." 8vo, 1672, and other works by this author, contain numerous vulgar words now known as Slang.
- DECKER'S (Thomas) The Bellman of London; bringing to light the most notorious villanies that are now practised in the Kingdom, 4to, black letter. London, 1608.  
Watt says this is the first book which professes to give an account of the Canting language of thieves and vagabonds. But this is wrong, as will have been seen from the remarks on Harman, who collected the words of the vagabond crew half a century before.
- DECKER'S (Thomas) Lanthorne and Candle-light, or the Bellman's Second Night's Walke, in which lie brings to light a brood of more strange villanies than ever were to this year discovered, 4to. London, 1608-9.  
This is a continuation of the former work, and contains the *Canter's Dictionary*, and has a frontispiece of the London Watchman with his staff broken.
- DECKER'S (Thomas) Gulls' Hornbook, 4to. 1609.  
"This work affords a greater insight into the fashionable follies and vulgar habits of Queen Elizabeth's day than perhaps any other extant."
- DECKER'S (Thomas) O per se O, or a new Cryer of Lanthorne and Candle-light, an Addition of the Bellman's Second Night's Walke, 4to, black letter. 1612.  
A lively description of London. Contains a *Canter's Dictionary*, every word in which appears to have been taken from Harman without acknowledgment. This is the first work that gives the Canting Song, a verse of which is inserted at page 20 of the Introduction. This Canting Song has since been inserted in nearly all Dictionaries of Cant.
- DECKER'S (Thomas) Villanies discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-light, and the Helpe of a new Cryer called O per se O, 4to. 1616.  
"With Canting Songs never before printed."
- DECKER'S (Thomas) English Villanies, eight several times prest to Death by the Printers, but still reviving again, are now the eighth time (as at the first) discovered by Lanthorne and Candle-light, &c., 4to. 1648.  
The eighth edition of the "*Lanthorne and Candle-light*."
- DICTIONARY of all the Cant and Flash Languages, both Ancient and Modern, 18mo. Bailey, 1790.
- DICTIONARY of all the Cant and Flash Languages, 12mo. London, 1797.
- DICTIONARY of the Canting Crew, (Ancient and Modern,) of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, &c., 12mo. N. D. [1700.]
- DICTIONNAIRE des Halle, 12mo. Bruxelles, 1696.  
This curious Slang Dictionary sold in the Stanley sale for £4, 16s.
- DUCANGE ANGLICUS.—The Vulgar Tongue: comprising Two Glossaries of Slang, Cant, and Flash Words and

- Phrases used in London at the present day, 12mo. 1857.  
 A Silly and childish performance, full of blunders and contradictions. A second edition appeared during the past year.
- DUNCOMBE'S Flash Dictionary of the Cant Words, Queer Sayings, and Crack Terms now in use in Flash Cribb Society, 32mo, *coloured print*. 1820.
- DUNTON'S Ladies' Dictionary, 8vo. *London*, 1694.  
 Contains a few Cant and vulgar words.
- EGAN. Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, with the addition of numerous Slang Phrases, edited by Pierce Egan, 8vo. 1823.  
 The best edition of Grose, with many additions, including a Life of this celebrated antiquary.
- EGAN'S (Pierce) Life in London, 2 vols. thick 8vo, *with coloured plates by Geo. Cruikshank, representing high and low life*. 18—.  
 Contains numerous Cant, Slang, sporting, and vulgar words, supposed by the author to form the basis of conversation in life, high and low, in London.
- ELWYN'S (Alfred L.) Glossary of supposed *Americanisms*—Vulgar and Slang Words used in the United States, small 8vo. 1859.
- GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, 8vo. N. D.  
 "In a very early volume of this parent magazine were given a few pages, by way of pample, of a Slang Vocabulary, then termed Cant. If, as we suspect, this part of the Magazine fell to the share of Dr Johnson, who was then its editor, we have to lament that he did not proceed with the design"—*John Bee, in the Introduction to his Slang Dictionary*, 1825.
- GENTLEMAN'S MAGAZINE, vol. xcii., p. 520.  
 Mention made of Slang.
- GLOSSARIES of County Dialects. V. D.  
 Many of these will repay examination, as they contain Cant and Slang words, wrongly inserted as provincial or old terms.
- GOLDEN CABINET (The) of Secrets opened for Youth's delightful Pastime, in 7 parts, the last being the "City and Country Jester;" with a Canting Dictionary, by Dr Surman, 12mo. *London*, N. D. (1730.)  
 Contains some curious woodcuts.
- GREENE'S (Robert) Notable Discovery of Coosnage, now daily practised by sundry lewd persons called Conie-catchers and Crosse-biters. Plainly laying open those pernicious sleights that hath brought many ignorant men to confusion. Written for the general benefit of all Gentlemen, Citizens, Apprentices, Country Farmers, and Yeomen, that may hap to fall into the company of such coosening companions. With a delightful discourse of the coosnage of Colliers, 4to, *with woodcuts*. *Printed by John Wolfe*, 1591.  
 The first edition. A copy of another edition, supposed to be *unique*, is dated 1592. It was sold at the Heber sale.
- GREENE'S (Robert) Groundworks of Conny-Catching, the manner of their PEDLERS' FRENCH, and the meanes to understand the same, with the cunning sleights of the Conterfeit Cranke. Done by a Justice of the Peace of great Authoritie, 4to, *with woodcuts*. 1592.  
 Usually enumerated among Greene's works, but it is only a reprint, with variations, of *Harman's Caveat*, and of which Rowland complains in his *Martin Markall*. The *second* and *third* parts of this curious work were published in the same year. Two other very rare volumes by Greene were published—*The Defence of Cony-Catching*, 4to, in 1592, and *THE BLACK BOOKES MESSENGER*, in 1595. They both treat on the same subjects.
- GROSE'S (Francis, generally styled *Captain*) Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue, 8vo. 178—.  
 The much-sought-after FIRST EDITION, but containing nothing, as far as I have examined, which is not to be found in the second and third editions. As respects indecency, I find all the editions equally disgraceful. The Museum copy of the *First Edition* is, I suspect, Grose's own copy, as it contains numerous manuscript additions which afterwards went to form the second edition. Excepting the obscenities, it is really an extraordinary book, and displays great industry, if we cannot speak much of its morality. It is the well from which all the other authors—Duncombe, Caulfield, Clarke, Egan, &c. &c.—drew their vulgar outpourings, without in the least purifying what they had stolen.
- HAGGART. Life of David Haggart, alias John Wilson, alias Barney M' Coul, written by himself while under sentence of Death, *curious frontispiece of the Prisoner in Irons*, intermixed with all the Slang and Cant Words of the Day, to which is added a Glossary of the same, 12mo. 1821.
- HALL'S (B. H.) Collection of College Words and Customs, 12mo. *Cambridge, (U. S.)* 1856.  
 Very complete. The illustrative examples are excellent.
- HALLIWELL'S Archaic Dictionary, 2 vols. 8vo. 1852.  
 An invaluable work, giving the Cant words used by Decker, Brome, and a few of those mentioned by Grose.
- HARLEQUIN Jack Shepherd, with a Night Scene in Grottesque Characters, 8vo. (*About 1736.*)  
 Contains Songs in the *Canting* dialect
- HARMAN'S (Thomas, Esq.) Caveat or Warening for Common Cursetors, vulgarly called Vagabones, set forth for

- the utilitie and profit of his naturall countrey, augmented and enlarged by the first author thereof; whereunto is added the tale of the second taking of the counterfeit Crank, with the true report of his behaviour and also his punishment for his so dissembling, most marvellous to the hearer or reader thereof, newly imprinted, 4to. *Imprinted at London, by H. Middleton, 1573.*
- Contains the earliest Dictionary of the Cant language. Four editions were printed—  
 William Griffith, 1566  
 ..... 1567  
 ..... 1567  
 Henry Middleton, 1573
- What *Grose's Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* was to the authors of the earlier part of the present century, Harman's was to the Deckers, and Bromes, and Heads of the seventeenth.
- HARRISON'S (William) Description of the Island of Britain, (prefixed to *Holinshed's Chronicle*.) 2 vols. folio. 1577.
- Contains an account of English vagabonds.
- HAZLITT'S (William) Table Talk, 12mo, (vol. ii. contains a chapter on *Familiar Style*, with a notice on *Slang Terms*.) V. D.
- HEAD'S (Richard) English Rogue, described in the Life of Meriton Latroon, a Witty Extravagant, 4 vols. 12mo. *Frans. Kirkman, 1671-80.*
- Contains a list of Cant words, evidently copied from Decker.
- HELL UPON EARTH, or the most pleasant and delectable History of Whittington's Colledge, otherwise vulgarly called Newgate, 12mo. 1703.
- HENLEY'S (John, better known as ORATOR HENLEY) Various Sermons and Orations. 1719-53.
- Contains numerous vulgarisms and Slang phrases.
- HITCHING'S (Charles, *formerly City Marshal, now a Prisoner in Newgate*) Regulator; or, a Discovery of the Thieves, Thief-Takers, and Locks, alias Receivers of Stolen Goods in and about the City of London, also an Account of all the FLASH WORDS *now in vogue amongst the Thieves, &c.*, 8vo., VERY RARE, *with a curious woodcut.* 1718.
- A violent attack upon Jonathan Wild.
- HOUSEHOLD WORDS, No. 183, September 24.
- Gives an interesting but badly-digested article on Slang ; many of the examples are wrong.
- JOHNSON'S (Dr Samuel) Dictionary, (the earlier editions.) V. D.
- Contains a great number of words italicised as *Cant*, low, or barbarous.
- JONSON'S (Ben.) Bartholomew Fair, ii., 6.
- Several Cant words are placed in the mouths of the characters.
- JONSON'S (Ben.) Masque of the Gipsies Metamorphosed, 4to. 16 —.
- Contains numerous Cant words.
- KENT'S (E.) Modern Flash Dictionary, containing all the Cant Words, Slang Terms, and Flash Phrases now in Vogue, 18mo, *coloured frontispiece.* 1825.
- L'ESTRANGE'S (Sir Roger) Works, (principally translations.) V. D.
- Abound in vulgar and Slang phrases.
- LEXICON Balatronicum; a Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit, and Pickpocket Eloquence, by a Member of the Whip Club, assisted by Hell-fire Dick, 8vo. 1811.
- One of the many reprints of *Grose's* second edition, put forth under a fresh, and what was then considered a more attractive title. It was given out in advertisements, &c., as a piece of puff, that it was edited by a Dr H. Clarke, but it contains scarcely a line more than *Grose*.
- LIBER VAGATORUM: Der Better Orden, 4to. Recently translated: The Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, (Liber Vagatorum: *Der Better Orden*.) with a vocabulary of their Language, (*Rotwelsche Sprach*;) edited, with preface, by Martin Luther, in the year 1528. Now first Translated into English, with Notes, by John Camden Hotten; 4to, *with woodcuts.* 1859.
- The first edition of this book appears to have been printed at Augsburg, by Erhard Oglin, or Ocellus, about 1514,—a small quarto of twelve leaves. It was frequently reprinted at other places in Germany; and in 1528 there appeared an edition at Wirtemberg, with a preface by Martin Luther, who says that the "Rotwelsche Sprach," the Cant language of the beggars, comes from the Jews, as it contains many Hebrew words, as any one who understands that language may perceive. This book is divided into three parts, or sections; the first gives a special account of the several orders of the "Fraternity of Vagabonds;" the second, sundry "*notabilia*" relating to the different classes of beggars previously described; and the third consists of a "Rotwelsche Vocabulary," or "Canting Dictionary." There is a long notice of the "Liber Vagatorum" in the "Wiemarisches Jahrbuch," 10te, Band, 1856. Mayhew, in his *London Labour*, states that many of our Cant words are derived from the Jew fences. It is singular that a similar statement should have been made by Martin Luther more than three centuries before.
- LIFE IN ST GEORGE'S FIELDS; or, The Rambles and Adventures of Disconsolate William, Esq., and his Surrey

- Friend, Flash Dick, with Songs and a FLASH DICTIONARY, 8vo. 1821.
- MAGINN (Dr.) wrote Slang Songs in *Blackwood's Magazine*. 1827.
- MAYHEW'S (Henry) London Labour and the London Poor, 4 vols. 1851-61.  
An invaluable work to the inquirer into popular or street language.
- MAYHEW'S (Henry) Great World of London, 8vo. 1857.  
An unfinished work, but containing several examples of the use and application of Cant and Slang words.
- MIDDLETON (Thomas) and DECKER'S (Thomas) Roaring Girl; or Moll Cut Purse, 4to. 1611.  
The conversation in one scene is entirely in the so-called Pedlar's French. It is given in *Dodsley's Old Plays*.
- MODERN FLASH DICTIONARY, 48mo. 1825.  
The smallest Slang Dictionary ever printed; intended for the waistcoat- pockets of the "BLOODS" of the Prince Regent's time.
- MONCRIEFF'S Tom and Jerry, or Life in London, a Farce in Three Acts, 12mo. 1820.  
An excellent exponent of the false and forced "high life" which was so popular during the minority of George IV. The farce had a run of a hundred nights, or more, and was a general favourite for years. It abounds in Cant, and the language of "gig," as it was then often termed.
- MORNINGS AT BOW STREET, by T. Wright, 12mo, with *Illustrations by George Cruikshank*. Tegg, 1838.  
In this work a few etymologies of Slang words are attempted.
- NEW CANTING DICTIONARY, 12mo. N. D.  
A copy of this work is described in *Rodd's Catalogue of Elegant Literature*, 1845, part iv., No. 2128, with manuscript notes and additions in the autograph of Isaac Reed, price £1, 8s.
- NEW DICTIONARY of the Terms, Ancient and Modern, of the Canting Crew in its several tribes of Gypsies, Beggars, Thieves, Cheats, &c., with an addition of some Proverbs, Phrases, Figurative Speeches, &c., by B. E., GENT., 12mo. N. D. [1710.]  
Afterwards issued under the title of *Bacchus and Venus*, 1737, and in 1754 as the *Scoundrel's Dictionary*.
- NEW DICTIONARY of all the Cant and Flash Languages used by every class of offenders, from a Lully Prigger to a High Tober Gloak, small 8vo., pp. 62. 179—.  
Mentioned by John Bee.
- NOTES AND QUERIES. The invaluable Index to this most useful periodical may be consulted with advantage by the seeker after etymologies of Slang and Cant words.
- PARKER. High and Low Life, A View of Society in, being the Adventures in England, Ireland, &c., of Mr G. Parker, a *Stage Itinerant*, 2 vols. in 1, thick 12mo. *Printed for the Author*, 1781.  
A curious work, containing many Cant words, with zoo orders of rogues and swindlers.
- PARKER'S (Geo.) Life's Painter of Variegated Characters, with a Dictionary of Cant Language and Flash Songs, to which is added a Dissertation on Freemasonry, *portrait*, 8vo. 1789.
- PEGGE'S (Samuel) Anecdotes of the English Language, chiefly regarding the Local Dialect of London and Environs, 8vo. 1803-41.
- PERRY'S (William) London Guide and Stranger's Safeguard, against Cheats, Swindlers, and Pickpockets, by a Gentleman who has made the Police of the Metropolis an object of inquiry twenty-two years, (no wonder when the author was in prison a good portion of that time !) 1818.  
Contains a dictionary of Slang and Cant words.
- PHILLIP'S New World of Words, folio. 1696.
- PICKERING'S (F.) Vocabulary, or Collection of Words and Phrases which have been supposed to be peculiar to the United States of America, to which is prefixed an Essay on the present state of the English Language in the United States, 8vo. *Boston*, 1816.  
The remark made upon *Bartlett's Americanisms* applies equally to this work.
- PICTURE OF THE FANCY, 12mo. 18—.  
Contains numerous Slang terms.
- POTTER'S (H. T., of Clay, Worcestershire). New Dictionary of all the Cant and Flash Languages, both ancient and modern, 8vo., pp. 62. 1790.
- POULTER. The Discoveries of John Poulter, alias Baxter, 8vo, 48 pages. (1770?)  
At pages 42, 43, there is an explanation of the "Language of Thieves, commonly called Cant."
- PRISON-BREAKER, The, or the Adventures of John Shepherd, a Farce, 8vo. *London*, 1725.  
Contains a Canting song, &c.
- PUNCH, or the London Charivari,  
Often points out Slang, vulgar, or abused words. It also, occasionally, employs them in jokes, or sketches of character.
- QUARTERLY REVIEW, vol. x, p. 528.

- Gives a paper on Americanisms and Slang phrases.
- RANDALL'S (Jack, the *Pugilist*, formerly of the "*Hole in the Wall*," Chancery Lane) Diary of Proceedings at the House of Call for Genius, edited by Mr Breakwindow, to which are added several of Mr B.'s minor pieces, 12mo. 1820.  
Relieved to have been written by Thomas Moore. The verses are mostly parodies of popular authors, and abound in the lang of pugilism, and the phraseology of the fast life of the period.
- RANDALL (Jack) a Few Selections from his Scrap Book; to which are added Poems on the late Fight for the Championship, 12mo. 1822.  
Frequently quoted by Moore In Tom Crib's Memorial.
- SCOUNDREL'S DICTIONARY, or an Explanation of the Cant Words used by Thieves, Housebreakers, Street robbers, and Pickpockets about Town, with some curious dissertations on the Art of Wheedling, &c., *the whole printed from a copy taken on one of their gang, in the late scuffle between the watchman and a party of them on Clerkenwell green*, 8vo. 1754.  
A reprint of *Bacehus and Venus*, 1737.
- SHARP (Jeremy) The Life of an English Rogue, 12mo. 1740.  
Includes a "Vocabulary of the Gypsies' Cant"
- SHERWOOD'S Gazetteer of Georgia, U.S., 8vo.  
Contains a glossary of words, Slang and vulgar, peculiar to the Southern States.
- SMITH'S (Capt.) Compleat History of the Lives and Robberies of the most Notorious Highwaymen, Foot-pads, Shop-lifters, and Cheats, of both Sexes, in and about London and Westminster, 12mo, vol. i. 1719.  
This volume contains "THE THIEVES' NEW CANTING DICTIONARY OF THE WORDS, PROVERBS, &c., USED BY THIEVES."
- SMITH (Capt. Alexander) The Thieves' Grammar, 12mo., p. 28. 17—.  
A copy of this work is in the collection formed by Prince Lucien Bonaparte.
- SMITH'S (Capt.) Thieves' Dictionary, 12mo. 1724.
- SNOWDEN'S Magistrate's Assistant, and Constable's Guide, thick small 8vo. 1852.  
Gives a description of the various orders of cadgers, beggars, and swindlers, together with a *Glossary of the Flash Language*.
- SPORTSMAN'S DICTIONARY, 4to. 17—.  
By an anonymous author. Contains some low sporting terms.
- STANLEY'S Remedy, or the Way how to Reform Wandring Beggars, Thieves, &c., wherein is shewed that Sodomes Sin of Idleness is the Poverty and the Misery of this Kingdome, 4to. 1646.  
This work has an engraving on wood which is said to be the veritable original of Jim Crow.
- SWIFT'S coarser pieces abound in Vulgarities and Slang expressions.
- THE TRIUMPH OF WIT, or Ingenuity displayed in its Perfection, being the Newest and most Useful Academy, Songs, Art of Love, *and the Mystery and Art of Canting, with Poems, Songs, &c., in the Canting Language*, 16mo. *J. Clarke, 1735.*  
What is generally termed a shilling *Chap Book*.
- THE TRIUMPH OF WIT, or the Canting Dictionary, being the Newest and most Useful Academy, containing the Mystery and Art of Canting, with the original and present management thereof, and the ends to which it serves and is employed, illustrated with Poems, Songs, and various Intrigues in the Canting Language, with the Explanations, &c., 12mo. *Dublin, N. D.*  
A Chap Rook of 32 pages, *circa* 1760.
- THOMAS (I.) My Thought Book, 8vo. 1825.  
Contains a chapter on Slang.
- THE WHOLE ART OF THIEVING and Defrauding Discovered: being a Caution to all Housekeepers, Shopkeepers, Salesmen, and others, to guard against Robbers of both Sexes, and the best Methods to prevent their Villanies; to which is added an Explanation of most of the Cant terms in the Thieving Language, 8vo, pp. 46. 1786.
- TOM CRIB'S Memorial to Congress, with a Preface, Notes, and Appendix *by one of the Fancy* [Tom Moore, the poet,] 12mo. 1819.  
A humorous poem, abounding in Slang and pugilistic terms, with a burlesque essay on the classic origin of Slang.
- VACABONDES, the Fraternaty of, as well of ruflyng Vacabones, as of beggerly, of Women as of Men, of Gyrls as of Boyes, with their proper Names and Qualities, with a Description of the Crafty Company of Cousoners and Shifters, also the XXV. Orders of Knaves; other wyse called a Quartern of Knaves, confirmed by Cocke Lorell, 8vo.  
Imprinted at London by John Awdeley, dwellyng in little Britayne streete without Aldengate. 1575.  
It is stated in *Ames' Typog. Antiq.*, vol ii., p 885, that an edition bearing the date 1565 is in existence, and that the compiler

was no other than old John Audley, the printer, himself. This conjecture, however, is very doubtful. As stated by Watt, it is more than probable that it was written by Harman, or was taken from his works, in MS. or print.

VAUX'S (Count de, *a swindler and pickpocket*) Life, written by himself, 2 vols., 12mo, to which is added a Canting Dictionary. 1819.

These Memoirs were suppressed on account of the scandalous passage contained in them.

WEBSTER'S (Noah) Letter to the Hon. John Pickering, on the Subject of his Vocabulary, or Collection of Words and Phrases supposed to be peculiar to the United States, 8vo, pp. 69. *Boston*, 1817.

WILD (Jonathan)—History of the Lives and Actions of Jonathan Wild, Thieftaker, Joseph Blake, *alias* Blueskin, Footpad, and John Sheppard, Housebreaker; together with A CANTING DICTIONARY BY JONATHAN WILD, *woodcuts*, 12mo. 1750.

WILSON (Professor) contributed various Slang pieces to *Blackwood's Magazine*; including a Review of Bee's Dictionary.

WITHERSPOON'S (Dr of America) Essays on Americanisms, Perversions of Language in the United States, Cant phrases, &c., 8vo., in the 4th vol. of his Works. Philadelphia, 1801.

The earliest work on American vulgarisms. Originally published as a series of Essays, entitled the *Druid*, which appeared in a periodical in 1761.

THE END.

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JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN, PRINTER, PICCADILLY, LONDON.

APPENDIX C

## A CATALOGUE OF JOHN CAMDEN HOTTEN'S PUBLICATIONS

FROM

ALLIBONE'S *CRITICAL DICTIONARY*

Mr. Hotten, the well-known London publisher and bookseller, is author or editor of the following works:

- I. Hand-Book to the Topography and Family History of England and Wales, by John Camden Hotten, 8vo, pp. 380. This description of 20,000 books, engravings, and MSS. occupied the author twelve months, at an average of thirteen hours each day.
- II. Liber Vagatorum: the Book of Vagabonds and Beggars, 1520; with a Preface by Martin Luther. Translated from the original German, with an Introduction and Notes, by John Camden Hotten, 4to.
- III. The Slang Dictionary; or, The Vulgar Words, Street Phrases, and "Fast" Expressions of High and Low Society, by John Camden Hotten, cr. Svo, pp. 32S. This work has passed through 14 editions.
- IV. The History of Playing-Cards; with Anecdotes of Ancient and Modern Games. Conjuring, Fortune-Telling, Ac., by the Rev. Edward Taylor, B.A., and John Camden Hotten, fp. Svo, pp. 543, with 60 curious Illustrations.
- V. The London Directory for 1677. The earliest known list of London merchants, edited, with Introduction, by J. Camden Hotten.
- VI. The Mysteries of the Good Old Cause. Sarcastic Notices of the Members of the Long Parliament, "who held places contrary to the self-denying Ordinance of April 3, 1045; with the sums of money and lands they divided among themselves." Edited, with an Introduction, by John Camden Hotten, 4to.
- VII. Account of the Remains of an Ancient Worship existing at Isernia, near Naples, in 1781; communicated by Sir William Hamilton to R. Payne Knight. A new edition, with a Survey of the same Worship in Western Europe, [by Thomas Wright, F.S.A., and John Camden Hotten,] 4to, with numerous illustrations. Privately printed.
- VIII. The History of Signboards in Ancient and Modern Times, with Anecdotes of Famous Taverns and Remarkable Characters, by Jacob Larwood and John Camden Hotten, cr. Svo, pp. 544: 100 Illustrations. The 5th edition has lately been published.



- IX. Abyssinia and its People; or, Life in the Land of Prester John. Edited by John Camden Hotten, Fellow of the Ethnological Society; with a New Map and Coloured Illustrations, cr. Svo, pp. 384.
- X. A Garland of Christmas Carols; including some never before given in any collection. Collected and edited by Joshua Sylvester, [John Camden Hotten,] fp. Svo, pp. 226.
- XI. Thackeray, the Humourist and the Man of Letters. The Story of his Life and Literary Labours, by Theodore Taylor, Esq., [John Camden Hotten] with illustrations, cr. Svo, pp. 232. Written and published within four weeks of the author's decease; has passed through three editions.
- XII. Macaulay, the Historian and the Man of Letters. The Story of his Life and Literary Labours, with some Macaulnyana, [by John Camden Hotten] fp. Svo, pp. 130. Published eight days after the illustrious author's decease. It quickly passed through two editions.
- XIII. On the Choice of Books: an Address to Students, by Thomas Carlyle. With a new Memoir, including many Anecdotes and Letters, of the Author, by John Camden Hotten, fp., pp. 202. Portraits and Illustrations: has passed through three editions.
- XIV. Robson; a Sketch by George Augustus Sala; with some Account of the Early Career of this Actor, b; John Camden Hotten, fp., pp. 76.
- XV. The Biglow Papers, by James Russell Lowell; edited, with numerous additional Notes and an Introduction, by John Camden Hotten, fp., pp. 216. "Thin was the first introduction of the later Trans-Atlantic humour to this country. It whetted the English appetite, and nearly five hundred American work have since been reprinted in various forms, from Id. to 5\*. About 50,000 copies of the 'Biglow Paper' have later been sold in country."
- XVI. Artemus Ward: his Book; edited, with Introduction and numerous Notes, by John Camden Hotten, at the request of the Author, cr. 8vn, pp. 200. "This was the first introduction of the American Humour to English readers. It is computed that not less than 20,000 copies of the work have been sold in Great Britain."
- XVII. Artemus Ward among the Fenians, [edited by John Camden Hotten.] fp. Svo, pp. 1875.
- XVIII. Wit and Humour, by the Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table: Humorous Poems, by Oliver Wendell Holmes; edited, with Introduction and Notes, by John Camden Hotten, cr. Svo, pp. 1112: has passed through three editions.

- XIX. Seymour's Sketches. The Book of Cockney Sports, Whims, and Oddities. 4to, with Introductory Memoir and Survey of this Artist's Humorous Powers, [by John Camden Hotten.] This was the artist who, with Mr. Dickens, projected the early numbers of the "Pickwick Papers."
- XX. Doctor Syntax's Three Tours,—in Search of the Picturesque,—in Search of Consolation,—in Search of a Wife; by William Combe; with a Life of this Industrious Author,—the English Le Sage,—now first written by John Camden Hotten.
- XXI. Hans Breitmann's Ballads, by Charles Leland; edited, with numerous Notes and an Introduction, by J[ohn] C[amden] H[otten] and H. L. W. Contains Mr. Leland's humorous ballads contained in his revised American edition.
- XXII. Gunter's Modern Confectioner. The Art of Preparing and Arranging Desserts. [Written by John Camden Hotten, from data supplied by William Jones, cook at the Messrs. Gunler's, Confectioners to Her Majesty,] cr. Svo; numerous illustrations.
- XXIII. Life in London; or. The Day and Night Scenes of Jerry Hawthorn and Corinthian Tom, by Pierce Egan. Numerous coloured Illustrations by R. and G. Cruikshank; with an Introduction, giving an account of the rise of this class of literature in England, by John Camden Hotten, cr. Svo, pp. 400.
- XXIV. The Book of Wonderful Characters. Memoirs of Remarkable and Eccentric Persons of Every Age and Nation. From the text of Henry Wilson and Jaime Caulfield. Sixty-one full-page Engravings of Extraordinary Persons. With an Introduction mainly concerning Pig-faced Ladies, by P. P.—G. II., [John Camden Hotten.]
- XXV. The True Story of Lord and Lady Byron, as told by Lord Macaulay, Thomas Moore, Lady Blessington, Countess Guiccioli, Leigh Hunt, Lord Lindsay, Lady Liyou, and by the Poet himself: in Answer to Mrs. Beecher Stowe. Edited, with Introduction, by J. M., [John Camden Hotten.]

During the last twelve months of its existence, the "Literary Miscellanea" which appeared weekly in the Literary Gazette was written by Mr. Hotten. When Mr. George Godwin, F.S.A., started the *Paihenou*, Mr H. undertook a similar department in that journal: and when it ceased to exist he joined the staff of the *Longview Review*, to which he supplied "Literary Intelligence, Notes on Authors and Books," for nearly three years.

*A Supplement to Allibone's Critical Dictionary*

John Camden Hotten, 1832-1873, a publisher in London. Under "Syntax, Dr." ante, vol. ii., Hotten's name is inserted, with a list of twenty-five books as written or edited by him. These are therefore omitted in the following list noted in the Supplement to *Allibone's Critical Dictionary*. Several of them are works to which Hotten merely prefixed a preface or introduction.

1. (Ed.) A Garland of Christmas Carols, Ancient and Modern, including some never before given in any Collection. Edited, with Notes, by Joshua Sylrester, [pseud.] Lon., 1860, 8ro. (This is mentioned ante, vol. ii.)
2. Charles Dickens: the Story of his Life, Lon., 1870, 8vo. Anon.
3. Literary Copyright: Seven Letters addressed to Earl Stanhope, Lon., 1871, p. 8ro.
4. (Trans.) The Conscript: or, The Invasion of France, by Erckmann-Chatrian, Lon., 1871, p. 8vo.
5. (Trans.) Waterloo: a Tale of the Hundred Days, by Erckmann-Chatrian, Lon., 1871, p. Svo.
6. H. M. Stanley: Records of his Life, Lon., 1872, p. Svo.
7. Awful Crammers: a New American Joke-Book. By Tititus Brick, [pseud.] Lon., 1873, 12mo.
8. (Ed.) Christmas Carols and Ballads. Edited, with Notes, by Joshua Sylvester, [pseud.] Lon., 1874, p. Svo.
9. The Oolden Treasury of Thought: a Gathering of Quotations from the Best Ancient and Modern Authors. By Theodore Taylor, [pseud.] Lon., 1874, Sro.
10. (Ed.) The Original Lists of Persons of Quality, Emigrants, Religious Exiles, Political Rebels, Serving Men sold for a Term of Years, Maidens pressed, and Others who went from Great Britain to the American Plantations, 1600-1700: with their Ages, the Localities where they formerly lived in the Mother-Country, the Names of the Ships in which they embarked, and other Interesting Particulars; from MSS. preserved in the Sta'e Paper Department of Her Majesty's Public Record Office, England, Lon.. 1874, cr. 4to.

"If Hotten, or his representatives, had not attempted to beguile the American public with a reprint of Mr. Drake's book ["Result of some Researches among the British Archives for Information relative to the Founders of New England."] but had announced and produced a volume of important genealogical collections, there would have been no complaint to make, and no reason why these 'Original Lists' should not be commended as worthy of a place in every public and private antiquarian library in England and elsewhere."—Joseph Samuel Chester: Acad. vi. 448. "Neither chronology, history, nor anything else is studied in the compilation of this volume; it is a jumble of all kinds of documents, without any arrangement whatever." Letter from W.N. Sainsbury, in Acad., vi. 484.

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