Discourses of Same-sex Sexuality in British Monolingual English Dictionaries, 1604–1933

Stephen Turton

Merton College
University of Oxford

Thesis submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy
Trinity Term 2020

Table of Contents

Abstract iii
Acknowledgements iv
Abbreviations and Symbols vi
Note on the *OED Online* vi
List of Tables vii
List of Figures vii

Introduction 1
Literature Review 8
The Great Paradigm Shifts 15
Normativity and Performativity 27
Analysis, Methodology, and Scope 34

1. 'A Sin against God, Nature, and the Law': Codifying Buggery and Sodomy 44
The Divine, Natural, and Juridical Trinity 49
Sexual Polysemies 56
The Limits of Legitimacy 61
Unlawful Entries after 1755 69

2. 'The Accession of Something Foreign': Denaturalizing Queer Denizens 79
Mapping Sodomy and Buggery 83
Pederasty in Parsing 88
Reception, Receptivity, Recursivity 93
Classifying the Love of Youths 102
Sappho Demystified 108

3. 'Improper Words': Silencing Same-sex Desire 119
Englishing Tribady 121
Sapphic Significance after 1700 127
Polite Dictionaries, Proscribed Desires 134
Vagabonds of the Lexicon 142
Civilizing the Vulgar Tongue 150

4. ‘Vices, as if They Were Diseases’: Medicalizing Queer Morphologies 159
Buggering Bodies 164
Circumscribing the Clitoris 169
The Confricatrix in Focus 175
Old and New Aetiologies after 1790 183
Epistemic Embodiment 194

5. ‘The Scientific Method of the Century’: Taxonomizing Sexuality in the *OED* 200
Treading Old Tracks 205
The Science of Desire 214
Sexology and the Supplement 221
The Semantics of Self-making 229

Conclusion 240
The Body Politic of Language 243
Historicizing the Minority Report 253
Past Performances and Presentiments 263

Bibliography 267
Appendix I 299
Appendix II 301
Appendix III 302

Abstract

This thesis is a diachronic analysis of the discourses through which monolingual English dictionaries compiled and published in Britain represented same-sex sexuality over the course of three centuries—from the 1604 appearance of Robert Cawdrey's *A Table Alphabeticall*, generally regarded to be the first monolingual English dictionary, to the publication of the first *Supplement* to the *Oxford English Dictionary* (*OED*) in 1933. The thesis argues that dictionaries are a valuable site of data on historical articulations of same-sex acts, desires, and identities because they throw light not only on past linguistic 'knowledges' of sexuality, but on their complementary 'ignorances' (cf. Sedgwick 1990: 8). That is, dictionaries offer didactic models of what their users ought to know and not know about sex, which sexual practices are sanctioned or prohibited, and how users should act (or be acted upon) as proper sexual subjects (or objects). The backbone of the thesis is concerned with English lexicography aimed at non-specialist readers—namely, hard-word dictionaries in the seventeenth century and general dictionaries thereafter—but it also compares these genres to specialized dictionaries of law, classical myth, medicine, and criminal cant.

The thesis is equally situated in the research traditions of lexicography and queer linguistics. It elaborates a theoretical framework that draws on queer performativity theory to argue that dictionaries do not merely reflect 'common' or 'correct' linguistic usage, but construct permissible and impermissible forms of language in relation to sets of linguistic and cultural norms. The application of this framework to the data is bolstered by tools from critical discourse analysis. Finally, the thesis proposes that queer linguistics can and should extend its research agenda back before the coining of *homosexuality* in the late nineteenth century, to attend to the ways that sexual discourses in the present have been shaped by those in the past.

Acknowledgements

I am fortunate that I cannot share Samuel Johnson's complaint at the completion of his dictionary: that it was 'written with little assistance of the learned, and without any patronage of the great'. The scholarly and financial assistance I have received since beginning my doctorate has been great, and so is my gratitude. My foremost thanks must go to my supervisor, Charlotte Brewer, for her perceptive judgement and unflagging encouragement. I am also thankful to Tommaso Milani and Lynda Mugglestone for seeing this project out of the harbour. Many people have helped it along the way since then. I have benefitted from the invaluable expertise of Beverley McCulloch (who helped me navigate the archival material at Oxford University Press), Peter Gilliver (who provided insights into the identities and working practices of the *OED's* compilers), and Jonathon Green (who supplied me with evidence from his unique working copy of Francis Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*). I am also indebted to the staff of the Bodleian Library, who gave me access to records pertaining to the Bodleian's Phi collection, and to the librarians at St Edmund Hall and Trinity College, Oxford, who allowed me to consult rare reference works in their keeping. Throughout this project, I have been supported by the Clarendon Fund (through Oxford University) and the Greendale Foundation (through Merton College), whose generosity has been greater than I could ever have anticipated. Finally, I must thank my family, Candice Grieve, Eleanor Zhang, and Joshua Downe, who in the last few years have patiently and uncomplainingly learned more about dictionaries than they ever cared to know.

Earlier versions of work composed for this thesis have been published in three peer-reviewed journals (two academic and one graduate). Parts of Chapter I appeared as 'Unlawful Entries: Buggery, Sodomy, and the Construction of Sexual Normativity in Early English Dictionaries'

in 2019 in *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *40*(1), 81–112. Parts of Chapter 3 appeared as '"Improper Words": Silencing Same-sex Desire in Eighteenth-century General English Dictionaries' in 2019 in *Oxford Research in English*, *8*, 9–36. Parts of Chapter 5 appeared as 'The Confessional Sciences: Scientific Lexicography and Sexology in the *Oxford English Dictionary*' in 2020 in *Language & History* (advance online publication).

Abbreviations and Symbols

Abbreviations for dictionaries and publishers

DOE	*Dictionary of Old English* (1986–)
GAN	*Glossographia Anglicana Nova* (1707)
MED	*Middle English Dictionary* (1952–2001)
NSSL	*New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* (1879–1899)
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary* (first edition 1884–1928)
OED2	Second edition of the *OED* (1989)
OED3	Third edition of the *OED* (2000–)
OUP	Oxford University Press

Labels and symbols in dictionary entries

*	obsolete word or sense (Clarke 1855; Hunter 1879–1888)
†	i. obsolete word or sense (Ogilvie and Annandale 1882–1883; *OED*) ii. rare word or sense (Hunter 1879–1888)
a., *adj.*	adjective
adv.	adverb
n.	noun
n.s.	noun substantive (i.e. noun)
p.a.	participle active (i.e. present participle)
pl.	plural
s., *sb.*	substantive (i.e. noun)
v.a.	verb active (i.e. transitive verb)
v.n.	verb neuter (i.e. intransitive verb)

Note on the *OED Online*

The *OED* is in the middle of being revised for its third edition, and at present the online dictionary (www.oed.com) consists of a mixture of new and updated material and as-yet unrevised entries. Material can alter between lookups, and so whenever an entry from the *OED Online* is cited here, the date on which it was accessed is also indicated.

List of Tables

1.1	Semantic fields of sodomy entries in pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries	51
1.2	Semantic fields of buggery entries in pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries	51
1.3	Frequency of buggery and sodomy in hard-word and general dictionaries, 1604–1883	71
2.1	Sexual entries borrowed from Thomas by Blount	92
2.2	Frequency of 'boy' as a genus term in definitions of receptive male sexual partners in pre-1800 hard-word and general dictionaries	96
3.1	Sexual entries borrowed from Latin–English dictionaries by hard-word dictionaries	122
3.2	Sexual entries borrowed from Thomas by Cockeram	123
3.3	Same-sex headwords in hard-word and general dictionaries, 1604–1883	138
3.4	Entries for sexuality between men in Grose and his successors	154
4.1	Terms for sexuality between women in Pierer and Choulant and Dunglison	188
4.2	Medical dictionaries' sizes and entries for sexuality between women, 1722–1882	196
6.1	Antedatings of same-sex lexis in the *OED3*	255
6.2	Quotational attributions for lesbian and Sapphic entries in the *OED3*	257
6.3	Alternative quotations for lesbian entries in the *OED3*, 1900–1933	259
6.4	Alternative quotations for Sapphic entries in the *OED3*, 1900–1933	260

List of Figures

1.	*OED* draft entry slip for *catamite* (© Oxford University Press)	208
2.	*OED Supplement* draft entry slip for *invert* (© Oxford University Press)	222
3.	Same-sex headwords in British hard-word and general English dictionaries from Cawdrey to the *OED*	300

Introduction

In 2013, in the days following the passage of the Marriage (Same Sex Couples) Act in England and Wales, a reporter for *Gay Star News* contacted the publishers of the *Oxford English Dictionary*. The reporter wanted to know whether the dictionary's definition of *marriage* would be updated to reflect that the term was no longer legally restricted to the union of a woman and a man. The publishers, Oxford University Press, issued an affirmative—if somewhat indefinite—response (Morgan 2013): 'We continually monitor the words in our dictionaries, paying particular [attention] to those words whose usage is shifting, so yes, this will happen with marriage.' The Press's statement was picked up by numerous British and American news outlets, but its measured tone was quickly lost amid a volley of dramatic headlines:

> Oxford Dictionary to 'redefine' marriage to include same-sex partners
> (*Gawker*, Zimmerman 2013.)
>
> Oxford Dictionary to change definition of marriage to include gays
> (*Christian Post*, Blair 2013.)
>
> The Oxford Dictionary is changing the definition of 'marriage' to include gay couples
> (*Business Insider*, Willett 2013.)
>
> Oxford Dictionary will change the definition of 'marriage' to include equal marriage
> (*PinkNews*, Day 2013.)

Though the news outlets' stances towards the proposed change varied across the political spectrum, the above headlines were united in one respect: they did not clarify whether the *OED* was simply set to update *its* definition of *marriage*, or to alter *the* definition of *marriage* in the English language at large. None of the articles went on to endorse the second, wider interpretation explicitly, but the fact that it was made available by the headlines should not be dismissed outright as an accident of journalistic shorthand. After all, as Deborah Cameron (1995: 49) observes, the *OED* has often been 'treated to all intents and purposes as if it were

synonymous with the English language'. In the case of *marriage*, the interface between the dictionary and the language could be difficult for some people to prise apart, even when they encountered the story under a less ambiguous headline. The *Daily Mail's* announcement that the 'Oxford English Dictionary will change the entry for "marriage"' (Webb 2013), while evidently about a dictionary entry rather than some abstract and universal meaning of *marriage*, still attracted several online comments that charged the *OED* with participating in an Orwellian conspiracy. Readers accused the dictionary editors of colluding with the 'thought police', propagating 'newspeak', and attempting to prohibit dissenting views as 'thoughtcrime'. These comments recast the dictionary as an instrument of extreme linguistic determinism: altering a definition became a sinister attempt to alter the behaviour of English speakers *en masse*, in the belief that controlling the ways in which speakers are able to use a language will also regulate the ideas that they are capable of expressing (cf. Gumperz and Levinson 1996).

This was not the first time the *OED* had been drawn into debates about same-sex relations and the law. In 1942, Adelaide Mary, Lady John Kennedy, was brought before the King's Bench Division of the High Court of Justice for calling Mrs Innes Margaret Kerr a *lesbian*. Lady Kennedy was accused of defamation under the Slander of Women Act 1891, which made it an actionable offence to speak words in public that 'impute[d] unchastity or adultery to any woman or girl' (*Kerr v. Kennedy* 1942: 409). Kennedy's solicitor argued that the law could not have been intended to prohibit imputations of lesbianism, for:

> The use of the word 'lesbian' to describe sexual perversion practised between women would appear to be of recent origin; and it is doubtful whether the word was so used in 1891 when the Slander of Women Act was passed. The use of the word with this meaning seems to have been unknown to the compilers of Murray's Oxford Dictionary, published in 1908, for the various meanings there given to the word contain no suggestion of sexual practices.
> (*Kerr v. Kennedy* 1942: 410.)

According to the defence, if the sexual sense of *lesbian* was not in the *OED* in 1908, then it likely did not yet exist in English at all—in which case *lesbian* could not fall into the category of words that the Slander of Women Act was meant to proscribe.[1] Like certain *Daily Mail* readers' dire predictions about *marriage* seventy years later, the solicitor's argument conjures up a sympathetic link between dictionary and language. However, the direction in which the link travels differs according to the viewpoint being defended. For Lady Kennedy's solicitor, who believed that his client's case was strengthened by the (lack of) evidence in the *OED*, language determined the dictionary. The *OED* was a clear and accurate reflection of English as it had been used in the past. For the *Daily Mail* readers, who believed that the cross-sex-specific meaning of *marriage* would be undermined if its definition were changed in the *OED*, the dictionary threatened to determine language. The *OED* had the capacity to dictate how speakers would use English in the future.

These polar images of the dictionary as an impartial recorder or a partisan regulator bear some resemblance to the way dictionary-writers themselves have tended to classify lexicography according to a binary of descriptivism versus prescriptivism, as we will see later in this Introduction. Obviously, in the extreme forms of the polarity presented here, neither position bears up under scrutiny. No dictionary of a living language is ever complete or neutral: the absence of *lesbian* from the *OED* was not a sign of the word's nonexistence (see Chapter 5), and Lady Kennedy lost her case. Nor can any dictionary exert totalitarian control over linguistic usage: the *OED* did update its entry for *marriage* after 2013, but this has not prevented people from using the word in ways that differ from the revised definition.[2] Rather, the truth lies

[1] The *OED*, whose chief editor was James A. H. Murray, was initially issued in instalments or 'fascicles' (see McMorris 2000). The fascicles for *L* appeared serially between 1901 and 1903 but were bound together in Volume VI of the dictionary in 1908.

[2] At some point between 2016 and 2019, the *OED Online* altered its definition of *marriage* to 'the legally or formally recognized union of two people as partners in a personal relationship (historically and in some jurisdictions specifically a union between a man and a woman)'. The date of this revision is not indicated—

somewhere between the extremes. A language and a dictionary are cultural objects. Each is shaped by its culture, and each plays a role in shaping the culture in turn. In the words of Joshua A. Fishman (1995: 34), dictionaries are 'both resultant of and constructive of their contexts'. This reciprocal relationship does not only hold for dictionaries with widespread cultural prestige like the *OED*. Researchers working in academic traditions as diverse as lexicography, sociolinguistics, feminism, postcolonialism, and literary criticism have shown, for instance, how dictionaries' representations of race and ethnicity (e.g. Duncan 1970; Murphy 1998; Benson 2001), gender (e.g. Gershuny 1974; Treichler 1989; Brewer 2012), illness and ability (e.g. Jost and Crocker 1987; Pierce 2010; Norri 2019), and politics and religion (e.g. Mitchell 2010; Mugglestone 2016; Chen 2017) have both responded to and reinforced social and linguistic ideologies over centuries of English lexicography.

Scholars of language and sexuality have made their own contributions to this body of research, which will be reviewed below. However, work on sexuality in English lexicography has thus far concentrated on the twentieth and twenty-first centuries. The neglect of dictionaries from prior centuries is unfortunate, not only because it limits our knowledge of earlier periods but because it diminishes our understanding of our own. David Halperin (1989: 258), a historian of sexuality, argues that part of the value of studying earlier cultures is that their otherness from the present 'challenge[s] modern notions about what life is like', 'call[s] into question the supposed universality of "human nature"', and 'enables us to bring more clearly into focus the ideological dimension—the purely conventional and arbitrary character—of our own social and sexual experiences'. Coming at the relation between the past and the present from a different angle and discipline, the sociolinguist Jan Blommaert has stressed the need for

officially, the entry was fully revised for the third edition in 2000—but it may have been in March 2018, at which time a large number of entries concerning sexuality were re-evaluated and updated (see Dent 2018).

researchers who engage in the critical analysis of texts of any kind to pay close attention to the historical developments that gave rise to the prejudices and language practices embedded in them. 'Power and inequality have long histories of becoming,' he observes, and 'so have the linguistic repertoires of people'; as such, 'part of the critical punch of what we do may ultimately lie in our capacity to show that what looks new is not new at all' (Blommaert 2005: 37). These views are not incompatible. Our differences from the past do throw into relief how present beliefs about language and sexuality are neither eternal nor inevitable, while continuities between past and present enable us to trace the origins and evolution of still extant ideologies. Studying the history of sexuality in lexicography is thus a means of both contextualizing and contesting current beliefs about what sexuality is and what dictionaries do.

In an effort to fill in a temporal blank, this thesis is a diachronic analysis of the discourses through which monolingual English dictionaries, compiled and published in Britain between 1604 and 1933, made sense of—or failed or refused to make sense of—the existence of same-sex sexuality. The period begins with the publication of *A Table Alphabeticall* by Robert Cawdrey (1604a), generally regarded to be the first monolingual English dictionary (Osselton 2009), and closes with the 1933 publication of the first *Supplement* to the *OED*. The reasons for this particular time frame will be explained later in the Introduction. For now, I will define what I mean by *dictionaries*, *discourses*, and *same-sex sexuality*.

I follow Osselton's (2009: 132) classification of the monolingual English dictionary as 'a separate book solely for English words with English explanations'. This admittedly offers considerable latitude between *dictionary* and *encyclopaedia*: do 'English words' include English (or anglicized) names? Do 'explanations' comprise technical and historical descriptions as well as semantic definitions? The distinction between lexical and encyclopaedic

content is somewhat hazy in contemporary lexicography and was hazier still in earlier centuries (Béjoint 2016: 36–38), as some of the texts considered in this thesis will attest. I differentiate more sharply between *dictionary* and *glossary*, using the latter for a list of words and explanations that forms a supplementary part of a larger text; for reasons of space, discussion of glossaries in this thesis will be limited.[3] I use *lexicons* to refer to glossaries and dictionaries interchangeably.

The contemporary use of *discourse* as a countable noun by researchers in the humanities and social sciences owes much to the philosopher Michel Foucault, who explained discourses (or *discours* in French) to be 'practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak' (Foucault 1969/2002: 54). That is, discourses are ways of articulating reality, but rather than describing the world objectively, they structure the ways in which it is subjectively understood. As opposed to uses of *ideology* to denote abstract belief systems shared by groups of people, discourses are beliefs manifested in action, the 'social practices […] though [which] ideologies are acquired, used, and spread' (Van Dijk 2013: 176). Many of these social practices are linguistic, making discourses a useful concept for approaching the textual reproduction of sexuality in lexicography. The concept emphasizes that a dictionary, like any other text, does not exist in a social vacuum. Rather, it acts as a codifier of sexual discourses already in circulation, emphasizing some and erasing others, and disseminating the ideologies of such powerful authorities as the law, the church, and the medical profession—though these human institutions may be masked behind appeals to more nebulous 'authorizing realms' (Gal 1998: 322), such as the immutable laws of God, nature, or science (see also Van Leeuwen 2007).

[3] Histories of English glossaries, and alternative definitions of *dictionary*, are included in Starnes and Noyes (1991), Coleman (2004–2010), Sauer (2009), and Russell (2018).

Finally, I employ *same-sex sexuality* to denote not simply a sexual 'orientation' towards, or 'preference' for, members of the same sex, but to encompass all acts, desires, and identities founded on erotic relations between women and between men. Although the phrase is rather circumlocutionary, it avoids some of the historical and ideological baggage attached to labels such as *homosexual* and *bisexual*, to be touched on later in this Introduction. Among other aims, this thesis will study how dictionaries written over a 330-year span variously represented same-sex sexuality as opposed to, subordinate to, or imitative of hegemonic forms of cross-sex sexuality; how same-sex sexuality was contrasted or conflated with other proscribed forms of sexuality (such as adultery, bestiality, fornication, and masturbation); how articulations of same-sex sexuality converged or diverged across discourses drawn from different social institutions; and how the intersection of sexuality with gender led to sexuality between men being constructed differently from that between women. This last point in particular bears further comment.

Just as dominant Western norms of cross-sex sexuality have historically imposed, and continue to impose, different regulations on men and women in matters such as virginity, promiscuity, marriageability, and erotic agency and embodiment, so too have those norms imposed different sanctions on the women and men who have deviated from them (e.g. Doan 2001: 34–37; Traub 2002: 28–31). It is reasonable to ask why a study of same-sex sexuality should treat women and men together at all, especially during a timespan in which much (but not all) same-sex lexis was divided along gendered lines: for example, the female *tribade*, *fricatrice*, *lesbian*, or *Sapphist*, and the male *sodomite*, *catamite*, *pathic*, or *pederast*. My justification is that—given the current paucity of research into sexuality in English lexicography before the twentieth century—it is impossible to gain a comprehensive understanding of how earlier dictionaries constructed same-sex sexuality for one gender without considering the other. While the ways

in which men-desiring men and women-desiring women deviate from the dominant sexual and gender norms of their times—and the repercussions they risk for doing so—are not symmetrical, they do offer 'useful counterpoint[s]' to one another (Traub 2016: 323; cf. Sedgwick 1990: 36–39). Even though explicit terms for sexuality between women tended to form a much smaller part of early monolingual English dictionaries than the lexis on offer for men, the sociolinguistic reasons for these disparities and absences are themselves worthy of inquiry.[4]

Indeed, central to this thesis is the assumption that a diachronic analysis of sexuality in dictionaries is valuable not because of what it can tell us about how erotic practices and desires were truly enacted and experienced by the women and men of earlier times, but because of what dictionaries reveal about historical attitudes and anxieties around the language of sexuality. The next section will review the literature that has already been published in this area of research. We will then consider the place of this thesis in relation to the current academic historiography of Western sexuality and of English dictionaries at large ('The Great Paradigm Shifts'). The chapter will close with a discussion of the theoretical framework ('Normativity and Performativity') and analytical and methodological approach ('Analysis, Methodology, and Scope') that underlie my own project.

Literature Review

The literature on same-sex sexuality in lexicography may be roughly divided into four categories: work by feminist and lexicographic scholars whose analysis of sexism and other

[4] It should also be noted that although this thesis is not a study of gender nonconformity per se, it will give attention to instances in which representations of female masculinity and male effeminacy coincided with the lexicography of same-sex sexuality.

social prejudices in dictionaries extends to, but does not concentrate on, same-sex bias; work by historians of sexuality that incorporates dictionaries as one of several text types that encode past sexual mores; work by feminist, gay, and lexicographic scholars that documents lexicons of lesbian and gay 'language'; and work by queer linguists concerned with exposing sexual normativity in dictionaries.

In the first of these categories, Landau (1974: 76–77)—writing in a long tradition of critiquing the reticence with which modern dictionaries have treated sexual taboo (e.g. Read 1934; Ross 1934; Strainchamps 1971)—observes that even definitions of the formal term *sexual intercourse* in American general and collegiate dictionaries of the 1960s and 1970s were so reserved that they left unexamined whether the term could encompass same-sex acts. Four decades later, Brewer (2016: 35) has found that definitions of *sexual intercourse* in contemporary British learners' dictionaries explicitly limit the term to the penetration of a vagina by a penis. Similarly, in a survey of genital terms in general and medical dictionaries of the 1990s, Braun and Kitzinger (2001: 227) note that definitions of *vagina* and *penis* tended to elide the possibility of their use in any erotic act that was not penovaginal. Turning from sexual acts to identity labels, Cannon and Roberson (1985: 28, 30) make passing mention of the inclusion of slang and pejorative terms for lesbians and gay men in general American dictionaries of the 1970s and 1980s, but do not interrogate the dictionaries' choice of usage labels (if any) for these terms. In the same period, Kramarae (1992: 142–143) demonstrates that the *American Heritage Dictionary's* decision to dismiss the sexual sense of *gay* itself as 'slang' was an act of prejudice. McCluskey (1989: 112–113), in surveying the labelling of offensive terms in British and American dictionaries of the 1980s, notes that homophobic slurs were rarely marked as derogatory. Conducting a similar review of dictionaries in the 1990s, Norri (2000: 85–87) finds that the labelling of terms for lesbians and gay men varied from comprehensive to still almost

nonexistent (*pace* Landau 2001: 232–233). Following the legalization of same-sex marriage in a number of jurisdictions, Moon (2014: 97–98) considers entries for *marriage*, *husband*, and *wife* that include or exclude same-sex spouses in several learners' and online dictionaries.

Moving from the present to the past, Mugglestone's work on the treatment of sexual and scatological subjects in lexicography touches on the denigration of *tribade* in the *OED* (Mugglestone 2007a: 29, 2007b: 9, 2016: 558) and the absence or presence of *sodomite* and *buggery* in eighteenth-century dictionaries (Mugglestone 2007b: 4, 2010: 328). Green recounts the treatment of sexuality between men (Green 2014: ch. 13) and between women (Green 2019: ch. 13) over a diachronic range of cant and slang lexicons, while Stein (2017: 72, 2018: 229) observes the condemnation with which a sixteenth-century French–English lexicon treated same-sex intercourse. Finally, Brewer recounts the deliberate omission of *lesbian* from the first *Supplement* to the *OED* and its later disparaging inclusion in the second *Supplement* (Brewer 2007: 49–50, 205), and examines how several entries concerning female and male same-sex acts and identities have been updated in the *OED Online* to elide some of the prejudices inherited from previous instalments of the dictionary (Brewer 2013: 112–114).

In these studies, sexuality is one area of vocabulary among several with which dictionaries are shown to have wrestled. In studies by (feminist and queer) historians of sexuality, on the other hand, the positions are reversed: it is dictionaries that are one example among a myriad of texts used to trace the cultural history of sexuality. Masten (1997: 133–136, 2016: ch. 6), for instance, considers the polysemy of *fundament* in early modern polyglot and bilingual English dictionaries. In the same period, Traub turns to an Italian–English dictionary (Traub 2016: 185) and two monolingual English dictionaries (Traub 2002: 168) to examine women's agency and objectification in definitions of sexual acts. Donoghue (1993a: 206, 1993b: 48–50) considers the

treatment of sexuality between women in definitions of *tribade* and *hermaphrodite* in three eighteenth-century medical and technical dictionaries, while Katz (1995/2007: 86) touches on *heterosexuality* and *homosexuality* in early twentieth-century specialist and general lexicography. For these authors, dictionary definitions provide auxiliary evidence for analyses whose chief interests lie in, for instance, poetry, drama, political tracts, and medical treatises. My survey by necessity excludes the numberless times scholars have uncritically relied on the second (1989) and third (2000–) editions of the *OED* as passive records of historical usage, without accounting for the challenges posed by the dictionary's own historicity (see Brewer 2013 and the Conclusion). That dictionaries' methodological and ideological composition is worth scrutinizing in its own right has, however, been recognized by authors with a particular interest in French lexicography. Lanser (2014: 220–221) notes the increasingly euphemistic definitions of *tribade* in French–English and monolingual French and German dictionaries across the eighteenth century, a subject that Bonnet (1997: 150–153) extends for monolingual French dictionaries from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth. Clayton (1991), meanwhile, devotes a full-length paper to the denigration of male homosexuality to be found in monolingual French and English dictionaries published from the late nineteenth century onwards.

This concern for language used about those who desire the same sex has coincided with an interest in language attributed to them—though here the primary sources split along gendered lines into discrete genres: feminist lexicography and gay male slang lexicography. Beginning in the 1970s, the tradition of feminist lexicography in English has been concerned not with producing general reference works but with offering political antidotes to the sexism of standard dictionaries and the language they represent—the practical counterpart of feminists' academic critiques of standard lexicography. The genre is examined by Penelope (1990: 217–

223) and Cameron (1992: 114–117) and extensively surveyed by Russell (2012, 2018: ch. 5). Though documenting same-sex sexuality is not an overarching concern of this genre as a whole, it is of primary importance to one feminist dictionary in particular: Monique Wittig's and Sande Zeig's *Lesbian Peoples: Materials for a Dictionary*, published in French in 1976 and translated into English by the authors in 1980.

Lesbian Peoples is not meant to be a record of actual linguistic usage, but instead imagines a utopian world in which all men have vanished and traditional nation states have been replaced by a globalized lesbian community, around whose new cultural norms the language has been reorganized. That *Lesbian Peoples* is in part an interrogation of the possibilities and limitations of lexicography as a textual practice is made clear by its entry for *dictionary*, which affirms that *Lesbian Peoples* itself is a deliberately 'lacunary' representation of language and history, a selective 'assemblage of words […] acting upon reality' (Wittig and Zeig 1980). By emphasizing the socially constructive nature of any dictionary and the fragmentary vision of reality it represents, the authors tacitly underscore the masculinist and heterosexist viewpoint of standard lexicography and historiography—a point highlighted in studies of *Lesbian Peoples* by Wenzel (1981) and Anderson (1994), who place the dictionary in the context of Wittig's other works, and Penelope (1990: 220–223) and Anderson (1991), who situate it in relation to other feminist dictionaries.

There is no corresponding tradition of overtly political gay male lexicography, though glossaries of 'homosexual argot' and, later, 'gay slang' devoted mostly to men's speech have appeared since the 1910s. These works, at first compiled mostly by psychologists and sociologists with varying degrees of sympathy for their subjects, were joined after the mid-twentieth century by in-group glossaries and dictionaries avowedly by and for gay men. The

most comprehensive of these is *The Queens' Vernacular* (1972) by Bruce Rodgers, a celebration of slang gathered from several Anglophone countries. Though he seeks to describe the language of real rather than fictional speakers, like Wittig and Zeig (1980), Rodgers (1972: 10) draws attention to the variability of actual usage and the partiality of standard dictionaries by noting that 'the oppressor by nature has a different meaning for his words than the oppressed'.[5] Histories of gay slang lexicography have been compiled by Simes (2005), Coleman (2010 IV: 265–290), and Green (2014: 284–289). A more critical overview of the genre, and of earlier sociolinguists who drew on it for their own lexicological projects, is given by Don Kulick. Kulick (2000: 247–254) takes issue with how the genre tends to sustain the belief that there is such a thing as a homogeneous gay (male) language associated with a monolithic gay (male) identity in Britain, in the United States, or internationally (see also Cameron and Kulick 2003: 78–98). The criticism is significant, for it comes at a broader turn in the sociolinguistic study of sexuality towards analyses rooted in theories of social constructionism, or what Kulick (2000: 272) describes as 'shift[ing] the focus from gay and lesbian identities to the way in which language is employed to produce those subject positions'. This shift, much of it occurring under the newly forged aegis of queer theory, would give rise to its own body of lexicographic research.

The queer critique of dictionaries seems to have originated with Gloria George, whose evaluation of homophobic definitions in the *Oxford Dictionary of Slang* does not invoke queer theory by name but clearly owes a debt to it when it identifies the 'queering of meaning' as one means by which 'subordinate groups' can contest the dominant linguistic practices that marginalize them (George 1999: 54). George's (1999) concerns are in sympathy with Kulick's

[5] In a rare crossover between the worlds of standard and gay slang lexicography, a *New York Times* review of *The Queens' Vernacular* by Robert Burchfield—the editor of the second *Supplement* to the *OED*—applauded Rodgers for braving the 'unattractive aspects of modern life' to collect the 'sad language of sexuality' (Burchfield 1972b: BR22).

(2000), but it is the latter paper that has remained well-known among linguists. McCormick (2009) adopts Kulick's anti-essentialist stance in an analysis of a dictionary of South African gay slang in order to criticize its assumption that there is any such thing as a singular (white and male) South African gay identity with recourse to a uniform slang vocabulary. Leap (2020: 305–330) makes comparable remarks about the racial and gender biases of several American gay slang lexicons.

Later researchers have begun taking a queer approach to standard lexicography as well. Motschenbacher (2010: 35–36) includes among the potential duties of queer linguistics 'the critical questioning of normative meaning definitions that can be found, for example, in dictionaries', but he does not assume this task himself. A fresh appeal for uniting dictionary criticism with queer theory has been made by Eva Nossem (2018: 185), who proposes that the academic task of 'queering lexicography' would be to uncover 'structures of power and heteronormative discourses [in dictionaries] in order to make them visible and raise awareness of their existence, a necessary first step in challenging them' (see also Pakuła forthcoming). Directing her attention to bilingual lexicography, Nossem examines the inadequate translation of the modern senses of *gay*, *queer*, and *coming out* in online English–French and English–German dictionaries, and highlights how the androcentric practice of presenting grammatically gendered headwords as masculine by default in French, German, and Spanish dictionaries fails to account for the semantically feminine *lesbian* in translation.

This final body of scholarship is the first to take as its *raison d'être* the lexicographic construction of sexual normativity, particularly as it pertains to those who deviate from dominant norms. Yet there are at least two gaps in the literature. The first is that it has not investigated the historical context from which contemporary lexicography has arisen, and the

ways in which the ideologies and methodologies of earlier dictionaries have contributed to (or contrasted with) present dictionaries' discourses of sexuality. The merits of diachronic analysis for 'challeng[ing] the naturalness of the dominant discourse' (Nossem 2018: 184) and 'tracing the development of the struggle to create and control meaning' (George 1999: 55) have been pointed out by queer critics in relation to dictionary-making, but the same could be said of queer dictionary criticism itself. Queer linguists are not unique in this respect: Michael Adams (2010: 20) has emphasized the need for sociolinguists in general to 'pay more attention to the history of lexicography' and what it reveals about shifting language attitudes. The second gap in the literature is the absence of any clear framework for how queer theory could be used to analyse sexual norms in dictionaries beyond predisposing the analyst to be on the alert for them. The next two sections will offer preliminary responses to these problems, which will inform my own approach in the rest of the thesis.

The Great Paradigm Shifts

The history of British English lexicography and the history of Western sexuality have each conventionally been divided into a 'before' period and an 'after' period, separated by a radical break in the late nineteenth century. In the case of sexuality, the break was the invention of *homosexuality*. The effect that the coining of this word had on the dominant cultural construction of same-sex desire has been most famously articulated by Foucault. Whereas previously same-sex intercourse, under the guise of *sodomy*, had been 'a category of forbidden acts; their perpetrator […] nothing more than the juridical subject of them', Foucault (1978: 43) claims that with the arrival of the homosexual, the older juridical subject was replaced with a more stable identity category—one which 'became a personage, a past, a case history, and a

childhood'. This conceptual shift was authorized by the emergence of a new regulative institution: the medical science of sexuality, also known as sexology.

Foucault's argument was important to constructionist accounts of Western history insofar as it emphasized that contemporary understandings of sexuality are not transhistorical facts but 'conventional and arbitrary' (Halperin 1989: 258), and largely informed by the dominant discourses of cultural and moral authorities. In England, same-sex intercourse had been rendered criminal under the law—notably by the Buggery Act 1533, which had made the 'detestable and abhominable vice of buggerie committed with mankind or beast' a felony (25 Hen. 8 c. 6).[6] Same-sex intercourse had also been rendered sinful according to religious doctrine. For instance, the 1611 King James Bible condemned the 'vile affections' of 'women [who] did change the naturall vse into that which is against nature: And likewise also the men, leauing the naturall vse of the woman, [who] burned in their lust one towards another' (Romans 1:26–27). Yet in the nineteenth century, the authority of the law and the church to dictate sexual mores was extended to the medical establishment, according to Weeks (1986/2005: 2): 'doctors had adopted some of the attributes of a new priesthood, and many of its members seemed as certain of their views as the old'. The scientization of sexuality is meant to have triggered a widespread ideological shift from what Sedgwick (1990: 46–47) calls a 'universalizing' model to a 'minoritizing' one. Whereas for centuries same-sex activity had been understood as a crime or sin which any person might be liable to commit—just as anyone was capable of committing incest or murder—under the rule of sexology, same-sex desire came to be seen as an innate predisposition affecting a minority of people.

[6] The gendered implications and interpretations of the Buggery Act are explored in Chapter 1.

By contrast, the 'before' period of monolingual English dictionaries is typically understood less as a time of stasis than as one of gradual advancements—smaller paradigm shifts—before the great rupture. The period conventionally begins seven decades after the Buggery Act and seven years before the King James Bible, with the 1604 publication of Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall*. Cawdrey, a schoolmaster, was proceeded by a long line of bilingual (particularly Latin–) English lexicographers (Sauer 2009; Bately 2009), but he inaugurated the tradition of the monolingual dictionary of 'hard words'. *A Table Alphabeticall* was written, as its title page declares, to teach 'the true vvriting, and vnderstanding of hard vsuall English wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &.', and it was intended 'for the benefit & helpe of Ladies, Gentlewomen, or any other vnskilfull persons'. Ostensibly, in purchasing the book, women of the upper ranks who were literate but had been denied the advantage of a classical education could still profit from a schoolmaster's instruction (cf. Russell 2018: ch. 2). The target readership of subsequent hard-word dictionaries expanded to encompass 'as well Ladies and Gentlewomen, young Schollers, Clarkes, Merchants, as also Strangers of any Nation' in Henry Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* (1623: A2^{r}), or simply 'all such as desire to understand what they read' in Thomas Blount's *Glossographia* (1656: A1^{r}).

At the same time, dictionaries' linguistic scope began to embrace a wider range of difficult vocabulary: obsolete words and terms of art (e.g. Bullokar's 1616 *English Expositor*), names from classical mythology (e.g. Cockeram 1623), and scientific nomenclature (e.g. Blount 1656). But expansion would be tempered with discrimination. In *The New World of English Words*, Edward Phillips (1658: C2^{r}) informed his readers that, while his dictionary included words lacking in 'purity, or reputation', for 'the undistinguishing sort of Readers would take it very ill if they were not explained', he would set an obelisk beside them to caution readers to avoid

their use. This practice, Osselton (2009: 144) argues, 'may be seen to mark the beginning of a clearly prescriptive tradition in the English monolingual dictionary'.

Alongside dictionaries intended for a lay readership, there grew up a range of genres aimed at specialist users (see Hoare 2009). Standalone dictionaries of English, Latin, and French law terms (e.g. Rastell c1525) and English, Latin, and Greek medical terms (Boorde 1547) predated the advent of hard-word lexicography, but they were now joined by specialized dictionaries of theology (e.g. Wilson 1612) and etymology (e.g. Hogarth 1689). Not all genres were so scholarly. The lexicography of thieves' and beggars' cant, which had flourished in glossaries since the mid-sixteenth century, gained its first standalone publication, B. E.'s *New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew*, around 1698 (Coleman 2004 I: 76). As specialized genres of lexicography proliferated towards the close of the seventeenth century, the mainline of hard-word dictionaries began to expand beyond their 'hard-word' appellation. Starnes and Noyes (1991: 70) point to *A New English Dictionary* (1702) by J. K., probably John Kersey, as the first general English dictionary—that is, the first to admit 'the bulk of the English language', common as well as difficult words. However, this and Kersey's later dictionaries (e.g. Phillips and Kersey 1706; Kersey 1708) were soon surpassed in their general coverage of the language by Nathan Bailey, whose *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721) and *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) 'dominated the English dictionary scene in the first half of the eighteenth century' (Osselton 2009: 150).

Bailey's hold on the market was finally loosened by Samuel Johnson, whose intention to turn the English dictionary into a tool for language standardization was heralded by *A Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language* in 1747. Johnson's plan was, in some respects, an English riposte to the two most celebrated dictionaries in Europe at the time—the Italian *Vocabolario*

degli Accademici della Crusca and the French *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise*—both produced with the purpose of codifying a national standard language (see Considine 2014a). Likewise, Johnson (1747: 33) proposed to compile a work 'by which the pronunciation of our language may be fixed, and its attainment facilitated; by which its purity may be preserved, and its use ascertained, and its duration lengthened'. The dictionary would be systematic, educational, and edifying. Meanings of polysemous words would not be run together, as in earlier dictionaries, but disambiguated into discrete senses (Johnson 1747: 22). Following the *Vocabolario's* practice, Johnson would append 'authorities' to his definitions to illustrate the defined words' use in context; these would be quotations preferably taken from 'writers of the first reputation' and conveying 'some elegance of language, or some precept of prudence, or piety' (Johnson 1747: 31).

The realization of *A Dictionary of the English Language* eight years later departed from Johnson's early ideals. As his preface admits, words had had to be 'sought where they [were] used', so that many of his quotations, rather than being elegant or pious, 'serve[d] no other purpose, than that of proving the bare existence of words' (Johnson 1755 I: B2^{v}). Johnson had also grown sceptical of the standardizing potential of lexicography. As lexicographers could 'produce no example of a nation that has preserved their words and phrases from mutability', so they should not 'imagine that [a] dictionary can embalm [a] language, and secure it from corruption and decay' (C2^{r}). Instead, Johnson proclaimed that he did 'not form, but register the language'; did 'not teach men how they should think, but relate how they have hitherto expressed their thoughts' (C1^{v}). Despite these caveats, Johnson's choice of quotations still 'overwhelmingly favoured a highly select and time-restricted canon' (Brewer 2019: 489), while his definitions sometimes appeared to proscribe words by labelling them as 'barbarous', 'low', 'bad', or otherwise improper (Wild 2010).

The influence of Johnson's dictionary 'preoccupied lexicographers and philologists in England until the mid-nineteenth century', setting a standard that subsequent dictionary-writers either 'embraced' or 'attempted to undermine' (Reddick 1996: 176). The first significant challenge to its authority came not from Britain but from the United States. Compiled by Noah Webster, *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (1828) already declared its independence from Johnson and Britain in its title. As Johnson had sought to bring a degree of prestige to British lexicography that would rival that of the continent, so Webster wished to do the same for his own country (Landau 2009). It is ironic, then, that when Webster's dictionary was reissued in London in 1831–1832, with its title denationalized to *A Dictionary of the English Language*, the British print run of 3,000 copies exceeded the original American run of 2,500 (Micklethwait 2000: 272).

Webster's dictionary, despite its success on both sides of the Atlantic, arrived at a time of growing debate in European and American scholarly circles over the nature of language and its study (Read 1966; Reddick 2009; Adams 2020). Webster belonged to an older tradition which maintained that the origins of words could be ascertained by a cursory acquaintance with other languages combined with reasoned introspection. At the turn of the nineteenth century, this intuitive approach to linguistic inquiry had gained fresh impetus in the wake of the philologist John Horne Tooke, who maintained—as Charles Richardson (1836: 41) summarized—that 'a word has one meaning, and one only; that from it all usages must spring and be derived; and that in the Etymology of each word must be found this single intrinsic meaning'. Richardson was not alone among British lexicographers in invoking Tooke's ideas (e.g. Johnson and Todd 1818: vi-vii; Knowles 1835: 2). However, from the late eighteenth century onwards, *a priori* approaches to etymology would be increasingly contested by the

emergent principles of a new strand of philology. Adherents of the new philology maintained that the tracing of linguistic change should be empirically based on the study of older forms of a language, as well as its systematic comparison to contemporaneous forms of related languages, as preserved in early manuscripts and printed sources. In Britain, many of these texts were at last becoming widely available through scholarly republications in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries (Considine 2014b: 270–271; Brewer 2019: 494). Yet it was in continental Europe that the new philology first gained wide acceptance and codification, and it was on the continent that it first informed lexicography (Momma 2013). In 1838, Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm began compiling their *Deutsches Wörterbuch*, a dictionary of High German that would trace the development of the language across centuries. Work commenced on historically informed dictionaries of French and Dutch in the next two decades (Considine 2016).

As Johnson had responded to the academy dictionaries of France and Italy a hundred years before, so a need was again being felt in certain British circles for an English dictionary that would meet the 'challenge to national pride' posed by the advances of foreign scholarship (Gilliver 2016: 7). What was wanted, as Dean Richard Chenevix Trench pronounced before the London Philological Society in 1857, was a *'Lexicon totius Anglicitatis'* (Trench 1857: 52), a comprehensive record of the history of English that would be free of the partialities and prejudices of earlier dictionaries. The proper duty of a lexicographer to the language was to be 'an historian of it, not a critic', Trench (1857: 4) declared. Two years later, the Philological Society unveiled its plan to undertake such a project in its *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary*. It would produce 'a new and more Scientific Dictionary than any at present existing' (Philological Society 1859: 1), charting the development of English from the mid-thirteenth century to the present day with rigorous empiricism and objectivity. 'We

entirely repudiate the theory,' the *Proposal* declared, 'which converts the lexicographer into an arbiter of style, and leaves it to his discretion to accept or reject words according to his private notions of their comparative elegance or inelegance' (2–3). Entries would be based on a groundwork of quotational evidence; unlike Johnson, the compilers would not restrict themselves to an elite canon but 'admit as authorities all English books, except such as are devoted to purely scientific subjects […] and works written subsequently to the Reformation for the purpose of illustrating provincial dialects'—dialect and scientific jargon being beyond the scope of a dictionary of the 'standard language' (3).

The resultant *New English Dictionary on Historical Principles*—soon to become known as the *Oxford English Dictionary*—was published in instalments from 1884 to 1928. It was the work of countless hands: editors, sub-editors, editorial assistants, volunteer readers, and specialist consultants. In the eyes of its foremost editor, James Murray, it embodied a radical break from the scholarship of the past.[7] As Mugglestone (2000b: 2) writes of Murray's vision for the dictionary, 'in all aspects of lexicography […] there was necessarily to be a return to first principles'. Dictionary-making would no longer be based on authorial introspection or received wisdom, but on the facts of usage. After the dictionary's completion, one of its surviving editors reaffirmed that they had 'got beyond [the] stage' of earlier lexicographers who thought it was 'part of their duty to improve the English language', but had instead made it their 'business to […] record it as it was and as it is' (Craigie 1934: 26). This division between improving and recording, like Trench's (1857) distinction between critic and historian, encapsulates an opposition now generally known as linguistic prescriptivism versus descriptivism. Though

[7] Murray, who in 1879 became the first of the dictionary's editors to be contractually engaged by Oxford University Press, was technically the third editor overall, having succeeded Herbert Coleridge (who died prematurely) and Frederick J. Furnivall (who lacked the time or focus to see the project through). Three more editors were subsequently appointed to work on different alphabetical sections of the dictionary: Henry Bradley in 1888, William Craigie in 1901, and Charles Talbut Onions in 1914 (see Gilliver 2016).

some contemporary reviewers objected to the *OED's* descriptivist principles, the dictionary's achievements were widely praised (Bivens 1980–1981; Bailey 2000b), and its scholarly ideals and execution have become a guiding light for subsequent lexicographers. 'It is the basis that every other dictionary uses as the essential support, the ultimate reference point, from which to build new dictionaries,' Landau (2001: 81) asserts. Benson (2001: 10) argues that 'the break between the prescriptive and descriptive dictionary' marked by the *OED* has been 'crucial to the self-image of the modern dictionary', including modern lexicographers' shift to a conception of language as a system that may 'be subjected to scientific inquiry'.

In this respect, the nineteenth-century emergence of scientific lexicography parallels the coincident arrival of sexology. From the perspectives of their practitioners, the ideological turning point of each discipline—sexual universalization to minoritization, linguistic prescriptivism to descriptivism—may be understood as a Bachelardian epistemological rupture, separating the prescientific and superstitious interpretation of a phenomenon from a subsequent scientific understanding rooted in dispassionate empiricism (Bachelard 2002: 78). The two disciplines, sexological and lexicographical, would intersect neatly in the single-volume *Supplement* to the *OED* published in 1933, which added entries for *homosexual* and *heterosexual* (see Chapter 5). However, as Sedgwick (1990: 44) points out, the 'search for a Great Paradigm Shift'—whether by field pioneers or their historiographers—risks misrepresenting the complexities of both the past and the present.

Sedgwick's warning is particularly directed at the conceptual movement of the same-sex-desiring person from a 'temporary aberration' to a 'species' (Foucault 1978: 43), which she argues was not as sharp as Foucault implied. The universalizing view (and its religious and legal significance) did not simply cease to exist at the coining of *homosexual*; nor did the

minoritizing view materialize only at that moment. Rather, a plurality of universalizing and minoritizing models have co-existed and conflicted for centuries, though the nomenclatures associated with them, and their social dominance relative to one another, have shifted over time (see e.g. McIntosh 1968; Halperin 2000; Salih 2002; Beccalossi 2011). Sedgwick's (1990: 47) insistence that scholars should not present sexual history as a simple succession of one ideology 'drop[ping] out of the frame of analysis' to make way for the next has since become an article of faith in the historiography of sexuality. Nonetheless, Traub (2016: 94–95) contends that subsequent research has still been largely constrained by academic periodization, leading to studies of sexuality in the Renaissance, in the long eighteenth century, in the Victorian era, and so on, which emphasize the discreteness of these periods while overlooking their continuities, resemblances, and repetitions. While the disciplinary orientation of the present thesis is linguistic rather than historical, it nonetheless follows Traub's (2016: 95) call to 'speak across period divides' by tracing a lexical history of sexuality—its innovations, alterations, and reversions—over three hundred years of dictionary-making.

Of course, the history of lexicography is no more impartial or impersonal than any other history (Adams 2010: 19–20), and it presents paradigmatic challenges of its own. The framing of contemporary professional lexicography as a descriptivist practice against the prescriptivism of an earlier age has maintained its ideological buoyancy, though it has had to weather many disputes over how the goals of descriptivism may best be achieved and to what extent they are achievable at all (see Moon 1989; Benson 2001; Brewer 2010; Mugglestone 2016). That true linguistic neutrality is impossible has been argued by the lexicographer Rosamund Moon (1989: 75), who observes, 'Definitions are necessarily subjective, presenting socialized views of word-meaning, howsoever reinforced: objectivity […] is ultimately a myth.' Benson (2001: 10) agrees that the 'important distinction' between prescriptivist and descriptivist lexicography 'lies not

so much in whether the modern dictionary prescribes or not as in the basis on which it claims authority'. The untenability of the prescriptive–descriptive binary, not only in lexicography but in linguistics at large, has been discussed at length by scholars of language ideology, among them Talbot Taylor and Deborah Cameron. These authors propose that, whatever the motivations of descriptivism, in practice it is as much a normative activity as prescriptivism; the difference between the two is how overt they are about it.

Taylor (1990: 9) asserts that because words depend for their meaning on how individual speakers use them in individual contexts, and because speakers do not use language uniformly, words cannot have objective, universal senses that are open to empirical documentation. As such, regardless of the intentions of their writers, dictionary definitions are 'not descriptions of facts, but rather citations of norms' (Taylor 1990: 24). Notably, a somewhat similar conception of lexical meaning has since been elaborated by the lexicographer Patrick Hanks (2013: 73), who maintains that meanings are 'best viewed as dynamic events that involve cooperation between speakers and hearers or writers and readers, rather than static, finitely bounded abstract objects'. Hanks and Taylor both draw attention to the fact that if speakers wish to be understood by other speakers, then the meanings they apply to words cannot be totally arbitrary but must conform to established norms of linguistic use. In light of this, Hanks (2013: 91) proposes that it is the 'duty' of a dictionary to identify these norms in its definitions, 'encapsulat[ing] the shared beliefs about word meaning and word use on which writers and readers, speakers and hearers mutually rely'. However, Hanks (2013: 431) reverts to the old binary by asserting that writing such a definition should be a descriptive task, one that presents the 'normal' use of a word rather than prescribing some 'normative' standard.

Yet it is not obvious that lexicographic normality and normativity are separable. Because dictionaries typically present a definition as though it were an abstract and invariant equation between word and meaning, the definition cannot help but have a regulative force (Taylor 1990: 24)—one whose efficacy depends on the linguistic authority of whatever person or institution issues it. Taylor (1990: 22) wryly observes that the *OED*, the greatest exemplar of descriptivism in English lexicography, would itself become 'by far the most authoritative and influential normative influence on the behaviour of individual speakers and writers of English'. It is no solution to insist that speakers who treat the *OED*, or any other descriptivist dictionary, as a normative authority are guilty of misuse, for instructing dictionary-users not to interpret dictionary entries prescriptively is a prescription in itself. As Cameron (1995: 8) points out regarding the *OED* and other works that are positioned as scientifically objective, 'Because science itself has authority in modern society […] the absolute distinction between observing norms and enforcing them cannot be maintained in practice.' Ultimately, on the level of everyday metalinguistic commentary, '"description" and "prescription" turn out to be aspects of a single (and normative) activity: a struggle to control language by defining its nature' (Cameron 1995: 8). Moving beyond the prescriptive–descriptive binary to an acknowledgement of the normativity of all lexicography is especially beneficial for a study that encompasses dictionaries which have been compiled under a range of mandates, 'scientific' and 'prescientific'. Without downplaying the differences in their compilers' expressed principles, we may nonetheless appreciate certain tacit overlaps in their practice. A focus on normativity also provides an opportunity to unite language ideology with the critical theorizing of sexuality, most visibly under the rubric of queer theory.

Normativity and Performativity

The reclaimed pejorative *queer* in *queer theory* describes not only that which deviates from dominant social norms, but that which seeks to disrupt them. It is a theoretical orientation that 'problematises normative consolidations of sex, gender and sexuality—and that, consequently, is critical of all those versions of identity, community and politics that are believed to evolve "naturally" from such consolidations' (Jagose 1996: 99). Queer theory emerged in the 1990s as a poststructuralist critique of the identity politics that had characterized much lesbian and gay academia in the preceding decades, in which categories such as homosexual or heterosexual, female or male, had largely been taken for granted as natural and static aspects of an innate identity possessed by every person (Jagose 1996: 75–83). Instead, queer theory accepts Foucault's (1978: 105) assertion that sexuality is not a timeless truth but a 'historical construct'.

A significant object of critique for many queer scholars is the specific construction of heteronormativity, or 'the system which prescribes, enjoins, rewards, and naturalizes a particular kind of heterosexuality—monogamous, reproductive, and based on conventionally complementary gender roles—as the norm on which social arrangements should be based' (Cameron 2005: 489). Indeed, Motschenbacher and Stegu (2013: 520) go so far as to suggest that a 'critical focus on heteronormativity' is the one denominator that all applications of queer theory have in common. Yet while heteronormativity is a useful analytical object for inquiries into present-day Western or Westernized societies, it is less suitable for the historical study of sexual constructs that predate the coining of *heterosexuality* (and *homosexuality*) in the late nineteenth century (Traub 2016: 14–15). Applying *heteronormativity* to historical data risks imposing an anachronistic and monolithic image of heterosexuality across an array of past acts, desires, and identities between the sexes, and obscuring that precisely how these concepts were understood, and which of them enjoyed social prestige, varied across times and places.

One strand of queer theory which need not depend on heteronormativity, and which has been especially influential in linguistic studies of gender and sexuality (e.g. Livia and Hall 1997a; Cameron and Kulick 2003: 98–105; Meyerhoff and Ehrlich 2019; Milani forthcoming), is that advanced by the feminist philosopher Judith Butler. We have seen that Foucault (1978) was chiefly concerned with societal shifts in the production of sexuality—a concern that led him to present the rise of a minoritizing model of 'the homosexual' as a fait accompli, for which Sedgwick (1990: 44–48) censured him. Butler, on the other hand, is interested in how identity is constructed at the level of the individual. She proposes that the attribution of an identity to a person is not an act that is ever accomplished once and for all, but one that must be reiterated again and again: it is a 'repeated stylization of the body, a set of repeated acts within a highly rigid regulatory frame that congeal over time to produce the appearance of substance, of a natural sort of being' (Butler 1990/1999: 43–44). Butler addressed this remark specifically to the production of gender rather than sexuality, for gender forms the main subject of her foundational contribution to queer theory, *Gender Trouble*. However, as she went on to argue in *Bodies That Matter*, gender and sexuality are subject to overlapping forms of social regulation (Butler 1993/2011: 182). Together, these monographs advance a view of sex, gender, and sexuality as constructions whose social force depends upon *performativity*.

The concept of performativity was initially proposed by the linguistic philosopher J. L. Austin. According to Austin's (1962) speech act theory, a performative is a type of utterance that has no classical truth value (i.e. it is a statement that is neither true nor false). Rather than describing an existing state of affairs, the utterance of a performative itself brings about a new state—or, in Austin's (1962: 6) words, 'the issuing of the utterance is the performing of an action'. Thus, a speaker in the right social circumstances may make a wager simply by saying, 'I bet…' or

name a child by pronouncing, 'I christen you…' Butler extends Austin's concept to argue that identities are also performative inasmuch as they are constituted by the act of their invocation. For instance, when a sonographer conducts an ultrasound scan of a fetus and pronounces, 'It's a girl,' this is not an objective description of a pre-existing biological reality but rather an utterance that assigns the fetus to a social category—girlhood (Butler 1993/2011: 176). This act of gendering is the first in the girl's life, but it will not be the last. Butler (1993/2011: 60) stresses that for a performative to succeed in constituting an identity—for the identity to be recognizable *as* an identity—the performative must be capable of repetition.

The body that is identified as a girl will likely have that identification reaffirmed many times over: on her birth certificate, by her caregivers, and so on. By the same token, the very notion of girlhood is culturally coherent because it is a category that has been invoked on many previous occasions to constitute many other subjects as girls. As they grow up, these subjects become beholden to an accumulated body of expectations about girlhood—what girls look like, how girls act—which they will have to meet, at least in part, in order to remain recognizable as girls to others (Livia and Hall 1997a: 12). If it is to be intelligible, a performative has to 'cite' an existing norm; consequently, performances of identity are normatively regulated, 'reiterated under and through constraint' (Butler 1993/2011: 60). Identities that do not correspond to any recognizable norms within a particular social domain risk being regarded as incoherent or unintelligible, 'appear[ing] only as developmental failures or logical impossibilities from within that domain' (Butler 1990/1999: 24; cf. Livia and Hall 1997a: 13).

While queer linguists have largely drawn on performativity theory to analyse how language is used by speakers to create individual identities (Meyerhoff and Ehrlich 2019: 464–466), Barrett (2002: 28–29) contends that performatives construct identities not just through 'the assignment

of individuals to particular categories' (e.g. *She's a woman*), but through 'statements attributing particular social attributes or practices to a particular category' (e.g. *Women are attracted to men*). In this case, the performative constitutes not a singular subject but a generalized 'imagined referent' (Barrett 2002: 29). Barrett does not suggest dictionaries as a source of such generalizations, but if we accept his argument, then it is not difficult to interpret definitions of identity categories as performative utterances. This is, in a way, to build a bridge between Butler's assertion (1993/2011: 177) that the performance of an identity is nothing more than the 'citation of a norm' and Taylor's (1990: 24) argument that definitions are 'not descriptions of facts, but rather citations of norms'. Although Taylor does not draw directly on Austinian theory, he does maintain that definitions (like performatives) do not have a truth value: because words do not have objective and absolute meanings that are open to empirical observation, definitional statements 'are neither true nor false in the sense of corresponding or not to some state of affairs' (Taylor 1990: 24).

Due to their different analytical concerns, Taylor's and Butler's models are not entirely co-extensive. For one thing, they differ in their approaches to agency. Butler is sceptical of the extent to which voluntarism operates in the construction of an individual subject. As the subject does not socially pre-exist its initial performative invocation, its agency only emerges from, and is dependent on, the constraints of that invocation (see Jagose 2015: 43–44). Butler argues that the performance of a personal identity is therefore 'forcible': upon its constitution, the subject is 'compelled to "cite" the norm in order to qualify and remain a viable subject' (Butler 1993/2011: 177). In other words, individuals cannot simply opt out of the identities by which they are recognized by other people, though they can to some extent contest or subvert the norms through which those identities are produced (Butler 1993/2011: 83). Evidently, this particular concern of agency is not applicable to the type of performative that constitutes an

'imagined referent' (Barrett 2002: 29)—the type to which I have suggested definitions of social categories belong. We cannot ask after the agency of an imagined referent in a definitional statement. We can, however, consider the agency of the definition's author. In this case, Taylor's perspective on agency is more apt. Taylor (1990: 9) observes that while speakers may in principle use words to mean whatever they choose, in practice, if they wish to be intelligible to others, they must 'submit their linguistic freedom to the constraints of norms'. This does not entail that some norms are true where others are false, or that any given norm is more correct than another; it does, however, pose 'fundamentally political questions of responsibility, power, authority and ideology' (Taylor 1990: 10), prompting us to ask by what authority, and to what end, a particular norm is enforced.

If we accept that definitions are performative utterances, it follows that, for example, defining *tribade* as 'A woman who practises unnatural vice with other women'—as the *OED* did in 1914—does not describe a universal fact of language any more than it records a natural truth or a moral absolute. Rather, the definition constructs a category of person in relation to a set of norms concerning naturalness and morality. Butler (1993/2011: 172) argues that for a performative to succeed, it must be an 'action [that] echoes prior actions, and *accumulates the force of authority through the repetition or citation of a prior, authoritative set of practices*' (original emphasis). For the definition of *tribade* to be coherent to the dictionary's users, it must reiterate norms of which the users are already aware. This is not to claim that users must have heard *tribade* explained in similar ways on prior occasions. Rather, the intelligibility of the definition depends on its users already being familiar with wider social norms that formulate human acts and their actors as either natural or unnatural, moral or immoral. A user who consulted the *OED's* entry for *tribade* without any understanding of the general concepts

of vice and unnaturalness would not find the definition intelligible, and in that case its performative force would fail.

Despite queer linguists' tendency to focus on identity, queer critiques may also be extended to the linguistic constitution of other sexual phenomena. This has been demonstrated for talk about embodiment (e.g. Edelman and Zimman 2014; Zimman 2014) and more abstract expressions of sexual desire (e.g. Kulick 2000, 2014; Cameron and Kulick 2003), but it is also applicable to discourse about sexual activity itself. Arguably, *A Table Alphabeticall's* definition of *sodomitrie* as 'when one man lyeth filthylie with another man' (Cawdrey 1604a) constructs a category of proscribed acts as much as the *OED's* explanation of *tribade* constructs a category of proscribed persons. This is not to imply that either dictionary in any way originated these constructions; rather, they reiterate and reinforce discourses about sodomy and tribady already in circulation at the time of the dictionaries' composition. Livia and Hall (1997a: 8) highlight the importance of such discourses in producing an intelligible performative utterance, 'not only to the final shape of the utterance, but also to its authority as a speech act'.

Of course, just because a performative is intelligible does not mean that it is informative. Beyond their censorious tones, the definition of *sodomitrie* conveys little content, and that of *tribade* even less. The precise behaviour of tribades, and the manner in which two men can lie together 'filthylie', are apparently so unnatural or immoral as to be unmentionable. Yet this reticence is another part of the definitions' socially prohibitive force: a demonstration of how 'silence' can be 'rendered as pointed and performative as speech' (Sedgwick 1990: 4). Sedgwick's observation that ignorance is 'as potent and as multiple a thing […] as is knowledge' (4)—indeed, that particular 'ignorances […] are produced by and correspond to particular knowledges' (8)—is a salutary reminder that the linguistic gaps found in every

dictionary arise for different reasons. An absent headword or imprecise definition may indicate, among other things, a genuine mistake or lack of knowledge on the part of the lexicographer; a deliberate elision due to spatial constraints or generic conventions; an assumption that something is so obvious or well-known that it needs no explanation; a suppression of material thought to be obscene, whether out of a simple personal reluctance to countenance it or for fear of legal repercussions; or an attempt to withhold certain information from certain readers who are deemed unfit to know it. Examples of all of these 'ignorances' will occur over the course of this thesis, as we consider how different sexual 'knowledges' are produced in dictionaries aimed at audiences whose presumed gender, age, education, occupation, and wealth vary over the history, and across the genres, of lexicography. Although taking account of what is not articulated in language may seem to be beyond the remit of a linguistic analysis, Kulick (2005: 616) argues for the importance of linguists paying attention to 'what is barred from performance, what is not or cannot be performed—the not-there, the unsaid traces, the absent presences, that structure the said and the done'.

While queer performativity theory guides the researcher to recognize the social constraints that underlie acts of speech and silence, it does not provide a framework for linguistic analysis on its own (cf. Livia 2002; Cameron and Kulick 2003: 125). As such, this thesis will combine a queer perspective with some of the tools offered by critical discourse analysis—a framework whose close attention to the exercise of power through language makes it 'well equipped for studying the linguistic consequences' of sexual normativity (Motschenbacher and Stegu 2013: 528; see also Leap 2015).

Analysis, Methodology, and Scope

As Wodak and Meyer (2009: 5) explain, critical discourse analysis (CDA) is not reducible to 'one single or specific theory': 'Neither is one specific methodology characteristic of research in CDA. Quite the contrary, studies in CDA are multifarious, derived from quite different theoretical backgrounds, oriented towards different data and methodologies.' Although CDA has since its inception been associated with a range of scholars (Wodak and Meyer 2009), one of the best-known elaborations of its aims and approach has been offered by Norman Fairclough. Fairclough's work grew out of the field of discourse analysis, whose purpose is the study of extended, real-life instances of language use, as opposed to more abstract studies of language at the level of morphology or syntax. Writing in the *Journal of Pragmatics* in 1985, Fairclough (1985: 739) argued for the necessity of 'a discourse analysis which adopts "critical" goals' instead of merely 'descriptive' ones. Such an analysis would uncover the ideological assumptions implicit in a piece of discourse and consider what interests they serve, rather than treating the discourse as if its social motivations and effects beyond the immediate pragmatic context were of no importance to the linguist.[8]

In opposition to the descriptivist stance towards linguistics interrogated earlier in this Introduction, CDA does not pretend that its practitioners are any more impartial than the texts they analyse. Although its conclusions are empirically derived from linguistic data, CDA is still 'unabashedly normative', according to Van Dijk (1993: 253), for any form of social criticism 'by definition presupposes an applied ethics'. The crux of Fairclough's argument was that certain ideologies—those espoused by dominant members of a particular community or institution—become 'naturalized' over time; that is, they are accorded 'the status of common

[8] See Blommaert (2005: 22–23) for a summary of earlier 'critical' linguistic literature.

sense, and thereby [made] opaque, i.e. no longer visible as ideologies' (Fairclough 1985: 752). One of the goals of discourse analysis from a critical position is to denaturalize these ideologies. As queer linguists are committed to challenging hegemonic assumptions about sexuality in language, so critical discourse analysts set themselves more generally against power structures that they believe 'enact, sustain, legitimate, condone or ignore social inequality and injustice' (Van Dijk 1993: 252). To clarify how power structures may be manifested through language, some scholars working in CDA have, in addition to the sense of *discourse* already in use within discourse analysis, adopted the Foucauldian concept of *discourses* for 'way[s] of signifying a particular domain of social practice from a particular perspective' (Fairclough 1995: 14). Analysts stress that because these discourses are reproduced and recirculated through language, they are mutable. They change as the social context in which they occur changes, and vice versa: discourses, like the textual discourse they occur in, are 'socially constitutive as well as socially conditioned' (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258), both a manifestation of existing social structures and a means of reinforcing or transforming those structures. Attending to how the ideological underpinnings of discourse change over time is highly significant to any diachronic critical analysis, for, as Blommaert (2005: 30) observes, 'The way in which discourse is being represented, re-spoken, or re-written sheds light on the emergence of new orders of discourse, struggles over normativity, attempts at control, and resistance against regimes of power.'

While some users of CDA, including Fairclough (1995, 2003), draw heavily on analytical tools derived from systemic functional linguistics—an approach to the social function of language developed by M. A. K. Halliday—this is not the only viable means of carrying out CDA (Blommaert 2005: 34–35; Cameron and Panović 2014: 68). A more flexible use of CDA for dictionary criticism in particular has been demonstrated by Antje Hornscheidt under the banner of 'critical lexicography'. Hornscheidt (2008: 116) proposes, for instance, that CDA's

scepticism of ideological neutrality prompts the analyst to consider how the credibility of definitions is 'authorized', what perspectives in them are 'generalized, neutralized, or normalized', whether they forward any 'explicit or implicit evaluations' of their subjects, and what they leave out, presuppose, or imply. Analogous questions are posed for other elements of dictionary entries (etymologies, illustrative quotations, and usage notes). Wenge Chen (2019: 373), another advocate of critical lexicography, similarly argues for viewing the dictionary not as a passive object but as 'a social act, a product of the socio-political and historical context in which it exists'. Hornscheidt and Chen are concerned with dictionaries' production of (post)colonialism and nationalism rather than sexuality per se, but their views sit happily beside our treatment of dictionaries as performative texts shaped by sociolinguistic norms.

How the social effects of an individual stretch of discourse are achieved through lexical choice, grammatical structures, and rhetorical devices is variable and unpredictable, and CDA proposes no exhaustive list of possibilities. However, common points of analysis include the conveyance of a writer's attitudes (and assumptions about the reader) through evaluative vocabulary and modality; how verbal transitivity positions social actors as the agents or patients of an action; and the ways in which grammatical passivization and nominalization allow different social actors and processes to be foregrounded or deleted (Fairclough 2003; see also Fowler and Kress 1979). Analysts are also concerned with the relations between different pieces of discourse. Here, recourse is often made to Julia Kristeva's (1986: 37) concept of *intertextuality*, encapsulated by Fairclough (1992: 84) as 'the property texts have of being full of snatches of other texts, which may be explicitly demarcated or merged in, and which the text may assimilate, contradict, ironically echo, and so forth'. Baumann and Briggs (1990: 72–78) refer to the circulation of these discursive snatches as a process of *entextualization*: texts are selectively extracted or *decontextualized* from their prior site of use and inserted or

recontextualized into a new piece of discourse, where they may come to serve different purposes and ideologies (see Blommaert 2005: 45–48). As this close attention to the interrelations and idiosyncrasies of specific texts suggests, CDA favours a qualitative approach to analysis. So does this thesis, though I will supplement my discussion with statistical findings in cases where discursive patterns across dictionaries can be usefully identified and abstracted. While a quantitative, corpus-based approach to dictionary criticism is possible (e.g. Fournier and Russell 1992), the systematic application of corpus linguistics is best suited to large datasets (Sinclair 2004: 189) rather than the comparatively small and highly selective body of linguistic evidence collected for this project.[9] For such a dataset, a comprehensive qualitative analysis supported by statistical summaries is neither untenable nor undesirable, as other studies in dictionary criticism have shown (e.g. Braun and Kitzinger 2001; Benson 2001; Brewer 2009b).

This thesis is chiefly interested in how past dictionaries have codified and broadcast dominant discourses of same-sex sexuality to the general literate public. As such, the backbone of its analysis is concerned with English lexicography aimed at a comprehensive, non-specialist readership: that is, hard-word dictionaries in the seventeenth century and general dictionaries in the eighteenth and nineteenth. Mitchell (2010: 82) argues that dictionaries in earlier centuries could 'function as behavior guides' as well as lexical records, imparting 'prescribed cultural values for the rising middle classes'. While, for instance, specialist dictionaries of medical and legal terms assisted physicians and judicial officers in the managing of public health and the policing of public behaviour, hard-word and general dictionaries, in addressing themselves directly to the public, enjoined readers to police themselves. Thus, they throw light not only on past knowledges of sexuality, but on their complementary ignorances—offering didactic

[9] The contemporary use of largescale electronic corpora in the compilation of dictionaries themselves (Hanks 2012) will be considered briefly in the concluding chapter.

models of what the lay dictionary-user ought to know and not know about sex; which sexual practices were sanctioned or prohibited by law, morality, and nature; and how the user should act (or be acted upon) as a proper sexual subject (or object).

Of course, there is not always a clear divide between dictionaries aimed at a general audience, and representative of the language in common use, and dictionaries of a more restricted readerly and linguistic scope. Hard-word dictionaries intentionally recorded a limited vocabulary, and hard-word and general lexicographers alike sometimes addressed their work to young students (a specialized readership) as well as adult users (e.g. Cockeram 1623: A2^{r}; Buchanan 1757: iv; Stormonth 1871: i). The *OED*, as a historical dictionary intended for scholarly research, combines elements of general and specialist lexicography. Lastly, what constitutes 'common usage', and who counts as a member of a general speech community, are not neutral aspects of a language—a point that will be returned to in Chapter 3 and the Conclusion. This has entailed a degree of subjective latitude in the dictionaries I have selected for analysis.

In addition, attending fully to the interplay between what is said and unsaid about sexuality in general and hard-word dictionaries requires comparing their linguistic coverage to that of other, specialized genres. For one thing, as Russell (2018: 16) observes, genre and gender are 'interlocking systems of sociality' in the history of lexicography. In a study of sexuality, this is most apparent in the highly variable representation of female sexuality in dictionaries for general (female and male) audiences versus those that were aimed at (presumptively male) users in certain elite professions. To account for this and other generic peculiarities of hard-word and general lexicography, the thesis also examines British English dictionaries of law, classical myth, and medicine, as well as the less dignified vocabulary of criminal cant. The

place of each will be elaborated in the chapter outline below. For another thing, early hard-word and general lexicographers often adapted word entries from bilingual Latin–English and French–English dictionaries (Starnes and Noyes 1991). In a few cases where a connection between particular bilingual and monolingual dictionaries can be established, I have found it instructive to consider their treatment of same-sex terms in parallel. Finally, I have on occasion cited American dictionaries that had a substantive influence on British lexicography (including its representations of sexuality)—the most obvious example being Webster's 1828 *American Dictionary of the English Language* and its successors (see Micklethwait 2000: 272). When there is clear borrowing from these other dictionaries into British monolingual lexicography, it is fruitful to consider what material was recontextualized and what was overlooked or discarded. When genres diverge, it is just as useful to ask what alternative discourses of sexuality they offered—whether competing, complementary, or contradictory.

The list of dictionaries consulted for the project was compiled with the aid of the bibliographies in Wheatley (1865), Alston (1966–2006), Starnes and Noyes (1991), Coleman (2004–2010), Cowie (2009), Russell (2018), and McConchie (2019). Preference was given to first editions where available, but certain later editions were also considered when they had been revised by a different lexicographer from the first. Digitized copies of most dictionaries were obtained from the electronic databases *Early English Books Online* and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online*, as well as the research library collections hosted online by *HathiTrust* and the *Internet Archive*. Physical dictionaries were consulted in Oxford University's Bodleian Libraries and the British Library. Each hard-word, general, law, and medical dictionary was checked against a list of terms concerning same-sex sexuality known to have been in use at the time of the dictionary's compilation. Hard-word and general dictionaries were further checked against a second list of terms concerning gender and sexuality more broadly (see Appendix II).

All relevant entries found across the dictionaries were transcribed into an electronic database; this allowed for the easy examination and comparison of entries within and between dictionaries, as recommended by Coleman and Ogilvie (2009). Many of the collected definitions, with certain caveats, are reproduced in Appendix III. The lists of terms searched for were initially drawn up using the online version of the *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary* (2010–), in particular the subsections available under *sex* and *sexual relations*.[10] The lists were then augmented with words gathered from historical studies of sexuality in early and late modern Britain, including Bray (1995) and Traub (2016) on the Renaissance, Donoghue (1993b), Hitchcock (1997), and Norton (2006) on the eighteenth century, and Doan (2001), Cocks (2003), and Brady (2005) on the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. This literature also provides the thesis with a necessary grounding in the broader cultural milieux in which the dictionaries and their discourses were produced.

The discourses themselves have served as the main organizing principle of the following chapters. Chapters 1 to 4 overlap in their chronology, each tracing a different cluster of discourses in dictionaries from the sixteenth to the late nineteenth century, though they differ in the weight they give to the periods within this span. Chapter 1 centres on *buggery* and *sodomy*, perhaps the two terms most familiarly associated with same-sex intercourse in pre-twentieth-century English. I attempt to defamiliarize them by comparing the conflicting and polysemous explanations afforded to them across hard-word and general dictionaries, law lexicons, and legal treatises. Though reiteratively constructed as crimes beyond the bounds of divine, natural, and human law, the terms varied in whether they were used to encompass

[10] The minimal overlap between same-sex lexis in hard-word and general dictionaries and that in cant dictionaries, and the lack of a cant equivalent to the *Historical Thesaurus*, meant that no predetermined list of same-sex cant terms could be compiled, and the cant dictionaries examined for the project ultimately had to be read *in toto* in search of pertinent entries.

'copulation' between men, between women, between woman and man 'unnaturally', or between man or woman and beast. At the same time, buggery and sodomy were often rendered not only illegal but incoherent, as cross-sex-specific definitions of *copulation* in turn precluded the very possibility of same-sex activity.

Chapters 2 and 3 examine how representations of same-sex sexuality are inflected by the nationalistic conception of the dictionary as a gatekeeper of English culture as well as language. Chapter 2 begins with the early modern assumption that a nation's character was commensurate with its language, and that the moderate nature of England's language and culture entailed that any 'excess' found in either must be the result of foreign influence. Sexual deviance was defined as both ethically and ethnically remote, a sin practised in the ancient Levant or a heresy of the modern Mediterranean—xenophobic associations that remained in dictionaries into the nineteenth century. Conversely, representations of pederasty and the life of Sappho—the latter most especially in classical dictionaries—reveal sites of tension between the modern veneration of ancient Greece and Rome and the rejection of their pagan sexuality.

Chapter 3 turns to how lexicographers could police the borders of English not only by distancing same-sex practices from English society, but by symbolically disbarring words for those practices from the English language. Though terms for sexuality between women existed in other Early Modern English text types, and in the Latin–English dictionaries drawn on by early monolingual lexicographers, such terms were barely countenanced in hard-word and general dictionaries. This silence spread to sexuality between men as well in Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755), and it remained in many of Johnson's successors for the next century. Yet acts and desires that were inadmissible in dictionaries of 'proper' English would partially re-emerge in lexicons of criminal cant, which encoded a unique

vocabulary for the men-desiring men associated with London's molly houses during the long eighteenth century. However, even cant lexicographers would edge carefully around the existence of women-desiring women.

Chapter 4 considers a more rarefied, technical element of English: the discourse of disease. By the mid-seventeenth century, sexual deviance had become subject to medical as well as juridical and religious regulation in monolingual lexicography. Abominable sexual acts were affiliated with aberrantly sexed bodies: the bestial hypospadian, the anally disfigured sodomite, and—most visible of all—the confricatrix, a woman whose preternaturally large clitoris allowed her to adopt a penetrative role in intercourse with other women. In examining these figures, this chapter interrogates what could be articulated in dictionaries aimed at medical professionals that was absent from hard-word and general lexicography—raising questions of didactic propriety regarding to whom, and for what purposes, certain kinds of knowledge may be transmitted.

The chronology of Chapters 1 to 4 ends before the appearance of the *Oxford English Dictionary* (1884–1928), which forms the subject of Chapter 5. Apart from its temporal scope, this chapter is set apart by the 'data history' of its analysis (Blommaert 2005: 64–65), which combines an assessment of published discourse with archival research. Because Oxford University Press holds a vast collection of papers related to the *OED's* compilation—quotations submitted by volunteer readers to show words in use, draft entries by lexicographers, in-house memoranda, and so on—it is possible to combine an examination of the finished dictionary with an exploration of this preliminary work. The value of the OUP Archives for investigating the construction of the *OED* has been demonstrated in numerous studies, which among them have brought a great wealth of material to light (e.g. contributions in Mugglestone 2000c;

Mugglestone 2005, 2007b, 2013, 2016; Brewer 2005, 2007, 2010; Ogilvie 2013; Gilliver 2016). That there is yet more to uncover is borne out here.[11]

The *OED's* documentation of same-sex lexis far outstripped that of any earlier English dictionary, yet the editors' commitment to descriptivism did not prevent them from reproducing many of the traditional sexual prejudices of their forebears. On the other hand, the *OED's* compilation also coincided with a period in which the study of sexual deviance became a fully-fledged scientific discipline in its own right. The nebulous lexis of previous centuries was joined by an exhaustive new taxonomy—*homosexuality*, *bisexuality*, *inversion*, *uranism*—which the *OED* began to document in its 1933 *Supplement*. At the same time that sexology was gaining dominance in scholarly spheres, counter-discourses began emerging in the writings of same-sex apologists, offering constructions of desire between women and between men that rejected pathologization. We will inspect the extent to which these dissident voices were admitted as quotational authorities into the *OED*.

In the concluding chapter, I consider the legacy of the *OED's* descriptivist turn for present-day English dictionaries, and the sociolinguistic limitations inherent in any lexicographical model whose aim is to document a language as it is commonly and widely used. Though this 'majority rule' approach may seem laudably democratic, I will attempt to demonstrate that it cannot help but peripheralize speakers whose erotic practices or identities—and the language by which they express them—diverge from dominant norms. The thesis closes with a reflection on the implications that this study's approach to performativity and normativity might have for future research in queer linguistics and lexicography.

[11] The work for this chapter was enabled by OUP's Archivist for the *OED*, Beverley McCulloch, who since 2003 has been re-cataloguing the Press's dictionary materials to increase their accessibility to researchers. This largescale project is still underway.

—I—

‘A Sin against God, Nature, and the Law’

Codifying Buggery and Sodomy

In 1618, the legal writer and magistrate Michael Dalton published the first edition of *The Countrey Iustice*, a guide to judicial practice in England. The work proved popular, being reprinted at least thirteen times before the end of the century. Its third edition, issued shortly before the centenary of the Buggery Act 1533, had the following to say about that crime:

> P. fel. 9.
> Exod. 22.19.
> Leuit. 18.23.
>
> Bvggery committed with mankind, or beast, is felony (without benefit of Clergie) 25. *H.*8.6. 5. *Eliz.*17. it being a sinne against God, Nature, and the Law. And in antient times such offendors were to be burned, by the Common Law. *Fitz.* 269.*b.*
>
> One describeth this offence, to be, *Carnalis copula contra naturam, & hec per confusionem* { *Specierum, sc. hōe, ou fēe, ove brute beast.* / *Sexum, sc. hōe, ove hōe, fēe ove feme.*

(Dalton 1626: 273.)

The *Countrey Iustice* was consulted not only by judicial officers but by lexicographers. In 1652, when Edward Leigh published his law dictionary, *A Philologicall Commentary*, he recontextualized Dalton’s remarks on buggery into a definition:

> *There are two Statutes for it,* 25 *H.*8. *revived* 3 *Eliz.* 17. *Fitz. Nat. brev.* 269. *B Dalton.*
>
> *Buggerie* committed with mankind or beast is felony without benefit of Clergy, it being a sin against God, nature, and the Law, and in ancient times such offenders were to be burned by the Common Law.
>
> One describeth this offence to be *carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem specierum*, *sc.* a man or a woman with a brute beast, *vel sexuum*, *sc.* a man with a man, a woman with a woman.

(Leigh 1652.)

While Leigh duly cited Dalton in a marginal note, Thomas Blount would credit neither author when he reproduced Leigh's definition in the 1661 edition of the *Glossographia*, his dictionary of hard English words:[1]

> *Buggerie* (Fr[ench] *Bougrerie*) is described to be *carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem Specierum*, *sc.* a man or a woman with a bruit beast, *vel sexuum*; a man with a man, or a woman with a woman. *See Levit.* 18.22, 23. This offence committed with mankinde or beast is fellony without Clergy; it being a sin against God, Nature, and the Law; And in ancient time such offenders were to be burnt by the Common-Law. 25. *Hen*. 86. 5. *Eliz*. 17. *Fitz. Nat. Br*. 269. My Lord *Coke* (*Rep*. 12. *pag.* 36.) saith, that this word comes from the *Italian*, *Buggerare*, to bugger.
> (Blount 1661.)

Blount's is not the first entry for *buggerie* in a hard-word English dictionary, as we will see, but the *Glossographia's* (1661) definition provides a useful case study because of its expansiveness. Blount had trained as a barrister, and he draws special attention to his dictionary's inclusion of 'Law-Terms' from its first edition onwards (Blount 1656: A3^{r}). Though *buggerie* is not in the first edition, its presence in the 1661 revision is therefore not incongruous. At 104 words, the definition is in keeping with the level of detail Blount (1661) affords to other legal terms, such as *bigamy* (156 words) and *divorce* (242 words). Yet it is more than twice the length of any other definition of *buggery* found in the hard-word and general dictionaries surveyed for this thesis (see Appendix III). As such, it unites certain discursive features that recur less conspicuously, but no less significantly, in treatments of same-sex activity by other lexicographers. The most notable of these is the covert and overt intertextuality of Blount's entry.

Apart from his uncredited sources, Blount invokes biblical and legal authority by pointing to the prohibitions against deviant sex to be found in the laws of the Israelites (Leviticus 18) and

[1] Elsewhere in the *Glossographia*, Blount (1661) does acknowledge his use of Dalton's *Countrey Iustice* (s.v. *conjuration*) and Leigh's *Philologicall Commentary* (s.v. *appeal*).

the English: the Buggery Act of Henry VIII, the statute's re-enactment under Elizabeth I, and the earlier common-law punishment of the crime by burning at the stake, as described in *La nouel natura breuium* (Fitzherbert and Rastell 1609: 269[r]). These authorities had already been cited by Dalton and Leigh; but Blount, writing as a hard-word lexicographer as well as a legal scholar, also provides an etymology of *buggerie* from the *Reports* of the jurist Sir Edward Coke (1656: 36), who traced it to the Italian *buggerare*.[2] The *Glossographia* thus amply demonstrates Mugglestone's (2011: 31) assertion that early English dictionaries can 'appear less as self-standing, independent works than ones which depend on a web of influences and intertextuality'. The entextualization of Blount's *buggerie* entry moves across genres, from two specialist reference works to one intended for a lay audience—demonstrating the capacity of the hard-word dictionary to act as an intermediary text, disseminating elite institutional discourses to the wider public. Dalton wrote *The Countrey Iustice* for justices of the peace, and *A Philologicall Commentary* was recommended to 'young Students in the Law, Justices of Peace, and other Country Gentlemen' (Leigh 1652: A8[r]). The *Glossographia*, on the other hand, was 'chiefly intended for the more-knowing Women, and less-learned Men; or indeed for all such of the illiterate, who can but finde, in an Alphabet, the word they understand not' (Blount 1661: A6[r]).

Yet Blount's choice of usership entails a problem for his definition of *buggerie*. Although the reader learns that buggery is both a sin and a felony, the nature of the act itself is left mostly in unglossed Latin: *'carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem Specierum* […] *vel sexuum'*. This learned formula may have been appropriate in Dalton's and Leigh's legal texts, but it is unsuitable in a dictionary like Blount's, aimed at an audience that 'neither

[2] The concluding citation of Coke oddly contradicts Blount's suggestion at the beginning of the entry that *buggery* comes from 'Fr[ench] *Bougrerie*'. Coke's Italian etymology was likely motivated by xenophobia rather than philology (see Chapter 2).

understand[s] *Greek* nor *Latin*' (Blount 1661: A6^{r}). Still, it would be wrong to regard the formula's occurrence in the *Glossographia* as a simple accident of Blount mechanically copying from his sources. As Mugglestone (2007a: 24) notes, the use of Latin phrases in ostensibly monolingual English dictionaries allowed early lexicographers to obscure obscene material behind 'the decent reticence of a learned tongue', rendering certain definitions inaccessible to the laypeople at whom the dictionaries were principally aimed. Still, even if Blount had translated the Latin description into an English register likely to be understood by his audience—as, perhaps, 'fleshly coupling against nature, and this either by confusion of kinds […] or of sexes'—that would still not have explained the physical mechanics by which the coupling took place. The stipulation in Coke's *Reports* (1656: 37) that a criminal conviction for buggery required evidence of 'penetration and the emission of Seed' would not be reproduced alongside Coke's etymology in the *Glossographia*.

Blount's reluctance to explain the technicalities of buggery is another discursive feature that will be salient throughout this thesis. It offers an early example of the 'dictionary obscurantism' (Moon 1989: 82) that would go on to plague definitions of same-sex intercourse in hard-word and general dictionaries for centuries. Crucially, implicit in the avowed intention of lexicographers like Blount (1661: A3^{v}) to provide dictionary-users with information they 'thought fit for the knowledg of many' is the possibility that the lexicographers would withhold information they deemed to be unfit for a popular audience. Buggery, which was proscribed in word as well as deed—legal records habitually referred to it as a 'sin, amongst Christians not to be named' (Coke 1644: 58)—existed uneasily on the threshold between fit and unfit knowledge. It appears, to adapt a phrase from Butler (1993/2011: x), as an 'excluded and illegible domain that haunts the [intelligible] domain as […] the very limit to intelligibility, its constitutive outside'. However, when placed under a queer lens, it is precisely this liminality

that makes buggery a useful focal point for understanding the normative construction of sexual intercourse at large in the early modern period and after. The 'negative potential of the queer' (Halberstam 2011: 148)—its capacity to rethink the cultural meanings of silence, marginalization, and contradiction—allows us to trace the borders of permissible sexuality from the outside, uncovering their naturalizing discourses and exposing their own incoherencies.

Discourses must be pluralized, for a juridical discourse was of course not the only one evoked in the early modern ethics of sexuality. Blount (1661), following Dalton and Leigh, formulates *buggerie* as 'a sin against God, Nature, and the Law' simultaneously. The framework of these three discourses—the interplay between divine, natural, and human law—undergirds the construction of same-sex intercourse across many dictionaries in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Indeed, despite substantial changes to the scope, target audience, and methodology of hard-word and general lexicons between the appearance of Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* in 1604 and Samuel Johnson's landmark *Dictionary of the English Language* in 1755 (see the Introduction), the codification of *buggery* during this period remained largely static. So did the codification of *buggery's* near-synonym, *sodomy*. This chapter will begin with a detailed study of sodomy and buggery in pre-1755 English dictionaries. We will examine the discursive structures by which the terms were regulated, as well as their polysemous potential to cover a multitude of carnal sins. We will then move on to the paradoxical relationship that existed between buggery and sodomy and the broader sexual terms *copulation* and *to couple*, through which definitions of same-sex intercourse were both constituted and rendered incomprehensible. Finally, we will consider the changes that this lexicographical tradition underwent in the post-Johnsonian dictionaries of the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

The Divine, Natural, and Juridical Trinity

The first English definition of *buggerie* predates the English dictionary. In 1596, Edmund Coote published *The English Schoole-maister*, an educational manual which features, among other learning aids, a table giving the correct spelling of about 1,500 words, many accompanied by concise definitions. One of the words is *buggerie*, 'coniunction with one of the same kind'—an explanation so brief that it leaves unclear that 'kind' denotes sex and not species. Eight years later, Cawdrey drew from Coote's *Schoole-maister* to populate the wordlist of *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604a), inaugurating the hard-word English dictionary. The *Table Alphabeticall* replicates Coote's monosemous *buggery* definition and adds a second sense: 'cōiunction with one of the same kinde, or of men with beasts'. Cawdrey thereby introduces the polysemous potential of *buggery* to the English dictionary, but the obliqueness of his definition, like Coote's, permits the lexicographer to adopt a tone of seeming impartiality. By contrast, Cawdrey's explanation of *sodomitrie* (a word not in Coote's table) as 'when one man lyeth filthylie with another man' is not so indefinite or dispassionate.

That *buggerie* and *sodomitrie* should appear in a dictionary with just over 2,500 headwords may seem curious, given that Cawdrey wrote the *Table Alphabeticall* primarily for ladies and gentlewomen, as its title page proclaims. Yet the title page also explains that the dictionary is meant to aid its users' understanding of words 'vvhich they shall heare or read in Scriptures, Sermons, or elswhere' (Cawdrey 1604a: A1^{r}), and even a polite audience might hear of the sin of sodomy when it was denounced from a pulpit. Cawdrey himself had served as a priest before being defrocked in 1591 for his outspoken Puritanical views (Bately 2004). Outside of his dictionary, his religious writing suggests the utility of instilling virtue by cautioning against vice. Another of his works, *A short and fruitfull Treatise, of the profit and necessitie of Catechising*—a revised edition of which appeared in the same year as the *Table*

Alphabeticall—begins by stressing to its readers the need for 'training vp their children & seruants in the feare and seruice of the Lord', for 'God himselfe highly commendeth *Abraham* for this dutie' (Cawdrey 1604b: v). Cawdrey exemplifies this with God's decision in the Book of Genesis that 'hee would not keepe from [Abraham] that which he ment to doe to the Sodomits, for that hee did know that *Abraham* would commaund his sonnes, and his houshold after him, to keepe the way of the Lord' (v). Cawdrey suggests that it is appropriate, even needful, to pass on some knowledge of sinful acts in order to warn against them. In light of this, '*sodomitrie*, when one man lyeth filthylie with another man' becomes as much a prohibition as a definition, one in accordance with divine commandment.

One might hypothesize that, because of the association of *sodomy* with the biblical destruction of Sodom and *buggery* with the Buggery Act 1533, these two ostensible synonyms should belong to distinct discursive traditions in lexicography: sodomy constructed as a sin against the law of God, buggery as a crime against the law of humankind. A rudimentary means of investigating this is to conduct a quantitative analysis of all the definitions of *buggery* and *sodomy*, and their related word-forms, to be found in a survey of pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries (excluding the proper noun *Sodom* itself, and discounting entries repeated verbatim across multiple editions of the same dictionary). Tables 1.1 and 1.2 below show the results of such a survey, for which sixty-eight relevant entries were found in twenty-five dictionaries. The definition of each entry was read for terms that could be contextually construed as belonging to the semantic field of RELIGION (specifically religious ethics) or of secular LAW. Terms identified in the former category were 'chastity', 'filthylie', 'God', 'heaven', 'lust', 'sin', 'Sodom', and 'wickedness'. Terms in the latter category were 'Common-Law', 'crime(s)', 'criminal', 'felony', 'law', 'offence(s)', and 'offenders'. To this was added a third semantic field, NATURE, represented in the data by the terms 'nature', *'naturam'*, and

'unnatural'. The number of entries containing words from any of these fields is displayed in the tables, with two stipulations. First, a single entry may only be counted once within each field (that is, an entry that contained both 'sin' and 'heaven' would be counted once under RELIGION). Second, a single entry may be counted multiple times across fields (so that an entry which contained both 'sin' and 'crime' would be counted once each under RELIGION and LAW). The second column in each table indicates the overall number of entries found for a particular headword; because some entries contained multiple discourses and so were counted under multiple semantic columns, while other entries contained none of the three discourses, the figures in the semantic columns do not equal the number of entries found.

Table 1.1: Semantic fields of sodomy entries in pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries

Headword	***Entries found***	***Semantic fields***		
		RELIGION	LAW	NATURE
sodomite	14	7	0	1
sodomitical	13	5	2	2
sodomiticalness	2	0	0	0
sodomitrie	1	1	0	0
sodomy	16	13	2	9
Total	46	26 *(56.5%)*	4 *(8.7%)*	12 *(26.1%)*

Table 1.2: Semantic fields of buggery entries in pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries

Headword	***Entries found***	***Semantic fields***		
		RELIGION	LAW	NATURE
bugger, v.	4	0	0	2
buggerer	3	0	0	0
buggery[3]	15	6	4	5
Total	22	6 *(27.3%)*	4 *(18.2%)*	7 *(31.8%)*

The data suggest that within these sematic fields, sodomy is indeed most often defined in religious terms (in 56.5% of the entries) and least often in legal ones (8.7%). Then again, an explicit legal framework is also the category least attested for buggery (18.2%), which is instead most often constituted in terms of (un)naturalness (31.8%)—an association also well-evidenced

[3] In Tables 1.2 and 1.3, *buggery* includes the variant spelling *buggerie*.

in the sodomy entries (26.1%). These findings, though based on a small dataset, complicate an exclusive formulation of sodomy as spiritual sin and buggery as secular crime.

In fact, the quantitative analysis obscures how much overlap exists between discourses of sinfulness, criminality, and unnaturalness in representations of sodomy and buggery. We have already seen evidence outside of hard-word and general lexicography that would trouble an absolute divide between religious and legal domains—in the juristic commentaries that proscribe buggery with Scripture as well as statutes (Dalton 1626: 273) or call it as a 'sin, amongst Christians not to be named' (Coke 1644: 58). The words *sin* and *crime* themselves flit between legal and religious contexts within dictionaries. Blount's *Glossographia* (1661) casts *buggerie* as 'a sin against […] the Law' as well as against God and nature. The potential transgressive breadth of *sin* is reaffirmed by *A New English Dictionary* when it defines the word as 'the violating of Divine or Humane Laws' (J. K. 1702). Meanwhile, Kersey's revision of Phillips's *New World of Words* (1706) explains that a *crime* is a 'foul Deed, Offence, or Fault; great Sin', so that the dictionary's subsequent definition of *sodomitical* as 'belonging to that hainous Crime' may be read as a secular or spiritual condemnation.

Such semantic overlaps abound in the lexicography of same-sex intercourse. One definitional term that was excluded from the above quantitative analysis for this reason was *guilt* and its derivatives. When, for instance, Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) defines *sodomiticalness* as 'Guiltiness of Sodomy', and the anonymous *Pocket Dictionary* (1753) defines *sodomite* as 'One guilty of sodomy', the reader is left to decide whether the guilt in either case is ethical, criminal, or both. Further ambiguity is posed by the explanation of *to bugger* as 'to copulate beastlily' in the second, supplementary volume of Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1727). The supplement has no entry for *beastlily* or *beastly*,

but it explains *beastliness* to be 'the Being like a Beast, Beastiality'. Does 'to copulate beastlily' then indicate that buggery is committed between human and beast, or does it convey the moral repugnance of buggery—a suggestion that, whether one or both participants are human, their behaviour is beastly insofar as they have rejected their human capacity for rational and ethical behaviour? It is humans' ability to reason, after all, that is meant to separate them from the senseless figure of the 'brute beast' so often invoked in lexicographical accounts of *buggery* (e.g. Blount 1661; Kersey 1708; Bailey 1721; Martin 1749).[4]

Allusions to sinfulness, criminality, and unnaturalness cannot be effectively severed in early English dictionaries, because discourses of spiritual, temporal, and natural law were deeply imbricated in early modern thought. They constitute an ideological trinity that has a long history in Western moral philosophy. In the thirteenth-century *Summa Theologica*, Thomas Aquinas writes of three laws—divine (accessible through Scripture), natural (accessible through reason), and human (accessible through civil governance)—which exist as emanations of the eternal law, or the ordering of creation by God (Budziszewski 2014: 58). The links between divine, natural, and human law recur in the juristic writings of Christopher St Germain and Sir Francis Bacon in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (McCabe 1964), as well as in the theological work of Richard Hooker (1593: 51–52). Dalton (1626: 1) begins *The Countrey Iustice* by affirming that it is from 'the Lawes of God, and Nature' that the 'Common Lawes of this Realme of England, receiu[e] principally their grounds'. Within this mutually reinforcing framework, sodomy was not simply a sin against scriptural law and buggery a crime against statutory law. To violate any of these laws was to violate all three.

[4] The association of the buggerer or sodomite with a brute animal was supported by spurious etymology. Theologians from Jerome onwards had proposed that the Hebrew meaning of *Sodoma* might be *'Pecus tacens* […] A silent beast', as Patten's (1575) dictionary of biblical names attests (see further Puff 2003: 54).

Buggery and sodomy were not alone in being constituted as a breach of the 'ordinance of the Creator and order of nature' (Coke 1644: 58). Bray (1995: 25) has argued that in early modern thought, same-sex intercourse in England was 'not a [discrete] sexuality in its own right, but existed as a potential for confusion and disorder in one undivided sexuality'. Anyone could fall prey to the vice of buggery or sodomy, as much as to other sexual acts that resulted from a 'debauched' or excessive sexual appetite. Still, not all transgressions were equally reprehensible, as the natural philosopher John Wilkins demonstrates in his *Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language* (1668). The *Essay*, which aims to lay the groundwork for a universal philosophical language, includes a set of thematic tables that classify the abstract and concrete entities of the world for that purpose, and for which William Lloyd compiled an *Alphabetical Dictionary* (1668) as an indexical reference guide. In the *Essay's* table concerning 'JUDICIAL RELATION', which categorizes criminal offences according to the various principles against which they offend, *sodomy*, *buggery*, and *bestiality* are subclassified as crimes '*against* […] *Chastity*'. So are *adultery*, *fornication*, and *whoredom*, but the former three are classed as 'CRIMES CAPITAL […] such as are or ought to be punished with Death', and the latter are not (Wilkins 1668: 272–273). *Chastity* itself belongs to the class of virtues 'concerning the Moderating of our natural Appetites towards things which concern the Preservation of the […] Species' (Wilkins 1668: 208).

This ethical concern for keeping sexual desire within its 'natural', procreative bounds would recur in dictionaries in the subsequent century. Phillips and Kersey (1706) describe *chastity* as 'a Christian and Moral Vertue, in abstaining from the unlawful Pleasures of the Flesh, and using those that are lawful with Moderation'. Marriage provided the means for regulating sexual behaviour, serving both as an outlet for lust that might otherwise spur one to commit unlawful or unnatural deeds, and as a check against overindulgence in acts that were natural

(cf. Hitchcock 1997: 45). It was moreover a civic duty: an 'honourable Contract that Persons of different Sexes make with one another, whereby they are obligated to live in Love and Harmony together', as Dyche and Pardon (1735) affirm, 'from whence springs the true Benefit of Kingdoms and Commonwealths, by producing Children for their Continuance and Encrease' (s.v. *marriage*).

In early English lexicography, any sexual practice that deviated from this marital ideal was open to censure according to divine, natural, and juridical law. Thus, to *mastuprate* is 'Dishonestly to touch ones priuities' (Cockeram 1623) and *onanism* is 'the Crime of self pollution' (Bailey 1730). *Concubinage* is 'the keeping a Whore for his own filthy use, an unlawful use of another woman instead of one's wife' (Blount 1656), and *fornication* is 'The Act of Uncleanness or carnal Conversation between single or unmarried Persons of both Sexes' (Dyche and Pardon 1735). *Incest* is 'vnlawfull copulation of man and woman within the degrees of kinred […] forbidden by gods law' (Cawdrey 1604a), while *Polygamists* are 'a sort of Christian Hereticks, who said it was lawful for a Man to have as many Wives as he pleased' (*Glossographia Anglicana Nova* 1707). Taken together, such definitions—with their disapproving allusions to dishonesty, unlawfulness, uncleanness, and heresy—circumscribe the boundaries of legal, ethical, and natural sexual behaviour. In so doing, they implicitly construct a morally and semantically positive model of sex within those bounds: honest, lawful, clean, and orthodox intercourse is between two differently sexed people, procreative, non-consanguineous, marital, and monogamous.

Then again, as Kulick (2005: 622) points out, every admonition contains its own inversion. In proscribing certain sexual acts, dictionaries also unavoidably draw attention to the acts' practicability. To denounce masturbation and premarital or extramarital sex is to acknowledge

that they are possible. These counter-models destabilize, in the very process of their construction, the norms enjoined by dictionaries. A sexual ideal cannot be natural if it must be enforced; it cannot be inevitable if alternative behaviours exist. The same unsettling potential is inherent in definitions of *buggery* and *sodomy*. Yet while the above transgressions (excepting masturbation) are overtly conceptualized as acts committed between the sexes, the participatory scope of buggery and sodomy—the subjects who could commit a sexual act for it to qualify as one or the other—proved an additional site of instability for lexicographers.

Sexual Polysemies

Buggery and *sodomy* are words open to 'cornucopian interpretation' (Conner 1997: 131), variably used in the early modern period to signify sex between men, between women, between man and beast, between woman and beast, and between woman and man in an 'unnatural' manner (see Bray 1995: 14; Hitchcock 1997: 61). In some ways, they offer a degree of 'definitional intractability' similar to uses of *queer* at the turn of the twenty-first century (McConnell-Ginet 2002: 138)—although *buggery* and *sodomy* have not undergone a popular process of affirmative reclamation, and they remain stigmatizing terms. Nevertheless, it is ironic that the capacity of these words to be read in a cornucopia of disruptive ways lies partly in an early legislative reticence to clarify precisely what the terms were intended to mean.

When the Buggery Act of Henry VIII made buggery a felony, it did not describe the nature of the act beyond that it was a 'detestable and abhominable vice […] committed with mankind or beast' (*The vvhole volume of statutes at large* 1587: 25 Hen. 8 c. 6). The sex of the agent committing the act was not specified, and whether 'mankind' was meant to include women

would be contested for centuries.[5] When Sir Edward Coke (1644: 58) proposed that buggery could be 'committed by carnall knowledge […] by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by womankind with bruite beast', the use of 'womankind' apparently restricted 'mankind' to men, so that the possibility of buggery committed between woman and man, or between women, was dismissed. Yet a century later, the justice John Fortescue Aland (1748: 94) argued for a more expansive reading of the Buggery Act, noting that it specified 'not *Man* but *Mankind*, which has a very different meaning […] tak[ing] in, all the Species of Man, whether Male or Female, Boys or Girls'.[6] Fortescue himself had advised on a disturbing case, *Rex v. Wiseman* (1716), in which a man who had anally raped a young girl was found guilty of buggery, though not all of the other consulted justices had agreed with this verdict (Fortescue Aland 1748: 91–92). Similar legal disputes arose around the semantic range of *sodomy*, a word used in common law though not in the Buggery Act. The serjeant-at-law Sir Henry Finch (1627: 219) explained 'Sodomitrie' to be 'a carnall copulation against nature, to wit, of man or womā in the same Sexe, or of either of them with beasts'. Conversely, Coke (1656: 36–37) argued that while 'Buggary' might be committed 'with Man-kind, or Beast', 'Sodomy is with Man-kind' only. Fortescue Aland (1748: 95), who drew no distinction between the terms, ascribed to *sodomy* a diverse taxonomy: 'Sodomy is the Genus, [which] with a Man is only a Species, and with a Woman, is another Species, and so with a Boy or Girl, is another Species, and with a Beast another Species'.

By contrast, early modern law dictionaries offer a surprising degree of consensus. While certain law lexicographers avoid the problem of definition entirely by omitting entries for *buggery* and

[5] Notably, the Great Bible of 1539, authorized by Henry VIII, uses an implicitly gender-restricted sense of *mankind* to translate Leviticus 18:22: 'Thou shalt not lye wyth mākynde as wyth womankynde, for it is abominacion.'
[6] Fortescue Aland (1748: 95) justified his argument by pointing to the Anglo-Saxon root of *mankind* in the *Dictionarium Saxonico-Latino-Anglicum* of William Somner (1659), which translates *Man-cyn* as 'humanum genus' [human race].

sodomy from their wordlists (e.g. Cowell 1607; Rastell and Rastell 1624), from Leigh's *Philologicall Commentary* (1652) onwards, legal definitions of *buggery* that encompass 'a man or a woman with a brute beast […] a man with a man, a woman with a woman' become the norm. This interspecies and intragender range is repeated by Thomas Blount not only in the *Glossographia* (1661) but in his own law dictionary, the *Νομο-γεξικομ* (1670), as well as in the revisions of Cowell's *Interpreter* by Manley (1672) and Kennett (1701) and in the anonymous *Student's Law-Dictionary* (1740)—the last of which alone has an entry for *sodomy* (a simple cross-reference to *buggery*). The pattern is disrupted, in part, by Giles Jacob's *New Law-Dictionary* (1729). Possibly in response to *Rex v. Wiseman* (1716), Jacob's (1729) definition of '*Buggery*, or *Sodomy*' omits the potential pairing of a woman with a woman and replaces it with 'Man with a Woman'. Later, this cross-sex coupling was perhaps perceived to be regrettably broad, because the dictionary's fifth edition (Jacob 1744) amends the wording to 'Man unnaturally with a Woman'.

No such near-unanimous verdict is reached in the fifteen definitions of *buggery* collected from contemporaneous hard-word and general dictionaries. Eight specify the same three potential pairings: men with each other, or a woman or man with an animal (Phillips and Kersey 1706; *GAN* 1707; Kersey 1708; J. K. 1713; Bailey 1721, 1730; Martin 1749; *A Pocket Dictionary* 1753). Wilkins's philosophical tables (1668: 272), cited by Lloyd's dictionary (1668), allow that *buggery* may be committed with 'with *Beasts* : or *Males*', but they do not stipulate the gender of the committing partner, leaving open the possibility of buggery between woman and man as well as between men.[7] Cawdrey's (1604a) statement that *buggerie* is a 'cōiunction with one of the same kinde, or of men with beasts' leaves unclear whether 'men', without a contrastive use of 'women', should be read in a restricted male sense or in an ostensibly generic, genderless

[7] The following section takes up the problem of agentless sexual definitions.

sense. A similar ambiguity is posed by the first part of Cawdrey's definition: 'one of the same kinde' could encompass sex between women as well as between men. If Cawdrey meant to include the former, he would be in the minority. Only two of the non-specialist dictionaries explicitly comprehend intercourse between women under *buggery*: Blount (1661) and the second edition of Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (1754), which expands the first edition's semantic range ('sodomy, or sin against nature, as one man having copulation with another; or a man or woman with brute beasts') to 'one man coupling with another; one woman with another woman; or a man or woman with brute beasts'. Of the three remaining definitions of *buggery*, Bullokar (1663) and J. K. (1702) enumerate no pairings, and Defoe (1735) curtails the act simply to 'one Man's copulating with another'. *Buggery* in hard-word and general dictionaries thus spans a range of behaviours, though some more typically than others.

Conversely, the scope of *sodomy* appears to be more limited. None of the sixteen hard-word and general dictionaries that define it make mention of interspecies sex. When its human actors are explicitly gendered, they are male: *sodomy* is 'Masculine Venery' (Bullokar 1663), 'Male venery' (Cocker 1704), or 'men's lying with men' (Wesley 1753). Elsewhere, *sodomy* is described as the 'unnatural coupling of one Man with another' (Dyche and Pardon 1735; *A Pocket Dictionary* 1753), where again 'Man' without a contrastive use of 'woman' could hypothetically also encompass sex between women and between woman and man 'unnaturally'. Nevertheless, the gendering of the participants in an act of sodomy exists against the backdrop of the biblical account of Sodom, allusions to which are commonplace in dictionaries.[8] Blount (1656) invokes biblical doctrine to explain that *sodomy* was 'so called from the City *Sodom* in *Judæa*, which for that detestable sin was destroyed with fire from heaven. *Gen.* 19'. The same chapter of Genesis is cited in the fourth edition of Bullokar's

[8] The xenophobic implications of the story of Sodom are returned to in Chapter 2.

English Expositor (1654), where the reviser notes that a *sodomite* is 'One guilty of that filthy sin of Sodom, mentioned Gen. 19. 5. thence called *Sodomy*'. Dictionary-users who consulted the relevant verse would read—as the 1611 King James Bible relates—that the men of Sodom 'called vnto Lot, and said vnto him, Where are the men which came in to thee this night: bring them out vnto vs, that we may know them'. Phillips and Kersey (1706) summarize the biblical account in explaining *sodomy* to be 'Buggery, a Sin of the Flesh against Nature, so call'd because it was notoriously committed by the Inhabitants of the City of Sodom', a definition repeated more or less verbatim by Kersey (1708), J. K. (1713), Bailey (1721, 1730), and Martin (1749). Maleness is not explicitly ascribed to Sodom's inhabitants in any of these definitions, though attempted sex between males is at the heart of the story in Genesis.

On the other hand, just before invoking the story of Sodom, Phillips's and Kersey's (1706) definition presents the possibility of a broader semantic range for *sodomy* when read cross-referentially. If *sodomy* is 'Buggery', and *buggery* can in turn be committed by 'one Man with another, or […] a Man or Woman with a brute Beast', does it follow that any or all of these couplings could also be enacted under the name of *sodomy*? Alternatively, 'buggery' used in a definition of *sodomy* could be read not as a synonym but as a genus term or hypernym, a broader category of sexual acts of which *sodomy* is but one member. This seems to be the case in Lloyd's dictionary (1668) as it cross-refers to Wilkins's tables (1668: 272); there, *buggery* is classified twice, beside 'SODOMY' and beside 'BESTIALITY'. For Wilkins, *buggery* appears to function as a hypernym for both, whereas *sodomy* refers only to '*unnatural coition* […] with […] *Males*' and *bestiality* to coition with *'Beasts'*. Yet other dictionaries do not conform to this hierarchical model. The sixth edition of Bullokar's *English Expositor* (1663) and the first edition of J. K.'s *New English Dictionary* (1702) both gloss *buggery* simply as 'sodomy', and similar definitional uses of 'sodomy' recur in the *buggery* entries in Defoe (1735) and Martin

(1749, 1754). These instances suggest that, for some lexicographers, the semantic relation between *sodomy* and *buggery* is one of synonymy rather than hyponymy, entailing that both are capable of signifying sexual activity between men, between humans and animals, and, sometimes, between women.

The Limits of Legitimacy

As to how sexual activity between women or between men physically took place, early lexicographers' aversion to specificity has already been observed. In defining *sodomy*, none of the surveyed dictionaries are as explicit, in Latin or English, as Fortescue Aland's (1748: 95) learned description of the act as *'rem veneream habere in Ano'* [to have a venereal affair (literally, a venereal thing) in the anus]. The dictionary-user is more likely to encounter semantic dead-ends and roundabouts. Phillips (1658) and Coles (1676) respectively explain *sodomitical* and *sodomy* in terms of 'buggery', but neither gives a definition of *buggery* itself. In the sixth edition of Bullokar's *English Expositor* (1663), the definition of *buggery* hinges on 'Sodomy', that of *sodomy* on 'Masculine Venery, buggery'. Users who wish to escape this circularity by turning to the definition of *venery* are told that it means 'Hunting; sometime fleshly wantonness'—which, depending on the sense they choose, could leave them with a wildly inaccurate idea of what it is sodomites do. Yet this definitional trail also demonstrates that lexicographers' impasses over sex are not limited to its deviant varieties.

After explaining *buggerie* as 'cōiunction with one of the same kinde, or of men with beasts', Cawdrey (1604a) defines *coniunction* only as 'ioyning together'. *Copulation* is likewise merely 'ioyning, or coupling together', a definition that is partly or wholly reiterated by Bullokar (1616), Cockeram (1623), Phillips (1658), and Coles (1676). Lloyd (1668), conversely, equates

copulation with 'Coition', and cross-refers the latter to Wilkins's tables (1668: 234), where it is subclassified under *'Propagation of the Species'*. In a similar vein, Phillips and Kersey (1706), after defining *copulation* as the standard 'coupling, or joyning together', afford the word another, narrower sense: 'carnal coupling between Male and Female'. That phrase is repeated verbatim in entries for *copulation* in Kersey (1708), Bailey (1721, 1730), and Defoe (1735). Comparable senses appear in other dictionaries: *copulation* is 'the Act of Generation between Male and Female' (Dyche and Pardon 1735; *A Pocket Dictionary* 1753), or 'carnal copulation [sic] between male and female' (Martin 1749). Meanwhile, Phillips and Kersey (1706) explain *to couple* as 'to joyn together, to do the Act of Generation', and the generative nature of the verb is likewise highlighted by Kersey (1708), Bailey (1721, 1730), and Martin (1749). Thus, from the moment *copulation* and *to couple* are defined as carnal acts in English lexicography, they are performatively constructed as occurring between the sexes only, either by their direct assignment to a male and female pairing or by their curtailment to an act of propagation. This does leave the terms broad enough to encompass certain deviant forms of cross-sex intercourse—such as adultery, fornication, and incest—although procreative stipulations implicitly restrict the scope of sex to penovaginal penetration, discounting any other acts.

Still, none of these definitions speaks plainly about even penovaginal sex. One might infer, then, that the obscurantism with which early lexicographers treat the mechanics of *buggery* and *sodomy* reflects not a refusal to articulate same-sex intercourse per se, but a reticence to write candidly about any form of sexual behaviour. The inference cannot be dismissed, but it can be complicated. Kersey shows no hesitation in explaining that the *ejaculatory vessels* 'serve to discharge the *Semen* in the Act of Copulation', or that the *uterus* is 'the Matrice or Womb of a Woman […] where the Acts of Generation and Conception are perform'd' (Phillips and Kersey

1706). It is true that *uterus* and *ejaculatory vessels* belong to an elite medical register, which is often afforded a greater degree of definitional candour than demotic vocabulary.[9] But *coition* and *copulation* could equally be defined in medical terms, and the fact that they are not should not be dismissed out of hand as lexicographical squeamishness. On the other hand, *buggery* belongs to its own elite (juridical) register in which, as we have seen, its penetrative nature was specified by such authorities as Coke and Fortescue. A lexicographer trained in the law, such as Blount, would presumably have had some knowledge of the crime's physicality. In fact, any lexicographer who had received a classical education that included, for instance, Martial's epigrams would have had some idea of the potential mechanisms of sex between men, as well as between women (see Sullivan 1991: ch. 5). While it is possible that some early lexicographers were impeded from defining *buggery* and *sodomy* frankly because of their own uncertainty about how these acts were performed, it is improbable that all of them were so ignorant.

Yet perhaps the instances of under-specification that lexicographers like Phillips and Kersey (1706) show in treating *copulation* and *buggery* are not interchangeable. 'There is not one but many silences,' as Foucault (1978: 27) asserts. In early dictionaries, there is the silence of prohibited knowledge: that which must not be spoken because it is unspeakable. But there is also the silence of what Traub (2016: 143) calls 'presumptive knowledge': that which need not be said because it goes without saying. Thus, Phillips and Kersey (1706) describe a *cloke* as 'a well known Garment' without naming the part of the body on which it is worn, and explain a *clock* as 'a well known Instrument, or Device to measure Time with', without specifying the mechanisms of its measurement. Is the dictionary's subsequent failure to explain the parts and

[9] Compare Bailey's (1721) veiled explanations of *cunt*, *tutty*, and *tuzzimuzzy* as *'Pudendum Muliebre'* [Female Pudendum] with his definition of *vulva*, 'the Womb or Matrix; also the Womb-Passage or Neck of the Womb'. Medical representations of sexuality are returned to in Chapter 4.

mechanisms involved in *copulation* the result of obscurantism, or of the normative assumption that its penovaginal nature is so self-evident that it needs no explanation?

However such definitions of *copulation* are interpreted, when they are read beside definitions of same-sex intercourse, they become entangled in a conceptual crisis—one example of how sodomy, called 'that utterly confused category' by Foucault (1978: 101), also 'acts to confuse other categories' (Salih 2002: 113). Kersey himself describes *buggery* as 'the Coupling of one Man with another, or of a Man or Woman with a brute Beast' (Phillips and Kersey 1706). How is this to be interpreted in light of *to couple*, 'to joyn together, to do the Act of Generation'? The generative sense of *to couple* might be applicable to the union of a man or woman with a beast, if viewed from an early modern perspective in which monstrous births resulting from human–animal intercourse were still seen as possible—though this belief was losing traction among scholars by the close of the seventeenth century (Bates 2005: 119). Still, the procreative sense of *to couple* does not allow for 'the coupling of one Man with another'. It is admittedly possible to place sex between men under Phillips's and Kersey's (1706) first, broader sense of *to couple*, 'to joyn together', but that would be a gross under-specification. One man can join with another for any number of activities that do not constitute *buggery*. It is also easy to find dictionaries in which there is even less leeway for interpretation. The *Glossographia Anglicana Nova's* (1707) definition of *buggery* as 'a Copulation of Man or Woman with Brute Beasts; or of one Man with another' is illegitimated by the dictionary's bald declaration that *copulation* is 'the Conjunction of Male and Female'. Equally contradictory are Defoe's (1735) explanations of *buggery* ('one Man's copulating with another') and *to copulate* ('as in the Act of Generation [sic]').

In these definitions, sexual intercourse is sex between man and woman; the concepts are coextensive. As a result, *copulation* is paradoxically both the antonym and the hypernym of *buggery*—or, to put it in Sedgwick's (1990: 10) terms, *buggery* is 'constituted as at once internal and external' to *copulation*. On one hand, sexual normativity cannot prescribe one form of behaviour (generative cross-sex intercourse) without proscribing another ('degenerate' same-sex intercourse): a norm is given shape equally by what it encompasses and what it excludes. On the other hand, because cross-sex intercourse is naturalized, it becomes the default category, a universal lens through which all sexual behaviour must be viewed and made sense of. The consequence of these conflicting forces is to position buggery as simultaneously illegal—beyond the framework of divine, natural, and human law—and incoherent, because that framework is founded on, and inseparable from, a model of sex as inherently penovaginal and reproductive.

In tandem with its cross-sex normativity, this model can be markedly androcentric, as becomes evident when other terms for sexual intercourse are considered. Cockeram (1623) obliquely defines *subagitate* as 'To solicite, to haue to doe with a woman'; Phillips (1658) affirms that *subagitation* is 'a driving to and fro; also a solliciting, also a knowing a woman carnally'. To *subagitate* is still 'to have to do with a Woman' a century later in Bailey (1721, 1730) and Martin (1749), though both lexicographers resort to more formal diction when they note that the demotic term *to swive* means 'to copulate with a Woman'. In addition, Bailey is the first general lexicographer to encode the sexual sense of *occupying*, 'carnal Copulation with a Woman' (Bailey 1727, 1730), and *to fuck*, sanitized in Latin as *'Fœminam Subagitare'* [to subagitate a woman] (Bailey 1721, 1730). Taken together, all of these definitions recall Catharine MacKinnon's (1989: 124) famous declaration on the sexual and linguistic objectification of women: 'Man fucks woman; subject verb object.' This paradigm might be less vividly

expressed in discourse-analytic terms as a 'transitive Agent–Process–Affected relation' (Fairclough 2003: 144). The dictionary entries, which are framed in infinitive and nominal phrases, have no formal subject or agent, but a woman is the affected object of all of them. Subagitating, swiving, fucking, and occupying cannot, by definition, be performed upon a man. One upshot of this is that the possibility of sex between men under any of these terms is syntactically foreclosed.

Of course, the above definitions are performative rather than reflective of how sexual verbs were always used in actual discourse. In 'The Disabled Debauchee', a poem composed before 1673 and attributed to the Earl of Rochester, the male speaker reminds his female lover of the times when they would bring a boy into their trysts, 'And the best Kiss was the deciding Lot, / Whether the Boy Fuck'd you, or I the Boy' (Wilmot 2010: 80). In 1728, an exposé of London's criminal underworld alleged that there existed a secret club of sodomites who would gather together and perform a bawdy song whose verses included: 'We'll kiss and we'll Sw—e, / *Behind* we will drive' (Dalton 1728: 42). Such lexical usages—whether or not these particular instances were ever truly uttered by men who had sex with men—belie the semantic limits of *fuck* and *swive* in general dictionaries: the definitions misrepresent both the range of sexual acts practicable in the early modern period and the terms available to denote them. Yet like the mute 'brute beasts' with which they are so often paired, buggerers have no linguistic autonomy in early dictionaries, any more than in legal texts. As Barrell (1983: 113) remarks of the parallels between language and the law in Georgian England, 'some members of the language community were enfranchised, and could use their voice in making the laws which bound them, and some were not'. Most buggerers were not enfranchised subjects who spoke for themselves in public discourse, but objects spoken about—even if, ironically, this entailed that male buggerers were not recognized as the possible objects of general sexual verbs in dictionaries.

The formal constraints on female buggerers—whose sexual deviance was compounded by their subordinated gender—are different. Significantly, the agentless phrasing of dictionary definitions of sexual verbs entails that the person who does subagitate, swive, fuck, or occupy a woman remains formally ungendered. This is surely a manifestation of lexicographic androcentrism, the 'masculine pos[ing] as a disembodied universality' (Butler 1990/1999: 17), whereby a male viewpoint is tacitly assumed even when a male agent is absent. With the exception of the anonymous works (e.g. *GAN* 1707; *A Pocket Dictionary* 1753), all of the pre-1755 hard-word and general dictionaries surveyed here were ostensibly compiled by men. Yet even beyond the masculine bias of these particular texts, Strainchamps (1971: 248) has argued that androcentrism is so inescapably embedded in the verbs *fuck*, *swive*, and *occupy* themselves that any lexicographer who does not define them as exclusively taking a male subject has misrepresented how these words have historically been used to objectify women.

Nonetheless, the lack of an explicitly gendered subject in these early definitions does allow for what Traub (2002: 125) might call a 'potential for female erotic agency from within the confines of patriarchal ideology', even if the potential is unintentional. Despite the hegemony of the 'man fucks woman' model, it was not a syntactic impossibility for sexual verbs and their derivatives to take a female subject in Early Modern English. For one thing, there is linguistic evidence of women 'occupying' men in witness statements made in early modern church courts (Foyster 1999/2014: 73, cited in Traub 2016: 185). For another thing, bilingual dictionaries sometimes acknowledged models of erotic agency that their monolingual counterparts did not. John Florio's Italian–English lexicon, *A Worlde of Wordes* (1598), translates the verb phrase *menar le calcole* as 'to be a free whore, to occupye freely', and the feminine noun *fottitrice* as

'a woman fucker, swiuer, sarder, or iaper'.[10] (The latter is itself suggestively ambiguous: the modifier 'woman' classifies the gender of the *fottitrice*, but it could also be read as identifying the partners whom the *fottitrice* fucks, swives, sards, or japes.) In light of such usages, could the reader of an agentless definition of *fuck*, *occupy*, *swive*, or *subagitate* in a monolingual English dictionary perhaps read in a female agent instead of a male one?

The question is of particular salience for dictionaries that were addressed at least partly to a female audience. Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* (1623: A1^{r}) was intended for a readership that included 'Ladies and Gentlewomen', and Dyche's and Pardon's *New General English Dictionary* (1735: A3^{v}) was 'particularly recommended to those Boarding Schools, where *English* only is taught, as is the Case commonly among the Ladies'. The appellation *lady* itself is fraught with expectations of class and propriety, even if by the seventeenth century the word was broadening to encompass women of lower social ranks (Nevalainen 1999: 439). What, then, was a lady meant to make of the assertion that to *subagitate* is 'To solicite, to haue to doe with a woman' (Cockeram 1623), or that to *swive* is 'To be familiar with, or carnally know a Woman' (Dyche and Pardon 1735)? She might bypass the question of agency and simply identify with the syntactic object, the passivized woman. Or she could adopt the masculine perspective of the lexicographers and construct a male subject—and subjectivity—for the verb, and in so doing 'immasculate' herself (Fetterley 1978: xx) by empathetically crossing the gender divide. Or, in a more radical act, she could read the unspecified agent as female, and thereby imaginatively transgress the bounds of lawful sexuality. Arguably, the cross-sex normativity and androcentrism underpinning these definitions others or queers the female

[10] Traub (2016: 185) cites a similar quotation attributed to Florio (1598) under *occupy* in the *OED3*: 'A good wench, one that occupies freely.' However, the *OED3's* evidence is second-hand. It notes (as of 14 May 2020) that the quotation was copied from Farmer's and Henley's Victorian dictionary, *Slang and Its Analogues Past and Present* (1890–1904). Farmer and Henley do not specify from where in Florio's dictionary the quotation was extracted, and I have been unable to find it in the original.

dictionary-user however she interprets them. Yet they also serve as a reminder that the reading of a text is itself not a passive practice: interpretations may be 'compliant', 'resistant', or 'deviant', though to some extent they are 'constrained by the semiotic patterns of the text' (Stillar 1998: 112–113). Of course, reading the semiotic patterns of a dictionary's definitions depends upon their being made available by the lexicographer in the first place. This would be complicated in the case of *buggery* and *sodomy* from the mid-eighteenth century onwards.

Unlawful Entries after 1755

In his influential *Commentaries on the Laws of England*, Sir William Blackstone (1769: 215–216) described 'the *infamous crime against* nature, committed either with man or beast' as 'a crime not fit to be named', for 'the very mention of [it] is a disgrace to human nature'. This act of preterition is similar to Coke's (1644: 58) classing of 'Buggery' as a 'sin, amongst Christians not to be named' a century before—except that unlike his forebear, Blackstone followed his own proscription. While *buggery* and *sodomy* are listed in the index to the *Commentaries*, neither word occurs in Blackstone's description of the offence. In the following decades, this self-imposed censorship spread to the court proceedings of the Old Bailey. Cases of sex (or attempted sex) between men began to be recorded less as 'sodomy' or 'buggery', as they had routinely been before, and more under such euphemisms as 'an unnatural crime' or the filleted form 'b——y'.[11] And while, for instance, the popular trade in pamphlets describing adultery trials flourished from the 1780s onwards (Hitchcock 1997: 16), the distribution of pamphlets concerning buggery trials 'virtually ceased after 1800' (Brady 2005: 54). These textual lacunae

[11] Examples of censored expressions may be found in the digitized archives of the *Old Bailey Proceedings Online* (2003–). For 'an unnatural crime', see 24 February 1790, trial of Joseph Bacon and Richard Briggs (reference number t17900224-76); 4 December 1793, trial of William Green and James Harrison (t17931204-52); 4 April 1836, trial of William Patey and William Houston (t18360404-1082). For 'b——y', see 23 November 1846, trial of Henry Etherington (t18461123-138); 4 March 1850, trial of Thomas Morgan (t18500304-683); 8 June 1863, trial of Henry Lamb Pearce (t18630608-812).

did not correspond to any judicial lapse. Cocks (2003: ch. 1) demonstrates a steady increase in committals per capita for buggery and related offences in England from the 1780s to the 1850s (in line with a surge in prosecutions for all manner of crimes, owing to changes in the extent to which the judicial system was able to police the private sphere as well as the public). Juridical gestures towards erasing the words *buggery* and *sodomy* thus went hand in hand with attempts at eradicating the act.

By the time Blackstone (1769: 215) had called same-sex intercourse a crime unfit to be named, 'of a still deeper malignity' than 'rape', both *buggery* and *sodomy* had been omitted from Samuel Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755). It is the first general English dictionary to include neither term, though allusions to the act can be found elsewhere in the dictionary. Under *rape* (1.), in fact, a quotation from Milton's *Paradise Lost* reads: 'Witness that night / In Gibeah, when the hospitable door / Expos'd a matron, to avoid worse *rape*.' The worse rape in question was, as biblically knowledgeable readers would have known, that of a man by men (Judges 19:24). The sense of *rape* that the quotation is meant to illustrate in the dictionary, 'Violent defloration of chastity', is seemingly vague enough to encompass sex between men. Yet Johnson defines *defloration* (1.) in turn as 'The act of deflouring; the taking away of a woman's virginity', which complicates the possibility of a male victim. Johnson's four-word explanation of *rape* may be contrasted with the definition of the word provided by the last dictionary surveyed for this chapter: Charles Annandale's four-volume revision of John Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary of the English Language* (1882–1883). Annandale, writing with encyclopaedic expansiveness, allocates ninety words to defining the sexual sense of *rape*, explaining it to be 'carnal knowledge of a woman forcibly and against her will', and enumerating the various punishments for the crime in England and Scotland depending on the age of the victim. *Sodomy*, by contrast, is dealt with by the *Imperial Dictionary* in nine words:

'The crime of Sodom; a carnal copulation against nature.' Like Johnson, Annandale does not even afford *buggery* an entry.

While the 127 years between Johnson's and Annandale's dictionaries constitute a period of significant change in the legal codification of buggery and sodomy in England, as will be seen, their treatment in English lexicography is not nearly as elaborate as it had been in the previous century and a half. Despite the burgeoning number of general dictionaries being produced from the 1750s onwards, definitions of *buggery* become rarer, definitions of *sodomy* more reticent. Table 1.3 demonstrates the statistical decrease in entries for these headwords in a survey of sixty-seven hard-word and general dictionaries that began publication between 1604 and 1754 (twenty-two dictionaries in all) or between 1755 and 1883 (forty-five, including Hunter 1879–1888). Unlike Tables 1.1 and 1.2, Table 1.3 represents only first editions of dictionaries (except where these have been unobtainable) and later editions revised by a different lexicographer (e.g. both Johnson's 1755 dictionary and Todd's 1818 revision of Johnson are included).

Table 1.3: Frequency of buggery and sodomy in hard-word and general dictionaries, 1604–1883

Entries	*1604–1754 (22 dictionaries)*	*1755–1883 (45 dictionaries)*
buggery	12 *(54.5%)*	7 *(15.6%)*
sodomy	14 *(63.6%)*	26 *(57.8%)*

Whereas 54.5% of the surveyed dictionaries published before 1755 include an entry for *buggery*, the number drops to 15.6% thereafter. Entries for *sodomy*, while increasing in raw numbers, nonetheless experience a slight decline in frequency from 63.6% to 57.8%. The decreasing documentation of same-sex lexis in general after the mid-eighteenth century, and the sociolinguistic reasons for this, will be explored at length in Chapter 3. For now, it suffices to notice that when *buggery* and *sodomy* are defined in dictionaries after 1755, it is almost always in terms more evasive than those encountered in prior decades. The *Linguæ Britannicæ Vera*

Pronunciatio (1757) by James Buchanan, published just after Johnson (1755), conforms to the pattern of the earlier period by observing that *buggery* and *sodomy* both comprehend the unnatural union 'of one man with another'. The anonymous *New English Dictionary* (1759) does the same for *buggery*. After 1759, none of the collected definitions of these terms refers explicitly to a same-sex pairing again until 1861.

Indeed, during this century-long gap, definitions of *sodomy* do not afford it any clear sexual dimension at all. As in the court records of the Old Bailey, *sodomy* is overwhelmingly euphemized as an 'unnatural crime' (Marchant and Gordon 1760; *A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* 1785; Earnshaw 1816; Maunder 1830; Clarke 1855), 'unnatural sin' (Ash 1775), 'sin of the flesh against nature' (Fisher 1773; Barclay 1774), or 'crime against nature' (Knowles 1835; Boag 1848; Craig 1849; Ogilvie 1850). Similar framings of the act as a violation of spiritual, natural, and temporal laws were of course rife in pre-1755 dictionaries; yet while these would sometimes define *sodomy* without any overt mention of sexual content, its sexuality was made clear by cross-reference to *buggery*. After the 1750s, entries for *buggery* are few and far between. The next surveyed dictionary to include one is *The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1775) by the Baptist minister John Ash, who dispatched it with a three-word definition: 'An unnatural intercourse.' Ash's (1775) explanation of *intercourse* as 'Communication, commerce, exchange' offers little in the way of clarity.[12]

The next collected definition of *buggery* is from 1831, the year in which the first volume of Noah Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language* was published in London.

[12] As curt as it is, Ash's (1775) *buggery* definition antedates the earliest attestation of *intercourse* in the sense of 'Sexual connection' in the *OED Online*, which (as of 14 May 2020) is from 1803.

Webster's is not a British dictionary (though *American* was dropped from the title of the reissue), but its influence on British lexicography is significant enough that it warrants some attention here.[13] Whereas Webster's explanation of *sodomy* follows the post-1750s tendency towards asexual imprecision ('A crime against nature'), his definition of *buggery* recalls those of an earlier age by listing the potential participants in the act: 'The unnatural and detestable crime of carnal intercourse of man or woman with a beast; or of human beings unnaturally with each other. Sodomy. *Encyc.*' Still, while Webster specifies that buggery with a beast may be committed by 'man or woman', the gendered pairings that might be involved in buggery between people are subsumed under the genderless phrase 'human beings unnaturally with each other'.

Here, Webster departs from his cited source, the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, which had been reprinted in the United States in 1798. Although (in another instance of bibliographical nationalism) the American reprint had removed *Britannica* from its title, its article for *buggery* still makes reference to the statutory law of early modern England, and explains the crime to be 'unnatural copulation […] either [by] a man or woman with a brute beast; or […] a man with a man, or a man unnaturally with a woman' (Dobson 1798). Coincidentally, this was identical to the post-revolutionary scope of the sodomy law in the state of Connecticut—where Webster chiefly lived while composing his dictionary, and where he had been admitted to the bar and practised law before turning to literary pursuits (Allen 1909: 2–4).[14] Webster could thus have reproduced the *Encyclopædia's* description of the human couplings possible under *buggery*—man and man, woman and man 'unnaturally'—without alteration. As such, his partial degendering of the entry does not live up to his claim that 'legal terms are defined, it is

[13] See Micklethwait (2000) for the compilation and reception of Webster's *American Dictionary*, first published in the United States in 1828.
[14] Although *The Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut* (1821: 163) referred to *sodomy* rather than *buggery*, the terms were used interchangeably in the state's trial records (see e.g. Steenburg 2005: 124–125).

believed, with technical precision' in his dictionary (Webster 1731: A2[r]). His twenty-five-word *buggery* definition may be contrasted with his entry for *adultery*, whose 140-word-long primary sense includes a detailed explanation of the distinctions between female and male adulterers and fornicators under Connecticut's legal code. Of course, by effacing the genders of the participants in non-bestial *buggery* under the ambiguous phrase 'human beings', Webster's definition ironically broadens the potential queer scope of the word to encompass acts that the *Encyclopaedia's* entry did not, such as sex between women.[15]

Explicit or not, the sexual dimension of Webster's *buggery* definition seems to have been too obscene for some of the lexicographers he influenced in Britain. While Boag copies the definition in *A Popular and Complete English Dictionary* (1848), Knowles skips over *buggery* when he replicates Webster's entries for *bugelugey* and *bugginess* in *A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (1835). Ogilvie's *Imperial Dictionary* (1850) is virtually an illustrated reproduction of Webster; Micklethwait (2000: 276) asserts that 'aside from leaving out many of [Webster's] quotations, [Ogilvie] took scarcely anything away', yet *buggery* is among the losses once again. Ogilvie (1850) does not show a comparable reticence in treating terms for deviant cross-sex intercourse. He updates Webster's definitions of *adultery* and *incest* to reflect the English and Scottish penal codes, and observes that *bigamy* 'By the *law of England* […] is a felony, punishable, principal and accessory, with seven years' transportation, or imprisonment, with or without hard labour, not exceeding two years'. This observation suggests that Ogilvie was familiar with the Offences Against the Person Act 1828, which had repealed the death penalty for bigamy in England two decades before. Crucially, the same act had also replaced the archaic Buggery Act 1533, retaining 'Buggery' or 'Sodomy' as

[15] Incidentally, before becoming part of Connecticut in 1664, New Haven—Webster's city of residence—had been the only colony in New England whose legal code expressly made sex between women a capital offence (Godbeer 2007: 87).

a capital offence but removing the need to prove 'Emission of Seed' for a conviction to be made (*The Statutes of the United Kingdom* 1828: 456). 'Penetration' was now all that was required to prove 'carnal Knowledge' had taken place, though precisely what constituted such knowledge, and which body parts were legally admitted to be penetrative or penetrable, were predictably unspecified in the Act.

General dictionaries are no more informative than the law. Following Webster (1831–1832), Ogilvie (1850) explains *carnal knowledge* (s.v. *carnal*) to be 'sexual intercourse'. He has no definition of *sexual intercourse* but defines *sexual* as 'Pertaining to sex or the sexes; distinguishing the sex; denoting what is peculiar to the distinction and office of male and female'. *Sex* itself is 'The distinction between male and female; or that property or character by which an animal is male or female'. Boag (1848), Craig (1849), Nuttall (1863), and Longmuir (1864) offer similar definitional chains. Yet if *carnal knowledge* is, by extension, intercourse that pertains to 'the distinction between male and female', or intercourse that is 'peculiar to the […] office of male and female', then the possibility of *carnal knowledge* between members of the same sex appears to be precluded in dictionaries—in opposition to the use of the term in the Offences Against the Person Act 1828. Like early modern dictionaries' treatment of *copulation*, the conflicting polysemy of *carnal knowledge* across these textual domains is a reminder of the plurality of knowledges—and the corresponding ignorances—that 'circulate as part of particular regimes of truth' (Sedgwick 1990: 8). Despite their contradictions, these knowledges need not work at cross purposes. The naturalization of cross-sex normativity may be served at different times by overtly forbidding other forms of carnal knowledge, or by proceeding as though they were simply nonexistent—as though there were nothing else to know.

Thirty-three years after the 1828 Act, the death penalty for 'Sodomy' or 'Buggery' would be replaced with 'Penal Servitude for Life or for any Term not less than Ten Years' by the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 (Rickards 1861: 439).[16] That same year, the same-sex dimension of *sodomy* was at last restored to a general English dictionary after being absent for just over a century from the lexicons surveyed here. Cooley's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1861) concisely describes it as 'Sexual commerce bet[ween] males'. A decade later, *Chambers's English Dictionary* (Donald 1872) affirms that *sodomy* is 'Copulation between males', and also reinstates an explicit same-sex dimension to *buggery*: 'The copulation of men with each other, or of a man or woman with a beast: sodomy.' Not surprisingly, copulation between women is once again absent, though the 1861 Act had retained the ambiguous semantic range of the Buggery Act 1533 as well as its 1828 replacement: buggery or sodomy could be 'committed either with Mankind or with any Animal' (Rickards 1861: 439).

Despite the coincidence of the 1861 Act with the re-emergence of sexualized definitions of *sodomy* and *buggery*, the changing legal status of the crime was not overtly attended to by general lexicographers. References to the capital punishment of *buggery* in Blount (1661), Lloyd (1668) and Wilkins (1668), and Phillips and Kersey (1706) do not recur in nineteenth-century general dictionaries before 1861; nor do allusions to the repeal of the death penalty appear in dictionaries after that year. Even the few lexicographers who define *buggery* do so in the diction of earlier centuries. Following Webster (1831–1832), Boag (1848) and Donald (1872) note that *buggery* may be committed with a 'beast', though that word had been supplanted by 'Animal' in the Acts of 1828 and 1861. Contemporaneous law dictionaries are hardly more attentive. In defining *buggery*, Whishaw (1829) and Holthouse (1839) take no

[16] Though the 1861 Act was a significant statutory departure, it was in effect catching up to the recent practice of the courts, which had not executed anyone for buggery in England since 1835 (Cocks 2003: 203).

notice of any legal authority later than Sir Edward Coke's seventeenth-century commentaries, while Mozley and Whitely (1876), Rawson (1882), and Sweet (1882) have no entry for *buggery* or *sodomy*. John Jane Smith Wharton is an exception: the first edition of his *Law Lexicon* (1848) cites the Offences Act 1828 under *buggery* ('9 Geo. IV., c. 31, §15'), and the *Lexicon's* third edition (1864) duly replaces this with the Act of 1861 ('24 & 25 *Vict.* c. 100, s. 61'). Still, the definition does not otherwise change between Wharton's editions: *buggery* remains a 'detestable and abominable sin, amongst Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the Creator and order of nature'. More than two hundred years after Dalton's *Countrey Iustice* (1626), the discursive trinity of divine, natural, and juridical laws endured.

In bringing this discussion of the lexical and legal codification of buggery and sodomy to a close, it is worth stepping back for a moment to consider the wider symbolic kinship between the dictionary and the law. An analogy between the two is often made by scholars of historical and contemporary lexicography: dictionaries are seen in the eyes of their critics or users as 'linguistic legislators' (Gershuny 1974: 168), 'law-giver[s]' (Read 2003: 191), or 'arbiter[s]' (Béjoint 2010: 233) which present 'edicts to be obeyed' (Mugglestone 2016: 549). But the analogy takes on new significance when dictionary entries are viewed as performative, as I argued they should be in the Introduction. Butler (1993/2011: 70) compares the utterance of a performative to the action of a judge: 'the judge does not originate the law or its authority; rather, he "cites" the law, consults and reinvokes the law, and, in that reinvocation, reconstitutes the law'. Like the judge, lexicographers exist 'in the midst of a signifying chain' (Butler 1993/2011: 70), reciting discourses and reinforcing norms drawn from such authorities as statute books, legal treatises, the Bible, and not least of all other lexicographers. We will see these and other authorizing realms being reinvoked throughout the following chapters.

However, as disagreements between dictionaries attest, the chain of meaning is not always stable and linear. It may break or branch off or circle back. If anything, the first three centuries of monolingual English lexicography confirm the Foucauldian conception of buggery and sodomy as confused and confusing categories, acts whose physicality is unutterable and whose actors are often unclear. Same-sex intercourse is cast beyond the edicts of religion, nature, and humankind, or mired in paradox and rendered a contradiction in terms. Yet, ironically, definitional hesitancies and incoherencies can provide the dictionary-user with a space for alternative forms of reading. Edicts can be reinterpreted or disobeyed. The social pressures exerted by dictionaries may be backed by such powerful institutions as the courts and the church, but lexicographers cannot ultimately predict how their models for self-regulation will be taken up by readers in private. While the codification of sexual acts forecloses certain queer possibilities, it nevertheless enables others.

—2—

‘The Accession of Something Foreign’

Denaturalizing Queer Denizens

At the beginning of *An English Dictionary*, the schoolmaster and lexicographer Elisha Coles opens his address to the reader with a lesson in ethnography:

> The several Climates of the World, have influenced the Inhabitants with Natures very different from one another. And their several speeches bear some proportion of Analogy with their Natures. The *Spanish* and the *Spaniard* both are Grave, the *Italian* and th’ *Italians* Amorous, the *Dutch* as boisterous as the *Germans*, and the *French* as light as they themselves are. But the moderate Clime of *England* has indifferently temper’d us as to both: and what excess there is in either, must be attributed to the accession of something Foreign.
> (Coles 1676: A2^{r}.)

This xenophobic pronouncement is exemplary of the ideological process that Irvine and Gal (2000: 37) call *iconization*, in which the features of a language used by a particular social group are presented as if they ‘somehow depicted or displayed [the] social group’s inherent nature’. Here, the speech of a nation correlates with its character. England, by virtue of its temperate climate, has produced a language and people naturally free from the intemperance found in other parts of the world; as such, any linguistic or cultural defect that the English betray must be traceable to a foreign influence. Two decades before Coles, Edward Phillips had expressed a related perspective in more jingoistic terms in *The New World of English Words* (1658: D1^{v}): ‘it is our happinesse that being a terror to other nations, we are now free from invaders that formerly altred our Language, otherwise […] the tyranny of Strangers if it were possible would apparel our very thoughts’. Instead, English citizens are ‘so happy as to be our own Dictionary’ (D1^{v}), ostensibly free to decide which loanwords—and thus, according to Phillips’s deterministic view, which cultural perspectives—should be acclimatized to England and which

should retain their outlandish status. While some foreign words have been admitted into English as 'free denizons', others in use have still not been 'naturalized'—making it the duty of the lexicographer (who implicitly speaks on behalf of the nation-as-dictionary) 'to examine throughly what words are natural, and legitimate, and what spurious, and forc'st', and to advise 'the unadmonish't Reader' accordingly (C1^{v}–C2^{r}). This lexicographic concern for preserving England's linguistic and national purity sometimes slips into decidedly sensual terms, entangling the sexual body with the body politic. In the preface to the second edition of the *Dictionarium Britannicum*, Nathan Bailey (1736: A2^{r}–A2^{v}) asserts that while, for example, the Greeks 'were a polite and voluptuous People, us[ing] a Language exactly adapted thereto', and the Italians have 'sunk into Softness and Effeminacy, as well in their Language as their Manners', English is the 'most chaste and reserv'd in its Diction of all the Modern Languages'.

If the language of a people correlates with its culture—its national character, sovereignty, and ethics—then a dictionary that represents English must also represent this broader Englishness, or at least whatever vision of English and Englishness the lexicographer wishes to portray. England has never had a parallel institution to the continental language academies and the national dictionaries they have produced, despite calls for such an institution and project to be set up from the mid-seventeenth century onwards (Considine 2014a: 100–106). Nonetheless, the possibility that even a privately compiled lexicon might serve a patriotic function was not lost on early English lexicographers. Phillips (1658: C4^{r}) argued that 'the renown and glory of the Nation […] cannot but be much advanced by such like indeavours' as writing dictionaries. A century later, Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* was repeatedly characterized as an Englishman's riposte to the academy dictionaries of France and Italy (Considine 2014a: 121–133). Johnson (1755 I: C2^{v}) himself reinforced the ideological link between language and nationhood: 'tongues, like governments, have a natural tendency to degeneration; we have long

preserved our constitution, let us make some struggles for our language.' Johnson's use of the first-person plural joins the dictionary-writer and user in a shared cause to preserve their national heritage—the language which, like their legislature, gives structure to their society.

Although Johnson expresses reservations about the extent to which any dictionary or institution is capable of directing or deterring linguistic change, like Phillips (1658), he does take a proscriptive stance against what he deems to be unnecessary loanwords. 'The words which our authours have introduced by their knowledge of foreign languages, or ignorance of their own, by vanity or wantonness, by compliance with fashion, or lust of innovation, I have registred as they occurred,' he notes, 'though commonly only to censure them, and warn others against the folly of naturalizing useless foreigners to the injury of the natives' (Johnson 1755 I: B1^{v}). In Johnson's conception, lexicographers cannot dictate which words will or will not be admitted into the language, but they can mark some out as unwelcome interlopers. Although Johnson's policy is directed at lexis, the concepts that words signify can just as easily be branded as 'other' by lexicographers. Mugglestone (2011: 96) highlights that implicit in the notion of a dictionary as a tool for 'imaging both nation and identity' is the polarity of that image. If a dictionary presents what a nation is, then it also delimits what a nation is not, resulting in 'images of otherness and cultural deficit' (Mugglestone 2011: 100).

For a dictionary-writer, one means of exiling undesirable elements from a national imaginary is simply to omit them from the dictionary. This is a strategy that many hard-word and general lexicographers did employ when confronted with same-sex lexis—especially terms for sexuality between women—as Chapter 3 will explore. However, a word and its meaning may also be included in a dictionary but excluded from its image of a national identity by their positioning as unnaturalized denizens on the periphery of the language. Importantly, Benson

(2001: 51) points out that even as certain words and meanings are peripheralized from the 'cultural centre' envisioned by the lexicographer, it is still the 'centre of the dictionary […] from which knowledge of the periphery is constructed and made known'. The values and norms of the inner circle are imposed onto the outer world, giving it discursive shape—although, in the circle's paranoid imagination, it is the norms of the outer world that threaten to intrude.

For some lexicographers, same-sex sexuality was among the unnatural and unnaturalized elements that had slipped over the English border: a lustful excess better suited to the amorous Italians and voluptuous Greeks, for instance, than to chaste and temperate England. In charting dictionaries' marginalization of sexual deviance, this chapter will begin with a brief return to the well-trodden territory of *sodomy* and *buggery*, this time to consider how early attempts to etymologize the words also worked to exoticize the acts. We will then move on to the less familiar semantic field of pederasty, and the ambivalence with which it was treated by lexicographers. Although pederasty was recurrently denounced as a sin practised in the ancient and modern Mediterranean, the English veneration of Greek and Roman literature entailed that classical myths about love between men were registered in dictionaries with markedly little condemnation. This lassitude did not extend to stories about women-desiring women. Their love, most notably epitomized by the figure of Sappho, was pushed to the margins of lexicography aimed at general audiences—though for over a century it was openly articulated in classical dictionaries intended for male scholars. Collectively, these xenophobic and patriarchal discourses provided the tools by which many lexicographers alienated same-sex acts and desires from the cultural centre of England.

Mapping Sodomy and Buggery

The lexical foreignization of same-sex activity in English is perhaps most transparent in *sodomy*, derived as it is from the name of a biblical city. The word was not invented by dictionaries, but, as Hornscheidt (2008: 125) remarks, a critical lexicographic analysis should attend to how etymology 'can strengthen a notion that the origins of certain words and their meanings […] lie in other languages and cultures'. Towards the end of the eighteenth century, Ash's *New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1775) briefly states in its etymology of *sodomy* that it derives '*from* Sodom'. Yet many of the lexicographers who preceded Ash coupled this bare linguistic fact with a more dubious historical claim. Phillips and Kersey (1706) record that *sodomy* is 'so call'd because it was notoriously committed by the Inhabitants of the City of Sodom', and similar assertions about the sexual practices of the Sodomites are made for *sodomy* by hard-word and general dictionaries across the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries: in sixteen of twenty-four definitions of *sodomy* (66.7%) collected in this period. There are no epistemic markers in Phillips's and Kersey's (1706) definition to suggest anything but certainty in this story. The biblical account takes on the status of historical fact, and Sodom is presented as a real city—not just a hotbed of sodomy, but its birthplace.

According to biblical doctrine, because sex between men is outside the ordinance of God and the order of nature (see Chapter 1), it cannot have existed at the time of humanity's sinless, sexually dyadic beginning in the Garden of Eden, 'where *Adam* and *Eve* resided during their innocency' (s.v. *paradise* in Bailey 1727). Instead, lexicographers trace the origin of sex between men to a later, postlapsarian point in the Old Testament. The reviser of the 1663 edition of Bullokar's *English Expositor* states that *sodomy* is 'first known to have been used among the people of *Sodom*', and Cocker (1704) agrees that it was in the 'City of *Sodom*, this wickedness was first committed, that we read of' (s.v. *sodomite*). On the surface, the clause

'that we read of' could be interpreted as an epistemic hedge which frees the lexicographer from confirming or denying the truth of the tale. Yet as the source of this reading is surely the Book of Genesis—a text which Cocker (1704) confidently asserts is 'the first Book of *Moses*, declaring the Creation and Generation of all things' (s.v. *Genesis*)—the clause 'that we read of' need not cast doubt on the origin story of Sodom. Instead, it constructs a shared religious and cultural frame of reference between the dictionary-writer and user, both of whom are assumed to be familiar with the Bible. Mugglestone (2016: 588) identifies comparable instances of inclusive (and exclusive) pronouns being used to align 'ideal readers' and 'mainstream Christianity' elsewhere in eighteenth-century lexicography. As such, it is worth asking who is tacitly excluded from Cocker's (1704) 'we'. The lexicographer and the reader clearly do not share their cultural framework with the ancient pagans of Sodom, a people remote from the English temporally and spatially; and while the eponymous sodomites of later centuries may have infiltrated modern England, their 'wickedness' still imposes a moral distance between them and the dominant Christian society whose legal and religious strictures they flout.

What is true of the sodomite is true of the *gomorrhean* (or *gomorrhæan*). This rarer word, likewise both a demonym and a category of sinner, is explained to be 'one of *Gomorrha*, a *Sodomite*' (Coles 1676) or glossed simply as 'Sodomite' or 'Buggerer' (Blount 1656; Cocker 1704; *GAN* 1707). The inhabitants of Gomorrah were subject to the same punishment as their neighbours in Sodom, and their name is a byword for the same crime. The ancient location of Sodom and Gomorrah is given with varying exactness by seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lexicographers. The cities are commonly placed beside the *Asphaltites*, or the Dead Sea, a body of water in Judea that has, according to Phillips (1658), 'been full of brimstone, ever since it rained down upon those Cities'—a curious blend of biblical legend and geological fact (see also *Asphaltites* in Cockeram and Clarke 1670; Coles 1676; Phillips and Kersey 1706; *GAN*

1707; Bailey 1721). Elsewhere, Sodom and Gomorrah are situated with less geographic specificity in the Holy Land (s.v. *Sodom* in Phillips and Kersey 1706; Kersey 1708), in Canaan (s.v. *Sodom* in Bailey 1721; Defoe 1735; *A New English Dictionary* 1759; s.v. *Gomorrah* in Ash 1775), in Palestine (s.v. *sodomy* in J. K. 1702; s.v. *sodomite* in *GAN* 1707), and in Asia (s.v. *Sodom* in Barlow 1772).

While the biblical story behind the sodomite and the gomorrhean implicates a single geographic region, the origin of the buggerer is more diasporic—though still 'powerfully xenophobic' (Hughes 2006: 48). The *Gazophylacium Anglicanum* (1689), a dictionary of English etymologies translated and abridged by Richard Hogarth from Skinner's *Etymologicon linguæ Anglicanæ* (1671), proposes that the verb *bugger* comes 'from the Ital[ian] *Bugerare* […] *Menagius* derives it from the Lat[in] *Bulgari*, a people infamous for unnatural lust; or from the Ital[ian] *Bugio*, signifying an hole'. *'Menagius'* refers to Gilles Ménage and his etymological French dictionary, *Les origines de la langue françoise* (1650). Ménage explains the derivation of the French noun *bougre* (analogous to *bugger*) from *Bulgarus*:

> soit acause que les peuples de Bulgarie, que […] vieux Autheurs appellent *Bougres*, estoient addonnez à ce vice, ou parce qu'on brusloit ceux qui estoient conuaincus, comme on faisoit les Heretiques qu'on appelloit aussi *Bougres*.
>
> [either because the people of Bulgaria, whom […] ancient Authors call *Buggers*, were devoted to this vice, or because one burnt those who were convicted, as one did the Heretics who were also called *Buggers*.]

This history is etymologically if not ethnographically accurate.[1] Yet despite relying on Ménage's etymology of *bougre*, Hogarth (1689), following Skinner (1671), posits that the verb *bugger* entered English not from French but from Italian *bugerare*. Italian is also the source of

[1] The *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020) traces *bugger* (n.) via French to Latin *Bulgarus*, 'a name given to a sect of heretics thought to have come from Bulgaria in the 11th cent. […] and afterwards extended to other heretics (to whom various deprecated sexual practices were attributed)'.

Hogarth's second proposed etymology of *bugger*, which is not offered by Ménage: from *bugio* 'hole' [sic], presumably a veiled reference to the anus.

Early modern etymology was a highly imprecise branch of learning: it leaned heavily on chance resemblances and overestimated the influence of non-Germanic languages on English (Liberman 2009: 271–274). Still, it is likely that there is more than linguistic conjecture at work behind these Italian origin stories. Catholic Rome was recurrently associated with all manner of carnal vices in Protestant England, including buggery and sodomy (Bray 1995: 19; Hitchcock 1997: 61). The Italians' intemperate lust was additionally blamed on the excessive heat of their climate, in contrast with the 'moderate Clime of *England*' so approved of by Coles (1676: A2^{r}). In the satirical poem *The True-born Englishman* (1700: 6), Daniel Defoe writes that '*Lust* chose the Torrid Zone of *Italy*, / Where Blood ferments in Rapes and Sodomy'. The anonymous *Tractatus de Hermaphroditis* (1718: 19), in discussing reports of sexual encounters between women in Italy, observes that the 'Hotter the Climate, the stronger are the Inclinations to Venery'. In these accounts, as with the story of the Sodomites, sexual anxieties are displaced onto a foreign nation. Yet Rome and its corrupting influence posed a more immediate threat to modern English mores than could the long-since annihilated Sodom and Gomorrah. Notably, Kersey's (1708) passivized description of *sodomy* as a crime 'committed by the Inhabitants of *Sodom*'—a phrase duplicated by, among others, Martin (1749), Buchanan (1757), and Barclay (1774)—leaves ambiguous whether, or where, the crime has been committed since. The same is not always true of Italian buggery.

Thomas Blount, himself a Catholic (Mortimer 2004), is nonetheless the first hard-word lexicographer to propose an Italian etymology for *buggerie*, remarking that 'My Lord *Coke* (*Rep.* 12. *pag.* 36.) saith, that this word comes from the *Italian, Buggerare,* to bugger' (Blount

1661). Coke's claim in his *Reports* (1656: 36) that 'Buggary cometh of the Italian word' had already been made by him in *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*. There, Coke (1644: 58) explains that it was 'the Lumbards' who first 'brought into the Realm that shamefull sin of Sodomy', according to the Rolls of Parliament from the fourteenth-century reign of Edward III. The Rolls had indeed ordered the expulsion from England of all Lombards who did not follow the trade of moneylending, on the grounds that they had carried with them a 'horrible vice' ('Edward III: April 1376' 2005). Though Blount did not elaborate this story in the *Glossographia* (1661), he would go on to affirm that *buggery* was 'brought into *England* by the *Lombards*' in his law dictionary, the *Νομο-γεξικομ* (1670), and the claim would be reiterated in subsequent law lexicons for over a century and a half (e.g. Cowell and Manley 1672; Jacob 1729; Jacob and Tomlins 1797; Williams 1816; Holthouse 1839). In these dictionaries, the histories of *buggery* the word and buggery the crime are inseparable: both are foreign, having been named for one heretical people and imported into England by another.

These etymologies serve as examples of a wider logic of iconization in which lewd acts were thought to correlate with licentious language. An English translation of *Apologie pour Hérodote*, by the French Protestant scholar Henri Estienne (1607: 68), says of 'Sodomie' that 'gentlemen, who before they trauelled into *Italy* abhorred the very naming of it, should after they haue continued there a time, delight themselues not onely in talking and discoursing, but in practising and professing it'. A century later, the anonymous tract *Plain Reasons for the Growth of Sodomy, in England* (c1730: 17) suggestively comments that in Italy sodomy is 'so General, they have little else in their Heads or Mouths, than *Casto* [i.e. *cazzo* prick] and *Culo* [arse] which they intermix with almost every Sentence'. The English had to guard themselves against the influence of this continental vice in speech, thought, and deed, whether they laid the blame for it on the Italians or the Bulgarians.

In general lexicography, Bailey (1721, 1730) does not refer to Italian in his etymology of *buggery*, but he does cite Ménage's claim that the Bulgari or Bulgarians were 'a People Infamous for Unnatural Lust'.[2] Marchant and Gordon (1760) define *Buggers* only in its older, ecclesiastical sense: 'in Church History, the same with the *Bulgarians*, a sect of Heretics'. The definition indicts the entire Bulgarian nation for heterodox, sexually deviant practices—for among the Buggers' 'errors', Marchant and Gordon (1760) explain, was the belief that 'husbands, who conversed with their wives, could not be saved'. Ash's (1775) explanation of *Buggers*, though making no mention of heresy, is just as absolute, being simply '([…] *in church history*) The Bulgarians'. Although these dictionaries do not include the common noun *bugger* in the generalized sense of 'one who commits buggery', the *Buggers* are still implicated in 'unnatural' sexuality by the entries adjacent to them in the wordlist. Marchant and Gordon (1760) observe that to *bugger* is 'to generate or copulate in an unnatural manner', and Ash (1775) explains *buggery* as 'An unnatural intercourse'. The Buggers, and thus the Bulgarians, are guilty by lexical association.

Pederasty in Parsing

The sexual hinterlands of lexicography were home to more than the heresies of Bulgaria and the sins of Sodom and Gomorrah. Around them crowded the vices of pederasty, fostered in pagan Greece and Rome and endemic to the Mediterranean ever since. Whereas we saw in Chapter 1 that the discursive construction of buggery (and, indirectly, sodomy) allowed for a degree of gendered flexibility, pederasty was almost invariably constituted as an act between men—or, to be precise, between man and youth or man and boy. Because of pederasty's

[2] Strangely, Bailey labels *bugerare* as *'F[rench]'* in 1721, then alters this to the equally erroneous 'L[atin]' in 1730.

classical pedigree, its treatment in early modern England was sometimes more morally ambivalent than the reflexive disavowal shown to sodomy and buggery. Bray (1995: 65) proposes that 'the revival of classical culture could not help but suggest the possibility of values existing different from those prevailing', offering 'a moral reference point outside Christianity' through which same-sex sexuality could be comprehended. Trumbach (2012) argues that the depiction of men's erotic desires for adolescent boys—and, to a less visible extent, women's for girls—on the stage, in poetry, and in painting was socially acceptable in Europe until the end of the seventeenth century, even if acting on such desires was censured. When the eighteenth century saw the appearance in England of two apologias for sexuality between men—Thomas Cannon's 1749 pamphlet *Ancient and Modern Pederasty Investigated and Exemplify'd* and Jeremy Bentham's essay *Pæderasty*, composed around 1785—each author framed his topic in terms of classical pederasty, rather than the more familiar categories of sodomy and buggery and their attendant discourses of sinfulness and criminality (Gladfelder 2007b; Bentham 1978a, 1978b).

On the other hand, artistic and apologetic portrayals of pederasty were hardly representative of institutionalized norms. Just as significant as the content of Cannon's and Bentham's apologias is the context in which they were written. Cannon fled the country to avoid prosecution for his pamphlet (Gladfelder 2007a), and Bentham's argument for the decriminalization of sex between men remained unpublished for two centuries (Crompton 1978). Discourses of pederasty that seem more exemplary of those available to educated readers (including lexicographers) at the time can be found in legal treatises. For Coke (1644: 58), '*Pæderastes* or *Paiderestes*', a 'Greek word', is 'but a *Species* of Buggery', and subject to the same laws. Fortescue Aland (1748: 94) affirms that 'Among the *Greeks* Παιδεραστία, was the genteel Word for Buggery, *i. e.* Love of Boys, and they made Use of Girls too in that way, for the

Greek Word Παις signifies […] Girl, as well as […] Boy'. This is an etymological fallacy posing as historical fact. While Fortescue's translation of *παῖς* is accurate, his transposition of the term's full semantic range onto the sexual habits of the ancient Greeks misrepresents the practice of pederasty, in which the younger, receptive partners were, at least formally, male adolescent citizens (cf. Dover 1989: 85).

Hard-word and general dictionaries similarly conflate pederasty with buggery and sodomy. For Cockeram (1623), to *pedicate* means nothing more than 'To bugger'. For others, a *pederast* is simply 'a Buggerer' (Phillips and Kersey 1706; Kersey 1708; Bailey 1721), and *pederasty* 'Buggery' (Bailey 1721) or 'Buggery, Sodomy' (Bailey 1727, 1730). Treating these words as synonymous reframes pederasty through early modern religious and juridical discourses, eliding its historical origins and ambiguating its semantic range. Especially ambiguous are co-ordinative definitions like Phillips's (1658): '*Pederasty*, or *Pæderasty*, (Greek) buggery, or a lusting after boyes.' Should the two clauses be read as discrete senses or synonyms? In such cases, the typography of early English dictionaries offers no clear semantic discrimination. Martin (1749) is the first monolingual English lexicographer consistently to offer discrete, numbered senses in a dictionary, but even he runs his definition of *pederasty* into one sense: 'buggery, sodomy, or lusting after boys'. There are two implications here. The first is a confounding of sex between man and boy with sex between men, between women, and between woman or man and beast—all of which Martin (1749, 1754) encompasses under *buggery* (see Chapter 1). The second implication, also in Phillips (1658), is a blurring of the distinction between sexual activity (sodomy, buggery) and attraction ('lusting'). The same indistinctness is found in definitions of *pederast* as 'a lover of boys, a buggerer, a sodomite' (Martin 1749) and 'One who has a criminal passion for boys, a sodomite' (Ash 1775). The pederast is constituted as one guilty both of loving boys and of committing unlawful acts with them (and

perhaps with others). Same-sex desire, even if not formally prohibited by English law, becomes criminal by association with deed. A further element of criminality is intimated by Blount (1656) in his explanation of *pederastie* as 'a vitious and dishonest loving of children, buggery'. Like Fortescue Aland's (1748: 94) later etymology of *παιδεραστία*, Blount's definition implies that the pederast has sexual intercourse with young girls as well as boys, though the age boundary that delineates 'children' is unclear. Blount (1656) has no entry for *child*, but he notes under *age* that the Greek philosopher Proclus gave the fourteenth year as the end of *'Childhood'* and the start of '*Youth-hood* or *Adolescency*'—a conception of maturation that was also common in early modern England, though not rigidly or universally observed (Toulalan 2011: 134). Hard-word and general dictionaries do not clarify the ages of the 'children' or 'boys' loved or lusted after by pederasts, but it is difficult to reconcile these victimized figures with the idealized youths of ancient Greek imagery.

The dominant norm of sex between men in Ancient Rome, conversely, prescribed that the receptive partner should not be a freeborn Roman citizen but rather a slave or prostitute (Williams 2010: 19). But the nuances of classical sexual paradigms—whatever was known of them in early modern England—were irrelevant to early modern lexicography, which painted over them all with the broad brushstroke of unnatural vice. Blount's (1656) treatment of Roman male prostitution is instructive. He is the first hard-word lexicographer to define *spintrian* and *sellary*—words whose entries he adapted and expanded from Thomas Thomas's Latin–English dictionary (1644), as Table 2.1 illustrates. Within each dictionary, the link between these terms is not immediately apparent, apart from their entries having one source in common. Thomas twice cites Suetonius (for *De vita Caesarum*), and Blount the *Annals* of Tacitus. The terms are collocates in both Latin sources, which describe the Roman emperor Tiberius Claudius Nero

being entertained at a *sellaria* by *spintriæ*. The former term seems to have denoted a brothel, the latter male—and perhaps also female—prostitutes.[3]

Table 2.1: Sexual entries borrowed from Thomas by Blount

Thomas (1644)	***Blount (1656)***
Sellāria […] A place wherein were formes and stooles for men to sit on. *Sellariam excogitavit, Tiberius sedem arcanarum libidinum. Sueton.*	*Sellary* (*sellaria*) a place wherein were formes and stools for men to sit on. It is used by *Tacitus* in his Annals for that place where *Tiberius* exercised his horrid and unnatural lusts.
Spintriæ, Sueton. Repertores monstrosæ libidinis, novique concubitus.	*Spintrian* (from *Spintriæ*) pertaining to those that seek out, or invent new and monstrous actions of lust. *Tacitus annal. Lib. 6 & Rel. Med.*

Neither Thomas nor Blount genders the sexual desires they envision under *spintriæ* or *spintrian*, though both lexicographers denounce them as '*monstrosæ'* or 'monstrous'. Blount's use of the adjectival form *spintrian*, which has no direct analogue in Thomas, derives from Blount's second cited authority: the *Religio Medici* by Thomas Browne. The relevant passage in Browne's spiritual treatise (1645: 149) contrasts sins that are nameable and universal ('from the common breath of our corruption') with 'vitiosities, whose newnesse and monstrosity of nature admits no name'; in the latter category were the 'Spintrian recreations' of Tiberius. How new or nameless the acts of Tiberius were in seventeenth-century England is an open question—as is their supposed singularity when compared to the 'common' sins of ordinary people. Yet while Browne (1645) applies *spintrian* only to Tiberius's 'recreations', Blount (1656) broadens the adjective to apply to anyone who desires or devises novel forms of sexual deviance. This is presumably the influence of Thomas's (1644) Latin definition of the noun *spintriæ*, which might be translated as 'Inventors of monstrous lust and new copulation'. This protean quality endures in definitions of *spintrian* by Phillips (1658), Coles (1676), Cocker

[3] See Tacitus (2017: 90–92) for uses of *spintria* and *sellaria* in Latin sources and Frantz (1997: 18–19) for attestations of *spintry* and *sellary* in Early Modern English. The use of bilingual dictionaries by hard-word lexicographers is returned to in Chapter 3.

(1704), and Ash (1775). In all of their dictionaries, *spintrian* remains a descriptor for 'lust'—lust that is 'new' in Phillips and Coles and 'lewd and unnatural' in Cocker, but whose details are never clarified.

Definitions of *sellaria* and *sellary* are no less inscrutable. In Table 2.1, Thomas's (1644) veiled Latin description of Tiberius's lusts as *'arcanarum'* [secret] is less ferocious than Blount's (1656) condemnation of them as 'horrid and unnatural'. But in either case—and in contrast with the definitions of *spintriæ* and *spintry*—the emperor's lusts remain safely located in the past, as does the site in which they were enacted. The *sellaria* or *sellary*, a 'place wherein were formes and stool(e)s', tacitly no longer exists. This would partially change in subsequent monolingual dictionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, which shifted definitions of *sellary* out of the past tense: 'a place where benches, or forms are set' (Phillips 1658); 'a place where forms, or benches are set' (Cockeram and Clarke 1670); 'a place of benches' (Coles 1676); 'A place accommodated with benches' (Ash 1775). However, none of these definitions repeat Thomas's (1644) and Blount's (1656) association of sellaries with Tiberius or lustfulness. The truncation might simply be due to spatial constraints, but it is worth noting that at the same time *sellary* loses its marker of temporal distance from modern England, its troubling sexuality is also elided.

Reception, Receptivity, Recursivity

While lexicographers were unforthcoming about the nature of the spintrian lusts enacted in sellaries, many were effusive when it came to registering another category of words in the broader semantic field of pederasty: the lexis of receptive partners in sex between men. Here, receptivity generally correlates with youthfulness. Among these terms are the classical

catamite, *pathic* (or *pathick*), and *ganymede* (or *ganymed*). Three other terms, *ingle*, *leman*, and *bardash* (or *bardach*, *bardasho*, *bardachio*), are not classical, but are traced to the vernacular Romance languages by early lexicographers.[4] For instance, like Hogarth's (1689) association of *bugger* with an Italian word for 'hole', the polyglot etymologist John Minsheu (1617) says of *ingle* that 'vox est Hispanica, & significat Lat: *Inguen*, the groine' [the word is Spanish, and signifies Latin *Groin*]. How the Spanish word for 'groine' could have shifted to mean 'a Boy kept for Sodomie', Minsheu does not explain. Yet he is compelled to find a foreign etymon for *ingle*, for he claims that '*Hoc autem vitium* apud *Germanos* cum sit incognitum, meritò & *appellatione destituitur*, in eorundem lingua' [Whereas this vice among the Germanic people, since it is unknown, is deservedly without even a name in their language]. Sex between men is foreign to Northern Europeans, and so its signifiers must be traceable to other lands and languages. Minsheu's dubious Spanish etymology for *ingle* is repeated by Blount (1656), Skinner (1671), and Hogarth (1689).

Minsheu (1617) has no entry for *bardash*, but Skinner (1671) goes on to postulate that *bardasho* is borrowed from Italian *'Bardascio'* and French *'Bardache'*, and notes their similarity to Greek *'Βαδάς'*. However, Skinner ultimately links the Romance terms to Italian '*Bardato*, Equus Ornatus, & Instructus' [a Bridled and Caparisoned Horse], and explains the metaphorical association between horse and human: 'Notum autem est Equitare apud multas gentes, præcipuè Gallicam, lascivo sensu usurpari' [It is moreover known that to Ride is used by many peoples, especially the French, with a lewd sense]. Both the Italians and the French are thus incriminated in the pederastic 'riding' of bardashes. Etymologies of *bardash*, *bardach*, and *bardachio* in hard-word and general dictionaries do not repeat Skinner's xenophobic

[4] *Pathic* is connected to Greek *πάσχειν* 'to undergo, to suffer'. *Catamite* is a Latin alteration of *ganymede* (Williams 2010: 60, 193). The *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020) proposes that *bardash* is borrowed from French *bardache* and Italian *bardassa*, though its further etymology is unclear. Wallfield (1988: 87) suggests that *ingle* might derive from Gaelic *aingeal*, 'angel', but the *OED3* maintains that its origin is also uncertain.

rationale, though they continue to trace the word to Italian (Phillips and Kersey 1706; Kersey 1708), French (Martin 1749), or both (Bailey 1721, 1730; Ash 1775).

French is also a proposed source of *leman*, though the word is given multiple etymologies and meanings: it variably denotes a man's male lover, a man's female lover, and a woman's male lover. Minsheu (1617) presents the first two senses and offers two etymologies. The first traces *leman* to French '*Le mignon*, his minion. Sic *Le grand mignon du roy*' [The great male favourite of the king]—perhaps an allusion to the notorious *mignons* of Henry III of France (see Crawford 2003). Yet Minsheu goes on to acknowledge that *leman* can also be applied to *'amasias'* [female concubines] and suggests that it may instead derive from English '*ley-man*, lie by a man'. Phillips (1658) repeats the two etymologies when he explains *leman* to be 'a Concubine, or Catamite', a definition also in Cockeram and Clarke (1670). However, the catamite sense would fall out of favour—along with the above etymologies—in subsequent hard-word and general dictionaries. The *leman* is 'a Sweet-heart or Lover (He or She)' in Coles (1676) and 'a Concubine, a Harlot; also a Gallant' in Bailey (1724, 1730); each connects the word to French *l'aimant* or *l'aimante* (i.e. *l'amant(e)* 'the lover'). Johnson (1755) entertains this etymology but suggests that *leman* may instead be from '*leef*, Dutch, or *leof*, Saxon, *beloved* and *man*'. This Germanic derivation is echoed by Rider (1759) and Kenrick (1773), as is Johnson's definition of *leman*: 'A sweetheart; a gallant; or a mistress'. By the time *leman* is accepted as most likely being a native word, any explicit reference to its same-sex sense is long gone.

Although they are not classical words, I ascribe *ingle*, *bardash*, and *leman* to the semantic field of pederasty because of the age category normally associated with them in dictionaries. The same-sex sense of *leman* is equated with 'Catamite' both times it occurs, and *ingle* and *bardash*

are (along with *catamite*) predominantly defined by the genus term 'boy' in hard-word and general dictionaries of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This is demonstrated in Table 2.2, which represents seventy-five entries concerning receptive male partners found across a survey of thirty-four dictionaries, discounting entries repeated across multiple editions of the same dictionary. (The tabulated headwords include variant spellings and exclude irrelevant senses.) The use of 'boy' is much lower for *ganymede* (37.5%) and nonexistent for *pathic* (0.0%). However, instances in which *pathic* is glossed as 'ingle' (Bailey 1727, 1730; Ash 1775) or 'catamite' (Martin 1749; Marchant and Gordon 1760) suggest a similar link to youthfulness. Entries for *ganymede* are frequently polysemous, providing both an encyclopaedic description of the mythical figure Ganymede and a lexical definition of the eponymous common noun: for example, '*Ganymed*, a beautiful Boy with whom *Jupiter* fell in love; used for the same with a Catamite' (Cockeram and Clarke 1670). For the purposes of Table 2.2, only lexical definitions (and uses of 'boy' within them) were counted, but the youthfulness of the classical figure implicitly extends to the eponym.

Table 2.2: Frequency of 'boy' as a genus term in definitions of receptive male sexual partners in pre-1800 hard-word and general dictionaries

Headword	***Entries found***	***'boy'***
bardash	7	6 *(85.7%)*
catamite	31	21 *(67.7%)*
ganymede	16	6 *(37.5%)*
ingle	11	8 *(72.7%)*
leman	2	0 *(0.0%)*
pathic	8	0 *(0.0%)*
Total	75	41 *(54.7%)*

In contrast with these six terms, there appear to be only two headwords in the surveyed dictionaries that might exclusively denote a penetrative partner in sex between men: the classical terms *pederast* and *pygist*. Six of the dictionaries contain entries for *pederast*, while *pygist* is attested only in Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* (1623) and explained to be 'One that

vseth buggerie'.[5] In comparison to his penetrative counterpart, the receptive male partner is *overlexicalized* in early English dictionaries—that is, he is denoted by a 'large number of synonymous or near-synonymous terms' (Fowler and Kress 1979: 211), and these terms amass far more entries in the surveyed dictionaries than do the two headwords for a penetrative partner (seventy-five entries versus seven). Though dictionaries are not transparent reflections of wider linguistic usage, in this instance, the lexicographic discrepancy does seem to correlate with a broad disparity concerning male sexual roles in Early Modern English.[6] This fixation on receptive over penetrative male partners is another instance of how elements that are peripheralized from a cultural centre are nonetheless made sense of in relation to the centre's norms. As we saw in Chapter 1, cross-sex normativity dictates not only that intercourse should be between a woman and a man, but that the woman should be receptive/'passive' and the man penetrative/'active'—'Man fucks woman; subject verb object,' to quote MacKinnon (1989: 124) again. While both partners in sex between men confuse the 'natural' order of the sexes, the receptive partner is doubly deviant because he assumes the role proper to a woman. He is the more socially marked of the two, and so the more remarked upon.

In fact, the entire division of men into receptive and penetrative subcategories could be understood as a form of what Irvine and Gal (2000: 38) call *fractal recursivity*: 'the projection of an opposition, salient at some level of relationship, onto some other level', such that the 'partitioning process that was involved in some understood opposition […] recurs at other levels, creating either subcategories […] or supercategories'. In lexicography, we see this

[5] Cockeram (1623) likely anglicized *pygist* himself from Latin *pygista* (see Chapter 3); the Greek word from which *pygista* in turn derives denotes a penetrative partner (Bain 1991: 70). English lexicographers use *sodomite* and *buggerer* to mean both penetrative partners (e.g. *pederast*, 'a Sodomite, a Buggerer', Bailey 1730) and receptive partners (e.g. *ingle*, 'a Buggerer', Hogarth 1689; *pathic*, 'sodomite', Martin 1749).

[6] In a corpus analysis of terms for men who had sex with men in early modern texts, McEnery and Baker (2017) found seven tokens of *pederast* versus twenty-seven of *ingle* (in the relevant sense), thirty-five of *bardash*, sixty-eight of *pathic*, 203 of *catamite*, and 1,088 of *ganymede*—though in the last case they did not separate tokens of the personal name from the common noun. *Pygist* and *leman* were not among their search terms.

process creating a model of sexual relations that might be called *dyadic recursivity*. The dominant paradigm of intercourse is a union of two gender categories, man and woman, in which the man is 'active' because he has a penetrative phallus and the woman is 'passive' because she does not. This opposition is then recursively projected onto intragender male unions, creating subcategories of an 'active' (older) man and a 'passive' (younger) man. The fact that sex between men need not entail any static division of labour between phallic penetration and reception is a difficulty that is elided. Sex between women obviously poses even greater obstacles to this phallocentric model, and male lexicographers resort to several different tactics to make sense of it—a matter that will be explored in Chapters 3 and 4.

In dictionaries, the passivization of receptive male partners is syntactic as well as sexual. Of the entries surveyed in Table 2.2, six of the seven definitions of *bardash* contain at least one passive construction (85.7%), as do twenty-nine of thirty-one for *catamite* (93.5%), eleven of sixteen for *ganymede* (68.8%), eight of eleven for *ingle* (72.7%), and seven of eight for *pathic* (87.5%). To present just a few examples, a *bardash* or *bardach* is 'kept for Pleasure, to be abused contrary to Nature' (Bailey 1721, 1730); a *catamite* is 'hired to be used contrary to nature, to commit Sodomy with' (Bullokar and W. S. 1654); a *ganymede* is 'loved for carnal abuse' (Blount 1656); and an *ingle* is 'used by Masculines' (Cocker 1704) or 'prostituted to unnatural purposes' (Ash 1775). Whether he is a tool put to unnatural use or a victim of carnal abuse, the receptive partner's own capacity for sexual agency is mostly erased from these definitions. Further muddying the question of consent is the matter of his economic autonomy: does he assent to being 'kept', 'hired', or 'prostituted'?

Partially excepted are the *pathicks*, or 'those that suffer themselves to be abus'd by Men contrary to Nature, Sodomites' (Bailey 1724)—a description that is echoed by Bailey (1727,

1730), Martin (1749), Marchant and Gordon (1760), Fenning (1763), and Ash (1775). It is presumably the etymology of the headword—which Bailey (1724) gives as '*παθεῖν*, Gr[eek] to suffer'—that prompts the lexicographer to phrase the definition in this way, assigning to the pathics both an active, if reflexive, construction ('that suffer themselves') and a passive one ('to be abus'd'). But it is worth noting the parallels that exist between representations of the male pathic and the female prostitute (cf. McEnery and Baker 2017: 205). A woman who sells sex may likewise be constituted as a figure of simultaneous agency and passivity: a *prostitute* 'suffers herself to be abused by all that come' (Blount 1656), while *prostitution* is 'a Harlot's letting out the Use of her Body for Hire' (Bailey 1730), and to *prostitute* is 'To expose or set open to every one that comes; to yield up one's honour or body to lust, sensual pleasure, or mercenary interest' (Buchanan 1757). Though the prostitute, like the pathic, allows ('suffers', 'let[s]', 'yield[s]') the sexual act to take place—thus making herself culpable for it—she appears to lose her autonomy in the commission of the act itself, at which point her body becomes an object to be used by a (male) client. It is a curious paradox that denies receptive partners—pathics or prostitutes—the status of sexual agent, while simultaneously leaving them open to censure for their apparently willing participation in proscribed sexual acts.

The reduction of a receptive male partner to the status of a 'kept' commodity may be effected etymologically as well as definitionally. Bailey (1721) incorrectly traces *catamite* back to '*Καταμιθος*, *Gr[eek]* Hired, Sc. a Boy', which Martin (1749) further analyses into two Greek roots, '*κατα* contrary, and *μιθος* a boy hired'. Yet it is the word's association with the decadence of Rome, rather than Greece, that predominates in late eighteenth-century dictionaries. The tone is set by Rider's *New Universal English Dictionary* (1759), whose tight-lipped definition of *catamite* presents such persons as remote from Britain's shores: 'a person kept by the antient Romans and Italians for immodest purposes'. The catamite is exoticized even as he is

degendered and desexualized—a 'person' whose 'purposes' are obscure. This definition is repeated verbatim by subsequent lexicographers, except that 'immodest' is intensified to 'vilest' by Fenning (1761), Allen (1765), and Barclay (1774), and to 'most infamous' by Barlow (1772). Fenning (2nd ed., 1763) and Barclay (1774) also amend 'Italians' to 'modern Italians', to make plainer that the evils of ancient Rome endure among its recent descendants.

A concern for presenting *pederasty* as a foreign vice—or, as Smart (1836) defines it, a 'heathen sentiment of love for boys contrarily to nature'—endures into the nineteenth century. In this period, however, sexual xenophobia emerges most strongly not in definitions but in quotations. Lexicographers who followed Johnson's (1755) practice of using literary authorities to illustrate words in use were not always as taciturn as he had been on the subject of same-sex lexis (see Chapter 3). Robert Gordon Latham's (1866–1870) revision of Johnson's dictionary introduces *catamite* with no definition and the curious etymology '? *Ganymede*. ? *Sodomite*', neither word of which is included in Latham's wordlist. Perhaps Latham thought a firm understanding of *catamite* was unnecessary in modern England, for his only quotation under the word—from Nehemiah Grew's *Cosmologia Sacra*, a defence of biblical inerrancy—declares, 'Among the Greeks, it was no disgrace for philosophers themselves to have their *catamites*.' (In contrast, keeping catamites is presumably disgraceful for adherents to biblical doctrine.)

By then, the connection between Greek philosophy and pederasty had already been made in *Philology on the English Language* (1820), Richard Paul Jodrell's etymological supplement to Johnson's dictionary. Jodrell states under *bardashing* that 'bardassa in the Italian, and bardache in the French, denote a cinædus or catamite', but he warns that the derived English word is 'too

indelicate to admit any further explanation' beyond being traced to its supposed Greek etymon, *'βαδὰς'*.[7] The participle is illustrated by a quotation from Butler's *Hudibras*:

> I felt the blows still ply'd as fast,
> As if th' had been by lovers plac'd
> In raptures of Platonick lashing
> And chaste contemplative *bardashing*

Playing on a metaphorical link between violence and sexuality (see Lakoff 1987: 411), Butler compares a beating to the erotic flagellation of a bardash, in which case 'Platonick' could function as both an ironic descriptor of allegedly 'chaste' platonic love and an allusion to Greek pederasty. Butler forges a similar association elsewhere in *Hudibras*, in a passage that is reproduced by yet another nineteenth-century dictionary: under *pathic* in Richardson's *New Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–1837). Richardson does not define *pathic*, but he illustrates the term with two quotations. The one from *Hudibras* hinges on an ambiguous description of a boy being beaten or buggered by his schoolmaster:

> Was not young Florio sent (to cool
> His flame for Biancafiore) to school,
> Where pedant made his *pathic* bum
> For her sake suffer martyrdom?

Here, the intertextual jibe is directed not at pagan Greece but at Catholic Europe in the person of Florio, the son of the King of Spain in Bocaccio's Italian romance *Il Filocolo*. Richardson's (1836–1837) other quotation for *pathic*, from *The Moon-Calf* by Michael Drayton, shifts the xenophobia again, this time to anti-Semitism:

[7] In ancient Rome, a *cinædus* (from Greek *κίναιδος*) was an effeminate man, sometimes a dancer, who took a receptive role in anal intercourse (Williams 2010: 193–194). Jodrell (1820) does not acknowledge the existence of the English noun *bardash*.

> He looks like one for the preposterous sin
> Put by the wicked and rebellious Jews
> To be a *pathic* in their male-kind stews.

The dictionaries clearly did not originate the exoticized figures—Greek catamites and bardashes, Catholic and Jewish pathics—in the early modern texts they quote. Nonetheless, quotations can play a part in 'conceptualizing certain "realities" as typical' (Hornscheidt 2008: 121). The lexicographers' selection of these particular sources as linguistic (and, by extension, cultural) authorities reinforces the belief that pederasty began as—and remains—a custom of the Mediterranean nations. At the same time, it must be stressed that English dictionaries' disavowal of Mediterranean sexuality was not always as unequivocal as the foregoing evidence of quotations, etymologies, and definitions may make it seem. Most conspicuously, the modern veneration of the literary cultures of ancient Greece and Rome complicated lexicographers' responses to expressions of same-sex love in classical myth. How the lexicographers reacted largely depended on the gender of the lovers in question. We will consider women's love for women—predictably, the less visible desire in classical literature and its modern reception—in the final section of this chapter. Meanwhile, the next section will bring the discussion of pederasty to a close.

Classifying the Love of Youths

In 1781, in an article on the educational methods he had developed for his boys' school in Kingswood, the Methodist preacher John Wesley took the opportunity to fulminate against the curricula offered at other institutions:

> Another fault common in almost all our Schools, is, The Masters not only take no care to train up their Scholars in true Religion, but they themselves teach them what is utterly destructive of all Religion whatever. They put Authors into their hands, that […] instil into their tender minds both obscenity and profaneness. *Virgil's Alexis*, the lewd

> Epigrams of *Martial*, and the shameless Satires of *Juvenal* […] so earnestly recommending Sodomy as well as Adultery!
> (Wesley 1781: 432.)

In his own *Complete English Dictionary* (1753), Wesley had omitted *adultery* but included *sodomy* ('men's lying with men'), though defined obtusely enough that anyone who read the entry without already understanding the word to be sexual might be left none the wiser. Presumably, Wesley did not think his intended audience needed to know any more: the chief purpose of his duodecimo lexicon was 'to assist persons of common sense and no learning, to understand the best *English* authors' (Wesley 1753: A2^{r}). The dictionary would be of little help to those wishing to read the profane tales of ancient writers.

Nonetheless, classical myths concerning pederastic lovers would find direct expression in many dictionaries published in the decades before and after Wesley's. Early English lexicographers often took as their remit encyclopaedic as well as lexical content, so that in their work proper names are treated cheek by jowl with common words (Osselton 2009: 131). Dean Richard Chenevix Trench (1857: 45) would later criticize pre-Johnsonian dictionaries for straying beyond their proper sphere by recording not 'words only' but 'persons, places, things […] all, of course, most imperfectly, even according to the standard of knowledge of their own time, and with a selection utterly capricious of what they put in, and what they leave out'. In fact, the extensive cataloguing of classical figures remained a regular feature of general dictionaries until the end of the eighteenth century, when it fell out of fashion (with the notable exception of Maunder 1830). While mythology may not have been considered a strictly lexicographical matter by Trench, for our purposes, it is worth paying attention to which stories dictionaries put in and which they left out.

The first hard-word lexicographer to encompass this material was Henry Cockeram, whose *English Dictionarie* (1623: A4^{v}) boasts a separate section explaining the significance of 'seuerall persons, Gods, and Goddesses […] and the like'. The section is unusual in being ordered thematically rather than alphabetically. One of Cockeram's thematic categories, 'Of Boyes', lists the names of three youths who had long been legendary for their pederastic relationships:

> *Ganimede*, a Troian boy whom *Iupiter* loued, and carrying him to heauen made him his Cup-bearer.
> *Hyacinth*, a beautifull boy whom *Apollo* loued, and by misfortune slue him.
> *Magnes*, a louely boy of Smyrna whom *Gyges* loued.

'Loved' or 'beloved' is the verb used in numerous later dictionaries to describe the position of *Ganymede* or *Ganymedes* (Blount 1656; Bailey 1721; Entick 1776), *Hyacinthus* or *Hyacynthus* (Phillips 1658; Cockeram and Clarke 1670; Ash 1775; Entick 1776; Maunder 1830), and *Magnes* (Coles 1676; Cocker 1704) in relation to their older suitors. Later lexicographers also introduce *Hylas*, who was 'passionately loved by Hercules' (Entick 1776; Maunder 1830), and *Cyparissus*, another youth 'beloved by Apollo' (Entick 1776; Maunder 1830). The brief narratives of these figures' lives betray a similar passivization to dictionaries' construction of the common *bardash*, *catamite*, *ingle*, and so on. The youths are the patients of love, not its agents. Whether they returned their lovers' feelings is of no consequence, although Hyacinthus at least was allowed to decide between accepting the advances of Apollo or those of his rival, Zephyrus. Phillips (1658), Coles (1676), and Cocker (1704) note that *Hyacinthus* or *Hyacynthus* 'slighted' Zephyrus, and Bailey (1730) that he 'chose to betake himself to *Apollo*'. But as with the pathic (and the female prostitute), the act of consenting to a lover does not entail that the one who consents will be afforded any discursive agency thereafter. The rules of dyadic recursivity still hold, even if here they are projected onto the level of erotic desire rather than

sexual activity per se: a relationship between a man and a youth consists of an active lover and a passive beloved. [8]

The distinction between sexual acts and erotic desires is an important one. While the mythical youths and their lexical counterparts overlap syntactically, they diverge semantically. The youths are passivized, but not pejorated: they are not 'hired' 'kept', 'prostituted', 'used', or 'abused'. Even when *Hylas* is '[taken] away by force' by Hercules (Phillips (1658), or *Ganymede* 'ravish'd' by Jupiter (Bailey 1730; Dyche and Pardon 1735), the act is not qualified as vicious or unnatural. This seeming moral ambivalence on the part of the lexicographers partly signals the esteem in which Greco-Roman literature was held by modern readers, and the cachet afforded by (the appearance of) an education in classical literary tropes. Cockeram (1623: A4^{v}–A5^{r}) had, after all, introduced this encyclopaedic matter to the hard-word tradition 'to the intent that the diligent learner may not pretend the defect of any helpe which may informe his discourse or practice'. Anne Fisher (1773: iii) concurs that her dictionary's inclusion of 'heathen mythology' would be 'found of particular advantage to mere English scholars'—that is, those unschooled in Latin and Greek—'and greatly enhance the value of the book'.

The moral incompatibility of these fables with English Christianity could be tolerated precisely because they were fabulous. Coles (1676: A3^{r}) justifies his inclusion of this material in his own dictionary on the basis that 'Poetical expressions may be allowed to Poetical Relations and Fictions; yet here and there I give a hint, to let you know, that I take them not for real verities'—as opposed to the 'history of the Bible', which Coles appears to regard as veritable. Several

[8] Dyadic recursivity is not a modern phenomenon. The Greek terms for the partners in a pederastic relationship were the older *erastēs* ('lover') and the younger *erōmenos* ('beloved') (Dover 1989: 16).

lexicographers emphasize the gap between fiction and reality by inserting parenthetical asides into their entries. The story of *Ganymede* is discredited by phrases such as '[so] say the Poets' (Blount 1656), 'according to the Fable' (Phillips and Kersey 1706), and 'according to the poets' (*A Pocket Dictionary* 1753). Likewise, 'the Poets feign' the death of *Hyacinthus* (Cocker 1704; Ash 1775), and the story of *Cyparissus* occurs *'in the mythology of the poets'* (Ash 1775). These epistemic hedges keep the erotics of ancient myth at a safe distance from the English cultural centre represented in lexicography: they are resources to be exploited in modern literature, not exemplars that should be re-enacted in modern life. Sometimes the peripheralization is literal, as when, following Cockeram's (1623) lead, lexicographers do not integrate classical entries into a dictionary's main wordlist but consign them to an appendix: Cocker's (1704) 'Historical Poetical Dictionary', Fisher's (1773) 'Entire New Dictionary of All the Heathen Gods and Goddesses', Maunder's (1830) 'Compendious Classical Dictionary', and so on. Whatever discursive freedom was permitted in the retelling of these fictions implicitly did not extend to moral attitudes towards sexuality in the real world.

Furthermore, English authors and commentators from the seventeenth century to the nineteenth found ways of decanting into their writing the tropes of pederastic love while draining away its sexual content, transfiguring a discourse of erotic desire into one of virtuous friendship (Bray 1995: 59–61; Vigus 2009: 15–16). Although this would not have elided the sexual potential of the classics for those intimately familiar with them—recall the ironic allusion to 'chaste contemplative *bardashing*' in Butler's *Hudibras*, quoted by Jodrell (1820)—it does call into question how retellings of classical myths in hard-word and general dictionaries might have been interpreted by less learned readers. Whereas assertions that *Ganymede* was 'ravish'd' by Jupiter (Bailey 1730; Dyche and Pardon 1735) or served as the god's 'Cupbearer and Sodomite' (Cocker 1704) are clearly carnal, how should the reader interpret claims that *Ganymede* was

simply ‘the cup-bearer of Jupiter’ (Fisher 1773; Maunder 1830), that *Magnes* was held ‘in high esteem’ (Phillips 1658) or ‘highly esteemed’ (Cockeram and Clarke 1670) by Gyges, and that *Hylas* was a ‘favourite of Hercules’ (Fisher 1773; Ash 1775)?

Even descriptions of the youths as ‘loved’ by their male companions may be ambiguous, especially when read in tandem with the semantic limitations placed on *love* in general dictionaries. (Hard-word lexicographers were at least spared the difficulty of defining that word.) The noun takes on a moralistic aspect in Bailey’s *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730), which warns that *love*, ‘a friendly Motion to Mankind […] must not be thrown away on an ill Object; nor procure base and unworthy Fuel to its Flames, nor hinder the Exercise of others Duties’. What might be an ill or unworthy object of love goes unsaid, but perhaps *Ganymede*, ‘beloved by *Jupiter*’ (Bailey 1721), was one such. Johnson (1755) would go on to record discrete senses of *love* based on the sexes of the people between whom it is felt. In his dictionary, *to love* is primarily ‘To regard with passionate affection, as that of one sex to the other’ and secondarily ‘To regard with the affection of a friend’. The first sense of the noun is ‘The passion between the sexes’, the second ‘Kindness; good-will; friendship’. Johnson’s restriction of passionate *love* to opposite-sex partners is repeated by, among others, Ash (1775) and Maunder (1830)—throwing into doubt what sort of love is entailed by their assertions that *Hyacinthus* was ‘beloved’ by Apollo and Zephyrus (Ash 1775; Maunder 1830), or *Cyparissus* ‘beloved’ by Apollo (Maunder 1830).

As with the limiting of *fuck* and *swive* to cross-sex intercourse (Chapter 1), these definitions of *love* are performative rather than reflective of the word’s full semantic range. Beyond modern renditions of classical myths, there is also evidence of private settings in which *love* was applied to same-sex desire by the desiring subjects themselves, in ways that were obviously and

affirmatively erotic. At one London sodomy trial in 1726, a witness testified that he had visited a coffee house in which he saw 'Men making Love to one another, as they call'd it', by 'kissing in a lewd Manner and using their Hands indecently' (*Select Trials at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey* 1742: 37). In 1821, the Yorkshire landowner Anne Lister recorded in a diary entry: 'I love, & only love, the fairer sex […] my heart revolts from any other love than theirs' (Lister 1992a: 145). Lister herself was well-read in the classical writers whose obscenity John Wesley had railed against—especially those, like Martial and Juvenal, who wrote inventively about sex between women (Lister 1992a: 287). Yet whereas the mythos of men's desire for men was allowed to exist on the cultural margins of hard-word and general dictionaries, stories of women's desire for women remained firmly beyond the pale.

Sappho Demystified

In the late twentieth century, the feminist theorist Monique Wittig and her partner Sande Zeig would describe *Lesbian Peoples*, their utopian feminist dictionary, as a 'lacunary' text: its 'assemblage of words, what dictated their choice, [and] the fiction of the fables' it recounts all 'constitute lacunae' (Wittig and Zeig 1980: 43), or fragmentary retellings of an imagined history of women-loving women stretching back to the ancient world. The place of *Lesbian Peoples* in the scholarship of sexuality and lexicography was touched on in the Introduction, but I return to it now because 'lacunary' is also the most apt word to describe the mythologizing of women's love for women in the hard-word and general dictionaries of earlier centuries—though for the opposite reason. These dictionaries' reassembly of the fables evacuates any trace of same-sex desire from them.

For example, the first hard-word lexicographer to tell the myth of Calisto is Phillips (1658), who identifies her as 'one of *Diana's* Nymphs, and daughter of *Lycaon*, King of *Arcadia*, she was got with Child by *Jupiter*, and turn'd out of *Diana's* train'. Like that of Ganymede, the story of Calisto is one of many to centre on a rape committed by Jupiter. Elsewhere, Phillips records that the god 'transformed himself into a Swan' to 'deceive' Leda (s.v. *Leda*), 'descend[ed] in a showr of gold' to lie with Danae (s.v. *Acrisius*), adopted 'the shape of a Bull' to 'carr[y] away' Europa (s.v. *Europe*), and assumed 'the form of a Satyr' to impregnate Antiope (s.v. *Lycus*). Yet what is striking about the entry for Calisto beside these other accounts is that Phillips fails to mention the form Jupiter took when he approached her: he came as Diana, to trick Calisto into thinking it was her mistress who embraced her. The myth is erotically ambivalent insofar as it presents the joining of two female bodies, but one is the disguise of a male god; and it is erotically ambiguous insofar as it leaves unanswered whether Calisto herself desired the real Diana. These uncertainties would fire the imaginations of many early modern poets and painters of the story (Traub 1996)—yet Jupiter's transformation into female form remains absent from entries for *Calisto* in hard-word dictionaries after Phillips (Cockeram and Clarke 1670; Coles 1676). Seemingly not until a century later does any general lexicographer feel prepared to record that *Calisto* was 'debauched by Jupiter under the shape of Diana' (Fisher 1773) or 'under the form of Diana' (Entick 1776; Maunder 1830). Still, as in dictionaries' passive constructions of pederastic youths, the matter of Calisto's own desires is never countenanced.

The same lacunae occur in entries for women whose love of other women was less ambiguous in the classical canon. Cockeram's (1623) thematically organized encyclopaedic section includes a category of 'Maides chaste and beautifull', under which he retells the story of Iphis and Ianthe:

> *Iphis*, daughter to *Ligdus* and *Telusia*, who brought vp her daughter in mans apparell, her Father when she came to yeeres maried her to *Ianthes* [sic] a maiden of *Phaestum*, her Mother seeing the matter could be no longer hid, praied to the gods, who presently turned *Iphis* into a man.

The 'chaste' Iphis has no agency in Cockeram's entry, nor in retellings of the story given by later hard-word and general lexicographers (s.v. *Iphis* in Phillips 1658; Cockeram and Clarke 1670; Coles 1676; Cocker 1704; Fisher 1773; Ash 1775; Entick 1776; Maunder 1830). Iphis is disguised, betrothed, transfigured, and married, but her own thoughts and actions are occluded. Conversely, in the myth as it was set down in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, it is made clear that Iphis falls in love with Ianthe while she is still a woman. Iphis's desire is not shied away from in English translations of Ovid. In Sandys's rendering of the *Metamorphoses*, 'Poor *Iphis* loues, despaires; despaire eiects / Farre fiercer flames: a maid, a maid affects' (Ovid 1626: 193). A prose version composed by the lexicographer Nathan Bailey states that 'a Virgin burns for a Virgin' (Ovid 1753: 344), and Orger affirms of Iphis and Ianthe that 'Love pierc'd their bosoms with a mutual wound' (Ovid 1811: 362). However, the rules of dyadic recursivity impose a hierarchy that resists upward mobility. A man who is desired by men may be swiftly 'demoted' to a state of passivization, as in the dictionary entries for pederastic youths. But that does not mean that a woman who desires women will readily be allowed to ascend to the rank of an erotic agent. Agency is a male prerogative. As Poovey (1984: 22) notes, a 'woman as desiring subject is […] a cultural void, a negative that comes into view only when it interferes with the ideal woman'. In the myth, Iphis's desire for Ianthe is a problem that is solved by her miraculous transformation into a man, so that her sex and her status as a desiring subject are at last in agreement. The transformation is one aspect of the story that all the dictionaries do record, even if they elide the troublesome love that preceded it.[9]

[9] Phillips (1658) actually confuses the myth by asserting that Iphis's betrothed, Ianthe, was also 'a certain Virgin, the daughter of *Telessa*, who the first day of her marriage was transformed into a man' (s.v. *Janthe*). Phillips's

The women-desiring woman who looms largest in the modern reception of the classics is the poet Sappho, though her legacy throughout this period is multifaceted. Andreadis (2001: 28) proposes 'three primary modes of representing Sappho' in the early modern period: the foremost of female poets, the jilted lover of Phaon the ferryman, and the infamous admirer of her own sex. Donoghue (1993b: 244) notes that early modern authors' chief source for Sappho's 'life-story' was Ovid's *Heroides*. Here, an epistolary poem in the voice of Sappho speaking to Phaon names several women she loved before she fell for the ferryman. Sappho's relations with women are referred to in many English translations of the poem from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century (e.g. Ovid 1639: 138; 1712: 8; 1746: 167; 1858: 85). Yet of the three modes of representing Sappho identified by Andreadis, only the first two—the poet and the lover of Phaon—are attested in hard-word and general dictionaries. Coles (1676) calls her 'a Poetess of *Mitylene*', Ash (1775) 'a famous poetess of Lesbos'. In the century between these two dictionaries, others that have no entry for *Sappho* herself nevertheless make note of her invention of the poetic form known as *Sap(p)hick verse* (e.g. Cocker 1704; Phillips and Kersey 1706; Bailey 1721) or *Sapphic poetry* (Martin 1749). When Sappho's romantic history is addressed, it exclusively concerns the opposite sex. Cockeram (1623) categorizes *Sappho* under 'Maides that died for loue' and says only that 'for the loue of a Boy [she] drowned her selfe'. Fisher (1773) provides further detail: 'being deserted by her lover Phaon, she leaped off the Leucadian rock to cure her passion' (s.v. *Sappho*). Sappho's love for Phaon is reiterated in several entries for the ferryman himself (s.v. *Phao* in Phillips 1658; Cockeram and Clarke 1670; s.v. *Phaon* in Fisher 1773; Ash 1775; Maunder 1830).

blunder, which is repeated by Cockeram and Clarke (1670), Coles (1676), and Cocker (1704), would entail that Ianthe's wedding to Iphis was a same-sex union after all, but one between two men.

The exclusion of Sappho the lover of women from hard-word and general dictionaries did not extend to all genres of lexicography. In the long eighteenth century, she appeared in certain specialized dictionaries that encompassed classical mythology. Moréri's *Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* (1694), translated from French, states that among the poems composed by *Sappho* is 'an Ode inscribed to a young Girl she loved'. Lemprière observes in the *Bibliotheca Classica* (1788), 'Her tender passions were so violent, that some have represented her attachment with three of her female companions, Telesiphe, Atthis, and Megara, as criminal, and, on that account, have given her the sirname of *Tribas*.'[10] By then, Bayle's *Historical and Critical Dictionary* (1710) had asserted that *Sappho* 'always passed for a Famous *Tribas*', and admonished the reader, 'you must know that her Amorous Passion extended even to the Persons of her own Sex'. Is the modal 'must' deontic (instructing 'you' to know this about Sappho) or epistemic (expressing certainty that 'you' are already familiar with this knowledge)? Either way, the expectations that Bayle placed on the reader he interpellates as 'you' would likely have depended on assumptions about the reader's education and gender.

Andreadis (2001: 37) detects a 'generalized discomfort' on the part of early modern male writers to broadcast knowledge of Sappho's same-sex desires 'beyond the elite circles of educated men who read Latin'—not to mention Greek. There were, of course, women in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries who acquired a classical education through private tutorage or self-study (Cohen 2004; Russell 2018: ch. 2). Among them were Anne Lister, whose familiarity with the racier works of the Roman poets has already been noted, and the writer Hester Lynch Thrale (later Piozzi), whose diary records her musings on sexual immorality in Juvenal (Thrale 1942: 949). However, these women seem to have been exceptional (or

[10] *Tribas* and its English reflex *tribade* are returned to in Chapter 3.

circumspect) enough not to have disturbed the prevailing notion among educated men that reading the unexpurgated classics was a privilege reserved for them.

As such, classical lexicography at the time witnessed an ideological division between learned dictionaries compiled for an elite male readership and reference works whose intended audience included less educated women and men. In the former category, Moréri's *Poetical Dictionary* (1694: a1^{r}) is aimed at '*Knowing* Men' and dedicated to the *'GENTLEMEN'* who collectively funded the work—notwithstanding that, among the catalogue of 700 subscribers that follows the dedication, there are eleven women named. Bayle's dictionary (1710 I: D2^{r}) is intended for readers 'well skill'd in *Latin*', and Lemprière's (1788: iii–iv) for the 'man of letters' and the student being taught classics at school. These learned lexicographers' frank acknowledgment of Sappho's same-sex desire stands in contrast with her treatment in popular reference works for wider, mixed-sex audiences. The latter category includes not just hard-word and general dictionaries, but such works as *The Ladies Dictionary*—a miscellaneous 'General Entertainment For the Fair-Sex' (N. H. 1694: A1^{r})—the *Gentleman and Lady's Key, to Polite-Literature* (c1760), and *An Historical, Genealogical, and Classical Dictionary*, 'Calculated not only for the Use of Schools, but for all Persons who are desirous of being acquainted with ancient and modern History' (1743 I: A1^{r}). All three of these works present *Sappho* only in the modes of poet and lover of men.[11] More telling is Thomas Browne's *New Classical Dictionary, for the Use of Schools*, an abridgement of Lemprière's *Bibliotheca Classica* that is recommended not only for its usefulness to schoolboys but because it 'might, on several occasions, be found a pleasing book of reference for the Fair Sex' (Browne 1797:

[11] *The Ladies Dictionary* by 'N. H.' is an anomaly, having really been assembled by multiple compilers under its publisher, John Dunton, and containing much repetitious material. Considine and Brown (2010: xiv) note that it has four carelessly alphabetized entries for *Sappho*. The entries' uniform omission of her same-sex relationships contrasts with the dictionary's assertion that *buggery* can be committed by, among others, 'a Woman with a Woman'. The disparity reflects mechanical copying from different sources: the *buggery* entry is lifted directly from Blount's 1661 *Glossographia* (see Chapter 1).

vi). Browne's assurance that this shorter dictionary avoids 'matter […] too cumbrous for the tender mind' (vii) is borne out by his entry for *Sappho*, which has been condensed seamlessly from the *Bibliotheca Classica* but for one clumsy cut. Browne bypasses Lemprière's allusion to Sappho's 'criminal' tribady and races on to the poet's cross-sex romance, leaving behind an ungrammatical fragment:

> Her tender passions were so violent, that some have represented her attachment with three of her female companions. She conceived such a passion for Phaon, a youth of Mitylene, that upon his refusal to gratify her desires, she threw herself into the sea.

This syntactic cliff-hanger survived several revisions of the dictionary: it is still in the sixth edition of 1827. But Browne's readerly distinction between male classical students and female dilettantes—retained in the 1827 preface—would become harder to maintain in the following decades. By the early nineteenth century, serious Latin instruction was permitted to small numbers of girls at select schools. From the 1840s onwards, female scholars increasingly gained opportunities to study classics in institutions of higher education, both at newly founded women's colleges and in partially desegregated programmes at older universities (Hurst 2006: 70–89). The educationist Sarah Jolly (1854) encouraged governesses and teachers who were unable or unwilling to learn and teach Latin (42–43) still to read 'what antient authors [were] available for [them]', and to prefer modern authors 'who, in their search after truth, have spared not to themselves the trouble of consulting, and sometimes transcribing original documents' (38). Jolly herself went on to compile *A Vocabulary of Egyptian, Grecian, and Other Mythologies* in 1866. (A short dictionary focussed on deities rather than historical figures, it has no entry for *Sappho*.) Nonetheless, if authorities like John Wesley had once warned against the dangers of admitting schoolboys into a library of unexpurgated classics, these anxieties were stoked to fresh fervour at the prospect of girls entering the stacks. The author Netta Syrett recollected that when she attended the North London Collegiate School in the 1870s, her

grandfather's copy of Lemprière's *Bibliotheca Classica* was confiscated from her by the headmistress, Frances Mary Buss, who remarked, 'It is a clumsy book which I don't wish you to read' (Syrett 1939: 19–20). Syrett reflected that until this incident, 'in perfect innocence', she 'could have passed an examination in the stories of the gods and goddesses, sexual vagaries and all' (20). Hurst (2006: 76), who repeats this anecdote, observes that even within these new, academically rigorous schools, 'concerns about propriety were paramount'.[12]

These concerns did not trouble general lexicographers, for whom Greco-Roman myths, erotic or otherwise, were of little interest after Maunder (1830). But they would come to worry classical lexicographers by the middle of the century, as the assumed barrier of male exclusivity around scholarly dictionaries began to be dismantled. Here, Lemprière's perennially republished *Bibliotheca Classica* is exemplary. Although the editor of an 1832 revision, Edmund Henry Barker, dismisses claims of 'criminal' relations between *Sappho* and her 'female companions' as 'incorrect', he has no qualms about reporting them. Indeed, his preface denounces any criticism of the dictionary's 'indecencies' as 'the mere affectation of old-maidish prudery, when it is considered that all matter of this sort is extracted from those ancient POETS and WRITERS, who are set before youth in the course of a CLASSICAL education' (Lemprière and Barker 1832: x). Yet when, a year later, Barker came to abridge the dictionary 'FOR PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SCHOOLS OF BOTH SEXES' (Lemprière and Barker 1833: v), a newfound sense of prudishness prompted him to erase any mention of the indecencies of *Sappho* beyond that she was known for her 'amorous disposition'. Barker's 1833 preface makes no mention of any change in censorial policy, but the lexicographer's responsibilities to this newly broadened readership are hinted at by his successor, Joseph Cauvin. 'Keeping in view

[12] Netta Syrett's own pragmatic portrayal of sexuality between women in her 1934 novel *Judgement Withheld* is discussed by Goldsmith (2004).

the class of persons for whom this work is especially intended', Cauvin (1843: iv) promises that he 'has studied to avoid every thing offensive both in language and matter'. His updated entry for *Sappho* now vaguely reassures the reader that 'down to a very recent period her name was overshadowed by a cloud of infamy', but this 'the researches of modern philologists have completely dispelled'.[13]

The same tactic is adopted in the three-volume *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (1844–1849), compiled by an array of scholars under the editorship of William Smith, and intended for any 'persons engaged in the study of Antiquity' (Smith 1844 I: vii). The entry for *Sappho*—written by Philip Smith, William's brother—rejects the undisclosed 'calumnies' levelled against the poet and insists that 'there [is] in her fragments no line which, rightly understood, can cast a cloud upon her fair fame'; her 'relations […] to those of her own sex' are of interest only insofar as she 'appears to have been the centre of a female literary society'. In rehabilitating Sappho's biography, Philip Smith and Joseph Cauvin effect a kind of double preterition: Sappho's alleged deviance is not only an act that is not to be named, but an act that did not exist. It should not be known because there is nothing to know. The spectre of the *tribas* raised by earlier lexicographers becomes an unspoken sign with a nonexistent referent, a penumbra of hearsay and misapprehension around the truth of Sappho.

Nevertheless, that the truth was not a stable edifice is borne out by William Smith's *New Classical Dictionary* (1850), a single-volume lexicon for schools largely abridged from the greater work of 1844–1849. With little regard for familial feeling, Smith's (1850) recontextualized entry for *Sappho* drastically departs from his brother's:

[13] However, references to Sappho in the mode of *tribas* survived in direct reprints of Lemprière's original dictionary (e.g. Lemprière 1853), which were presumably not inspected as carefully as the revised editions.

> Modern writers have indeed attempted to prove that the moral character of Sappho was free from all reproach; but it is impossible to read the fragments which remain of her poetry without being forced to come to the conclusion that a female, who could write such poetry, could not be the pure and virtuous woman, which her modern apologists pretend.

These demystifications of Sappho are as conflicting as they are uncompromising. Each brother brooks no interpretation different from his own: either 'there [is] in her fragments no line which, rightly understood, can cast a cloud upon her fair fame' (Smith 1844–1849) or 'it is impossible to read the fragments […] without being forced to come to the conclusion that […she] could not be [a] pure and virtuous woman' (Smith 1850). The Smiths illustrate that while a dictionary may erect an epistemic centre from which knowledge of the periphery is constructed (Benson 2001), the centre itself is not homogeneous across dictionaries. The sifting of ancient sources by modern scholars (including lexicographers) results in a multifaceted vision of the past—though despite the Smiths' disagreement over what could be known about Sappho, they appear to be in accord over what should not be known. William is no clearer about Sappho's implied impurity than Philip. Dictionaries regulate ignorance of the periphery as well as knowledge.[14]

Similar cases of liminal lexicography have recurred throughout this chapter: some aspects of a person, fable, or practice are admitted into the cultural frame of the dictionary while others are held at bay. In hard-word and general dictionaries from the seventeenth century onwards, the stories of Calisto and Iphis have their same-sex desire banished, while invocations of 'the poets' distance pederastic myths from the times and mores of modern England without destabilizing the prestige of the classical canon. The more mundane terms for same-sex acts

[14] By contrast, Victorian classical lexicographers continued to reiterate early modern dictionaries' norms for describing youths attached to older men. *Cyparissus* was 'beloved by Apollo' (Lemprière and Barker 1833), *Hylas* was the 'favourite' of Hercules (Lemprière, Barker, and Cauvin 1843), *Ganymedes* was 'the beloved and favourite of Zeus' (Smith 1844–1849), and *Hyacinthus* was 'beloved by Apollo and Zephyrus' (Smith 1850).

and their actors—the pathics, ingles, buggers, bardashes, sodomites, and catamites sprung from the ancient heathens and modern heretics of the Mediterranean—are recurrently cast as an alien imposition onto English land and language. Still, it is an imposition whose sinfulness and criminality are made sense of through Protestant English ethics. Dictionaries thus come to function as one type of what Foucault (1969/2002: 145) refers to as 'the texts that a culture has kept upon its person as documents attesting to its own past, or as evidence of a continuing identity'. In delimiting knowledge of the periphery, the cultural centre also defines itself (cf. Benson 2001: 40). Pronouncing certain words and concepts to be unnaturalized clarifies the ideological criteria for what is native to a particular language and country, and thus suitable material for nation-building. In such cases, it is worth asking which subjectivities are marginalized or erased from the prescribed image of a national past and present.

—3—

‘Improper Words’

Silencing Same-sex Desire

> A literary lady expressing to Dr. J. her approbation of his Dictionary, and, in particular, her satisfaction at his not having admitted into it any *improper words*; ‘No, Madam,’ replied he, ‘I hope I have not daubed my fingers. I find, however, that you have been looking for them.’
> (‘Dr. Johnson at Oxford, and Lichfield’ 1785: 288.)

This apocryphal tale was printed in *The Gentleman’s Magazine* a year after Samuel Johnson’s death in 1784. Another version appeared some decades later, in the *Personal and Literary Memorials* of Henry Digby Beste (1829: 12). There, the literary lady was replaced with ‘two ladies’ who applauded Johnson’s ‘omission of all *naughty* words’ before their ‘prudery’ was exposed by the same riposte. The moral of the story was also unchanged: a reader should not seek out certain words in a dictionary any more than a lexicographer should record them. The preceding chapters have touched on instances in which dictionaries omitted information that their writers believed should not be passed on to their users. Johnson’s riposte suggests that using a dictionary can be as deliberate and selective as writing one: both user and writer should be complicit in the ‘orchestration of ignorance’ (Sedgwick 1990: 5), taking care to avoid the transmission of knowledge deemed to be indecent. Such wilful ignorance is more than a matter of linguistic propriety. Cameron (1995: 25) argues that the normative treatment of language is ‘not just about ordering language itself, but also exploits the powerful symbolism in which language stands for other kinds of order—moral, social and political’. Regulating linguistic knowledge can be used to reinforce ideologies about what or who is deemed acceptable in respectable society, and who or what is intolerable and unspeakable.

The orchestration of ignorance intersects with gender as well as sexuality (for 'improper' and 'naughty' words must surely include sexually explicit ones). Both versions of the anecdote seem to approve of Johnson's discretion while mocking the same quality in his female readers. Where he is prudent, they are prudish. The double standard reflects a wider gendering of ethical stances towards censorship which we have already seen outlined in classical lexicography (Chapter 2). Expurgating dictionaries may either be condemned as 'old-maidish prudery' (Lemprière and Barker 1832: x) or commended as a paternal protection of the dictionary's users—especially women. In the same year that Johnson's literary lady made her debut in *The Gentleman's Magazine*, the preface to the anonymous *General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (1785: ii) promised that it would be 'extremely acceptable to female readers, who may consult it without a possibility of offence to delicacy, every improper word being rejected'. As Poovey (1984: 26) observes, a virtuous woman at that time could not 'betray knowledge of sexuality (or even, in compromising circumstances, the absence of knowledge, which may be read as knowledge disguised) because knowledge denotes experience and hence potential, if not actual, corruption'. Johnson's ladies are rendered suspect because, in denouncing indecent knowledge, they admit they already possess it—or at least they know enough to recognize it when they see it. Conversely, Johnson can acknowledge censoring his dictionary without any automatic charge of hypocrisy.

This chapter explores the boundaries separating permissible knowledge and language from their impermissible counterparts. It begins by considering whether anxieties about women's erotic knowledge may have contributed to the absence of terms for sexuality between women from hard-word and general dictionaries, despite the terms' occurrence in other texts known to lexicographers. Even sexuality between men, abundantly documented in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, was elided from many dictionaries in Johnson's wake. An increasing

concern for presenting only 'polite' English in general lexicography entailed that same-sex lexis was pushed out into other genres in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This chapter will consider one such genre, cant lexicography, whose representation of the speech of outlaws and outcasts would come to incorporate vulgar words for men-desiring men. However, even cant lexicographers were reluctant to acknowledge that equally vulgar terms existed for women-desiring women. Contrasting cant and general dictionaries throws into relief that dictionary-writers do not just passively mark the borders of a language but actively and autocratically draw them up. As Hornscheidt (2008: 113) remarks, 'The absence of certain word entries can reveal attitudes towards the assumed centrality of certain concepts and a neglect of others.' In symbolically determining the remit of 'proper' English, an entire dictionary comes to act as an extended performative utterance, constructing a selective image of the language from which certain words are tacitly excluded as 'improper'.

Englishing Tribady

Words may be proper in more than one sense. Apart from decency, *properness* denotes legitimacy and authenticity. Thus, while Johnson illustrated many of the headwords in his dictionary with quotations, he also included words that he could find no 'authorities' for but 'kn[e]w to be proper' to the language (Johnson 1755 I: B2^{r}). A century and a half before, Cawdrey had argued in *A Table Alphabeticall* (1604a: A3^{r}–A4^{r}) that speakers who wished to use 'the best kind of speech' should choose words 'proper vnto the tongue wherein we speake'—that is, proper English words, not 'French English' or 'English Italianated'. It is an ironic remark, given the context. The early modern elaboration of English into institutional and cultural spheres previously served by Latin and French, and the subsequent mass borrowing of words from these and other languages to supplement the English lexicon (Durkin 2014: 306–

307), provided at least some of the impetus for the hard-word dictionary genre in the first place (Nevalainen 1999: 343–346). Furthermore, Cawdrey and his successors did not just record existing loanwords in English: they borrowed new ones (Osselton 2009: 134). Entries from bilingual (especially Latin–English) dictionaries were anglicized to augment hard-word lexicographers' wordlists. Editions of Thomas Thomas's *Dictionarium linguæ Latinæ et Anglicanæ*, for instance, were drawn on by Cawdrey, Bullokar, Cockeram, and Blount; Blount shows additional copying from Holyoke's 1639 *Dictionarium etymologicum Latinum* (Starnes and Noyes 1991: 16, 22, 31, 40). This borrowing extended to a range of entries concerning sexuality, as Table 3.1 illustrates.

Table 3.1: Sexual entries borrowed from Latin–English dictionaries by hard-word dictionaries

Bilingual entry	***Hard-word entry***
Thomas (1600) *Bĭgămus* […] Twise married, that hath had two wives.	Cawdrey (1604a) *bigamie*, (g) twise married, or hath had two wiues
Thomas (1600) *Lascivus* […] Wanton in behauiour, or with women: lecherous in liuing, ranke, dishonest […]	Bullokar (1616) *Lasciuious*. Wanton, dishonest.
Thomas (1644) *Clinōpăle* […] Overmuch use of lecherie, or wrestling in the bed.	Blount (1656) *Clinopaly* (*clinopale*) overmuch used of Lechery, or wrestling in the bed.
Holyoke (1639) *Catamitŭs* […] A boy hired to be abused contrary to nature, a Ganymede.	Blount (1656) *Catamite* (*catamitus*) a boy hired to be abused contrary to nature, a *Ganymede*. *Herb. tr.*

All of the headwords in the hard-word column were extant in English before entries for them appeared in Cawdrey, Bullokar, and Blount.[1] Yet it is possible to find other, non-sexual headwords in these dictionaries that were seemingly coined from Latin by the lexicographers

[1] The *OED Online* records earlier attestations of *bigamy*, *lascivious*, and *catamite*. As of 14 May 2020, it has no entry for *clinopaly*, but the word was used before Blount by Cockeram (see Table 3.2).

themselves.[2] Furthermore, Cockeram (1623) presents a range of sexual vocabulary not before attested in English, but traceable to Thomas's *Dictionarium*.

Table 3.2: Sexual entries borrowed from Thomas by Cockeram

Thomas (1620)	***Cockeram (1623)***[3]
Clinōpăle […] Ouermuch vse of lecherie, or wrestling in the bed.	*Clynopaly*. Ouermuch lechery.
Gynæfilus […] A louer of woman, an amorous person.	*Gynephilous*. A louer of women.
Mastuprari […] To touch dishonestly the priuie members of a man.	*Mastuprate*. Dishonestly to touch ones priuities.
Pædico […] To commit buggerie.	*Pedicate*. To bugger.
Pygista […] One that vseth buggerie.	*Pygist*. One that vseth buggerie.
Subăgĭto […] To sollicite and mooue, to grope and be busie with one, to haue to doe with a woman.	*Subagitate*. To solicite, to haue to doe with a woman.

Hard-word lexicographers were clearly not averse to adopting definitions (or adapting headwords) for sexual lexis from bilingual dictionaries, including terms for sexuality between men. What, then, of sexuality between women? Cockeram's *gynephilous* could conceivably be applied to a female 'louer of women', though the word is derived from a masculine Latin noun. Yet bilingual dictionaries also recorded terms from classical literature that denoted women who had sex with women. These were the Latin *fricatrix* (pl. *fricatrices*) and *tribas* (pl. *tribades*), ultimately derived from verbs meaning 'to rub' in Latin (*fricare*) and Greek (*τρίβειν*). *Fricatrix* appears in Thomas's *Dictionarium* from its fourth edition (1593) onwards, translated as 'Shee that useth unlawfull venerie'. Thomas's tenth edition (1615) adds *Tribades*, more explicitly explained to be 'Such filthie women as abused their bodies one with another against kind'. These entries remain in the dictionary's final edition (1644); by then, they had also been

[2] Cawdrey's (1604a) entry for *promerit* ('desert'), Bullokar's (1616) for *objurgate* ('To chide, to reprooue sharpely'), and Blount's (1656) for *adipal* ('fat or gross') are all cited as the earliest attestations of these words in the *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020). All have Latin antecedents in Thomas (1600): *promeritum*, 'desert'; *obiurgo*, 'To chide and reprehend sharply'; *adĭpālis*, 'Fatte, grosse'.

[3] The *OED3* cites Cockeram's (1623) entries as the earliest attestations of *mastuprate*, *pedicate*, and *subagitate*, and the only attestation of *pygist*. It has no entry for *gynephilous*. I have not been able to antedate any of these.

reproduced almost verbatim in Holyoke's *Dictionarium etymologicum Latinum* (1639). Elisha Coles's *Dictionary, English–Latin, and Latin–English* (1677) likewise translates *frictrices* (a variant of *fricatrices*) as 'women using unnatural lust', and *tribades* as 'women abusing their bodies one with another'.

One striking feature of these translations is that women are their syntactic subjects and semantic agents. *Fricatrices* are users and *tribades* are abusers. This contrasts with early monolingual definitions of the English sexual verbs *fuck*, *occupy*, *subagitate*, and *swive*, which take women as their explicit objects and men as their implicit subjects by default (Chapter 1). The same structure is visible in Thomas's (1620) translation of the Latin *subagito* in Table 3.2. However, there is a caveat to the subjectivity of *fricatrices* and *tribades*. In Chapter 2, I proposed that dictionaries construct sexual intercourse according to a hierarchical model of dyadic recursivity: copulation is understood to be an act performed on a 'passive' woman by an 'active' man, and this sets the frame of reference by which other sexual acts are interpreted. In sex between men, this led to one partner being semantically and syntactically passivized. But in sex between women, lexicographers cannot activize one partner over the other without admitting that a woman is capable of usurping a man's position of sexual dominance over (other) women. One tactic of avoiding this is to activize a woman but prevent her from taking another woman as her patient. Thus, what *fricatrices* use is 'venerie' or 'lust' and what *tribades* abuse are 'their [own] bodies'. Still, they remain a destabilizing presence—the uses of *fricatrices* are 'unlawfull' (Thomas 1593; Holyoke 1639) and 'unnatural' (Coles 1677), the abuses of *tribades* 'filthie' and 'against kinde' (Thomas 1615; Holyoke 1639).

Tribades and *fricatrices* are not found in any of the hard-word dictionaries that drew from Thomas and Holyoke. Nor was the words' appearance in Coles's Latin–English lexicon (1677)

preceded by any inclusion of them in his *English Dictionary* (1676). Of course, *tribades* and *fricatrices* occurred alongside countless other headwords in bilingual dictionaries that would not be anglicized by hard-word lexicographers. The main wordlist of Thomas's *Dictionarium* (1620) is over 600 pages long; in contrast, Cockeram's *English Dictionarie* (1623) is just over 300 pages all told. Still, it is worth observing that unlike Cockeram's loanwords *pedicate* and *pygist*, *fricatrices* and *tribades* had already been borrowed into English texts outside of lexicography.

Compared to sexuality between men—a perennial subject in legal and religious discourse—sexuality between women may seem relatively underlexicalized in Early Modern English. However, in addition to foreignisms like *donna con donna* and euphemisms like *feminine congression*, Donoghue (1993b: 3–7) and Lanser (2014: 40) have demonstrated that explicit English terms for women who had sex with women did exist. *Tribas* and *fricatrix* became *tribade* and *fricatrice* in French and had entered English in those forms by the early seventeenth century. They were later joined by the English calques *rubber* and *rubster*, as well as a Latinate extension of *fricatrice*: *confricatrix*.[4] For example, a sixteenth-century translation of a French travelogue tells of women in Turkey who 'handle & grope' one another 'as in Times past [did] the Tribades' of ancient Greece (de Nicolay 1585: 60^{r}). Three decades later, *Rubbers* is used to gloss French *Froteuses* in a translation of Pierre d'Avity's *Estats, Empires, et principautez du monde*. D'Avity (1615: 1128) reports on the existence of Moroccan sorceresses called 'Sahacut, that is to say, Rubbers or Ticklers, for they […] tickle one another like vnto Tribades'. Similar women are termed *'Rubsters'* in an 'Englished' edition of an anatomical manual by the French

[4] As derivations of a common English verb, *rubber* and *rubster* are predictably absent from hard-word dictionaries. *Rubber* would later be defined broadly enough by some general lexicographers to encompass a woman who practises tribady (e.g. 'one that rubs, or a Rubbing Brush', Bailey 1727; '1. One that rubs', Johnson 1755). But none of the dictionaries surveyed for the thesis defines either *rubber* or *rubster* in a clearly sexual sense. As of 14 May 2020, the *OED3* includes a sexual definition of *rubster* but not *rubber*.

physician Jean Riolan (1657: 83). Another manual by the Dutch anatomist Isbrand van Diemerbroeck (1689: 183) has them 'called Confricatrices, but anciently *Tribades*'. Yet terms for women who had sex with women were not limited to English translations of continental writers. In Ben Jonson's bawdy poem 'Præludium', first printed in *Loves Martyr* (Chester 1601: 177), the goddess Venus is exhorted to 'Go, crampe dull *Mars* […] when he snorts, / Or with [her] *Tribade* Trine, inuent new sports'. Jonson was perhaps also the first to borrow *fricatrice* into English. In his play *Volpone* (1607: $I4^{r}$), a man who has been mistaken for a female courtesan is decried as 'a base *fricatrice*'. The word was taken up by one of Jonson's followers, Shackerley Marmion, who wrote in *A Fine Companion* (1633: $G4^{v}$) of a woman who, after rejecting a male suitor, is accused of being 'a close Adulteresse, / Of most strange exercise, a Fricatrice'.

However, the lexical forthrightness of these texts does not mean that English authors felt no qualms about articulating sexuality between women in their own vernacular. Linguistic anxieties flare up in *Rare Verities*, a translation of a Latin sex manual which includes a brief discussion of 'feminine congression' (Sinibaldi 1658: 13). The translator confesses that 'some […] will hold me for a Capitall offender for Transcribing those things into English, which should have remained still in the obscurity of an unknown tongue' ($A5^{r}$). He excuses his translation on the grounds that it will prepare his readers (among whom he envisions unlearned chambermaids) for cross-sex intercourse in marriage. Other early modern male writers were just as reluctant to acknowledge the existence of female same-sex acts in languages to which literate women had widespread access (see Andreadis 2001: 37; Donoghue 1993b: 16; Park 1997: 172).

Like eighteenth-century learned dictionaries of classical mythology, seventeenth-century Latin–English dictionaries were chiefly intended for use by (male) scholars. Conversely, monolingual lexicographers like Cawdrey (1604a: A1^{r}), Bullokar (1616: A2^{r}), and Cockeram (1623: A1^{r}) aimed their work foremost at ladies and gentlewomen. It is tempting to suppose that hard-word lexicographers' failure to include *tribades* or *fricatrices* among their bilingual borrowings might have reflected a desire to withhold these terms from female readers. If one were to judge Early Modern English by bilingual and hard-word dictionaries alone, it would appear as though sexual intimacy between women were a phenomenon nameable only in an archaic tongue, and not to be encountered in the language or culture of the modern day. Of course, this remains a conjecture based on negative evidence. All that can be said with certainty is that hard-word lexicographers were discriminating in their use of bilingual lexicons, and this discrimination shaped the wordlists of their own dictionaries. As Johnson's apocryphal encounter with the literary ladies would later illustrate, dictionaries are read, as well as written, selectively.

Sapphic Significance after 1700

As hard-word dictionaries gave ground to general dictionaries around the turn of the eighteenth century, the practice of anglicizing Latin terms from bilingual lexicons waned. However, general lexicographers continued to rely on these and other dictionaries as sources of linguistic information. J. K. (1702) and Benjamin Martin (1749), for instance, collected common words from the English-first sections of bidirectional French–English and Latin–English dictionaries (Osselton 2009: 149; Starnes and Noyes 1991: 155). Nathan Bailey gathered material from a range of reference works: bilingual, general, and specialist (Kerling 1979: 217–218; Starnes and Noyes 1991: 103–106). It was in copying an entry from one of these works that Bailey produced

what may be the first entry in a general English dictionary to refer exclusively and explicitly to sexual activity between women:

> CONFRICATRICES, CONFRICTRICES } so some Authors call lustful Women, who titulate one another with their *Clitoris*, in imitation of Venereal Intercourses with Men. *L[atin]*.

The entry was introduced in the second edition of Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1724) and reappeared almost verbatim in his *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730). Bailey's own uncredited source was a medical dictionary, the *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* (1722) of John Quincy, which accounts for the definition's learned diction and anatomical frankness.[5] Its inclusion in two English dictionaries aimed at a general audience is remarkable. Nonetheless, even as sex between women is finally afforded a signifier, it is presented as insignificant. According to Bailey, it is not really sex at all—the definition constitutes women's titillations as a mere 'imitation of Venereal Intercourses with Men'. This is another tactic for resolving the ideological threat that sex between women poses to female submission and male dominance: illegitimation. Dyadic recursivity dictates that intercourse is the phallic penetration of a woman by a man. Sex between women fails the phallic and cross-sex criteria, and so it is not copulation.[6] The *confricatrices'* intercourse is doubly improper, both indecent ('lustful') and inauthentic. The definition bears out Traub's (2016: 283) observation that the discursive 'invisibility' of women-desiring women has historically been paired with 'insignificance' and 'impossibility'.

[5] Note, however, the prefacing of the definition with 'so some Authors call'. McConchie (2019: 46) observes that dictionaries' attribution of words to an indefinite 'some' was a common method of 'express[ing] doubt over the proprieties of usage'.

[6] Conversely, sex between men meets the phallic criterion but fails the cross-sex criterion. As a result, sodomy is simultaneously 'copulation' and 'not copulation'—a definitional paradox examined in Chapter 1. Confricatrices' relation to the phallus is returned to, along with Quincy's medical dictionary, in Chapter 4.

If Bailey chose impossibility, his successors seemed to opt again for invisibility. *Confricatrices* does not appear in subsequent general dictionaries, even those that made clear use of Bailey's work—among them Dyche and Pardon (1735), Defoe (1735), Martin (1749), and the 1753 *Pocket Dictionary* (see Starnes and Noyes 1991: 131, 142, 154, 168). Johnson (1755), who likewise consulted the *Dictionarium Britannicum* (Reddick 1996: 201), did not include *confricatrices* either from Bailey or directly from Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*. However, Johnson's dictionary quotes other entries from Quincy, with citation, under numerous headwords for which Johnson offers no definitions of his own (e.g. *colick* n.s., *hydatides*, *levigation*, *marmalade*).[7] Nor did Johnson include *tribade*, though the word appears in two works by Ben Jonson that are cited elsewhere in the dictionary. The 'Præludium', whose allusion to the '*Tribade* Trine' of Venus has already been noted, was later republished as Canto X of *The Forrest* in Jonson's collected works (1616: 829–830). Johnson's dictionary quotes Canto VIII of *The Forrest* under *daintiness* (1.) and *to man* (5.), and Canto IV under *gyves*. In 'An Epigram on the Court Pucell', Ben Jonson (1640: 220) accuses the writer Cecilia Bulstrode of figuratively committing 'Tribade lust' with her muse. The poem appeared in the collection *Under-woods*, which is cited in Johnson's dictionary under multiple headwords (e.g. *bridecake*, *clatter* n.s. 2., *nard* 2., *weft* n.s. 1.).[8]

Nevertheless, there are occasional, indirect echoes of desire between women among Johnson's other quotations. Under *conformable* (3.) appears an ambiguous comment from Addison's *Spectator*: 'The fragments of Sappho give us a taste of her way of writing, perfectly *conformable with* that character we find of her.' The 1711 issue of *The Spectator* in which this

[7] *Confricatrices* appears in Quincy's *Lexicon* from its second edition (1722) onwards. Johnson (1755) relied on a later version: he attributes to *'Quincy'* his entry for *condenser*, which first appears in Quincy's third edition (1726).
[8] I have not found any quotations in Johnson (1755) from Ben Jonson's *Volpone*, discussed earlier for its use of *fricatrice*. Todd's 1818 revision of Johnson cites *Volpone* under *magnifico*, as does Richardson's *New Dictionary* (1836–1837) under *fricace*, but neither contains an entry for *fricatrice*.

remark appeared suggestively went on to argue that it may have been 'for the Benefit of Mankind that [Sappho's Works] are lost', filled as they were with 'such bewitching Tenderness and Rapture, that it might have been dangerous to have given them a Reading' (Addison 1726: 209). Still, danger could be found in reading other classical authors or their modern translations. Dryden's translation of the sixth satire of Juvenal is cited by Johnson under *to turn* (v.n. 10): 'They turn viragos too; the wrestler's toil / They try.' The second line, modestly clipped in Johnson, concludes with the erotic clause 'and Smear their Naked Limbs with Oyl' in Dryden's Juvenal (1693: 102). Johnson goes on to explain *virago* as '1. A female warrior; a woman with the qualities of a man', before observing that '2. It is commonly used in detestation for an impudent turbulent woman'. Dryden's use of the word resonates with both senses. The satire's depiction of women who engage in warlike sports suitable to men is followed by a denunciation of women's sexual immorality, including their indulgence in the 'mimick Leachery of Manly Loves' with each other (Juvenal 1693: 106). Such lustful, assertive, and masculine behaviour is not compatible with the feminine ideals presented by Johnson in his quotations for *woman* (1.): women are 'soft, mild, pitiful and flexible' (Shakespeare), by 'nature form'd […] To temper man' (Otway). The quotations cannot help but recall Johnson's (1747: 31) initial intention to select authorities for the dictionary that would give 'instruction' as well as 'pleasure'.

Of course, how the authorities are understood depends upon the reader. It is conceivable that someone who found the quotations from Addison or Dryden in the dictionary might decide to inquire into Sappho's fragments herself, if she could read them in unexpurgated Greek, or to look up the depiction of wrestling viragos in Juvenal's sixth satire, whether in the original Latin or Dryden's English version. The uses to which the dictionary's quotations were put by contemporary or near-contemporary users are largely inaccessible. Nonetheless, it is tempting to wonder how they might have been read or reinterpreted by a classically educated woman

like Anne Lister. Johnson's own aphoristic reply to the Earl of Chesterfield's belated show of support for his dictionary—that 'Had it been earlier, it had been kinder'—would be quoted by Lister in a diary entry of 1819, as her rationale for staging a timely 'tête-à-tête' with a woman in whom she had developed a romantic interest (Lister 1992a: 81).[9]

By the time the first edition of Johnson's dictionary appeared in 1755, Sappho's erotic reputation had given rise to another English term for sexuality between women. *Lesbian* was no longer just the demonym of Lesbos, the fabled home of Sappho, but had become a metonym for any woman who committed same-sex acts. Donoghue (1993b: 3) points to the adjectival and nominal uses of *Lesbian* in *The Toast*, a mock-heroic poem first published in 1732, in which sexual encounters between women through the ages are termed '*Lesbian* Loves', and a modern Dutchwoman especially skilled at these loves is afforded 'the Title of Chief of the *Tribades* or *Lesbians*' (King 1732: 17, 67). Prior to this, *Lesbian* had been defined in hard-word dictionaries only in relation to the architectural renown of the inhabitants of Lesbos. Blount (1656) notes under *Lesbian Rule or Square*, an ancient mason's tool, that 'The *Lesbians* were […] perfect work-men', while Coles (1676) explains *Lesbian* as 'belonging to *Lesbos*, an *Ægean* Isle, very exact in their buildings'. Johnson's dictionary does not admit *Lesbian* in any sense, in keeping with his policy of 'omitt[ing] all words which have relation to proper names' (Johnson 1755 I: B1^{v}).

Sapphic is likewise excluded by Johnson, though it is defined in dictionaries preceding his as a kind of metrical verse 'first invented by Sapho' (s.v. *Saphick verse* in Phillips 1658; see also Bullokar 1663; Coles 1676; Kersey 1708; Bailey 1721; Martin 1749). *Sapphic* would gain its own

[9] The precise wording in Johnson's letter to Chesterfield—who had proved to be an unsatisfactory patron for Johnson's dictionary—was: 'The notice which you have been pleased to take of my labours, had it been early, had been kind' (Johnson 1790: 4).

sexual sense before the publication of the fourth edition of Johnson's dictionary in 1773. The word was deployed in *The Banquet*, a 1761 translation of Plato's *Symposium* printed to be sold by William Sandy, James Dodsley, and Robert Dodsley—the last of whom had first proposed to Johnson that he compile a dictionary and was among the booksellers who funded the work (Reddick 1996: 17). *The Banquet* (1761: 93) discusses women whose 'Affections tend rather to their own Sex: and of this Kind are the Sapphic Lovers'. Two related derivatives, *Sapphist* and *Sapphism*, have thus far been attested in English only after Johnson's death: their earliest known uses occur in the diary of his friend, the writer Hester Lynch Thrale. Thrale records in 1789 that 'One hears of Things now, fit for the Pens of Petronius only, or Juvenal to record and satyrize: The Queen of France is at the Head of a Set of Monsters call'd by each other *Sapphists*' (Thrale 1942: 740). In 1795, Thrale observes with alarm that 'French and English Women are now publicly said to practise Atrocities'; their 'Vice' has 'a Greek name now & is call'd Sapphism' (949).

Despite its historic association with ancient Greece, modern Sapphism was persistently cast as a (Catholic) French vice, as sodomy was an Italian one (see Chapter 2). Yet while sodomy was often admitted to have infiltrated England, not all eighteenth-century writers were as ready as Thrale to allow that Sapphism had crossed the English border. The anonymous tract *Plain Reasons for the Growth of Sodomy, in England* (c1730: 12) reports that in France, 'the Ladies (in the *Nunneries*) are criminally *amorous* of each other, in a *Method* too gross for Expression'—in English, presumably, for the author 'affirm[s], or, at least, hope[s]' that Englishwomen 'claim no Share of this *Charge*'. Earlier English translations of French writers' descriptions of tribady—the Turkish women who 'handle & grope' each other (de Nicolay 1585: 60^{r}), the Moroccan 'Rubbers' who 'tickle one another' (d'Avity 1615: 1128)—stand in contrast with the 1797 translation of Diderot's novel *La religieuse* (see Donoghue 1993b: 193).

Here, a passage depicting sexual intimacy between two nuns is expurgated, and a footnote from the translator explains that 'French writers […] are permitted a latitude which the English Taste has forbidden' (Diderot 1797: 142).

Moralistic attempts to insulate the sexual manners of England from those of France find a partial parallel in lexicographers' efforts to bolster the divide (real and ideological) between English and French. Cawdrey's (1604a: A3^{r}) distaste for 'French English' might be compared to Johnson's (1755 I: C2^{v}) criticism of 'the licence of translatours, whose idleness and ignorance, if it be suffered to proceed, will reduce us to babble a dialect of *France*'.[10] The psychological differences between the two languages had already been stressed by Bailey (1736: A1^{v}), who asserts that English 'will not bear double Meanings, nor can it palliate or hide Nonsense […it] is of a masculine Quality; it is not only of a different Family from the *Italian*, *French*, &c. but appears to be of a different Sex too'. Anti-Gallican sentiment deepened after the advent of the Seven Years' War in 1756. Rider (1759: A2^{v}) declares that English is 'in all respects preferable' to French, and hopes that when France surrenders the 'terms of peace will be dictated in our own language; a language the best calculated to express the sentiments of undissembled honesty, and to preclude every artifice of French prevarication!' Fenning (1761: v–vi) expresses the wish that the court of King George III would 'admit no other language [than English] within its verge', for the 'softness' of French 'may suit the disposition of those who are born slaves, but is neither suitable to the free and manly sentiments of English Kings, or English Subjects'. We witnessed in Chapter 2 how language may be ideologically twinned with nationhood. Here, the two become enmeshed in patriarchal binaries of masculinity and femininity, autonomy and submission, authenticity and falsity. The *tribade*—a figure who

[10] Still, Johnson's objections to the influence of French on English did not stop him from registering many French loanwords in his dictionary, as Mugglestone (2015: ch. 6) documents.

unsettles all of these divisions—might find a place in the fourth edition of the *Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise* (1762) as 'Femme qui abuse d'une autre femme' [Woman who abuses another woman].[11] But in general English dictionaries of the late eighteenth century, she would remain unarticulated.

Polite Dictionaries, Proscribed Desires

Given its almost complete nonexistence in monolingual English lexicography before 1755, the absence of sexuality between women from Johnson's dictionary is unsurprising. More conspicuous is his omission of the lexis of sexuality between men, which had been a near-constant presence in hard-word and then general dictionaries since Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* (1604a). Johnson did not actually omit all sexual words that might be considered improper (Johnston 2005: 12). His dictionary defines a range of terms for deviant intercourse between man and woman, including *adultery* ('The act of violating the bed of a married person'), *to bawd* ('To procure; to provide gallants with strumpets'), *to fornicate* ('To commit lewdness'), and *polygamy* ('Plurality of wives'). Venereal disorders also appear, if obliquely, under *gonorrhoea* ('A morbid running of venereal hurts') and *priapism* ('A preternatural tension'). Johnson's inclusion of these terms may be read against his later remarks on sexuality in conversation with James Boswell. Boswell (1799 III: 17) reports that while Johnson was opposed to 'all irregular intercourse between the sexes', he acknowledged that 'All men will naturally commit fornication, as all men will naturally steal'. As such, 'severe laws, steadily enforced', were needed to deter such 'evils' and 'promote marriage'. Cross-sex intercourse outside of monogamous marriage may have been immoral, and justly unlawful, but it was an

[11] Lanser (2014: 221) points out that even the *Académie* had its limits. The fifth edition of its dictionary (1798) annotated its earlier definition of *tribade*: 'On évite ce mot' [One avoids this word].

understandably human failing.[12] Where Johnson appears to have drawn the line was at acts that were unnaturally non-procreative. In his dictionary, not just same-sex but interspecies intercourse is occluded: *bestiality* is sexlessly explained to be 'The quality of beasts; degeneracy from human nature'. Also absent are manual erotic acts. *Dildo*, *onania*, and *onanism*, all registered by Bailey (1730), are passed over in silence.

Though the staunchly Anglican Johnson did not always succeed in finding quotations for the dictionary that embodied 'precept[s] of prudence, or piety', as he had hoped (Johnson 1747: 31), prudent and pious scruples may still have affected his choice of headwords and definitions, just as they influenced his other published works.[13] In *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets*, for instance, Johnson (1781: 300) castigates the Earl of Rochester for 'los[ing] all sense of religious restraint' and 'play[ing] many frolicks, which it is not for his honour that we should remember'. Boswell (1799 III: 208) claims that Johnson gave instructions for Rochester's poems to be 'castrate[d]' before appearing in the anthology which *Lives* was meant to accompany. Rochester's work was notorious for its celebrations of debauchery. To him was credited a scandalous collection of poetry—'published in the year of his death, with an air of concealment' (Johnson 1781: 304)—which contained such lines as 'two *Beldames*, and a jilting *Wife*, / Came to swive off, the tedious hours of life', and 'missing my *Whore*, I bugger my *Page*' (Wilmot 1680: 36, 60). If Rochester's unexpurgated poetry was unsuitable, in Johnson's view, for the polite literature of the eighteenth century, it is small wonder that such words as *bugger* and *swive* are not countenanced in Johnson's dictionary. The only quotation from

[12] Johnson's assertion that sinful and criminal acts could nonetheless be natural contrasts with earlier lexicographers' tight imbrication of divine, natural, and juridical law (see Chapter 1).
[13] Reddick (1996: ch. 7) discusses the influence of religion on Johnson's dictionary. Read (1934: 270), however, points to the disjuncture between Johnson's public reputation for piety and his use of obscenity in private settings.

Rochester that has been identified in the dictionary—attributed to *'Anon'* under *refine* (v.a. 1.)—is, in this case, fitting: 'Weigh ev'ry word, and ev'ry thought *refine*'.[14]

Johnson cast a long shadow. In the preface to *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary*, John Walker (1791: viii) remarks that Johnson's dictionary had been 'deemed lawful plunder by every subsequent Lexicographer; and so servilely [had] it been copied, that such words as he must have omitted merely by mistake […] are neither in Mr. Sheridan's, Dr. Kenrick's, nor several other Dictionaries'. The lexis of sexuality between women and between men is among the words absent from the dictionaries of Sheridan (1780) and Kenrick (1773)—as well as those of Baskerville (1765), Perry (1775), Jones (1797), and Walker (1791) himself. Whether or not Johnson omitted this body of words 'by mistake', it seems improbable that its low coverage or total absence in later dictionaries was merely an accident born of their writers hewing too closely to his wordlist. Johnson makes no overt mention of his policy for treating obscenity in the preface to his dictionary, but a number of his contemporaries and successors were eager to assure their readers of the propriety of their work in this respect (Mugglestone 2010: 326–329). The anonymous *Pocket Dictionary* (1753: 4) is advertised as having 'rejected all obsolete, bad, low and despicable words', and Marchant and Gordon's *New Complete English Dictionary* (1760: iv) asserts that the compilers had 'taken especial Care to exclude all those Terms that carry any Indecency in their Meaning, or have the least Tendency to corrupt the Minds of Youth'. Baskerville (1765: ii) treats 'only those more difficult Words which occur in sensible genteel Company', Anne Fisher (1773: ii) claims that her dictionary is 'without any obsolete or inelegant [words]', and Kenrick (1773: iii) omits words 'not of modern and elegant use'. Such protestations of decency contrast with, for example, the earlier attitude of Ephraim Chambers

[14] The quotation is from Rochester's bawdy 'Allusion to Horace' (Wilmot 1680: 44). See Wimsatt and Wimsatt (1948) for the attributions of anonymous quotations in Johnson's dictionary.

in his dictionary of technical terms, the *Cyclopædia* (1728). Chambers argues that words need 'not [be] infamous and indecent, tho' they signify very infamous things; because they represent them as covered with a Veil of Horror' (s.v. *incest*); his own examples are *adultery* and *incest*. Chambers thus distinguishes between what Read (1934: 264) calls a 'taboo of word' and a 'taboo of concept': to Chambers, a word should be admissible in polite society even when the concept it signifies is not.

Notably, the shift in tone between Chambers and the dictionaries of Johnson and his successors coincided with a change in the legal status of obscene literature. In 1728, the year in which Chambers's *Cyclopædia* was published, printing obscenity became a criminal offence under English law. The legal definition of libel, previously limited to the written defamation of an individual person or the government, was broadened to include any text which the courts deemed was 'intend[ed] to weaken the bonds of civil society, virtue, and morality' (Howell 1813: col. 160; see McKeon 2006: 312–318). Language was once again implicated in nation-building (see Chapter 2): if cultivated speech could strengthen society, then indecent speech could destabilize it. In 1755, the Court of King's Bench issued a general warrant which authorized agents of the law to search any 'Houses, Warehouses, Shops, and other Places' suspected of containing 'lewd and infamous Books and Prints', and to arrest any 'Person or Persons, in whose Custody they shall be found' (Webb 1763: 55). Not only the production but the possession of obscene books became hazardous, though what counted as obscene remained ill-defined. The practice of issuing general warrants for libel was abolished by the House of Commons in 1766, after the writer and lexicographer John Entick successfully sued the authorities for an illegal raid on his house carried out under such a warrant.[15] But given this

[15] Entick contributed articles to the political periodical *The Monitor, or British Freeholder*, and was targeted under suspicion of writing seditious rather than obscene libel. The Court of Common Pleas ruled in 1765 that he had been a victim of trespassing (Howell 1816: cols. 1029–1074).

censorious climate, it becomes clearer why certain eighteenth-century dictionaries appear 'like herbaceous borders in a private garden, filled with well-cultivated flowers that had been planted with reasonable deliberation' (Burchfield 1989/1992: 149).

Words for same-sex sexuality only returned to general British dictionaries in significant and sustained numbers after the republication of Webster's *(American) Dictionary of the English Language* in England in 1831–1832.[16] Table 3.3 illustrates the fluctuations in the average number of same-sex headwords found in a survey of sixty-seven hard-word and general English dictionaries that were published between 1604 and 1883 (or that began publication during that time, in the case of Hunter 1879–1888). The table includes only first editions of dictionaries (except where these have been unobtainable) and later editions revised by different lexicographers from the first (e.g. Cockeram and Clarke 1670; Ogilvie and Annandale 1882–1883). Dictionaries intended to supplement existing works rather than present a full wordlist of their own (e.g. Bailey 1727; Mason 1801) are excluded. Headwords that are proper nouns have not been counted, except where entries for these nouns include a definition for an eponymous common noun (e.g. *Ganymed*, '*Jupiters* cup-bearer, an Ingle', in Coles 1676). Also omitted are headwords defined in irrelevant senses only (e.g. *Sapphic*, 'A kind of metre, so called from Sappho, who wrote in it', in Richardson 1836–1837).

Table 3.3: Same-sex headwords in hard-word and general dictionaries, 1604–1883

Mode and mean of relevant headwords per dictionary	*1604–1754 (22 dictionaries)*	*1755–1830 (26 dictionaries)*	*1831–1883 (19 dictionaries)*
Mode	4	0	4
Mean	6.6	2.4	5.7

[16] See the graph in Appendix I. The particular influence of Webster's definitions of *buggery* and *sodomy* on British dictionaries is addressed in Chapter 1.

From Cawdrey's *Table Alphabeticall* (1604a) to Wesley's *Complete English Dictionary* (1753), the twenty-two surveyed dictionaries have an average of 6.6 headwords concerning same-sex sexuality, though a given dictionary most often has four. In the twenty-six general dictionaries examined from Johnson (1755) to Maunder's *Treasury of Knowledge* (1830), the average drops to 2.4 relevant headwords per dictionary, and it is most common for a dictionary to have none. There is a rise in the average to 5.7 headwords across nineteen general dictionaries from Webster (1831–1832) to Hunter (1879–1888), with a dictionary most commonly having four headwords once again. This rise is at least somewhat attributable to the general impact of Webster on British lexicographers, many of whom acknowledge his influence (Smart 1836: iv; Boag 1848: 3; Craig 1849: vii; Ogilvie 1850: ii; Clarke 1855: ix; Nuttall 1863: iv; Longmuir 1864: v). Webster (1831–1832) defines at least eight same-sex headwords—*bugger* (n.), *buggery*, *pederast*, *pederastic*, *pederasty*, *pathic*, *sodomite*, *sodomy*—more than any other post-Johnsonian lexicographer in the survey, excepting Ash (1775).

With twenty-two headwords, Ash's *New and Complete English Dictionary* is an extreme outlier. Its wordlist is swelled by an abundance of separate entries for derived terms (e.g. *sodomite*, *sodomitical*, *sodomiticalness*, *sodomitish*) and inflected forms of the same lemma. However, his definitions are largely evacuated of any same-sex content. In the supplement at the end of the dictionary, one finds, for example, *buggered*, 'Defiled by unnatural intercourse'; *buggerer*, 'One guilty of an unnatural crime'; *buggering* (p.a.), 'Committing an unnatural crime'; and *buggering* (s.), 'The act of committing an unnatural crime'. Ash's lexical expansiveness also did not extend to sexuality between women. He drew on Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*, perhaps the twenty-second edition (1770), for several sexual terms: Bailey is cited in the entries for *frig* ('To rub'), *fuck* ('To perform the act of generation, to have to do with a woman'), and *swive* ('To perform the act of generation'). Yet Bailey's

confricatrices entry is absent from Ash's *Complete English Dictionary*—one instance of how 'the copiousness of the English Language' leaves the lexicographer 'short of that perfection which the [dictionary's] plan seems to require' (Ash 1775 I: A2^{v}).

Johnson had expressed similar sentiments after compiling his own dictionary. In the preface, he acknowledges that he had 'set limits to [his] work, which would in time be finished, though not completed' (Johnson 1755 I: C1^{v}). Yet *A Dictionary of the English Language* makes no titular claim to completeness. Nor does its definition of *dictionary*: 'A book containing the words of any language in alphabetical order, with explanations of their meaning; a lexicon; a vocabulary; a word-book.' In both respects, Johnson departs from Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1721), in which a *dictionary* is 'a Collection of all the Words of a Language, explain'd in Alphabetical Order'. Equally bold assertions are made for lexicons succeeding Johnson's (see Mugglestone 2010: 319–320). Rider's *New Universal English Dictionary* (1759), the anonymous *Universal Dictionary of the English Language* (1763), and the *Complete English Dictionaries* of Allen (1765) and Barlow (1772) proclaim the exhaustiveness of their lexical coverage in their titles. Fenning's *Royal English Dictionary* (1761: viii) is said to explain 'Every word made use of in the common occurrences of life, or in the several arts and sciences necessary for the subsistence or improvement of our being', while Entick's *New Spelling Dictionary* (1766: A1^{r}) is advertised as a 'Complete Pocket Companion For those That read […] English Authors of Repute'. Yet each of these six dictionaries seemingly contains a single same-sex headword: *catamite*.

The partially revived documentation of terms for sexuality between men in the nineteenth century is not matched by any newfound coverage of words for sexuality between women. None of the surveyed general dictionaries published between Bailey (1730) and the *OED* (1884–

1928) appears to contain *confricatrices* or *confrictrices*. 'A native of Lesbos, an inhabitant of Lesbos' (Ash 1775) and 'Belonging to Lesbos' (Ash 1775; Clarke 1855) are the only senses of *Lesbian* recorded by general lexicographers in this period. *Tribade*, *Sapphist*, and *Sapphism* remain unregistered, as do the erotic senses of *Sapphic*, *rubber*, and *rubster*. *Fricatrice* finally enters British general lexicography in the dictionaries of Ogilvie and Annandale (1882–1883) and Hunter (1879–1888), which both mark it as obsolete and define it as 'A harlot'. Whether the lexicographers understood the term to denote a woman who has sex with women is uncertain. They were likely copying from the 1864 revision of Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language*, in which a *fricatrice* is 'A lewd woman; a harlot. [Obs.] *B. Jonson*' (original brackets). The 1864 Webster traces the word to Latin '*fricare*, to rub', and Ogilvie and Annandale (1882–1883) to '*frico*, *frictum*, to rub [sic]', but beyond that none of the dictionaries indicate what manner of 'harlot' the fricatrice is.

This is not to say that the lexis of sexuality between women went unregistered in all British dictionaries between Bailey and Annandale. This body of words was documented by a number of medical lexicographers in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, as Chapter 4 will explore. Yet the near-total absence of the fricatrice from hard-word and general dictionaries has a powerful performative force. The same is true of the disappearance of the sodomite from the 'complete' and 'universal' dictionaries of the late eighteenth century. If a dictionary is advertised as a comprehensive record of English, then any term excluded from the dictionary is implicitly positioned as exterior to the English language, at best unauthorized, at worst nonexistent (cf. Barrett 2014: 200). Such exclusions should not always be interpreted as deliberate, but in the case of sexuality, they cannot be divorced from a wider cultural discourse of omission. In the second half of the eighteenth century—a time when dictionaries' silence was at its most profound—the newspaper *Old England* could still disingenuously claim that

'*peccatum illud* Sodomiticum' [that sin of Sodom] is 'yet without a Name' in English, for 'There are not Words in our Language expressive enough of the Horror of it' (Argus Centoculi 1750: A1^{r}). The criminal amours of Frenchwomen were 'too gross for Expression' according to *Plain Reasons for the Growth of Sodomy* (c1730: 12), and desires between women and between men alike were 'unspeakable Sins' to Hester Thrale (1942: 770). The symbolic unspeakableness of same-sex sexuality—even as, in these acts of preterition, it was spoken about—turns its signifiers into shibboleths whose avoidance distinguishes the polite from the impolite, the pious from the impious, and the proper from the improper. It is little wonder that these words should have been banished from the cultivated dictionaries of the post-Johnsonian decades.

Vagabonds of the Lexicon

Not all lexicographers strove for linguistic respectability. Nowhere is this clearer than in the lexicography of cant, a sociolect distinguished by the vulgarity of its lexis and its imagined speakers. Halliday (1976: 570) describes cant as an 'anti-language' created by an 'anti-society […] set up within another society as a conscious alternative to it'—in this case, by vagrants, confidence tricksters, and lawbreakers. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, cant wordlists often took the form of glossaries appended to narrative exposés of England's criminal underworld (see Coleman 2004 I), but the genre's development across a series of standalone dictionaries in the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries forms a useful counterpoint to the 'polite' lexicography of the same period. In cant lexicons, words that were too indecent for general dictionaries could still find a place.

Like sexual deviance, cant is a dangerous thing, both confused and confusing. Blank (2012) argues that it was conceived of as 'insubordinate to English rule' (281) and 'inimical to English

culture and to English law' (283). The anonymous *New Canting Dictionary* (1725: A4^{r}) describes cant as 'a confused Jargon, and not grounded on any Rules; and no wonder, since the Practicers thereof are the chief Fathers and Nourishers of Disorder'. Despite its use of English syntax and morphology, cant is often positioned as non-English (Coleman 2004 I: 5). *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725: A4^{v}) proposes that its speakers originated in Bohemia and then spread through the continent, Ireland, and Scotland—'form[ing] to themselves a peculiar Dialect' along the way—before arriving in England. Francis Grose's *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785: iii) notes that among cant's other names are 'Pedlar's French' and 'St. Giles's Greek'. Whereas many eighteenth-century general dictionaries offered a standard of elegant English for their users to emulate, cant wordlists were often intended for comprehension only. The third edition of the supplement to Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1737: A4^{r}) advertises its inclusion of *'Canting'* words 'for the Satisfaction (but not the Imitation) of the Curious'. Grose (1785: v) suggests that a knowledge of criminals' cant may 'be useful to gentlemen in the commission of the peace', while Humphry Tristram Potter (1795: v) hopes that 'by exposing the Cant Terms of [criminals'] language' he will 'FACILITATE THE DETECTION OF THEIR CRIMES'. In these works, defining becomes a means of confining. Troublesome words are collected and registered so that the public may be warned against the unlawful activity that they might otherwise conceal (see Blank 1996: 52–58). It is a linguistic form of civil policing, an attitude that would later be summed up by the Victorian journalist Charles Whibley (1893: 164) when he asked in a survey of impolite dictionaries, 'if we have workhouses for the destitute, prisons for the criminal, why should we not provide shelter for the thieves and vagabonds of the lexicon?'

Is same-sex intercourse one of the crimes uncovered by cant lexicographers? At the onset of the seventeenth century, Thomas Dekker (1608: E2^{r}) claims that among cant speakers there is

'No sinne but is […] committed without shame, Adulterie is common amongst them, Incest but laughed at, *Sodomy* made a iest'. Yet it is apparently not until the publication of the first standalone cant dictionary—*A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew* by 'B. E.' (c1698)—that a word for sodomy is recorded in a cant lexicon: '*Duncarring*, Buggering.' Explaining a headword by a simple gloss rather than a full definition is a common feature of cant lexicography, and emphasizes cant's non-English status. As Béjoint (2010: 211) remarks, defining a non-prestigious term 'by a synonym or a paraphrase in the prestige variety […] amounts to treating it as one would a foreign word in a bilingual dictionary'. Once understood, *duncarring* itself is more sexually vivid than its definition. Williams's *Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (1994) suggests that *carring* was an Elizabethan term for 'copulation' from 'a woman's viewpoint, she providing a conveyance in which men ride'. If the person engaged in *duncarring* is male, then the term evokes his assumption of a woman's 'passive' sexual role. The fact that the penetration is anal rather than vaginal is implied by *dun*, which Williams (1994) supposes is meant to signify an excremental 'dingy brown', though it is also worth noting the word's near-homophony to *dung*.[17]

B. E.'s dictionary appeared at a time when communities of men-desiring men were becoming a more visible, and more visibly persecuted, element of the London underworld. Raids on molly houses—public-houses in which men gathered to drink, dance, flirt, and have sex—began in 1698 and recurred at intervals throughout the eighteenth century and into the nineteenth (Hitchcock 1997: 67–75; Norton 2006). The lives and trials of those associated with the molly houses were documented, at least initially, by a flurry of scandalized pamphlets, sessions

[17] B. E. (c1698) provides the only attestation of *duncarring* in *Green's Dictionary of Slang* (2016–). I have not found any other pre-twentieth-century uses.

papers, and other publications. The third volume of *A Compleat History of the Lives and Robberies Of the most Notorious Highway-Men* by Alexander Smith (1720: 328) warns that 'Clubs' of 'Sodomites, or Mollides [sic]' were a common scourge in London. *A Genuine Narrative of All the Street Robberies Committed since October last, by James Dalton* (1728: 31–43) details the titular thief's colourful encounters with various groups of *'Mollies'*, *'Indorsers'*, and '*Back-door* Gentlemen', among whom it names a former marshal of the City of London, Charles Hitchen.[18] Decades later, George Parker's *View of Society and Manners in High and Low Life* (1781 II: 85–88) apprises readers of the soliciting habits of 'madge culls', though the 'name of the vice' these men commit is 'better omitted than expressed'. Parker would go on to omit *madge cull* from his own glossary of '*Cant*, *Flash* and *Slang*' (1789: ch. xv). Nor did Alexander Smith include *molly* in the *Thieves New Canting Dictionary* (1719) which came bound with the first volume of his *Compleat History*. *Indorser* and *back-door gentleman* are also absent from the '*Key* to the *Canting Language*' appended to James Dalton's *Genuine Narrative* (1728: 60), although it does offer '*A Mag*, A Sodomite'. However, almost all of these words would be collected together in one cant lexicon: Francis Grose's magisterial *Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (1785).

Grose (1785) records eight terms for men who have sex with men: not only *molly*, *madge culls*, *indorser*, and *gentleman of the back door*, but *usher of the back door*, *back gammon player*, *bud sallogh*, and (one who uses the) *windward passage*. All are explained to be 'sodomite(s)'. Again, a term that might be registered as a headword in a general dictionary here serves as a definition. Yet as with *duncarring* in B. E. (c1698), Grose's headwords are often more evocative than their more familiar gloss. Many betray a euphemistic fixation with the anus: the

[18] Hitchen had been found guilty of attempted sodomy, pilloried, and imprisoned in 1727 (Beattie 2004). He had published his own glossary of words 'in Vogue amongst Thieves' a decade earlier (Hitchen 1718: 19–20), but it betrays no mention of the molly houses.

back door of which the sodomite is the *gentleman* or *usher*, the *windward passage* which he 'uses, or navigates', and the *back gammon* at which he plays. The last term may show an additional pun on *gammon* in the carnal sense—Grose (1785) notes that 'to pig together' means 'to lye or sleep together' (s.v. *pig*). The second edition of his dictionary adds *mutton monger*, 'A man addicted to wenching', and explains under *beef* that 'To be in a man's beef' is 'to wound him with a sword', whereas 'To be in a woman's beef' is 'to have carnal knowledge of her' (Grose 1788). In this light, the *back gammon player* may subvert a discourse of woman-as-meat and man-as-consumer. The sodomite certainly upsets the other gender paradigm that Grose (1788) identifies under *beef*, where the word describes a physically violent act if applied to a man and a sexual act (whether violent or not) if applied to a woman. The use of physical force as a conceptual metaphor for sexuality is well established in Modern English (Lakoff 1987: 411). Partridge (1968/2001: 34), for instance, points to the number of 'sadistic' verbs that are applied to sexual acts by Shakespeare (e.g. *hit*, *ram*, *strike*, *stab*), in which case they typically take a woman as their patient. The porousness that sex between men brings to the gendered division of the sex–violence metaphor is demonstrated by Grose (1785) under *indorser*. Grose explains that 'to indorse with a cudgel' is 'to drub or beat a man over the back with a stick'. As such, the male partner of an *indorser*, 'a sodomite', seems to slip between a masculinized victim of violence and a feminized object of sexuality—the 'back' now a backside, the 'stick' a phallus.

Other terms for 'sodomite' are more direct in their references to genitalia. Grose (1785) explains that *bud sallogh* is 'an Irish appellation' meaning 'shitten p—ck'. *Madge culls* takes on new significance beside Grose's entries for *madge* ('the private parts of a woman') and *cull* ('a man, honest or otherways'). Through metonymy or metaphor, *bud sallogh* and *madge culls* reduce men who have sex with men to the status of genitalia that deviate in some way from the

dominant norms of masculinity. The *bud sallogh*—presumably a man who takes a penetrative role—possesses a penis, but filthily misuses it. In the case of *madge culls*, 'sodomites' are metaphorized as men who have vaginas, whether because they act as receptive partners or because their overall behaviour is judged to be womanly. Historians of sexuality from McIntosh (1968) onwards have argued that it was with the construction of the madge cull or molly (itself derived from a woman's name) around the turn of the eighteenth century that sexuality between men became associated with a general effeminacy—in dress, speech, and demeanour—in a way that it had not been before in England (Bray 1995: 88; Trumbach 1999: 93). Grose defines *molly* as 'a miss Molly, an effeminate fellow, a sodomite', and the definitional phrases appear to be related rather than discrete senses. Whereas hard-word and general dictionaries had maintained a distinction between the penetrative pederast and the receptive, feminized pathic, effeminacy here seems to become a marker of any man who engages in sex with other men.[19]

Women who had sex with women were implicated in their own complex discursive field with masculinity. Although cant lexicographers offer no frank depictions of tribady, there was no dearth of popular discourse about women-desiring women. One construction of the criminally mannish woman that grew in notoriety during the same period as the molly was the 'female husband' (Crawford and Mendelson 1995; Derry 2008). Motivated sometimes by erotic desire, other times by financial gain, the archetypal female husband disguised herself as a man in order to seduce 'unwitting' women into marriage. Perhaps the most well-known example occurs in a pamphlet by Henry Fielding. *The Female Husband: or, the Surprising History of Mrs. Mary, Alias Mr George Hamilton* recounts the highly fictionalized biography of Mary Hamilton, a

[19] However, not all effeminate men were assumed to desire other men (O'Driscoll 2013). Grose's (1785) explanation of a *bully trap* as 'a brave man with a mild or effeminate appearance' holds no suggestion of sodomy.

real person who was whipped and imprisoned for fraudulently marrying another woman in 1746. However, unlike contemporaneous pamphlets on mollies, Fielding uses no cant words for his subject. He hints that after Hamilton's sex was discovered, her neighbours insulted her with 'terms of reproach not fit to be commemorated' (Fielding 1746: 20), but he vouches that 'not a single word occurs through the whole [of his narrative], which might shock the most delicate ear, or give offence to the purest chastity' (23). Even the dildo Hamilton allegedly used in her love-making goes unnamed, being referred to as 'something of too vile, wicked and scandalous a nature' (21). Fielding concludes by stating that 'unnatural affections are equally vicious and equally detestable in both sexes', before altering course: 'nay, if modesty be the peculiar characteristick of the fair sex, it is in them most shocking and odious to prostitute and debase it' (23). The female husband does not appear among the fraudsters described in cant lexicography, but elements of her makeup do: female masculinity, lustfulness, the threat of women's mutual intimacy and independence from men, and the dildo.

In the first category, B. E. (c1698) explains a *virago* to be 'a masculine Woman, or a great two-handed Female', which is reiterated by *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725) and Bailey (1737). Grose (1785) defines *jack whore* as 'a large masculine overgrown wench' and *horse godmother* as 'a large masculine woman, a gentlemanlike kind of a lady', but whether their masculinity extends to their sexual behaviour is unstated. These mannish women share the pages with such ambiguously 'lewd' figures as *lady-birds* ('Light or Lewd Women', B. E. c1698), *sad cattle* ('impudent, lewd Women', *A New Canting Dictionary* 1725), and the *family of love* ('Lew'd Women, Whores', Bailey 1737). They are among the many words offered by cant lexicographers for women who might live as mistresses or work as prostitutes—though their relationships with men need not foreclose the possibility that they could form sexual partnerships with other women. John Cleland's *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (1749 I: 27)

famously presents Fanny Hill's initiation into a career of prostitution as an act of mutual masturbation between the protagonist and a veteran of the trade who enjoyed 'any occasion of lewdness [that] presented itself', whether with women or men. A concern that sexual acts could at any moment occur between women in homosocial communities like the brothel is palpable throughout the eighteenth century.[20] *Hell upon Earth*, a lurid account of the inner workings of Newgate Prison, claims that in the women's section the male author 'view'd a Troop of *Hell-Cats*, lying Head and Tail together', whose 'Licentiousness […] is so detestable, that it is an unpardonable Crime to describe their Lewdness' (Tuus Inimicus 1703: 8–9). The pamphlet's accompanying wordlist of 'the *Canting-Tongue*' (5–7) does not gloss *hell-cat*, but *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725) predictably explains it to be 'a very lewd Woman'.

Prisons and brothels were not alone in provoking anxiety. *A New Canting Dictionary* (1725) and Bailey (1737) note that a *warren* is 'a Boarding-school, or a Bawdy-house, which are too much the same thing'—leaving the reader to guess at the vices that might be practised in a sex-segregated school. Eighteenth-century commentators warned that schoolgirls, if not properly watched, would teach each other to masturbate. Mary Wollstonecraft (1792: 287) decried boarding schools on the grounds that girls who '[slept] in the same room, and wash[ed] together' were in danger of 'acquiring nasty, or immodest habits'. *Onania* (1723: vii), a much-reprinted tract against masturbation, claimed that schoolgirls 'frequently Practis'd it, *cum Digitis & aliis Instrumentis*' [with fingers and other instruments]. Grose's (1785) warning under *dildo* is more candid:

> DILDO, an implement resembling the virile member, for which it is said to be substituted, by nuns, boarding school misses, and others obliged to celibacy, or fearful of pregnancy. Dildoes are made of wax, horn, leather, and diverse other substances, and

[20] Cleland's own *Dictionary of Love* (1753)—a satirical lexicon of the clichés of cross-sex romance—defines *seraglio* as 'An inclosure, in which a number of women are shut up and inslaved to the pleasure of one tyrant', before playfully quoting an unidentified 'modern author' who proposes that 'a queen [keeping] a seraglio of men' is to be preferred 'as much the most natural and sensible establishment'.

> if fame does not lie more than usually, are to be had at many of our great toy shops and nick nackatories.

Grose's (1785) epistemic hedges ('it is said', 'if fame does not lie') do little to mitigate the alarming prospect of dildoes' widespread availability, even to women and girls sequestered in cloisters and dormitories. Although Grose presents it as an alternative to cross-sex intercourse for those wishing to avoid broken vows or unwanted pregnancies, the dildo remains a polyvalent 'means for women taking sexual matters literally into their own hands' (Traub 2016: 216)—including women who have no erotic interest in men. Later, Grose seems to have decided that this concession to female sexual autonomy was too much. The second edition of his dictionary replaces his commentary on *dildo* with a much less informative definition lifted from Bailey's *Universal Etymological English Dictionary*: 'Penis Succedaneus [substitute penis], called in Lombardy Passo Tempo' (Grose 1788). Even for Grose, sheltering the vagabonds of the language had its limits.

Civilizing the Vulgar Tongue

The silence with which Grose and other cant lexicographers treat tribady does not mean that there were no vernacular terms available for it (Donoghue 1993b: 5). *Tommy* was used for a women-desiring woman at least from the 1770s onwards, as when the satirical *Sapphick Epistle* credits Sappho with being 'the first Tommy the world has upon record' (Cavendish 1778: 5). Grose (1785) has no entry for *tommy*, though he registers the more familiar *tom boy* ('a romping girl, who prefers the amusements used by boys, to those of her own sex'). *Flats* or *game at flats* denoted sex between women from as early as the mid-seventeenth century. For instance, Nicholas Rowe's (1715: 26–27) poem 'Game at Flats' depicts two women adopting the positions of 'either Sex in Love […] Successive each, to each does prove, / Fierce Youth and

yielding Maid'. The closest Grose (1785) comes to this in his published dictionary is explaining that a *flat cock* is 'a *female*', evidently alluding to the vulva. But Grose was not ignorant of the same-sex term. While preparing the second edition of his dictionary, he had interleaved copies of the first edition made in which he could write down draft amendments and additions. One of these working copies, now in the private possession of Jonathon Green, adds the headword 'a Game at Flats' alongside the entry for *flat cock*.[21] The headword is undefined. Perhaps Grose meant to come back to it before ultimately deciding to exclude it from the published second edition. Given the reception of the first, the omission is not surprising.

In the preface to the first edition, Grose (1785: vi–vii) had vowed that 'To prevent any charge of immorality being brought against this work […] when an indelicate or immodest word ha[d] obtruded itself for explanation, he ha[d] endeavoured to get rid of it in the most decent manner possible'. This policy did not satisfy all critics. A review in the *European Magazine* opined that Grose's defence of the 'immodest expressions' he had collected would not 'rescue him from the censure he has so deservedly incurred'—the work would only be 'harmless' if 'gutted of these impurities' ('*A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*' 1785: 200–201). When Grose issued his dictionary's second edition, the new preface was contrite: 'Some words and explanations in the former edition having been pointed out as rather indecent or indelicate […] these have been either omitted, softened, or their explanations taken from books long sanctioned with general approbation' (Grose 1788: iii). The sodomitical *bud sallogh* was excised, as were three other headwords: *to bagpipe*, *to huffle*, and *larking* (Coleman 2004 II:

[21] I am grateful to Jonathon Green for this information. This working copy also adds two new sodomitical entries which were omitted from the published dictionary: 'Fun Thruster. a Sodomite' and 'A—se Men. Sodomites. said also to belong to Cap^{t} Jones's Company. invaders of the Back settlements'. Captain Robert Jones's trial for sodomy in 1772 is recounted by Norton (2006: 282–304). None of these annotations are in Grose's other known working copy, now held in the British Library (General Reference Collection 440.g.25).

56). The removal of the latter is curious, given that their definitions in Grose's first edition were already a study in wilful ignorance.

Grose (1785) had noted that *to bagpipe* is 'a lascivious practice too indecent for explanation', *to huffle* is 'a piece of beastiality too filthy for explanation', and *larking* is 'a lascivious practice that will not bear explanation'. All three acts are clearly deviant, though their mechanics and participants remain obscure. *Green's Dictionary of Slang* (2016–) proposes that *larking* is 'fellatio, cunnilingus'; Williams (1994) argues that it denotes 'a man placing his penis between a woman's breasts' (s.v. *cully*). Conversely, Williams explains *bagpipe* and *huffle* as verbs for fellatio, but Green suggests that while *huffle* may mean 'to fellate', it also signifies 'to perform frottage with the armpit'. *Bagpiping* is likewise (penile) 'intercourse under the armpit'. Whatever *huffle*, *bagpipe*, and *larking* meant to Grose, his definitions of them could more accurately be called anti-definitions. They not only fail to explain the words but forbid any attempt at explaining them. These deviant acts may be nameable in the vulgar tongue, but they are inexplicable in proper English. It is a reminder that however uninhibited the lexical vagabonds of cant dictionaries are, like the inmates of a prison, they are still restrained within the ethical structures of the authorities that define or confine them.

A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue appeared at a time of transition in impolite lexicography, during which dictionary-writers' and glossarists' focus began to shift from cant to flash or slang. Although distinctions between these categories are not rigidly observed by lexicographers, Coleman (2004 II: 260) argues that whereas 'the earlier glossaries presented the secret language of thieves and beggars, many of the later ones list the slick lingo of London's ultra-fashionable world'. Grose's dictionary is on the cusp of this social shift upward and inward: he advertises it as a record of both criminal cant and the 'burlesque terms' used by

tradespeople, soldiers, and sailors (Grose 1785: v). The change is more visible in the *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811: v), a posthumous revision of Grose's dictionary, which notes that since the original work was compiled 'fashionable slang' has become popular among 'young men of fashion'. Whereas cant lexicographers advised their readers against using cant themselves, male users of the *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811: vi–vii) are assured that by consulting the dictionary, they may learn how to 'talk bawdy' and discuss 'improper topics […] even before the ladies'. *Slang. A Dictionary of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase, the Pit, of Bon-ton* goes even further, claiming that 'all inexperienced persons are *novices*'—that is, 'not initiated in the affairs of town'—'until they peruse this Volume' (Bee 1823: s.v. *novice*). The title page of Kent's *Modern Flash Dictionary* (1835) declares that 'All England now are *slanging* it', while that of Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words* (1859) offers the reader access to terms 'Used at the 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'. With this shift in emphasis, it 'became increasingly necessary to adopt euphemisms and to obscure offensive terms' (Coleman 2004 II: 262). Later lexicographers would adapt entries from Grose's wordlist, but they did not always assume his frankness.

Table 3.4 compares explicit entries for sexuality between men in Grose (1785) with those in four later dictionaries which make direct or indirect use of his work. The *Lexicon Balatronicum* (1811) replicates Grose's entries with only typographical alterations, aside from omitting *bud sallogh* in line with Grose's second edition. Potter's *New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages* (1795) leaves out *bud sallogh*, *molly*, and *windward passage*, but introduces *madge-cove* ('a keeper of a house for buggerers') and plain *madge* ('a sodomite') alongside *madge-cull*. Still working partly in the cant tradition, Potter is the only lexicographer to include same-

sex entries that are not in Grose. The 1823 dictionaries of Pierce Egan and Jon Bee (the pseudonym of John Badcock) each retain only two of Grose's entries.

Table 3.4: Entries for sexuality between men in Grose and his successors

Dictionary	*Entry count*	*Entries*
Grose (1785)	7	*usher, or gentleman of the back door* *back gammon player* *bud sallogh* *indorser* *madge culls* *molly* *windward passage*
Potter (1795)	6	*back-door gentleman* *back-gammon player* *indorsor* *madge* *madge-cove* *madge-cull*
Lexicon Balatronicum (1811)	6	*back door (usher, or gentleman of the)* *back gammon player* *indorser* *madge culls* *molly* *windward passage*
Grose and Egan (1823)	2	*indorser* *molly*
Bee (1823)	2	*backgammoner, or back-doors man or gentleman* *madge coves* [s.v. *badge coves*]

In revising Grose's dictionary, Egan (1823: xix–xx) promises that he 'neglected no opportunity of excluding indelicate phrases […] nor of *softening* down others, where propriety pointed out such a course as […] necessary'. Here, an *indorser* remains 'a sodomite', but a *molly* is only 'an effeminate fellow'. In *Slang*, Bee (1823: iii) criticizes Grose for being 'much too gross, even for his day'. Though he introduces salacious headwords not in his forerunner (e.g. *galavant*, 'a nest of whores'; *roley-poley*, 'one way of making love among the young folks of Cockney-shire'), he is less forthcoming about sodomy. The *backgammoner* is recontextualized as 'a fellow whose propensities lie out of the natural order of *things* in England', while *madge coves* are 'infamy itself—men who enact the parts of women'. The reference to the 'parts of women'

is ambiguous, and could imply the imitation of women's genital parts (i.e. *madges*), their sexual roles, or their social roles. The already tenuous distinction between male effeminacy and male same-sex intercourse is tacitly dissolved. Similarly desexualized and ostracized from English society is the dildo. In contrast with Grose's (1785) comment that dildoes might be purchased at any number of toy shops, Bee (1823) denies the dildo's existence and erases its troubling potential for female erotic agency. In the 'Addenda of Obsolete and Far-fetched Words and Phrases' at the end of his dictionary (a shelter for terms on the literal and metaphorical periphery of *Slang*), Bee records: '*Dil-dol*—an article generally supposed to have been manufactured and used, formerly, but we do not find any one who has ever seen *the thing*. Discredited.' For Bee (1823), any sexuality beyond cross-sex intercourse is a subject that will not bear explanation.

There are no same-sex headwords in *A Dictionary of the Slang and Cant Languages* (Andrewes 1809), the anonymous *Flash Dictionary* (1821), or the *Modern Flash Dictionary* (Kent 1835), though all three reproduce entries from Potter (1795) concerning cross-sex prostitution—for example, *jockum-gagger*, 'a set of fellows who live on the prostitution of wives' (altered to *jock-gagger* in Andrewes, the *Flash Dictionary*, and Kent), and *ballum rancum*, 'a hop or dance where the women are all prostitutes' (altered to *ballum ranorum* in Kent). Terms for prostitution are also to be found in Hotten's *Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*. Hotten (1859: v), though accusing the 'makers of our large [general] dictionaries' of being 'exceedingly crotchety in their choice of what they considered respectable words', promises that 'Filthy and obscene words have been carefully excluded' from his own work. Still, those words he does admit include *bully* ('a man of the most degraded morals, who protects prostitutes'), *mollisher* ('a low girl or woman; generally a female cohabiting with a man'), and *on the loose* ('obtaining a living by prostitution'). There are no entries explicitly

concerning tribady or sodomy, though the effeminacy of the molly survives in *mollycoddle*, 'an effeminate man, one who caudles amongst the women, or does their work'.

Why should allusions to sodomites disappear from slang dictionaries in the first half of the nineteenth century? The lexicographers concerned may have been at least partly motivated by the threat of prosecution. As noted earlier, numerous exposés of the haunts and habits of mollies had appeared in the eighteenth century, particularly its early decades, some of them written by authors who also had cant glossaries attributed to them (e.g. Smith 1720 I; Dalton 1728; Parker 1781 II). But in 1813, Robert Holloway was imprisoned for eighteen months for writing *The Phœnix of Sodom*, an account of the goings-on at a molly house on Vere Street which had been raided in 1810 (Thomas 1969: 195). In 1861, a prison sentence for selling 'obscene books' was also handed down to the publisher William Dugdale ('Middlesex Sessions' 1861: 9). Among Dugdale's publications, under the alias 'H. Smith', was *Yokel's Preceptor* (c1855), which devotes two pages to identifying the areas of London frequented by 'Margeries', 'Sods', and 'Pooffs', who 'walk the streets the same as the whores' (5–6)—albeit the nature of their 'bestiality' is not disclosed, and none of these words appear in the *Preceptor's* glossary of 'Flash Words' (29–31).

It is a curious coincidence that *sodomite* disappears as a definitional term from slang lexicons around the 1820s—shortly before the British publication of Webster's dictionary (1831–1832), which would go on to usher *sodomy* and *buggery* back into British general dictionaries as reliably defined headwords. Although we saw in Chapter 1 that Victorian general lexicographers do not expressly acknowledge the same-sex dimension of *sodomy* and *buggery* until after 1860, we also observed that whether or not his sexual behaviour is recognized, the sodomite is a subject repeatedly constituted in terms of spiritual and statutory law. Legal

discourses constrain his existence even as they name him. Conversely, although the molly is equated with the sodomite in cant lexicography, he is a subject with some existence beyond the law (or at least before the law has caught up with him). He is a member of a community of others like him, operating clandestinely within the wider society—a 'beastly and unnatural Community', according to Dalton (1728: 32), but one that endures even when its individual members fall victim to legal prosecution (see Bray 1995: 93–99). It is predictable that the molly should find a place, albeit a precarious one, in the lexicography of underworld cant. However, as impolite lexicons shift from documenting the anti-language of the out-group (against which the reader must be warned) to recording the fashionable speech of the in-group (to which the reader may aspire), there are limits to the people and practices that may be represented within this new register.

The figures invoked in slang and flash lexicons—gamesters, drinkers, and philanderers—may flout the norms of institutional authority, but not to the extremes of the dangerous criminals in cant lexicons. Popular discourse on female prostitutes in the nineteenth century was ambivalent, casting them as both despicable and pitiable (Hintikka and Nevala 2017). Cross-sex prostitution and gambling were, to an extent, legally tolerated, although under the Disorderly Houses Act 1751 the keepers of 'bawdy-houses' and 'gaming-houses' could be fined (*The Statutes* 1871: 598–599), and the Vagrancy Act 1824 ensured that streetwalkers judged to be 'behaving in a riotous or indecent Manner' could be sentenced to hard labour for up to a month (Williams 1824: 149–150). Unlike these misdemeanours, sex between men remained a felony. As such, while the sodomite is a fit subject for the formal discourse of the law, and the molly for the 'linguistic vigilantism' of cant lexicography (Blank 1996: 19), they should not intrude into the familiar discourse of England's bourgeois circles. They therefore have no surer

place in the slang and flash dictionaries of the early nineteenth century than in the polite general dictionaries of the late eighteenth century.[22]

On the other hand, the 'sapphist was [legally] tolerated, in part, because she could not be codified' (Craft-Fairchild 2006: 413)—or rather because of a refusal to codify her. The women-desiring woman remains a threatening spectre in any text or context to which a lady might have access, and the safest tactic is to leave her unnamed and unexplained, whether in hard-word, general, cant, flash, or slang lexicography. Butler (1993/2011: 142) argues that the 'production of the *un*symbolizable, the unspeakable, the illegible is […] always a strategy of social abjection', implicated in the 'regulation of what will and will not qualify as a discursively intelligible way of being'. The exclusion of same-sex desire from respectable English circles may be reinforced on the linguistic level by the omission of same-sex lexis from English dictionaries. In lexicographers' demarcation of the symbolic line dividing knowledge from ignorance, the speakable from the unspeakable, and the proper from the improper, the Sapphist and, periodically, the sodomite are alienated by their absence. They become indefinite beings beyond the margins of legitimate language and decent society, and their existence must be sought elsewhere.

[22] At the end of the nineteenth century, Farmer's and Henley's seven-volume dictionary *Slang and Its Analogues* (1890–1904) would be far more candid about sexual taboo—but it was privately printed and intended to be a scholarly reference work rather than a popular guidebook (see Chapter 5; Coleman 2009 III: ch. 3).

—4—

‘Vices, as if They Were Diseases’

Medicalizing Queer Morphologies

In the second instalment of his three-volume *Medicinal Dictionary* (1743–1745), the physician Robert James introduces a 140-word entry for a term that seems never before to have been used in English:

> MALTHACOS, *μαλθακὸς*, the same as MALACOS; which see.
>
> *Cœlius Aurelianus* [sic], among the Number of Diseases reckons that infamous and detestable Disposition of those, whom the *Greeks* called *μαλθακοὶ*, (*Malthaci*) and the *Latins Molles* and *Subacti*, and whom he opposes to the Women called *Tribades*. And tho’ he acknowledges, that those abominable Inclinations were rather Vices or Diseases of the Mind, than the Body, and the Fruits of a Corruption of Manners, he was yet of Opinion, that the Birth of those unhappy Persons, or the Manner in which they had been conceived, contributed something towards it; and he entertains us, with the Conjectures of the Philosopher *Parmenides*, on that Subject. The Poets also speak of those enormous Vices, as if they were Diseases: Thus
>
> *Hispo subit juvenes, &* Morbo *pallet utroque*: Juvenal.
>
> *Campanum in* Morbum*, in Faciem permulta jocatus*. Hor.[1]

James’s opening cross-reference of *malthacos* to another Greek term, *malacos*, is unenlightening: the latter is simply defined as ‘Soft’ in a range of medical (but non-sexual) contexts. Far more interesting is James’s description of the use of *malthacos* by the Roman physician Caelius Aurelianus, who applied the term to a type of male deviant. According to James’s account, the malthacos suffered from a ‘detestable Disposition’ and ‘abominable Inclinations’; both he and his female counterpart, the tribade, were plagued by ‘Diseases of the Mind’ that were partly acquired (‘the Fruits of a Corruption of Manners’) and partly congenital

[1] [Hispo submits to youths, and grows pale with disease both ways] (Juvenal); [Told many jokes about the Campanian disease [and his] face] (Horace).

('the Birth […] or the Manner in which they had been conceived, contributed something towards it'). James does not make explicit in English that these 'Diseases' were effeminacy (i.e. 'softness') in the malthacos and masculinity in the tribade (Hubbard 2003: 463–465). Nonetheless, James's entry is an important example of how certain men who had sex with men, and certain women who had sex with women, could be subjected to pathologizing discourses in English over a century before *homosexual* entered the language. Like Foucault's (1978: 43) famous conception of the homosexual, Aurelianus's malthacos and tribade could be said to have 'a past, a case history, and a childhood'. However, this does not mean that their 'Diseases' were synonymous with homosexuality. The Roman writer's pathologization did not apply to any person who desired the same sex, but only to those who adopted the sexual (and social) role appropriate to the other gender (see Halperin 1990: 22–24). This is why James describes the tribade and malthacos as 'oppose[d]' to each other: the former was sexually penetrative, the latter receptive. Both subverted the gender paradigm, but in contrary directions.

In keeping with his classical sources, James's description of the tribade and malthacos is cast in the past tense; the entry does not indicate whether either category of person exists in the modern day. Yet that a physician writing in the 1740s should pay such attention to the world described by ancient authors like Aurelianus was hardly irregular. Classical conceptions of medicine endured alongside modern developments across the eighteenth century, although they did not go uncontested. The medical lexicographer George Motherby (1775: v), for example, while acknowledging the shortcomings of the ancients in physiology, anatomy, and chemistry, defends their 'excellence' in 'the descriptions of diseases, their prognostics, and cure' (see McConchie 2009). Motherby (1775: v) notes that 'Aurelianus deserves our attention' in particular because 'his descriptions of diseases vie with those of Aretaeus, and he is very exact in pointing out the signs'. Latin medical writing remained highly influential in modern as well

as ancient forms. Robert James was likely prompted to include *malthacos* in the *Medicinal Dictionary* because of its occurrence in the *Lexicon medicvm, Græcolatinvm*, a much esteemed dictionary of Greek and Latin medical terms. Compiled by the Messinese physician Bartolomeo Castelli in 1598, the *Lexicon medicvm* was reprinted throughout Europe for the next century and a half (McConchie 2019: 23). A 1682 revision of the *Lexicon* by a German professor of physic, Jakob Pancraz Bruno, had introduced *malthacos* and *malacos* to its wordlist. *Malthacos* is cross-referred to *malacos*, which Bruno glosses as *'Mollis'* [Softness]; he explains that one of its uses in medical discourse is for 'morbus specialis sit *Mollities* apud Cœl. Aurelian. legatur' [the particular disease which is called *Softness* by Caelius Aurelianus].

English medical lexicographers' reliance on Latin medical dictionaries is similar to the debt owed by English hard-word lexicographers to bilingual Latin dictionaries (see Chapter 3). In the early modern period, just as hard-word dictionaries were initially compiled for users who did not know Latin or Greek, so one purpose of writing medical texts (including dictionaries) in English was to make specialist knowledge more accessible to those without a university education (Tyrkkö 2009: 172). Among the intended users were empirics, or medical practitioners who lacked the academic accreditation of the doctors admitted to the Royal College of Physicians. Apothecaries and surgeons, for instance, were mostly men who had been trained through hands-on apprenticeships. However, vernacularization did not equal democratization. Brown (1995: 106) characterizes early English medical publishing as a 'two-edged sword', for while it provided 'a means for those on the lower levels of the medical scale to advance themselves at the expense of physicians', it also allowed physicians 'to exert greater power over those below them' by producing their own authoritative English texts, and in so doing police and prescribe the medical knowledge available to lower-ranking men (cf. McConchie 2019: 38). Women were even further down the professional hierarchy. Barred from

the College of Physicians and the companies of apothecaries and surgeons, women seeking legitimation as practitioners were largely dependent on midwifery licences issued by the church, there being 'greater concern for [their] moral rather than [their] medical prowess' (Furdell 2002: 94). Despite these patriarchal restrictions, numerous women were involved in the writing, patronage, and printing of medical texts (Furdell 2002: ch. 5). Jane Sharp (1671) was the author of a popular midwifery manual, Mary Trye (1675) wrote a defence of chemical over humoral medicine, and one of the earliest English medical dictionaries, *A Physical Dictionary* (1657), was printed by Gertrude Dawson (Tyrkkö 2009: 176). But the majority of medical dictionaries were compiled by doctors, and they traded on their elite qualifications on their title pages.

The first known English medical dictionary, *The Breuiary of Helthe* (1547) by Andrew Boorde, identifies its author as 'of phisicke Doctour'. A century later, the next standalone medical lexicon to appear—the *Physical Dictionary* of 1657—was anonymous, though it was prefaced with a commendation from fourteen named physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries.[2] It was followed in 1684 by another *Physical Dictionary*, this one translated from a Latin lexicon by Steven Blankaart ('M.D. and Physick-Professor at *Middleburgh*'). Medical dictionaries continued to cite the degrees of their compilers across the eighteenth century. The same period may have witnessed the rise of professional lexicographers such as Bailey and Johnson, but most medical dictionary-writers of the time—John Quincy (1719), Robert James (1743–1745), George Motherby (1775), George Wallis (1791), William Turton (1797), and Robert Hooper

[2] No English medical dictionary has been found in the century-long gap between Boorde (1547) and the 1657 *Physical Dictionary* (McConchie 2019: 28). For intervening and earlier medical glossaries, see Larkey (1937), MacKinney (1938), and McConchie (2019: 20–25, 29–67).

(1798)—were professionals first and lexicographers second. Their lexicons were auxiliary to, but authenticated by, their training and practice.[3]

This authentication extends to medical lexicographers' treatment of same-sex sexuality. We have seen that the omission of sexuality between women or between men from a 'complete' or 'universal' English dictionary tacitly positions such women or men as beyond the proper bounds of English discourse and society (Chapter 3). In an analogous vein, the insertion of same-sex sexuality into a medical dictionary transforms it into an object deserving—perhaps even requiring—therapeutic attention. In the Introduction, I argued that whereas the linguistic and cultural norms encoded by hard-word and general dictionaries enjoined their users to police their individual conduct, medical dictionaries, like law lexicons, could assist the authorities in the management of public morality. But more than just instructing their professional users in how to regiment their patients' behaviour, medical dictionaries erect a regulatory framework around a related, if seemingly more static, phenomenon: the body. Aurelianus's assertion, relayed by Robert James (1743–1745), that 'enormous Vices' were 'rather Vices or Diseases of the Mind, than the Body' contradicts the view espoused by many English medical writers and lexicographers—including James himself elsewhere in *A Medicinal Dictionary*. For these authors, the sexual uses to which the body was put were indivisibly linked to its morphology, and especially its sexual anatomy. If one was 'enormous' (i.e. abnormal), then so was the other.

In early medical dictionaries, and in medical discourse in hard-word and general dictionaries, the embodiment of sexual deviance played out in a number of accounts of unnatural intercourse between man and woman, between men, or between human and animal, as the next section will

[3] Quincy trained as an apothecary but was awarded an MD in 1712 (Howard-Jones 1951). Hooper is styled 'M. D.' in *A Compendious Medical Dictionary* (1798) despite not receiving a doctorate until 1805 (Bettany and Bevan 2004). The exceptions to the doctoral rule are two dictionaries aimed at novice surgeons (*Prosodia Chirurgica* 1729; Lara 1796) and the *Dictionarium Medicum Universale* (1749) by John Barrow, 'CHYMIST'.

show. But the sexual deviant who provoked the most fascination from medical lexicographers in the eighteenth century was the woman who had sex with women—a fascination spurred on, in part, by the phallocentric quandary of *how* she had sex with women. We will explore lexicographic constructions of the vulva's normal size and use (and concerns about how the 'enormity' of one might unsettle the other) before looking at how the clitoris in particular was implicated in the formation of the tribade or confricatrix. Same-sex sexuality continued to occupy physicians' attention into the nineteenth century, as advances in classical scholarship and forensic medicine led dictionaries to register fresh waves of terms for sodomy as well as tribady, though, again, it was tribady that provoked extended commentary. The openness with which certain Georgian and Victorian medical lexicographers treated sexuality between women raises the question of how widely they intended their specialist works to circulate—a matter that is taken up at the end of the chapter.

Buggering Bodies

The intertwining of unnatural sexuality with preternatural morphology is evident from the first English medical dictionary. Boorde's *Breuiary of Helthe* (1547) warns that 'vnnaturall copulacion betwyxe man and woman, or to medle with any vnreasonable beeste', might result in 'disfourmed' births (s.v. *monstrum*). But it was acts of unnatural copulation by 'monstrous' people themselves, not their parents, that would trouble the hard-word lexicographer Thomas Blount when, a century later, he came to define *hypospadians*. Hypospadias is a condition in which the penile urethra exits from the underside of the penis rather than the tip, so that the penis may resemble an enlarged clitoris. As the second edition of Blankaart's *Physical Dictionary* (1693) explains, *hypospadiæ* are 'those that from their Birth, render their Urine

under the Bridle of the Glans'. Conversely, Blount's definition in the *Glossographia* (1656) veers towards the sensational:

> *Hypospadians* or *Hippospadians*, a sort of monstrous persons that abuse themselves with a Horse or Mare. In *Febr.* 1652. one of these (who went by the name of *Margaret Raine*) was convict before the Judges at *Edinborough* in Scotland for Buggery of a Mare, or being buggered by a Horse; and both shee and the horse were burnt according to the *Mosaical Law*; this person by an inquest of Chirurgians, was found to be one of that sort (says the relation) whom the Philosophers call *Hypospadians*.

Blount's case history, legal and surgical, illustrates hypospadians' union of a 'monstrous' anatomy with 'abus[ive]' acts. Margaret Raine's sexual deviance is in turn condemned by the judges, diagnosed by the surgeons, and codified by the lexicographer. Blount does not identify his source for the case, but Raine's trial was reported on by several periodicals in the early 1650s. It is worth considering the version of events given in one of the them, *The Perfect Diurnall*, to throw into relief how the particulars of Raine's story are later entextualized by Blount.[4] The *Diurnall* (1652: 2505) recounts the trial of '*Margaret Rayne* (so called) of the age of eighteeene yeares [sic], who has constantly been reputed a woman till of late, that she was accused of that detestable abomination of Buggery with a Mare'. Raine 'upon ordinary search was thought to be an Hermophradite, but now by an inquest of Chirurgions is found to be a man of that sort the Philosophers call Hypospadians'. While the *Diurnall* distinguishes between a hermaphrodite and a hypospadiac male, Blount's recontextualization of the case muddies the waters. He initially refers to Raine as 'shee', as does the *Diurnall*, but where the *Diurnall* announces Raine to be in truth a 'man', Blount opts for the gender-neutral 'person'—just as he begins his definition by referring to all hypospadians as 'persons'.

[4] Capp (2012: 133–134) cites accounts of Raine's trial in three other periodicals, but none matches Blount's wording as closely as *The Perfect Diurnall*.

Further, whereas the *Diurnall* reports that Raine was accused of intercourse with a mare, Blount does not commit to the animal's sex any more than to the hypospadian's. In the *Glossographia*, Raine was convicted of either 'Buggery of a Mare, or being buggered by a Horse [i.e. stallion]'. Blount appears uncertain about how to slot Raine's sexual anatomy into the traditional intergender paradigm of penetrative/'active' male and receptive/'passive' female. We have previously seen how dyadic recursivity was used by lexicographers to structure sexual intercourse within one gender, whether between men (Chapter 2) or between women (Chapter 3). In the case of the hypospadian, dyadic recursivity is made to work at the level of the individual. Blount's opening remark that *hypospadians* 'abuse themselves with a Horse or Mare' relies on a reflexive construction that positions hypospadians as both agents and patients, abusers and abused. Raine could be either receptive or penetrative, buggered by a stallion or buggering a mare. Whether she took the 'female' or the 'male' role must be decided in opposition to the sex of her animal partner, whatever that may have been.

The vexing question of how to fit the hypospadian's ambivalent body into the sexual binary is partly sidestepped by the 1661 revision of the *Glossographia*, which replaces the line concerning who buggered whom with an agentless noun phrase: Raine was convicted 'for some beastiality with a Horse or Mare'. In neither version of the definition does Blount explain what it is about the hypospadian's body that makes it 'monstrous', and it is clear that he was unfamiliar with the exact nature of the condition. His ignorance seemingly led him to coin a variant form of the headword, *hippospadians*, on the assumption that not only Margaret Raine but all hypospadians must engage in sexual activity with horses. Blount's folk-etymological respelling of *hypospadians* with the Greek morpheme *hippo-* ('horse') is a lexical reinforcement of the definitional bond he creates between a subhuman, 'monstrous' body and an inhuman, bestial sexuality.

In correlating hypospadias with bestiality, Blount does not comment on whether there is any causality between the two—that is, whether hypospadians' 'monstrous' bodies incite them to commit abusive acts, or whether committing abusive acts is what made their bodies 'monstrous' in the first place. Hypospadias is now understood to be congenital, but the causes of bodily variations and ailments in early modern medicine were not always so clear-cut. Illness could be interpreted as 'the operation of natural justice' brought about by a sufferer's moral or spiritual transgressions (Porter 1993: 21–22). This retributive interpretation of disease is visible in, for instance, the treatment of *cristæ* by Kersey in his 1706 revision of Phillips's *New World of Words*, as well as in Kersey's own *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum* (1708). Both dictionaries state that *cristæ* (s.v. *crista*) are 'certain knobs of Flesh that grow about the Fundament, and proceed from the filthy Act of Sodomy'; *The New World of Words* adds that 'the Roots of them [are] often chapt and cleft'. The overt association of sodomy with the anus in these early general dictionaries is striking (though the reader is left to deduce exactly how the act relates to the body part). In fact, Kersey is more explicit than the medical lexicon that was his probable source: Blankaart's translated *Physical Dictionary*, whose fourth edition appeared in 1702. Kersey copies Blankaart's (1702) definition of *cristæ* almost verbatim, save that in Blankaart they are not 'Knobs' but 'Excrescencies', and they proceed not 'from the filthy Act of Sodomy' but 'from a preposterous use of *Coition*'.[5] *The Physical Dictionary* may treat *cristæ* more reticently than Kersey's general dictionaries, but that Kersey could write so frankly about them at all is still due to the fact that *cristæ* remained a medical term.

[5] The translation follows Blankaart's (1679) original Latin: 'ex præpostera Venere ortæ'. *Preposterous*—with its suggestion of putting the behind before—was an early modern euphemism for anal intercourse (Parker 1993).

The ability to assign certain subjects to a medical domain—by which a potentially prurient interest in sexuality could be shielded under the aegis of scientific inquiry—afforded early modern authors greater (but not complete) leeway in the explicitness of their texts (cf. Thomas 1969: 21–22). A Latinate headword could further vest an entry with a sense of respectability that demotic terminology lacked. Thus, Kersey's terse description of the *clap*—'a Venereous, or pocky Disease'—contrasts sharply with his candid explanation of *gonorrhœa*, 'a Disease which causes a frequent discharge of the Seed without any erection of the Yard' (Phillips and Kersey 1706). Kersey does not attribute *cristæ* to venereal disease, but his explanation may be usefully compared with an entry for another type of anal complaint in Ephraim Chambers's dictionary of technical terms, the *Cyclopædia*. Chambers (1728) describes a *condyloma* as a 'Tumor […] arising on the internal Coat of the *Anus*, and the Muscles of the Part, or in the Neck of the Matrix [i.e. womb]'; these tumours are 'frequently the Effects of Venereal Ailments'. While Chambers indicates that condylomata may result from venereal infection, in Kersey's definitions of *cristæ* it is the 'Act of Sodomy' itself that produces the growths, as if sodomy were a contagion and cristae its symptom, unnatural act leading to aberrant anatomy.

However, sodomitical cristae and bestial hypospadians were not the primary sites of physicians' sexual anxieties in the eighteenth century. Far more medical attention was focussed on intercourse between women—in particular, the reputed existence of women with enlarged clitorises, which they could use to commit acts of quasi-phallic penetration. Here more than anywhere, opinions differed over whether it was a malformed body that led to immoral acts or immoral acts that caused a malformed body (Donoghue 1993a: 206–207). The causality is significant, for it entails an early modern conflict between what Sedgwick (1990: 40) would call a minoritizing model of same-sex behaviour versus a universalizing one (see the Introduction). Was tribady an act that could be committed only if one of the partners was a

congenitally 'monstrous' woman, or was it a practice that any two women might be in danger of performing?

Circumscribing the Clitoris

In early modern medical discourse, the male body provided the norm against which the female body was understood. As such, anatomical descriptions of the clitoris tended to present it as a homologue of the penis (Laqueur 1989: 104–112). Blankaart's *Physical Dictionary* (1684) states that the *clitoris* 'consists, like a Man's Yard, of two Nervous Bodies […] and at the end is covered with a Nut, and a Prepuce, or fore-skin […] it is capable of Increase and Relaxation, but is not perforated as in Men'. Across the eighteenth century, comparisons to the penis are made under *clitoris* in medical dictionaries (e.g. Quincy 1719; *Prosodia Chirurgica* 1729; James 1743–1745; Motherby 1775), lexicons of technical terms (Harris 1704; Chambers 1728), and general dictionaries (Phillips and Kersey 1706; Bailey 1730). What typically distinguishes the clitoris from the penis, apart from its imperforation, is its smaller external size. Adding another body part to the equation, Harris (1704) asserts that the *clitoris* is 'naturally about the bigness of the *Uvula*', and the uvula comes to serve as a second clitoral yardstick in a number of general dictionaries (Phillips and Kersey 1706; *GAN* 1707; Kersey 1708; Bailey 1721, 1730) as well as Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* (1719). Yet Harris's (1704) assertion implicitly draws attention to the potential existence of clitorises that are 'unnaturally' big.

The subject of the preternatural clitoris weighed on physicians' minds enough to accumulate its own nomenclature. Riolan's anatomical manual (1657: 83) states that when the clitoris is 'exceeding long, resembling a Mans Yard', it is 'termed *Cercosis*, *Caudatio*, the Long-Taile Disease'; significantly, the women who suffer from this condition 'are termed *Hermaphrodites*

or *Rubsters*'.[6] Physicians at the time were increasingly sceptical of the possibility of a 'true' human hermaphrodite—that is, a person who was capable of reproducing as either sex—and clitoral hypertrophy offered a useful alternative explanation. People who had been taken for hermaphrodites were instead, for the most part, simply women whose clitorises were so large that they could pass for penises (Donoghue 1993a: 201; Park 1997: 180–183). It is on such a basis that Blankaart's dictionary (1684) declares that a *hermaphroditus* is 'one of both Sexes: but they onely use the Womans Instruments, they are seldom Men, this abuse in Nature happens, when the Clitoris hangs out too far'. Quincy (1719) agrees that 'there seems no more of Truth' in the existence of the *hermaphrodite* 'than that some Females have their Clitoris of an uncommon size'. Human hermaphroditism is collapsed into deviant femaleness by medical lexicographers for the rest of the century (s.v. *hermaphroditus* in *Prosodia Chirurgica* 1729; James 1743–1745; Barrow 1749; Motherby 1775; Motherby and Wallis 1791).

The enlarged clitoris may have eliminated the ideological threat posed by hermaphroditism to the stability of the male–female binary (cf. Braunschneider 1999: 509), yet it was not a perfect solution. As Chambers (1728) cautions in the *Cyclopædia*, the *clitoris* is 'the chief Seat of Pleasure: hence some Women are apt to abuse it'. What form this abuse takes is unspecified, but Chambers's warning exemplifies the anxiety shown by many male writers when faced with the clitoris's capacity to grant women sexual pleasure without the need for a male partner—whether they acted alone or in the company of other women (Traub 1995: 93). Indeed, one consequence of framing female genitalia as homologous to the male was that it paved the way for the idea that some women would try to use their clitorises as men used their penises, whether

[6] Blankaart (2nd ed., 1693) defines *cercosis* as 'a Fleshy Excrescence, coming out of the Mouth of the Womb, filling the Privy Parts of a Woman', which suggests not clitoral hypertrophy but vaginal prolapse—another early explanation for hermaphroditism (Donoghue 1993a: 204). James (1743–1745) is the first lexicographer surveyed to define *cercosis* as 'A Disease of the Clitoris, which consists in its preternatural Inlargement'. He is also the first to include *caudatio* ('an Elongation of the Clitoris').

by rubbing or penetrating another woman's vagina. This was what Riolan (1657: 83) had meant when he treated *'Hermaphrodites'* and *'Rubsters'* as synonyms, for the women so called 'do abuse that Part one with another when it is longer and thicker than ordinary'.

The synonymizing of hermaphroditism with clitoral hypertrophy, and in turn with sex between women, has been extensively documented in early modern manuals of physic, anatomical treatises, and other medical texts from the sixteenth century onwards (e.g. Donoghue 1993a, 1993b: ch. 1; Park 1997; Traub 1995; Braunschneider 1999). Although explicit terms for women who had sex with women would only begin appearing in medical lexicography in the 1720s, the problem of 'enormous' female anatomy would haunt dictionaries in other ways. Besides encouraging same-sex intercourse, aberrant genitalia could hamper cross-sex coupling. Seventeenth- and eighteenth-century lexicographers suggest that the vulva must sometimes be surgically altered to enable penile penetration. Blankaart (1684) describes *nymphotomia* as 'a cutting off the *Nymphæ* [i.e. labia minora], the too great Protuberance whereof in marriageable Virgins sometimes hinders the Enjoyment, or at least renders it difficult'—a description repeated almost verbatim by Harris (1704) under *nymphotomy*. The hindered enjoyment is presumably that of the virgins' projected male partners, given that the sexual sensitivity of the labia minora had already been acknowledged in medical discourse. Jane Sharp's midwifery manual (1671: 42), for instance, points to 'the great pleasure they give women in Copulation'.

Chambers's *Cyclopædia* (1728) agrees that the 'Sensibility' of the *nymphæ* 'affect[s] the Woman, and mutually invite[s] to Procreation'—though their 'Use' remains phallocentric, being 'to embrace the *Penis*' during coition. Hence, nymphae that in some women 'hang a good way out of the Body […] have been forced to be cut'. This verbally dense passive clause is ambiguous. Is it the woman who compels the surgeon to operate, or the surgeon—or the

woman's family—who forces the operation? Like Blankaart and Harris, Chambers (1728) explains the necessity of the intervention under *nymphotomia*, where he warns that 'large and tumid' nymphae will 'prevent the Consummation of Marriage, or render it very difficult'. Even the general dictionaries of Phillips and Kersey (1706) and Bailey (1727, 1730) accord in one voice that the 'bunching out' of the nymphae 'hinders the *Coitus*' and necessitates *nymphotomia*. However, opinions on where to perform the operation differed. Laqueur (1990: 96–98) points out the imprecision with which female genitalia were named in Renaissance anatomical discourse, and this semantic legacy endures to some extent in eighteenth-century lexicography.[7] Late in the century, Ash's *New and Complete Dictionary* (1775) and Hooper's *Compendious Medical Dictionary* (1798) reiterate that the labial 'nympha' or 'nymphæ' are the parts subject to *nymphotomia* or *nymphotomy*, but by then they are in the minority. James (1743–1745) defines *nymphotomia* as 'A Section [i.e. cutting] of the *Clitoris* when too large', and notes that *nympha* was what the clitoris was formerly called 'by the Antients'. This etymological and surgical shift from the labia minora to the clitoris is followed by other medical dictionaries (Barrow 1749; Motherby 1775; Motherby and Wallis 1791; Turton 1797).

In contrast with their moving anatomical target, the geographical location of nymphotomies is more definite: they are recurrently constructed as a foreign practice (cf. Chapter 2). Blankaart (1684) notes under *nymphotomia* that 'The *Egyptians* cut [the Nymphæ] frequently'; later lexicographers repeat this remark and add that 'in our Parts of the World such Instances have been very rare' (Harris 1704) or 'rarely found necessary' (Chambers 1728). Meanwhile, James (1743–1745) observes of the 'enormous' *clitoris* that 'Among the *Arabians* and *Egyptians*, this Disorder is said to have been very frequent; so that it was a common Practice with them to cut

[7] Martin's *Lingua Britannica Reformata* (2nd ed., 1754), for instance, enumerates three senses for *vulva*: '1 the female pudenda. 2 the vagina uteri. 3 the uterus, womb, or matrix.'

off from the new-born Girls whatever was indecently prominent in that Part'. Female circumcision in North Africa and the Middle East is formulated by these lexicographers not as a culturally imposed ritual but as a medical necessity springing from non-Europeans' exotic morphologies, which are deictically distinct from 'our parts' (in more than one sense). James (1743–1745) does not comment on how frequently clitoral hypertrophy occurs in the West, but he maintains that the 'Operation indeed is rarely performed among *Europeans*, because the Subjects of this Disorder are studious to conceal it, either through Modesty, or Dread of the Knife'. Still, he devotes three paragraphs to explaining the various procedures involved, 'that the Surgeon may not be at a Loss how to proceed, if such a Case should happen'. Evidence of nymphotomies actually being performed in early modern Europe is rare (Park 1997: 183; Groneman 1994: 349). However, that does not mean these definitions are inconsequential. Butler (1993/2011: 26) reminds us that a 'bodily schema'—the way in which a body is articulated through discourse—'is not simply an imposition on already formed bodies, but part of the formation of bodies'. Definitions of genitalia do not just call for physical intervention into bodies already known to be disordered, but help to adjudicate where the ideological line between the disordered and the healthy body lies. In so doing, lexicographers normatively prescribe the ideal female body as European, and the ideal female genitals as small and unobtrusive: the opposite and complement of a man's.

The lexicographers who assign nymphotomies to non-European women do not specify whether their genital aberrations are inborn or acquired. Quincy, however, makes the case for acquisition when discussing another example of clitoral hypertrophy—though here the xenophobia hits closer to home, being directed at Catholic Italy. In the first edition of the *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*, Quincy (1719) proposes that the clitoris's growth to an 'uncommon size […] frequently happen[s] from lascivious Titillations, and Frictions, as in the celebrated

Instance of the two Nuns at *Rome*' (s.v. *hermaphrodite*). Quincy is the first English medical lexicographer to draw a definite connection between an enlarged clitoris and tribady, although the connection depends on the reader's familiarity with the 'Instance' to which he alludes. The incident in question is related in the *Epistolæ medicinales* by Richard Carr, which Quincy had translated into English for publication in 1714. Carr (1714: 143) reports the case of two nuns whose bodies were 'changed in such a manner as to be suspected of Virility [i.e. maleness]', after which they were expelled from their convent. He posits that neither nun underwent a true, supernatural change in sex, but simply 'the uncommon Encrease of the *Clitoris*' until it came to resemble 'a humane *Penis*' (145). Such a condition results from the clitoris's being 'used to frequent Irritations', though Carr is 'unwilling' to believe in the good nuns' case that there was any 'Lasciviousness' involved (145).

Five years later, Quincy (1719) contradicts his own translation and offers a second opinion: it was precisely 'lascivious Titillations, and Frictions' that caused the nuns' predicament (s.v. *hermaphrodite*). Act is imprinted on anatomy. A decade later, Chambers (1728) is less certain of this diagnosis. 'Dr. *Quincy* thinks, that the frequent Use of Lascivious, Frictions, and Titillations, may contribute greatly to the Extention of the Clitoris,' he observes; 'This, [Quincy] adds, was the Case in the celebrated Instance of the two Nuns at *Rome* […] But on what Grounds we do not know' (s.v. *hermaphrodite*). Chambers certainly expressed confidence in the existence of clitoral hypertrophy. What is unclear here is which of Quincy's propositions he holds in doubt: that 'Titillations' could cause hypertrophy in general, that this was the crime of the nuns in particular, or that two women could engage in sexual activity at all.

The Confricatrix in Focus

It is not until the second edition of Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* that a headword specific to sexuality between women is introduced into English medical lexicography. Quincy (1722) records that '*Confricatrices*, or *Confrictrices*, are used by many Authors for such lustful Women who have learned to titulate one another with their *Clitoris*, in imitation of venereal Intercourses with Men'. Quincy's assertion that these terms have been used by 'many Authors' presumably refers to Latin medical writers: *confricatrices* is rarely attested as an English word before 1722.[8] Quincy likely borrowed the term from Castelli's *Lexicon medicvm*, one of his dictionary's acknowledged sources (Quincy 1722: x), in which *confricatrices* are explained to be '*frictrices*, fœminæ valdè libidinosæ dicuntur, Clitoride abutentes' [*rubsters*, very lustful women abusing their Clitorises are so called] (Castelli and Bruno 1682). Though also rebuking them as 'lustful', Quincy does not call confricatrices abusive outright. Still, he implies that their sexuality is unnatural insofar as it is 'learned' rather than intuitive and an 'imitation' of sex between man and woman rather than real. He gives no explanation of the manner in which the confricatrices titillate each other's clitorises, but the assertion that their activity mimics cross-sex intercourse suggests some kind of genital-on-genital contact.

When considering Bailey's (1724, 1730) rewriting of Quincy's *confricatrices* entry in Chapter 3, I argued that one of the defining criteria of sexual intercourse in lexicography is that it must involve phallic penetration. In this view, to borrow a phrase from Butler (1993/2011: 47), the phallus becomes a 'privileged signifier', 'the delimiting and ordering principle of what can be signified'. The phallus determines whether a particular act signifies sexual intercourse or not.

[8] As noted in Chapter 3, Van Diemerbroeck's *Anatomy* (1689: 183) reports that women who 'copulat[e] with others of their own Sex' are 'called Confricatrices, but anciently *Tribades*'. Earlier, Bartholin's *Anatomy* (1663: 76) had used *confricatrices* as a foreignism requiring an English gloss when it described women 'termed *Confricatrices* Rubsters'.

If the act does count as intercourse, then ownership of the phallus orders who is the actor and who the acted upon. This accounts for the enduring belief in the preternatural clitoris as the enabling organ of sexual activity between women: in order for even quasi-copulation to take place, something must stand in for the penis. Quincy's (1722) definition of *confricatrices* does not overtly constitute their clitorises as hypertrophic, but like his dictionary's first edition, his second pronounces under *hermaphrodite* that 'lascivious Titillations' may cause the clitoris to grow. Whatever its size, the clitoris is ultimately an imperfect phallic substitute, and Quincy casts sex between women as a 'vain and/or pathetic effort to mime the real thing' (Butler 1993/2011: 52). At the same time, however, Quincy presents the women's activity as unusually reciprocal. The confricatrices 'titulate one another', each acting on, and being acted on by, the other. This contrasts with dictionaries' construction of phallic intercourse as something a male agent does to a patient, whether the patient is female (Chapter 1) or male (Chapter 2). It also differs from Blount's (1656) conception of the *hypospadians*, who adopt an 'active'/penetrative or 'passive'/receptive role depending on the sex of their partners. For the *confricatrices*, in the absence of a 'real' phallus, there is no obligatory organizing of sexual partners into non-overlapping roles as agent or patient. The resulting intercourse may be illegitimated by Quincy's definition, but it is strikingly egalitarian.

Medical discourse did not uniformly conceive of sexuality between women as a reciprocal and symmetrical act between two confricatrices. One dissenter was James Parsons in *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites* (1741). In the same spirit as Quincy and many writers before him, Parsons argues that supposed cases of human hermaphroditism are no more than 'an extraordinary Elongation in the Clitorides of Females' (8–9). But he diverges from Quincy's assertion that clitoral hypertrophy could be caused by genital friction, instead claiming that the condition is congenital (147–148). While Parsons concedes the

existence of 'Confricatrices' who, having been born with enlarged genitals, use them for sexual penetration (21), he argues that they do not partner with each other, but seek out women of ordinary dimensions: 'by an over long Clitoris in one, both find their accounts answer'd […] that Part being, as all allow, the Seat of great Titulation, it is no wonder it should be stimulated by being embraced in the Vagina' (22). Braunschneider (1999: 524) observes that this denial of reciprocal tribady offers a significant break from medical tradition, yet she points to an even more radical departure by Parsons from his predecessors. Parsons (1741: 21) acknowledges that earlier writers believed 'these Confricatrices are more inclined to desire the Access of Women than of Men'. However, he asserts that women with enlarged clitorises choose same-sex partners not because they 'desire women more than men, from a mere natural Inclination, but because by a Gratification of this Nature there is not so much danger of being expos'd' (22). Ostensibly, they incur less risk in revealing their unusual condition to other women than to men. Moreover, both female partners benefit from the arrangement by avoiding 'that Accident, that is the necessary Consequence of dealing with Men' (i.e. pregnancy). Intercourse between women thus results from expediency rather than disposition. Sexual deed is severed from desire.

To distinguish his conception of the woman with an enlarged clitoris from earlier models of the women-desiring confricatrix or tribade, Parsons (1741: vii–viii) christens her a *'Macroclitorideus'*, on the basis that Greek provided 'a much more decent Term […] where the *English* Word might be less agreeable'. *Macroclitorideus* seems not to have made its way into any dictionaries—general, medical, or technical—but Parsons's account clearly had enduring appeal. Under *hermaphrodite*, *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia* (1753) directs the reader to consult the treatise of 'Dr. Parsons', who 'endeavours to shew the notion of *hermaphrodites* to be a vulgar error'. Half a century later, the *Edinburgh Medical and*

Physical Dictionary (Morris and Kendrick 1807) affirms that Parsons 'endeavoured to explode' the idea (s.v. *hermaphrodite*). Braunschneider (1999: 513) proposes that Parsons's dismissal of erotic desire between women is exemplary of how 'the tribade wanes as a focus of attention in medical discourse during the eighteenth century—in fact, it ceases almost altogether to be an object of medical attention'. Traub (2002: 321) argues in stronger terms that once Parsons 'disarticulates female–female eroticism from its prior link to an excessive bodily morphology', 'two centuries of anatomical (and legal) confusion and conflation come to a halt'. She states that when 'the tribade, along with the hermaphrodite, was subjected to increased scrutiny under changing medical regimes, she became irrelevant to medical discourse, which deemed her not a medical but a behavioural problem' (321).

These assertions overstate the case. New anatomical texts after Parsons (1741) continued to diagnose the body of the tribade. Arnaud's *Dissertation on Hermaphrodites* (1750: 18) says of women whose clitorises have 'the same figure with the penis of the man' that 'Greeks called [them] *τριβαδες*, whence comes, I imagine, the old French word *ribaude*, which signifies a lewd woman; such was the famous Sappho'. In a translated collection of case histories from the *Académie royale des sciences* in Paris, a dissertation first published in 1767 doggedly maintains that women with clitorises of an 'uncommon size' are 'the Tribades […] of the ancients, and of whom Saint Paul seems to speak in the second chapter [sic] of his Epistle to the Romans' (Ferrein 1776: 123). The author presumably meant Romans 1:24–26, in which (according to the 1769 reissue of the King James Bible) God punished idolaters by giving them over to 'lusts of their own hearts, to dishonour their own bodies between themselves […] even their women did change the natural use into that which is against nature'. Ancient discourses

of lust and the body continued to influence eighteenth-century medicine—including medical lexicography, a genre that historians of sexuality have largely overlooked.[9]

Even in cases where the tribade was not endowed with a preternatural morphology, being perceived as a 'behavioural problem' only, Traub's (2002: 321) assertion that such problems were beyond the purview of eighteenth-century medical discourse is debatable. This chapter began by quoting Caelius Aurelianus's construction of same-sex 'Inclinations' as 'rather Vices or Diseases of the Mind, than the Body', as Robert James explained under *malthacos* in his *Medicinal Dictionary* (1743–1745). Still, it is the diseased body that James emphasizes when he returns to Aurelianus under *tribades*. His 400-word definition of the word is mostly a condensed translation of a chapter on tribady from the *Observationes medicæ* of the Dutch anatomist Nicolaes Tulp (1716), duly cited by James at the entry's conclusion. The definition opens with a familiar premise:

> See Malthacos.
>
> Tho' the *Clitoris* is commonly concealed within the Lips of the Pudenda; yet in some Women it becomes so far prominent, that they are either, by ignorant Persons, thought to be transform'd into Men, or make Attempts to converse in a criminal manner with other Women. The unhappy Females, who pollute themselves in this manner, are by the *Greeks* call'd *Τριβάδες*, and by the *Latins Fricatrices*, who, according to *Cœlius Aurelianus*, in *Lib.* 4. *Tard. Pass. Cap.* 9. are fonder of associating themselves with Women than with Men.

In his fusion of classical and early modern models, James (following Tulp) covertly recontextualizes Aurelianus's explanation of *tribades*, attributing to the Roman writer a belief that contradicts James's earlier citation of him under *malthacos*: that tribady is a physical as

[9] Donoghue does cite the entries for *hermaphrodite* and *clitoris* in Quincy's *Lexicon Physico–Medicum* and Chambers's *Cyclopædia*, as well as *tribades* in James's *Medicinal Dictionary*, but maintains—prematurely, I suggest—that such texts 'add nothing new' or 'no clear development' to discourse on tribades' anatomy (Donoghue 1993b: 48–50).

well as mental disorder. Like Parsons (1741), James presents clitoral hypertrophy as the cause, rather than the effect, of tribady (the clitoris 'becomes so far prominent, that they […] make Attempts to converse in a criminal manner'). Contrary to Parsons, James makes it clear that these 'Attempts' at phallic intercourse are motivated by desire rather than expediency: tribades are 'fonder of associating themselves with Women than with Men'. So, one assumes, are *confricatrices*, a headword which James simply states is 'The same as TRIBADES, which see'.

Following on from his classical authority, James spends the remainder of the *tribades* entry recounting a modern case history. Henrica Schuria was a seventeenth-century Dutchwoman of 'a Masculine Turn of Mind' as well as body, whose '*Clitoris* sometimes appear'd so far without the Lips of the Pudenda, that she frequently attempted that Species of criminal Dalliance with other Women, which the *Greeks* call *Κειτορίζειν* [sic]. She could, also, perform what the *Greeks* call *Τρίβειν*' (James 1743–1745). Here, the medical lexicographer's traditional reliance on classical languages also seems to act as one last veil of decency. James does not gloss either of the Greek verbs, and his source text only does so obliquely. According to Tulp (1716: 242), *κλειτορίζειν* is 'libininosiùs lascivire, cum aliis mulieribus' [lustful sporting with other women], while *τρίβειν* is 'imò illas ita atterere, ac fricare' [even grinding and rubbing those [women]]. Did the women with whom Schuria sported also have protrusive clitorises? Despite devoting 130 words to anatomizing Schuria's unusual morphology, James does not remark on the genitals of her partners—presumably because they were unremarkable. He comments that Schuria 'pleas'd a certain Widow […] so well, that, if the Laws of the Land had permitted, she would have married her, perhaps more chearfully than she had done her deceas'd Husband, by whom she had six Children'. Evidently, the widow's clitoris was not prominent enough to hinder cross-sex intercourse.

It seems that James conceives of tribady as an asymmetrical act between one morphologically aberrant tribade and one 'ordinary' woman—opposing Quincy's (1719) construction of tribady as a reciprocal behaviour that ultimately distorts the genitals of both participants. In James's entry, enormous genitals and abominable acts overlap only partly. Whereas the widow did not need a quasi-phallic clitoris to desire Schuria, it was only because Schuria had a quasi-phallic clitoris that the two of them were able to act on their desires. There are physical consequences for tribady in James's entry, but they are penal rather than pathological. After being brought before a judge and submitting to a bodily examination by three midwives, Schuria was 'whipt with Rods' and 'banish'd far from the Partner of her Crimes; who was, also, punish'd, tho' allow'd to remain in the City'. As with the burning of the hypospadian Margaret Raine in Blount's *Glossographia* (1656), Schuria's case history is a cautionary tale. Van Leeuwen (2007: 92) calls this type of discourse *mythopoesis*: the 'legitimation' of an authoritative system 'conveyed through narratives whose outcomes […] punish non-legitimate actions'. Behaviours that violate dominant sexual norms are proscribed, and bodies whose very existence threatens the ideal of female submission are banished—whether by exile or immolation.

Several medical dictionaries after James (1743–1745) show the influence of his wordlist, if not his prolixity. Barrow's *Dictionarium Medicum Universale* (1749) is largely a one-volume abridgement of James's dictionary (McConchie 2019: 172), and its approach to the lexis of same-sex sexuality is to replicate James's cross-references but leave out his definitions, leading to a semantic dead-end. *Confricatrices* simply points to *tribades*, *tribades* to *malthacos*, and *malthacos* to *malacos*, the last of which is defined by the single word 'soft'. The dead-end comes sooner in Motherby's *New Medical Dictionary* (1775), which glosses *confricatrices* as 'Tribades' but has no entry for the latter. Hooper is silent on same-sex intercourse in *A Compendious Medical Dictionary* (1798), but more forthcoming in his 1802 revision of

Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*. Contrary to Quincy (1719), Hooper seems to adopt the minoritizing position that genital hypertrophy leads to tribady rather than resulting from it. He discloses under *clitoris* that 'Instances have occurred where the clitoris was so enlarged, as to enable the female to have venereal commerce with others; and in Paris this fact was made a public exhibition of to the faculty'.[10] The anecdote is repeated in Grant's 1839 revision of the dictionary, but even into the nineteenth century, the lack of a medical consensus over how to schematize the tribade's body endured. Morris and Kendrick (1807) take a universalizing position, hinting darkly under *clitorismus* ('a morbid enlargement of the clitoris') that 'if the cause of the enlargement, which is commonly assigned, be true, it is not probable that any motive of delicacy or inconvenience will be a sufficient inducement to suffer the pain of extirpation'. The implication is that any woman with an enlarged clitoris must have acquired it by—and be using it in—an immodest manner, or else she could be convinced to allow the removal of this 'inconvenience' (for penile intercourse, presumably). Yet the manner in question is concealed behind a vague nominalization—'The cause'—which elides any clear social actors. Did the woman effect this cause herself? Did she act alone or with someone else?

This last question is significant. In medical and pseudo-medical discourse beyond lexicography, female (and male) masturbation was often condemned in the same breath as same-sex activity, both being cast as morbid and debilitating substitutes for cross-sex intercourse (e.g. Tissot 1766: 45–46; Carlile 1826: 37). The slippage between the two is reflected in Wallis's 1791 revision of Motherby's *New Medical Dictionary*, which proposes that *confricatrices* are 'Lascivious women, who gratify their lustful desires with what the Greeks call *ολισβος*, penis coriaceus [a leather penis], and hence plunge themselves into a variety of

[10] Hooper may be referring to Marie Ange, a woman with an enlarged clitoris who was 'exhibited in London and Paris, in 1777', according to *The Lancet* (Thomson 1836: 354), though Hooper's phrasing makes it sound as if the Parisian Faculty of Medicine hosted a peep-show.

chronic diseases'. This ambiguates whether the confricatrix penetrates herself or another woman with the olisbos (an object to which Wallis applies two classical terms, but which he does not acknowledge has a demotic name in English: *dildo*). With greater equivocality, Parr (1809) reports only that *confricatrices* are 'Lascivious women, who induce a variety of chronic diseases from unnatural practices'. Even when the confricatrix is not afforded a hypertrophic clitoris, congenital or acquired, she continues to be pathologized. Such definitions are useless as aids to diagnosing or treating the amorphous 'diseases' they conjure up, but they maintain the confricatrix as a threatening figure of improper behaviour among women, still in need of medical policing at the turn of the century.

Old and New Aetiologies after 1790

Less visible than tribady in eighteenth-century medical dictionaries is sex between men—an inversion of the situation in general dictionaries of the same period. The exception to the rule is *A Medical Glossary* by William Turton, a deliberately retrospective work which places special emphasis on etymology and 'those compound words used by the physicians of the Greek school' (Turton 1797: A4^{r}). All of the lexicographical authorities cited in the *Glossary's* preface date from the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries (A4^{v}). Among them is Castelli, whose *Lexicon medicvm Græco-Latinvm* (revised by Bruno) has already been identified as the likely source of *confricatrices* in Quincy (1722) and *malthacos* in James (1743–1745). Turton (1797) admits neither of these headwords, but he draws on the *Lexicon* to coin two new same-sex terms in English: *andrumesis* and *androcoetesis*. In the 1688 edition of Castelli and Bruno, the verb *andrumæ* is glossed as *'viro conjungi,* concumbere' [to be joined to a man, to lie with], and *androcoeteo* as *'cum viro concumbo'* [I lie with a man]. The absence of women from these glosses is a marked departure from the definitions of English and Latin sexual verbs

encountered in earlier dictionaries—such as *occupy*, *swive*, and *subagito*—which invariably took a female object (see Chapters 1 and 3). Those definitions had no explicit subjects, but the dictionaries' androcentrism implied that it was a male agent who performed the act, and this holds true for Castelli and Bruno (1688) as well. While the definitions of *andrumæ* and *androcoeteo* could, of course, be interpreted by a reader as taking a female agent—entailing an inversion of MacKinnon's (1989) 'man fucks woman' paradigm—that the definitions are meant to capture a different kind of subversion is made clear by the rest of the entries. *Andrumæ* is cross-referred to *anandries*, which is defined in turn as *'Eviratus, Effœminatus'* [Emasculated, Effeminate]. Under *androcoeteo* is a citation of 1 Corinthians 6:9—a biblical verse which addresses 'nefandum concubitum maris cum mare' [unspeakable copulation of man with man], according to the *Lexicon*.

Yet when Turton (1797) adapted the headwords into English, he also expanded their semantic range. *Androcoeteo* is nominalized to *androcoetesis*, 'The venereal act; or the infamous act of sodomy', and *andrumæ* to *andrumesis*, 'The same as ANDROCOETESIS'. Turton presumably resignifies the words to denote either the 'venereal act' in general or sodomy in particular on the basis that the Greek morpheme *andro-* could be parsed as either 'human' or 'man'. Despite the nominalized entries' elision of any explicitly gendered participants, the definitions construct a polysemy that troubles the border between respectable cross-sex intercourse and 'infamous' sex between men. Although numerous later medical dictionaries make use of Turton's *Glossary* (e.g. Quincy and Hooper 1802: iii; Parr 1809: s.v. *abas*; Mayne 1860: s.v. *ancunulenta*; Power and Sedgwick 1881–1899: s.v. *aretos*), only Fox and Bradley (1803) and Forsyth (1826) see fit to reproduce *androcoetesis*. Fox and Bradley (1803) alone include *andrumesis*.

This might seem to indicate an increasing reluctance to define same-sex intercourse even among medical lexicographers—or a waning professional interest in the subject in the nineteenth century. Turton (1797), Fox and Bradley (1803), and Forsyth (1826) do not pathologize the bodies of those who commit the infamous sort of *andrumesis* or *androcoetesis*; nor do any of them register headwords for tribady. There are also post-1800 medical dictionaries that encompass no same-sex lexis, male or female (Macaulay 1828; Hoblyn 1835; Mayne 1836; Beeton 1871; Quain 1882). However, lexicographers' anatomizing of same-sex intercourse did not end with the Georgian era. In fact, in other dictionaries, it was spurred on by two fresh stimuli: a revival of classical scholarship and the arrival of modern forensic medicine. Both developments played a role in the continued schematization and lexicalization of the sexually deviant body.

To begin with classicism, we have seen that Georgian medical dictionaries sometimes made use of the same expedient that hard-word lexicographers had relied on a century before: anglicizing headwords from foreign-language dictionaries. That this impulse survived in eighteenth-century medical lexicography can be attributed in part to the continued prestige of classical writers—and modern scholars who wrote in Latin—among English physicians of that period (cf. McConchie 2019: 6, 9, 191). Medical advances in the nineteenth century, meanwhile, contributed to the burgeoning use of what Philip Babcock Gove (1967) would later call the 'International Scientific Vocabulary'. Scientific terms derived from Latin and Greek elements passed with little alteration between the modern languages of Europe, and medical lexicons played a hand in the exchange. Like hard-word dictionaries, they were not simply registrars of English but innovators of it. What differentiates the classicism of nineteenth-century medical lexicographers from that of their predecessors is the sources on which they relied. Castelli's

Lexicon, an enduring wellspring of words in the eighteenth century, would at last be displaced by new scholarship from the continent—and America.

As a history of general dictionaries in nineteenth-century Britain must address the influence of Noah Webster (Chapter 1), so a sexual survey of medical lexicography ought to acknowledge the presence of Robley Dunglison. Born in England in 1798, Dunglison was awarded an MD by the University of Erlangen before emigrating to the United States in 1825. Besides holding successive professorships in medicine and serving as the personal physician of Thomas Jefferson, Dunglison compiled *A New Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature* (1833). The dictionary proved tremendously successful, selling 'more than 55,000 copies in nineteen editions' before Dunglison's death in 1869 (Bell 2004). The eighth edition—entitled *Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science*—appeared in 1851, at which point the dictionary was printed in London for the first time. By then, it included an abundance of same-sex terms. Some of these are easily recognizable from other medical or general dictionaries: *clitorism*, *confricatrix*, *tribas*, *tribade* (s.v. *tribas*), *fricatrix* (s.v. *tribas*), *frictrix* (s.v. *tribas*), *buggery*, *sodomy*. Others are Latin forms of words that had previously appeared with anglicized terminations in monolingual English dictionaries: *pæderastia*, *pædicatio* ('Pæderastia'), *sodomia*. Still others are less familiar: *cinædia* (s.v. *pæderastia*), *pædogogium* ('Pæderastia'), and *fututor*, *mascula*, *subagitatrix*, *subigator* (all defined as 'Tribade').[11] Despite their classical origins, Dunglison's direct source for several of these words appears to have been not Latin but German lexicography.

This is not remarkable. Durkin (2014: 342) observes that a large proportion of loanwords from German into English in the nineteenth century were technical and scientific terms ultimately

[11] Compare *pædicatio* to *pedicate* and *cinædia* to *cinædus* in Chapter 2.

derived from Latin or Greek. At the same time, new German notions of philology and lexicography were on the ascendant in America (Read 1966). Dunglison acknowledges his debt to continental scholarship in the preface to his *Lexicon* from its second edition onwards, stating that he 'freely availed himself of the English, French, and German works of the same nature' (Dunglison 1839: v). He does not identify his sources, but one of them may have been Kraus's *Kritisch-etymologisches medicinisches Lexikon* (1826). Kraus glosses *Cinaedia* as 'die Knabenschänderei, die Selbstbefleckung' [boy-ravishing, self-pollution]. Dunglison (1851) defines *cinœdia* as 'masturbation' only, but then repeats the term in a list of synonyms under *pæderastia*, 'The love of boys'—a 'disgraceful passion, common in ancient times, but now unknown'. Masturbation and sex between men, hitherto represented as kindred vices, are conflated. The same fate befalls sex between women in Dunglison's definition of *confricatrix*: 'A female who practices masturbation.' Even in nineteenth-century medical lexicography, sexual deviance could remain an ambiguated (and alienated) category.

Dunglison probably owes a larger lexical debt to the *Medizinisches Realwörterbuch* (1816–1829) of Johann Friedrich Pierer and Ludwig Choulant. Headwords for sexuality between women that are shared by the two dictionaries are compared in Table 4.1. (Cross-references and citations in the *Realwörterbuch* have been elided.)

Table 4.1: Terms for sexuality between women in Pierer and Choulant and Dunglison

Pierer and Choulant (1816–1829)	*Dunglison (1851)*
Clitorismus, (*Clitorismus*.) Von einem obscönen Griechischen Worte ist obiges Wort in neuerer Zeit zur Bezeichnung der krankhaft, […] vergrößerten und hervorragenden Clitoris gebraucht worden, sodann auch zur Bezeichnung des Missbrauchs dieses Theils zu regelloser Befriedigung des Geschlechtstriebs zweier Personen weiblichen Geschlechts unter sich.[12]	CLITORISM, *Clitorismus*. A word, invented to express the abuse made of the clitoris. Also, an unusually large clitoris, *Cercosis externa* seu *Clitoridis*, *Caudatio*.
Fricatrices, *Frictrices*, s. Tribaden.	FRICTRIX, *Tribade*.
Fututa mulier, *Fututio*, *Fututor*, *Fututrix*, obscöne Worte, die auf Befriedigung des Geschlechtstriebes, aber nur einseitig, Bezug haben.[13]	FUTUTOR, Tribade.
[?] *Subigatrices*, s. Tribaden.	[?] SUBAGITATRIX, *Tribade*.
[s.v. *Tribaden*.]	SUBIGATOR, *Tribade*.
Tribaden, (*Tribades*, *Frictrices*, *Fictrices*, *Fricatrices*, *Subigatores*,) Frauenspersonen, die bei ungewöhnlich großer Clitoris mit andern auf widernatürliche und unsittliche Weise den Geschlechtstrieb erregen und ihn zu befriedigen suchen.[14]	TRIBAS, (F.) *Tribade*, from [Greek], 'I rub.' *Frictrix*, *Fricatrix*, *Fututor*, *Mascula*, *Subagitatrix*, *Subigator*. A female whose clitoris is so large as to cause her to be regarded as an hermaphrodite. One who acts as a male with another female.

The *Realwörterbuch's* own sources are eclectic rather than just medical: it cites Martial's epigrams for *Tribades*, *Fututor*, and *Fututrix*, and Tertullian's religious writing for *Frictrices* (s.v. *Tribaden*), retroactively imposing a medical framework onto these texts. *Fututor* and *Fututrix* are masculine and feminine agentive nouns derived from Latin *futuo*, 'I fuck'. Likewise, the feminine plural *Subigatrices* and masculine plural *Subigatores* come from the sexual verb *subigo*, literally 'I bring under'. Of these, Dunglison (1851) includes *fututor* and *subigator*. He also introduces *subagitatrix*, the feminine agentive of *subagito* (or *subigito*), 'I fondle'. Dunglison would later add *fututrix* and *subigitatrix* to a new revision of his dictionary published in America and England in 1865. He defines all of them as 'Tribade' or 'Tribas'.

[12] [From an obscene Greek word, the foregoing word has been used in recent times to describe the pathologically enlarged and protuberant clitoris […] and thence also to describe the abuse of this part for the immoderate satisfaction of the sexual impulse between two persons of the female sex.]
[13] [Obscene words, which refer to the satisfaction of the sexual impulse, but only one-sidedly.] Whether one-sidedness refers to masturbation or same-sex acts is ambiguous.
[14] [Women who, by an unusually large clitoris, excite the sexual impulse and seek to satisfy it with others in an unnatural and immoral way.]

Because *futuo*, *subigo*, and *subigito*/*subagito* typically took a male agent in Latin (Adams 1982: 118–122, 155–156), the feminine agentives *fututrix*, *subigatrix*, and *subigitatrix*/*subagitatrix* predictably upset the gender paradigm by placing a woman in the 'active' role. More unexpected is Dunglison's glossing of the masculine agentives *fututor* and *subigator* as 'Tribade' as well. Yet this further emphasizes the transgression of the tribade. Because she 'acts as a male' (Dunglison 1851: s.v. *tribas*), she may as well be assigned to the masculine grammatical gender. Neither Dunglison nor the *Realwörterbuch* includes the more conventional denotation of *fututor* or *subigator*: a man who takes an 'active' role in intercourse.[15] This lexical asymmetry (Hornscheidt 2008: 115) is attributable to the fact that such a man is the sexual norm, morphologically unremarkable, and so has no reason to be dissected in a medical dictionary. Dunglison's (1851) definition of *tribas* may be free of the moral indignation found in earlier medical lexicography, but the tribade's prominent place in the dictionary signifies that she is still a morbidly marked subject.

The tribade's ostensible mimicry of manhood is also apparent in *mascula*, the feminine form of Latin *masculus* 'male'. This epithet, applied to Sappho since antiquity (Andreadis 2001: 30), had been borrowed into English anatomical discourse by the 1830s. In an article on hermaphroditism, the Scottish obstetrician James Young Simpson (1839: 686) observed that women affected by 'Excessive size of the clitoris' were known to the Greeks as '*τριβαδες* and *εταιριστριαι*, a class in which the celebrated poetess Sappho (*mascula Sappho*) is well known to have been included'. Dunglison read Simpson's article shortly after its publication, and it may have prompted the inclusion of *mascula* in his dictionary.[16] Likewise, Simpson's use of *'εταιριστριαι'* may have been the inspiration for another entry added to Dunglison's 1865

[15] A posthumous revision of Dunglison by his son removes *fututor* and *subigator* (Dunglison and Dunglison 1874).
[16] Dunglison cites Simpson's article in an unrelated context in *Human Physiology* (1841: 360). *Mascula* first occurs in the fourth American edition of Dunglison's dictionary (1844).

revision: *etæristria*, 'Tribas'. *Etæristria* is Dunglison's own English respelling of the Greek term, though he was not the first to anglicize it. Forty years earlier, the antiquary Algernon Herbert had recorded in an account of Sappho's life that 'since she did not love men she must be […] an hetæristria' (Herbert 1826: 398); he later adjectivized the noun to describe her as 'hetairistrian Sappho' (Herbert 1828: 318). Herbert's usages were historical rather than medical, but in Dunglison (1865), *etæristria* becomes one of many classical terms that underwent modern pathologization.

As Simpson's (1839) article shows, Dunglison's preoccupation with the tribade's body was not an American anomaly in Victorian Britain (see Beccalossi 2011). Indeed, the terms registered by Dunglison (1851, 1865) were not the only ones in medical circulation. The Scottish anatomical writer Alexander Walker (1838: 86–87), for instance, cautioned that 'Sapphic tastes' and 'Lesbian habits' were an 'aberration of love' that modern girls should be guarded against, and believed it 'not improbable, that this occasioned, in southern countries, the excision of the clitoris'. Thus, Dunglison's wordlist would be eagerly quarried by the largest of Victorian medical dictionaries, the *New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* (*NSSL*). Published in parts from 1879 and consolidated into five volumes from 1881 to 1899, the *NSSL* registers *clitorism*, *confricatrix*, *etæristria*, *fricatrix*, *frictrix*, *fututrix*, *mascula*, *subagitatrix*, and *subigitatrix*, as well as introducing *Lesbian love* ('A synonym of *Tribadism*') in 1888 and *Sapphism* ('The unnatural sexual passion of woman for woman') in 1899.[17]

Also shared by Dunglison (1851) and the *NSSL* are the male sexual terms *cinædia*, *pæderastia*, and *pædication* (*pædicatio* in Dunglison). R. G. Mayne's *Expository Lexicon* (1860) likewise

[17] The *NSSL* may be the earliest English dictionary, medical or otherwise, to define *lesbian* in a sexual sense. Its entry for *Sapphism* is predated by several American medical dictionaries (Billings 1890; Gould 1890, 1892, 1894; Dunglison and Dunglison 1893; Greene 1897).

defines *pæderastia* as '*Med.* Term for sodomy'. Sodomites had, of course, not undergone the same sustained dissection as tribades, but the imbalance would be somewhat lessened by the advent of modern forensic medicine. This 'mingled association of law and medicine' might lead not only doctors but 'judges, barristers, advocates, coroners, sheriffs, and every legal functionary' to have recourse to a medical dictionary, as Mayne (1860) tactfully suggests in the preface to his *Lexicon*. Because they were criminals under the law, men who had sex with men were inevitably caught up in this conjunction of the medical and juridical spheres. During the second half of the nineteenth century, court-appointed physicians on the continent and in England were called upon to detect signs of anal penetration in uncertain cases of sodomy (Crozier 2001, 2005). As the clitoris was the privileged signifier of tribady, so the 'anus became a proxy for the sodomite's body as a whole' (Crozier 2005: 66); and in their attempts to 'read meaning from the body' (65), doctors reconstructed it according to new pathological schemas.

That these schemas were the concern of both the legal and medical professions is demonstrated early on by Wharton's *Law Lexicon*. Wharton (1848) observes that an individual on whom *sodomy* is committed may require medical examination, and encodes the signs of 'a frequent repetition of the crime' as 'dilitation [sic] of the sphincters, ulcerations on the parts, or a livid appearance and thickening'. The definition is taken almost verbatim from *Elements of Medical Jurisprudence* (Beck and Beck 1842: 119), one of several manuals that offered guidance on how to diagnose sodomy—though *Elements*, like Wharton (1848), is vague about the names and locations of the 'sphincters' and 'parts' in question. The sodomitical body comes into clearer focus in a handbook by the eminent Prussian physician Johann Ludwig Casper, translated into English and published by the New Sydenham Society in 1864. Casper (1864: 333–334) asserts that habitual 'passive pæderastia' can be detected by the 'smooth condition of the skin' and 'trumpet-like depression of nates towards the anus'; those in whom such signs are found he

terms 'Pathici' and 'Cinædi'. The *New Sydenham Society's Lexicon* (1881–1899) duly explains that a *cinædus* is 'One on whom *Cinædia* is practised', *cinædia* being 'Unnatural sexual connection with a boy; also, masturbation'. The *NSSL* does not go as far as anatomizing the anus of the receptive partner, but the connections between same-sex intercourse, medicine, and the law are concisely articulated by the dictionary's polysemous definition of *pathic*: 'Remaining passive. Also (*Πάθος*), morbid suffering. Also, term for one who allows the crime of sodomy to be practised upon him.' The common root of *pathic* and *pathology*, Greek *πάθος* ('suffering'), allows disease and deviance, morbid affliction and criminal act, to be yoked together lexically as well as definitionally (cf. Clayton 1991: 65).

The influence of German forensic medicine and classical scholarship on pathological discourses in English is notable for one final reason. In some ways, it anticipates the rise of another discipline codified and popularized by German medical writing: sexology.[18] In the Introduction, I observed that the emergence of sexology in the late nineteenth century has often been presented as effecting a radical paradigm shift in the construction of sexuality. Ostensibly for the first time, same-sex desire became a scientific matter, and with this it was transformed from a universalized to a minoritized concept. No longer simply a crime or sin to which anyone might fall prey, sexual deviance became a condition that was congenital in a minority of people. However, the preceding discussion of medical lexicography adds to the evidence that there was no sharp epistemological rupture (Beccalossi 2011). Same-sex sexuality has long been an object of medical science. Moreover, the ways in which sexuality has been medicalized suggest not fractures but what Traub (2016: 85) calls *cycles of salience*: 'forms of intelligibility whose meanings recur, intermittently and with a difference, across time'. The ulceration suffered by

[18] Pre-sexological studies of same-sex desire in nineteenth-century Germany are discussed by Brooks (2012) in relation to forensic medicine and Dynes (2005) in relation to classical philology.

habitual users of *sodomy* in Wharton (1842) recalls the sodomite's *cristæ*-riddled fundament in Phillips and Kersey (1706). Quincy's (1719) schematizing of the *hermaphrodite* as a woman with enormous genitals who commits lewd acts is echoed by the *NSSL's* (1881–1899) representation of *clitorismus*: 'The condition in which there is a very large clitoris, when the woman was called Androgyna. Also, the unnatural intercourse of a woman with a woman by reason of the enlarged clitoris.'[19] As to the salience of universalizing versus minoritizing models, we have seen that whether the tribade's clitoris signified the evidence of abuse or an accident of birth was highly contested. The anal disfigurement of the sodomite may have arisen from habit, but Casper's (1864: 330–331) handbook would propose that the lust which drove sodomites to commit their crimes was 'hereditary' in some cases and 'acquired' in others—though desire remained a secondary consideration to deed in forensic medicine.

What would distinguish sexological discourses from these earlier models is that the primary imprint of same-sex sexuality ceased to be physical and became psychological (Crozier 2001: 81). Still, even this would offer a partial return to the constitution of the *tribas* and *malthacos* by the Roman writer Caelius Aurelianus. Deviant inclinations would once again be articulated as 'Vices or Diseases of the Mind, [rather] than the Body' (James 1743–1745: s.v. *malthacos*)—though which inclinations counted as deviant, and who was qualified to define them, would differ. Before turning to the lexicography of sexology in Chapter 5, we will close our discussion of embodiment in dictionaries with a coda on another kind of materiality: dictionaries' own.

[19] In dictionaries, the semantic development of *clitorism(us)* shows its own chain of meanings with a difference: it shifts metonymically between a 'morbid enlargement' (Motherby and Wallis 1791), a morbid enlargement specifically arising from abuse (e.g. Morris and Kendrick 1807), and the abusive act itself.

Epistemic Embodiment

The lexicalization of tribady in Georgian and Victorian medical dictionaries recalls two other genres of lexicography touched on in Chapters 2 and 3: Latin–English dictionaries in the seventeenth century and learned dictionaries of mythology in the eighteenth. Both of those genres were aimed at a classically educated male audience, and both treated sexuality between women more freely than dictionaries marketed to a general readership. Although who actually 'read and made use of [medical] dictionaries is not easy to determine' (McConchie 2019: 18), their intended users in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were for the most part medical professionals. Quincy compiled the *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* (1719: xvi) for 'others in the same Course of Study' as he had once been, while Motherby's *New Medical Dictionary* (1775: iii) was 'designed to extend [readers'] knowledge in the art they profess'. Morris and Kendrick (1807: i) wrote for 'the student and practitioner', Parr (1809: v) for 'the practitioner', Dunglison (1851: 5) for 'the practitioner and student'. The normative practitioner and student were, of course, male. The professional authority of midwives was deliberately undermined by physicians, surgeons, and apothecaries from the late seventeenth century onwards, and although the distinctions between the latter professions were largely obsolete by the early nineteenth century, bars against women being officially licensed in any of them started being lifted only after the Medical Act 1876 (Witz 1992: 93–96, 102–103). By then, only a small number of highly determined women had managed to enter the medical register through regulatory loopholes, most famously Elizabeth Garrett in 1865.

There were medical lexicons written for literate laywomen (and laymen) during this period. Glossaries of physical terms appeared in *The Family-Dictionary* by William Salmon (1695: Aa1^{r}–Aa2^{r}) and *The Family Magazine* by the pseudonymous Arabella Atkyns (1741: 316–318). The nineteenth century saw such publications as *A Dictionary of Medicine, Designed for*

Popular Use (Macaulay 1828), *A Medical Vocabulary* 'for the student, but also adapted to general use' (Mayne 1836: i), and *Beeton's Medical Dictionary, a Safe Guide for Every Family* (1871). Among these texts, Mayne (1836) alone has an entry for *clitoris*. It goes without saying that none encompassed the lexis of tribady. This was a body of knowledge whose publication was policed along professional (and therefore gendered) lines.

Besides intended usership, there are other factors dictating how sexual knowledge and ignorance are shaped by 'the labor, erotics, and economics of their human production and distribution' (Sedgwick 1990: 8). Even a dictionary that professed to be epistemically egalitarian could be set apart by the material constraints of its circulation. James's *Medicinal Dictionary* (1743–1745), with its monumental entry for *tribades*, is a case in point. Operating on the principle that 'whatever is generally useful should be generally known', the proposals for James's dictionary had envisioned its practical utility not just for professionals but for 'Mankind' at large (James 1741: [3]–[4]). The dictionary was advertised to subscribers in instalments of five folio sheets for a shilling each (James 1741: [2]). The complete work was projected to span about eighty instalments in two volumes, which would have put its total price at £4. The actual dictionary ran to over 160 instalments and three volumes—entailing a ruinous sum of £8.11s., though lacklustre sales soon knocked the price down to £5.5s. ('Advertisements' 1747: 2; McConchie 2019: 148–149). By contrast, the first edition of Johnson's *Dictionary of the English Language* (1755) cost £4.10s., which was still enough to place it 'beyond the means of most readers' (Dille 2005: 202). Whereas Johnson's dictionary was followed by an abridgement for 10s., James's dictionary had no such reissue.

Across the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the size of a medical dictionary offers one rough predictor of whether it will incorporate any discourse on tribady. Beginning with the

appearance of *confricatrices* and *confrictrices* in the second edition of Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* (1722), Table 4.2 compares the dimensions of medical dictionaries against their registration of headwords for sexuality between women—however discreet the attached definitions. (Terms that are not afforded headword status, but that appear in lists of synonyms attached to definitions, are given in parentheses after their parent headwords. Other headwords whose definitions tangentially refer to sexuality between women are included in brackets.)

Table 4.2: Medical dictionaries' sizes and entries for sexuality between women, 1722–1882

Dictionary	***Size***	***Entries***
Quincy (2nd ed., 1722)	8º	*confricatrices*/*confrictrices*, [*hermaphrodite*]
Prosodia Chirurgica (1729)	8º	Ø
James (1743–1745)	2º 3 vol.	*confricatrices*, [*malthacos*], *tribades*
Barrow (1749)	8º	*confricatrices*, *tribades*
Motherby (1775)	2º	*confricatrices*
Motherby and Wallis (3rd ed. 1791)	2º	*confricatrices*
Lara (1796)	12º	Ø
Turton (1797)	4º	Ø
Hooper (1798)	12º	Ø
Quincy and Hooper (1802)	8º	[*clitoris*]
Fox and Bradley (1803)	12º	Ø
Morris and Kendrick (1807)	4º 2 vol.	[*clitorismus*]
Parr (1809)	4º 2 vol.	*confricatrices*
Forsyth (1826)	12º	Ø
Macaulay (1828)	8º	Ø
Hoblyn (1835)	12º	Ø
Mayne (1836)	18º	Ø
Hooper and Grant (1837)	8º	[*clitoris*]
Dunglison (8th ed., 1851)	8º	*clitorism*, *confricatrix*, *fututor*, *mascula*, *subagitatrix*, *subigator*, *tribas* (*fricatrix*, *frictrix*, *tribade*)
Fowler (1860)	8º	*clitorism*
Mayne (1860)	8º	Ø
Beeton (1871)	8º	Ø
Dunglison and Dunglison, new ed. (1874)	8º	*clitorism*, *confricatrix*, *etæristria*, *fricatrix*, *frictrix*, *fututrix*, *mascula*, *subagitatrix*, *subigitatrix*, *tribas* (*tribade*), *tribadism*
NSSL (1881–1899)	4º 5 vol.	*clitorism*, *clitorismus*, *confricatrix*, *etæristria*, *fricatrix*, *frictrix*, *fututrix*, *Lesbian love*, *mascula*, *Sapphism*, *subagitatrix*, *subigitatrix*
Quain (1882)	8º 2 vol.	Ø

All three folio dictionaries include at least one relevant headword (James 1743–1745; Motherby 1775; Motherby and Wallis 1791). Two of the three multi-volume quarto dictionaries do likewise (Parr 1809; *NSSL* 1881–1899); the third has no terms but makes a suggestive allusion under *clitorismus* which we considered in the previous section (Morris and Kendrick 1807). Turton's (1797) single-volume quarto is silent. Octavo dictionaries are divided, with seven of twelve addressing the subject to varying extents (Quincy 1722; Barrow 1749; Quincy and Hooper 1802; Hooper and Grant 1837; Dunglison 1851; Fowler 1860; Dunglison and Dunglison 1874). The duodecimo and octodecimo dictionaries betray no hint of tribady.

It is a truism that a smaller dictionary is less likely to contain a certain word. Whereas some lexicons attempted to comprehend the whole scope of medical knowledge, others were meant to serve as practical vade-mecums (McConchie 2019: 192). Even so, judgements about which aspects of medical knowledge should be encoded in smaller, cheaper dictionaries may sometimes have been motivated by propriety as well as practicality. Thomas (1969: 3) observes that whether a book was subject to censorship in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries 'might depend on its intellectual pretensions as well as its retail price': in other words, on its accessibility to the literate public at large. In Chapter 3, I argued that general English dictionaries, after being almost silent on sexuality between women in the first half of the eighteenth century, became even more reticent about registering any same-sex lexis in the second half. Medical lexicographers were afforded greater epistemic leeway by their professional domain, but they too may have felt new concerns about the accessibility of the cheaper octavo works.

For instance, the posthumous tenth and eleventh editions of Quincy's *Lexicon Physico-Medicum* (1787, 1794), which sold for 7s.6d. and 10s. apiece, removed the dictionary's entry

for *confricatrices*. Explicit headwords for tribady would not resurface in an octavo medical dictionary until Dunglison's imported *Medical Lexicon* (1851)—and that retailed at £1.4s. By then, this price was not exceptional. Despite industrialization pushing down the cost of book production in the nineteenth century (Weedon 2013), it became the norm among medical practitioners' lexicons for even octavo volumes to command large sums when compared with dictionaries (medical or general) aimed at a lay readership. Like Dunglison's lexicon, *Chambers's English Dictionary* (1872) was a 900-page octavo, but it cost only 10s. Beeton's 300-page *Medical Dictionary* (1871) for family use could be had for just one shilling. By contrast, Mayne's 1,500-page *Expository Lexicon of the Terms, Ancient and Modern, in Medical and General Science* (1860) sold for £2.10s. Still, no British medical dictionary would tackle sexuality as zealously as Dunglison until the *NSSL* (1881–1899), and that was a multi-volume quarto priced at £3.13s.6d. (with gilt) or £3.3s. (without). Commercial as well as professional exclusivity allowed specialist lexicographers freer rein to encode the sexually taboo, though of course not all of them did.[20]

The growing cost of practitioners' dictionaries likely reflected the rising professionalization and prestige of the medical establishment—albeit prestige did not always correspond to the economic realities of ordinary practitioners, especially outside of the urban elite (Digby 1994: 35–38, 136–148). As the *British Medical Journal* ruefully observed in a review of late Victorian lexicons, 'Unlike a textbook, a dictionary is more or less an *objet de luxe*' ('Medical Dictionaries' 1902: 1543). The dictionary-as-object is a salient reminder that the production of discourse—including the making of dictionaries—'not only move[s] through a content history

[20] Prices have been gleaned from advertisements, reviews, and booksellers' catalogues for Quincy (Hayes 1788: 119; Dickson 1794: 90), Dunglison ('New Medical Works' 1852), *Chambers* (Rivington 1872: 31), Beeton (Ward, Lock, and Tyler 1875: 13), Mayne ('Medical Times & Gazette Advertiser' 1861), and the *NSSL* ('Medical Dictionaries' 1902: 1544).

[…] but also ha[s] a material and rematerializing history' (Iedema 2003: 49).[21] The sexual knowledge that the lexicographer is willing or able to produce is partly determined by the dictionary's material constraints. Its size and cost affect how and where and by whom it will be sold and used (in ways that do not always align with the audience that is overtly identified in the dictionary's front matter). Like the discourses of human acts and anatomies that medical dictionaries inscribe, at the level of the discursive object itself, practice and embodiment are intertwined.

[21] Compare Chen's (2019) concordant remarks on lexicography as a 'discursive practice', though the emphasis there is on processes rather than materiality (see Chapter 5).

—5—

‘The Scientific Method of the Century’

Taxonomizing Sexuality in the OED

> [I]t can be maintained that in the Oxford Dictionary, permeated as it is through and through with the scientific method of the century, Lexicography has for the present reached its supreme development.
> (Murray 1900: 49.)

So James Murray—foremost of the editors of the *Oxford English Dictionary*—declared in a lecture delivered at Oxford’s Sheldonian Theatre at the close of the nineteenth century. It was June 1900, sixteen years after the publication of the first part, *A–Ant*, of the work that was formally known on its title page as *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society*. At the time of his lecture, Murray and his fellow editor, Henry Bradley, were working on the letters *G* and *I*. It would take twenty-eight more years and the appointment of two further editors—William Craigie and Charles Talbut Onions—before the final fascicle of the dictionary appeared in 1928. Murray and Bradley had died by then, but Craigie and Onions capped off the main dictionary with a single-volume *Supplement* in 1933. At that point, three quarters of a century had elapsed since the London Philological Society had publicly proposed the compilation of ‘a new and more Scientific Dictionary than any at present existing’ (Philological Society 1859: 1). Throughout that time, the editors of the dictionary had reiterated their commitment to the ‘scientific method’ of which Murray was so proud: the ‘new philology’ of the nineteenth century, propounded by such scholars as Jacob and Wilhelm Grimm, with its empirical reliance on historical data to reconstruct the development of language (Momma 2013: 60–68). The *OED’s* adoption of the new philology saw hundreds of volunteer readers extracting millions of

quotations from printed literature and sending them on slips to the editors and their assistants. These quotations would not simply illustrate definitions written *a priori* by the lexicographers, but provide the empirical foundation, the 'induction of facts', on which the definitions would be based (Murray 1900: 47; see Brewer 2000). The theoretical and methodological advances made by the *OED* were affirmed by Murray in a presidential address to the Philological Society delivered shortly after the dictionary's first part was published: 'I feel that in many respects I and my assistants are simply pioneers, pushing our way experimentally through an untrodden forest' (Murray 1884: 509; see Mugglestone 2000b).

Yet despite the *OED's* undeniable innovations and achievements, in practice, the scientific principles of its editors would run up against the same barriers of social propriety that had hampered lexicographers for centuries.[1] Mugglestone (2007b) has demonstrated that the extent to which the *OED* could or should encompass terms considered to be sexually indecent was an ongoing matter of dispute among its compilers and their advisers. She points to, among other things, the deliberate exclusion of *fuck*, *cunt*, and *condom*, the inclusion of *twat* without a definition, and the omission of quotations under *cock* (in the sense of 'penis') and *masturbation*. These hesitancies were not lost on contemporary reviewers. In the *National Observer*, Charles Whibley (1893: 164) accused Murray of being 'squeamish' for omitting '"bad" words', an oversight 'the more bitter' in a dictionary of the *OED's* scholarly dimensions. He urged Murray to 'learn a lesson' from the lexicographers Farmer and Henley, whose own dictionary, *Slang and Its Analogues Past and Present* (1890–1904), likewise 'executed on the historical principles', had not shied away from recording obscenity (Whibley 1893: 164). A year after the 1933 *Supplement* to the *OED* was issued, Allen Walker Read (1934:

[1] Murray's depiction of lexicographers as woodland 'pioneers' was also not unprecedented. Sixty years earlier, the slang lexicographer John Badcock had sardonically referred to dictionary-writers as 'dingy pioneers in the forest of words' (Bee 1823: v).

274–275) concurred that it was ‘to the lasting shame of Murray and Bradley that their linguistic sense was not strong enough so that they could dissociate themselves from the warped outlook of their age’, and lamented that society at large remained so ‘squeamish’ in the face of lexical taboo (see also Ross 1934). Nonetheless, such decisions were not solely in the *OED* editors’ hands. Aside from whatever pressures the publishers might exert, there was the matter of the law.

Whibley’s praise of Farmer and Henley neglected to mention that in 1890 their slang dictionary had stalled at the printing of its second volume when the printer refused to typeset the obscene terms it contained. Farmer’s attempts to sue the printer were ultimately unsuccessful; his counsel’s protestation that the dictionary was ‘strictly scientific’ was dismissed by the court, which opined that ‘it seemed that if the plaintiff heard of a dirty word he at once felt free to ferret it out, and call it a scientific process’ (‘The Slang Dictionary Case’ 1891: 7; see Coleman 2009 III: 56–57). This example would have made clear to Murray, with whom Farmer corresponded about the case (Gilliver 2010: 80–81), that historical principles were not enough to spare a lexicographer from the brand of indecency. Besides, the *OED* editors had to contend with the Obscene Publications Act 1857 of Lord Campbell, under which the public exposure of any text judged to be obscene became a statutory offence.[2] Farmer could avoid prosecution under the Act on the grounds that his dictionary was, as its title page states, ‘printed for subscribers only’ (see Mugglestone 2007b: 16). Conversely, the compilers of the *OED*—a text whose ‘bounties’ were intended to be ‘open to all’ (Murray 1881: 9), and whose every

[2] Perhaps in a twist of wry humour, Lord Campbell’s own *Lives of the Lord Chancellors* would be cited in the *OED* under *squeamishly*: ‘Bolingbroke..squeamishly says: “The first regulation..is decency”.’ Although the focus of this thesis narrows to the *OED* after 1884, the treatment of sexuality in Farmer and Henley (1890–1904)—which, as a private text, enjoyed more epistemic leeway than published dictionaries—would be a rich subject for another study.

instalment was reviewed by popular and scholarly periodicals on both sides of the Atlantic (Bailey 2000a)—had to weigh the demands of public decorum.

This is not to claim that sexual concerns were not the subject of open comment in other, highly visible forums. For instance, Mugglestone (2007b) points to the spirited debates over prostitution and contraception that, for various reasons, gripped the British press in the late nineteenth century. No less enthralling were the spectres of Sapphism and sodomy (Doan 2001; Brady 2005). Throughout the compilation of the *OED*, a series of legislative changes and high-profile scandals kept same-sex acts and their actors under the national eye. Two years after the Philological Society announced its *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary*, the Offences Against the Person Act 1861 replaced the death penalty with penal servitude for anyone found guilty of the 'abominable crime of buggery, committed either with mankind or with any animal'—a quotation from the Act that Murray would include in the *OED's* own entry for *buggery* in 1888. By then, the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885 had extended the reach of legislation so that any act of 'gross indecency', committed or attempted, between male persons could be punished by up to two years in prison. It was under this amendment that Oscar Wilde was imprisoned in 1895. Towards the end of the First World War, a right-wing periodical under the editorship of Noel Pemberton Billing published a series of articles claiming that German agents had infiltrated England and seduced thousands of prominent women and men into practising the sexual vices of 'Sodom and Lesbia' in an attempt to destabilize the country (Billing 1918: 451). The resulting libel case—in which the actress Maud Allan, the socialite Margot Asquith, and her husband, former Prime Minister H. H. Asquith, were all alleged to be under German influence—caused a public uproar that reached even the frontlines of the war. Writing home, a young Duff Cooper reported that one of his fellow officers 'maintained that

Asquith was "all in with the Huns" and […] Mrs. Asquith was a "female bugger", that being as near as his limited vocabulary allowed him to get to Sapphist' (Cooper 1983: 62).

Nonetheless, endeavours to publicize discourse on same-sex sexuality coincided with attempts to cover it up. In 1866, Swinburne's *Poems and Ballads* had been vituperated by press reviewers for including erotic same-sex verses about Sappho, leading its first publisher to withdraw it from circulation (Mullin 2013: 19). Brady (2005: 91) notes that despite the public acknowledgement of male same-sex activity in the Criminal Law Amendment Act 1885, the 'Home Office dossiers of sentencing policies for bestiality and sodomy between men were some of the first to be closed' under the Official Secrets Act 1889. Thirty years later, a parliamentary motion to extend the 1885 Amendment to criminalize 'gross indecency between female persons' as well failed on the grounds that it would bring the possibility of sex between women 'to the notice of women who have never heard of it, never thought of it, never dreamed of it', as one member of parliament warned (*Hansard* HL 1921, August 15: col. 573). The same stifling impulse was at work when Radclyffe Hall's novel *The Well of Loneliness* was banned for its depiction of sexuality between women in November 1928, seven months after the main *OED* was completed.

Throughout this time, then, the *OED's* compilers were caught up in a culture whose efforts at regulating same-sex desire vacillated between naming and shaming it and silencing it. These conflicting impulses would play out across the published pages of the *OED*, as well as behind the scenes. Many of the raw materials that went into making the dictionary—quotation slips, draft entries, and in-house memoranda—are now preserved in the Archives of Oxford University Press.[3] These documents offer a tangible demonstration of Chen's (2019: 378)

[3] I am grateful to OUP, especially Beverley McCulloch, for granting me access to the Archives.

argument, drawing on Fairclough (1992: 73–96), that a dictionary is not just a text but an instance of 'discursive practice' and 'social practice'. That is, the dictionary is simultaneously shaped by the discursive processes of its production, distribution, and reception, and by the norms and ideologies of its socio-historical context. These points have been salient in various ways throughout the preceding chapters, but Chen's (2019) emphasis on *practice* is especially useful when assessing the *OED*. Here, the researcher has access to an archive of the lexicographers' working practices which is unparalleled among the other dictionaries surveyed in this thesis—and which allows us to trace more clearly the tensions underlying the *OED's* scientific method.

Treading Old Tracks

To the credit of its compilers, and in spite of the other sexual omissions pointed out by critics, the *OED's* documentation of same-sex lexis far surpassed that of any preceding British general dictionary. The main *OED* contains at least fifty-six relevant headwords, dwarfing the counts of what had hitherto been the most inclusive lexicons: Ash's *New and Complete English Dictionary* (1775) at twenty-two words and Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) at seventeen.[4] Even so, when its treatment of these words is examined, the *OED* displays a number of the same 'deficiencies' that had been so deplored in earlier English dictionaries when the Philological Society first embarked on its own project. Over the course of two papers presented to the Society, Dean Richard Chenevix Trench (1857) had said of all English dictionaries

[4] See Appendix I. This count is necessarily subjective. It includes, for example, the obsolete word *badling* ('An effeminate or womanish man'), which is defined in terms of deviant gender rather than sexuality per se. However, Murray illustrated *badling* with the glossarial quotation '*a[fter]* **1000** in Wülcker *Vocab.* 391 *Effeminati*, *molles*, bædlingas'. Latin *molles* was associated with receptive partners in sex between men, as under *malthacos* in James's *Medicinal Dictionary* (1743–1745; see Chapter 4). The *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020) defines *badling* as '†**1.** An effeminate or homosexual man. Also used as a term of abuse or contempt.' In such cases, it is hard to determine whether the original editors were acting from reticence, ignorance, or spatial considerations.

hitherto published that their coverage of the language was incomplete (8–22), their definitions were inadequate (34–39), and their selection of quotations for evidence of usage was unsatisfactory (39–44). What was more, earlier lexicographers did not properly record the histories of words, charting them from their earliest attestation in the language down to their present-day use, or to the moment of their last use if they were obsolete (22–34). It was these faults, among others, that the Society's dictionary should set out to address.

In practice, however, not all of Trench's ideals were fulfillable. His assertion that a dictionary ought to be a 'complete inventory of our English tongue' (Trench 1857: 57) would be countered by Murray in the 'General Explanations' prefacing the first volume of the *OED*. 'The Vocabulary of a […] living language is not a fixed quantity circumscribed by definite limits,' Murray (1888: xvii) observed; despite the tenets of scientific lexicography, 'limits more or less arbitrary must be assumed'. This arbitrariness becomes visible when the coverage of the *OED* is compared to that of earlier hard-word and general dictionaries. It is difficult to discern what principle of selection led the *OED's* compilers to include an entry for *pygist*, supported by a single quotation from Cockeram's 1623 *English Dictionarie* ('*Pygist*, one that useth buggerie'), but to omit an entry for *pedicate*, defined by Cockeram (1623) as 'To bugger'. *Confricatrices*, recorded in Bailey's *Dictionarium Britannicum* (1730) and *Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (1724, 1731), is likewise overlooked in the *OED*, though its lexicographers included a number of other obscure terms supported solely by quotational evidence from Bailey, such as *conformness* and *congeniture* (Bailey 1730) and *contranitence* (Bailey 1731).[5] The treatment of *Lesbian* in the *OED's Leisureness–Lief* fascicle (1902), which records only the adjectival

[5] Quotations from Cockeram and Bailey are likely to have been written in-house rather than sent in by external readers; the *OED* lexicographers' regular practice of consulting earlier dictionaries is described by Onions (1928: 15). *Pedicate* was added to the *OED* in its *Additions* series in 1993. As of 14 May 2020, the *OED3* notes the existence of *confricatrix* as a Latin term in its etymology for *rubster*, but it has no entry for *confricatrix* as a loanword in English.

sense ‘Of or pertaining to the island of Lesbos’ (alongside the metrical term *Lesbian rule*), is notably deficient beside the 1900 supplement to *Webster’s International Dictionary of the English Language*, which adds the phrase *Lesbian love* and cross-refers it to *Lesbianism*, ‘(*Med.*) Unnatural sexual relations between women’.[6] No slips for *pedicate*, *confricatrices*, or *lesbian(ism)* in the sexual sense survive in the *OED* archive, and there is no evidence to suggest that their omission from the main dictionary was deliberate. Still, as Brewer (2005: 262) remarks, the *OED* was variably affected by the ‘individual judgements, predilections, and biases’ of the many editors and assistants who compiled it. The wealth of same-sex terms that were registered in the dictionary does not preclude the possibility that others were purposefully overlooked.

Entries that were included in the *OED* can betray other forms of intentional suppression. Obscurantism veils the dictionary early on in its 1885 definition of *bardash*, half of which is in Latin: ‘A catamite, “cinædus”.’ A user who was unfamiliar with the meanings of these definitional terms might look them up in the *OED’s Cast–Clivy* fascicle (1889), only to find that *cinædus* is absent and *catamite* is hazily defined as ‘A boy kept for unnatural purposes’. This last definition stands in contrast with the draft entry for *catamite* in the *OED* archive, written in the hand of Arthur Maling—one of Murray’s assistants—and overwritten by Murray himself (Figure 1).

[6] The *OED* does not appear to cite Webster’s supplement before its *Lock–Lyyn* fascicle (1903).

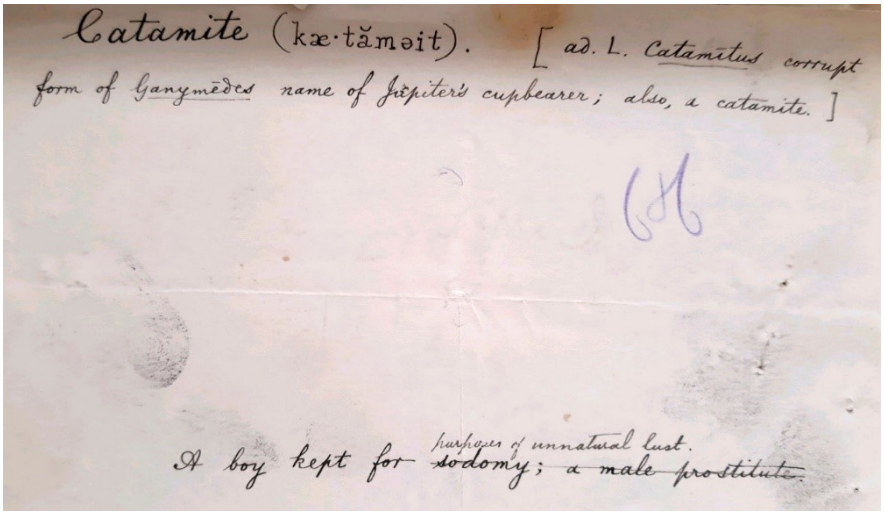


Figure 1: *OED* draft entry slip for *catamite*.
Reproduced by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press.

Maling's relatively frank descriptors, 'sodomy' and 'male prostitute', are replaced by 'purposes of unnatural lust', a euphemism familiar from earlier centuries of lexicography—though in the published *OED* even 'lust' is jettisoned in favour of the sexless phrase 'unnatural purposes'. Similar instances of disapproving under-specification occur in the *OED's* definitions of *fricatrice*, 'A lewd woman', in 1898, and *ingle* (sb.[2]), 'A boy-favourite (in bad sense); a catamite', in 1900. These hesitancies are hardly in keeping with Trench's (1857: 4) admonition that the dictionary-maker should be an impartial 'historian of [the language], not a critic'. Moreover, they show how the *OED's* editors sometimes copied the partialities of earlier dictionaries. The definition of *fricatrice* might be abridged from the 1864 edition of Webster's *American Dictionary of the English Language*, where it appeared as 'A lewd woman; a harlot'. The definition of *ingle* is similarly reminiscent of 'a male favourite or paramour in a bad sense' in the revised *Imperial Dictionary of the English Language* (1882–1883).

Even words that were clearly defined as same-sex acts in the *OED* could fall prey to cross-referential inconsistencies. Bradley's description of *Sapphism* as 'Unnatural sexual relations

between women' in 1909 is coherent under the second half of his definition of *sexual* (3.) in 1913: 'Relative to the physical intercourse between the sexes or the gratification of sexual appetites'. However, Craigie's definition of *sodomy* as 'An unnatural form of sexual intercourse, esp. that of one male with another', also in 1913, becomes contradictory when read beside Bradley's glossing of *sexual intercourse* as 'copulation'. Murray had limited *copulation* (2.) to 'The union of the sexes in the act of generation' twenty years prior. While discrepancies are bound to occur in a work compiled by different hands over the course of decades, in this case the *OED* editors have reproduced the same paradox that had been circulating in English lexicography since the first general dictionaries of the eighteenth century (see Chapter 1).

Elsewhere, scholars have pointed out how ingrained social prejudices can combine with metalinguistic comments in the *OED*, resulting in 'tensions […] between […] neutrality and class-consciousness' (Mugglestone 2000a: 35) that are 'at odds with the scientific objectivism which its founders espoused' (Brewer 2005: 262). These tensions are visible in the lexicographers' draft slips for the second sense of the noun *bugger*. An early definition, again by Arthur Maling, reads: 'One who commits buggery; a sodomite. (Used by the lowest classes as a foul ~~epit~~ term of the utmost reproach or insult.)' A later slip in the hand of another assistant, Charles Balk, reproves, 'The remark at the end of [the] definition is <u>by far too strong</u> for the use of.' Murray evidently agreed that the draft lacked nuance, for in the published definition of *bugger*, sense 2 is split into two sub-senses, though both still carry usage notes:

> **2.** [**a.**] One who commits buggery; a sodomite. In decent use only as a legal term […]
> **b.** In low language a coarse term of abuse or insult; often, however, in Eng. dial. and in U.S., simply = 'chap', 'customer', 'fellow' […]

In sense 2. b., *bugger* is made to function as a shibboleth, separating the 'low language' of 'coarse' speakers and the dialects of regional Britons and Americans from the language of

bourgeois British society, which by contrast is tacitly constructed as neutral (cf. Hornscheidt 2008: 122). In Chapter 3, we saw *buggery* serve a similar function by its omission from the polite dictionaries of the late eighteenth century. More significantly for the historical principles of the *OED*, Murray's entry for *bugger* entails an empirical problem. The prescription limiting 'decent' usage of sense 2. a. to legal discourse is not borne out by the quotations attached to the definition: there are only two, both from the sixteenth century, neither from a legal source. Only one unused quotation slip for *bugger* in this sense after 1600 is preserved in the *OED* archive, from the 1810 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*—which, though not a legal text, can hardly be called indecent.[7]

Inevitably, the compilers of the *OED* could be hampered in writing entries by a genuine lack of linguistic knowledge, or by a dearth of external evidence to support what they did know, dependent as their quotation files were on the 'vagaries of individual readers' who sent in slips (Brewer 2000: 51). Readers also vacillated between the ideals of empiricism and decorum. One unused quotation slip for the verb *bugger* discloses that it occurs 'in pass[ive] sense, with adv[erb]' in 'T. Shadwell, Medal of John Bayes, p. 4, l. 43', but omits the quotation in question. Another discarded slip notes that an unusual plural use of 'Buggeries' can be found in 'Burton, "Anatomy of Melancholy" Par I Sec. 3. Mem. 2 Subsec. iv—near the end', but leaves it to the lexicographers to track down the book and read the passage for themselves.[8] The caginess of these citations contrasts with the stance taken in a third unused slip, this one apparently

[7] The printed quotations are from the 1555 ethnography *The Fardle of Facions* and a 1587 collection of George Turberville's poetry. The *Encyclopædia Britannica* quotation states that *bugger* 'Came afterwards to be used for a Sodomite, it being one of the imputations laid on the Bulgarian heretics that they taught or practised this abominable crime.'

[8] The relevant passages would have been 'He […] Commends *Reeve's* Arse, and says she Buggers well' (Shadwell 1682: 4) and 'those rapes, incests, adulteries, mastuprations, sodomies, buggeries, of monks and friers' (Burton 1841: 277).

submitted by Charles William Stocker (a former Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford).[9] The slip bears two long quotations for *buggerer* and *buggery* from *The French Academie* (1594), preceded by a defiantly descriptivist proclamation: 'I consider it my duty faithfully to report the words which occur, without expurgation or selection'. Of course, submitting quotations to the private inspection of the lexicographers was one thing; whether they could be published in the dictionary was another.

The disjuncture between what could be reported in private versus what might require expurgation and selection in public entailed that even when ample data were available to the lexicographers, the demands of propriety could lead to censorship. Unlike the corresponding noun, the verb *bugger* ('To commit buggery with') has no usage note in the *OED*. Instead, the entry is characterized by omissions—which, as Brewer (2010: 27) points out, are a 'covert form of linguistic prescriptivism'. Five citations appear beneath the definition, but the quotations that ought to accompany them are missing. The references alone might technically avoid flouting Trench's (1857: 7) maxim that 'there is no difference between a word absent from a Dictionary, and a word there, but unsustained by an authority', yet they display a deliberate withholding of the authorities' actual usage from the dictionary-user. The archived quotation slips reveal that the quotations were recorded in full by their contributors, only to be struck through by an editorial pencil. A circled instruction to the printer reads 'references only'. In this case, the lexicographers showed less adherence to empiricist principles than their readers.

The same fate befell a slip bearing an eroticized depiction of tribadism from John Payne's translation of *The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night* (1882): 'She was given to

[9] 'Dr. Stocker' was the assigned reader of *The French Academie* in an early list of books being read for the dictionary (Furnivall 1861: 11). I am grateful to Peter Gilliver for this information.

tribadism and could not exist without it: so if any damsel pleased her, she was wont to teach her the art and rub saffron on her, till she fainted away for excess of pleasure.' The contributor of this quotation may have gone to some lengths to get it. Payne's book was privately printed and came at a 'prohibitive price', being replete with 'passages which render it unfit for general use', as one reviewer warned (*'The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night'* 1886: 178–179). A lexicographer evidently agreed, for the excerpt submitted to the *OED* was again marked 'refer. only'. In 1914, '**1882** PAYNE *1001 Nights* II. 156' was published without quotation under *tribadism* (itself an undefined sub-entry of *tribade*, 'A woman who practises unnatural vice with other women'). Two quotations do precede Payne's reference, but they are considerably less vivid. One, a report on the infamous Woods and Pirie libel case in Scotland, tells of 'Lady C. G... who had charged them with the practice of tribadism'.[10] The other, from a manual of jurisprudence, reads: 'Tribadism. Even in the Old Testament there is distinct allusion to this form of sexual aberration.'

That legal and religious allusions should be used to illustrate *tribadism*, while an erotic text is censored, is unexceptional. Far from being specific to the 'warped outlook of [the editors'] age', in Read's (1934: 274) phrase, the constructions of sexual taboo considered so far in the *OED* have been entirely in keeping with the moral, juridical, and natural discourses that characterized the preceding three centuries of English hard-word and general lexicography. However, something is exceptional about the quotations under *tribadism*: their sources. The Woods and Pirie trial report comes from the American *Index-Catalogue of the Library of the*

[10] The 1811–1812 case, in which two Scottish schoolmistresses accused Lady Cumming Gordon of libel for alleging they were lovers, is documented by Faderman (1983/2013). The *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020) cites a heading from the case papers, 'Authorities with regard to the practice of tribadism', as its earliest attestation of *tribadism*. Of more sociolinguistic interest than the heading is that the papers indicate *tribadism* was in use beyond professional legal and medical circles. Lady Cumming Gordon is reported to have used it herself: 'whether she [i.e. the defender] speaks directly of what she calls *tribadism*, or of *venus nefanda*, or of gross indecency, or of shameful immorality' (*Second Division. October 10. 1811. Add. Pet.* 1811: 24).

Surgeon-General's Office (1811–1819). The manual of jurisprudence is the third volume of Johann Ludwig Casper's *Handbook of the Practice of Forensic Medicine* (1864), already encountered in Chapter 4. There, we witnessed that the medicalization of same-sex intercourse was well attested in Victorian medical lexicography. This pathological discourse was overlooked by British general dictionaries of the same period, but the status quo would be partly unsettled in the later fascicles of the *OED*. Casper (1864) alone is cited five times for same-sex lexis, the other quotations appearing under *pæderastic* and *pæderastically* in 1904 and *sodomitical* and *sodomy* in 1913. That these entries date from the early twentieth century is likely a consequence of when this volume of the *Handbook* was read for the *OED*. The relevant quotation slips in the archive are all written in the same hand, and there are no quotations from the volume anywhere in the dictionary before *pæderastic*. But it is striking that all of the other medical citations for same-sex lexis in the *OED* also appear in the fascicles issued from 1904 onwards, after *A* to *L* had already been published.

The remaining medical citations are drawn from three sources. The first, the American *National Medical Dictionary* (1890), provides one citation (without quotation) under *Sapphism*. It is accompanied by a British source, albeit one that deictically constructs sexuality between women as a foreign concern: a 1901 issue of the *Lancet* pronounces, 'As yet in this country the novelist..has not arrived at the treatment in romance of excessive morphiomania, or Sapphism, or vaginismus, all of which diseases will be found in French novels.' The final medical text, another British source cited under *tribade*, also places same-sex behaviour at a remove from respectable British society: 'Such emblems are common among pæderasts and tribades.' This enigmatic assertion was drawn from *The Criminal*, an 1890 monograph by Havelock Ellis which sought to identify the behavioural traits shared by congenitally criminal 'types'. In the monograph, the emblems turn out to be erotic tattoos, a predilection that Ellis (1890: 106) also

ascribes to prostitutes. That these citations should have appeared at this point in the *OED's* history might indicate a slightly delayed reaction to the growing cultural salience of medical classifications of sexuality in Britain around the turn of the century (see Schaffner 2017: 412). Nonetheless, by the mid-1890s, the models of same-sex behaviour espoused by forensic medicine (as in Casper's *Handbook*) and criminal anthropology (as in Ellis's *Criminal*) were being increasingly challenged by the emergence of a new medical discipline—one to which Ellis himself would be an early English convert.

The Science of Desire

Scientific lexicography was not the only discipline called forth by what Murray (1900: 51) termed the 'scientific and historical spirit of the nineteenth century'. Simpson (1990: 1956) observes that the advancement of lexicography 'mirrors in many ways the general development of scientific studies at that time'. One of those studies was sexology. This discipline, fostered by the work of such (Austro-) German psychiatrists as Carl Westphal and Richard von Krafft-Ebing, sought to reconceptualize sexuality not in terms of sinfulness, criminality, or anatomy, but foremost as a psychological phenomenon. In so doing, the sexologists largely promoted a minoritizing model of same-sex desire, presupposing the existence of a small subset of the human population in whom this desire was innate rather than acquired. The new classifications endorsed by sexologists would come to exert a profound influence on articulations of sexuality in the West (Beachy 2010)—though the earliest origins of this nomenclature lay not with psychiatrists but with social reformers.

In the 1860s, the Hanoverian lawyer Karl Heinrich Ulrichs and the German-Hungarian writer Karl-Maria Kertbeny both produced letters and pamphlets advocating for the civil rights of

those who experienced same-sex desire, or what Ulrichs (1865: 20) called *Uranismus*. In his writings, the same-sex-attracted person became an *Urning*, the opposite-sex-attracted person a *Dioning* (Ulrichs 1864: 1). Kertbeny coined the analogous *Homosexual* and *Heterosexual* in 1868 (Katz 1995/2007: 52–54). Radically, in inventing terms for opposite-sex attraction, both men divested it of its status as an invisible norm and reified it as an object that could, in theory, be spoken about on an equal footing with same-sex desire. Nevertheless, their emancipatory lexis was soon co-opted by the medical establishment. Though variably sympathetic to the reformers' cause, psychiatrists proposed that same-sex attraction should be understood as a pathological condition: an inversion of the normal sexual instincts suffered by patients who could be analysed, classified, and—perhaps—treated (Beachy 2010: 818–819). Westphal (1870: 93–94) diagnosed the *Urning* as possessing *conträre Sexualempfindung*, 'contrary sexual feeling', an opinion seconded by Moll (1893: 5). In *Psychopathia Sexualis*, Krafft-Ebing (1892a) provided detailed case studies of patients who were *Homosexualen* or *Urninge* (256–279)—or afflicted with *Bisexualität* (190), his neologism for attraction to both genders.

These sexological perspectives, as part of the wider broadcast of continental psychiatric theories, would disseminate to England in the same decades that the science of language reached its highest English attainment in the form of the *OED*. In 1884, Murray could remark that 'English […] Philology had been positively *made* during the last fifteen years' (Philological Society 1884: vi).[11] Eight years later, the esteemed physician Daniel Hack Tuke declared in his preface to the *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*—the first work of its kind—that the 'study of Psychological Medicine has been so greatly extended in recent years at home and abroad, that a literature has sprung up of alarming dimensions […] and, as a

[11] Though continental approaches to the new philology had made their first forays into England in the 1830s, they gained widespread acceptance among English scholars only towards the end of the century (Brewer 1996: 65–69, 74–80; Momma 2013: 68, 133–136).

necessary consequence, the coinage of a multitude of terms' (Tuke 1892 I: vii). That the sexologists' taxonomy formed part of the multitude is attested by the citation of 'Westphal, Krafft-Ebing, […] Moll, and others' in the *Dictionary's* entry for *sexual perversion*. Yet beyond this historical coincidence, sexology and scientific lexicography shared a broad theoretical and methodological framework. As products of nineteenth-century empiricism, each discipline was scaffolded by a certain 'regime of truth' (Foucault 1977: 12): an assumption that there existed an impartial, unitary truth about its object of study, which it was simply the task of the researcher to uncover.

Foucault (1978: 64) describes sexology as a 'confessional science' in which the testimonies of medical patients were transformed into case studies for the construction of sexual classifications. This approach, whereby 'the most singular pleasures were called upon to pronounce a discourse of truth concerning themselves' (Foucault 1978: 64), echoes the 'theory of lexicography' espoused by the Philological Society at the onset of its dictionary project—'viz., "that every word should be made to tell its own story"' (Coleridge 1860: 72).[12] Of course, like the sexual narratives of the psychiatrists, the lexical narratives of the philologists passed through several phases of mediation, or what Blommaert (2005: 62) would call *text trajectories*: the ordered and repeated 'shifting of texts between contexts'. In both disciplines, the extensive and conflicting evidence of real human behaviour—whether individual linguistic utterances or individual sexual histories—was to be extracted from its original context, collated with other extracts, and evaluated in order to reveal its prototypical significance, which was then presented in a scholarly publication. Although this series of entextualizations was intended to take place under the impassive authority of science, in practice, the creation of any such text trajectory

[12] Herbert Coleridge—who had been appointed the first editor of the Society's dictionary but died in 1861, before the involvement of Murray or OUP—attributed this historical principle to Franz Passow, though Coleridge's wording is borrowed from a description of Passow's ideas given by the British lexicographers Liddell and Scott (Considine 2016: 169).

entails 'issues of control and power' at every step (Blommaert 2005: 64; cf. Fairclough 1992: 130–133).

For one thing, like the publication of indecent words, the exhibition of sexuality would prove controversial. The sexologists' work was initially received by the British medical establishment with ambivalence or outright hostility (Schaffner 2017: 414–415). The entry on *sexual perversion* in Tuke's *Dictionary of Psychological Medicine* (1892) actually denies the claims of Westphal and the other sexologists it names, objecting that their argument for an 'innate perversion or "inversion" of the sexual feelings' is supported chiefly by the 'confessions' of the inverts themselves, which are 'notoriously untrustworthy'. 'Such cases in their disgusting details seem hardly worthy of the minute study that has been given to them,' the entry insists. When an English translation of Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* was released by an American publisher in 1892—bringing with it anglicizations of 'uranism', 'Urnings', 'homo-sexuality', and 'bi-sexuality' (Krafft-Ebing 1892b: viii, xiii, 187)—the *British Medical Journal* lamented that the book had not been left in German, or even written in Latin, to present the subject 'in the decent obscurity of a dead language' (*'Psychopathia Sexualis'* 1893a: 1325). A review in the *Journal of Mental Science* (which was by then under Tuke's editorship) stated that whereas 'already in Germany many editions of the book ha[d] appeared, quite out of proportion to its medical interest', the reviewer '[did] not think, in England, at least, that it [was] well that such subjects should be fully considered in books which may be bought of any bookseller' (*'Psychopathia Sexualis'* 1893b: 251–252).

When Havelock Ellis decided to produce his own English monograph on inversion, Tuke thwarted Ellis's attempt to secure a scientific publisher in Britain for fear that the book might still fall into the hands of laypeople (Brady 2005: 139). Ellis managed to get *Sexual Inversion*,

the first volume of his *Studies in the Psychology of Sex*, published in 1897, but immediately ran into more difficulties. He had co-written the book with the classicist and poet John Addington Symonds, who died before its completion, but whom Ellis credited on the title page. Symonds's estate, fearing what the work would do to his reputation, bought and destroyed almost every copy (Brady 2005: 141). Ellis had *Sexual Inversion* republished with Symonds's name dropped from the title page, only for the book to become embroiled in an obscenity trial after a bookseller sold a copy to a plain-clothes policeman. In a tone reminiscent of the court's opinion on Farmer's and Henley's slang dictionary seven years before, the judge dismissed the plea that *Sexual Inversion* was a 'scientific book' and banned its sale (Ellis 1898: 9). Undeterred, Ellis had *Sexual Inversion* reissued in the United States without incident in 1901, and he continued to publish in Britain on a range of other sexological topics to growing acclaim (Burne 1966; Crozier 2008: 73–74). But in the aftermath of the 1898 trial, one point on which the British judicial and medical professions evidently agreed was that sexual inversion was a subject best kept behind closed doors.

Given this suppressive reaction to a discipline that was still in its infancy, it is small wonder that in the two years after *Sexual Inversion* was banned, Murray did not register *homosexual* in the *OED's Hod–Horizontal* fascicle (1899) or include a sexual sense of *inversion* in *Input–Invalid* (1900). Bradley recorded two other terms explained as forms of 'sexual perversion'—*masochism* and *sadism*—in 1905 and 1909, but again left *sexual inversion* out of the *Several–Shaster* fascicle in 1913.[13] Also absent was *sexology*, though Bradley did include the synonym *sexualogy*, 'The science of sexual relations'. The first of two quotations under the headword, both from Karl Pearson's *Ethic of Freethought* (1885), seems to encapsulate the liminal status

[13] Though Krafft-Ebing is not cited under *masochism* or *sadism* in the *OED*, the *OED3* (accessed 14 May 2020) identifies him as the coiner of the former (see Krafft-Ebing 1892b: 89). *Sadism* predates sexology, but Krafft-Ebing medicalized it as a sexual perversion (Krafft-Ebing 1892b: 57).

of this discipline in the *OED*: 'Not until we have ample statistics..will it be possible to lay the foundations of a real science of sexualogy.' Nevertheless, in the twenty-eight years between the publication of Pearson's avowal and its appearance in the *OED*, the science of sexualogy or sexology would reify sufficiently to amass ample lexical evidence in medical dictionaries.

Sexual inversion, along with *sexual instinct, inversion of*, had been defined as 'The special variety of sexual perversion in which there is sexual desire for another person of the same sex' by the *New Sydenham Society's Lexicon* (1881–1899), a dictionary cited throughout the *OED*—including under *inversion* itself in 1900, to illustrate the sense 'A turning outside in, introversion; a turning inside out. *spec*. in *Path*.', though uses of the word in the attached quotations are all physical rather than psychological.[14] Even earlier definitions of *sexual inversion* or *inversion of sexual instinct* could have been provided by American medical lexicons cited in the already published fascicles of the *OED* (e.g. Billings 1890; Dunglison and Dunglison 1893; Gould 1894). These lexicons could additionally have offered evidence of *homosexuality* (Dunglison and Dunglison 1893; Gould 1894), *urning* (Dunglison and Dunglison 1893; Gould 1894; *NSSL* 1881–1899; Dorland 1900), and *uranism* (Dorland 1900).[15] Of course, the continuing advances being made in sexology and the other sciences, and the vast nomenclatures they generated, would pose a problem for the *OED*: it could not possibly record them all. The dictionary's official mandate, as set down by Murray (1888: xvii), was to include only 'such scientific […] words as are passing into common use, and approach the position or standing of "common words"'. But Murray acknowledged that in deciding such cases 'the

[14] The quotation from the *NSSL* (1881–1899) concerns *'Inversion of the bladder'*.
[15] Billings (1890) is cited in the *OED* at least from *geranin* (1898) onwards, Dunglison and Dunglison (1893) from *fidget* sb. 1 (1895), Gould (1894) from *fossula* (1897), and Dorland (in its 1913 edition) from *stain* sb. 6.b. (1915).

lexicographer must, like the naturalist, "draw the line somewhere"' (xvii), and where exactly it should be drawn was a question that would trouble the editors' commitment to impartiality.[16]

By the time the *OED* reached *U* in 1921, *urning* and *uranism*, at least, had passed from medical to general lexicography. *A Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (1893–1895), from the American publishers Funk & Wagnalls, defines *urning* as '*Pathol.* A person with abnormal sexual desire for those of the same sex, accompanied by aversion to the opposite sex'. The revised *New Standard Dictionary* (1913) adds the undefined run-on headword *urningism*, to which it cross-refers *uranism*.[17] In fact, years before it acquired headword status in the *New Standard*, *uranism* had appeared in the *OED*. Appended to Bradley's 1905 definition of *masochism*, a quotation from Allbutt's *System of Medicine* (1899) lists forms of insanity involving 'predominant perversion of moral and sexual nature (for example, moral insanity, uranism, masochism, etc.)'. Murray and Bradley may have missed *homosexuality* and *(sexual) inversion*, but Craigie had substantially more time to consider the inclusion of *uranism* and *urning* in the *Unright–Uzzle* fascicle of 1926. Indeed, the *OED* archive contains draft slips for both words which quote the entries from the *Standard Dictionary*. Yet a directive is written at the top of the slip for *urning*—'Omit or Suppl.'—and neither entry appeared in the published *OED*. Whether to encompass the neologisms of sexual inversion was deferred until the *Supplement*.

[16] Hoare and Salmon (2000) critically evaluate the inclusion of scientific vocabulary in the *OED*. Mugglestone (2005: 124–142) details the pressures placed on the editors by proof-readers and the Press to reduce the coverage of scientific terms.

[17] A 1903 supplement to the *Standard Dictionary* may also be the first general dictionary to register *homosexual* ('Being abnormally attracted by members of the same sex; of or pertaining to such an attraction') and *homosexuality* (without definition).

Sexology and the *Supplement*

Sexology certainly fell within the remit of the *OED's* 1933 *Supplement*, whose preface emphasizes its focus on 'those accessions of words and senses which had taken place during the preceding fifty years', and its coverage of the 'the great enlargement of the terminology of the arts and sciences' during that span (Craigie and Onions 1933b: v). Nonetheless, this single-volume 'scratch supplement', as it was called at the Press (Gilliver 2016: 395, 408), was under much severer spatial constraints than the main dictionary had been, and the editors found themselves having to draw the lexical line ever more tightly. Regarding the *Supplement's* scientific coverage, they conceded, 'As in the main work, there has been continually present the problem of the inclusion or omission of the more esoteric scientific terms' (Craigie and Onions 1933b: v). What qualified as 'esoteric' was up to the editors' discretion. Craigie, who oversaw the ranges *L–R* and *U–Z* (Craigie and Onions 1933b: vi), included *masochist*, *masochistic*, *necrophilistic*, *necrophily*, and *pervert* ('*Psych.* One whose instincts have been perverted'), but once again left out *urning* and *uranism*. Craigie's motivation for twice drawing the line at these same-sex terms is lost, but his exclusion of *lesbian* and *lesbianism* was remarkable enough to draw comment. Not only had the words' use been reinforced in sexological writings, but they had made it into national newspapers following the libel trial of Noel Pemberton Billing and the obscenity trial of Radclyffe Hall.[18] When, in 1931, Onions learnt of Craigie's decision to omit the words, he wrote a letter of protest to the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press, the publishers' senior executive officer:

> You have bidden me have no misgivings (that wasn't the word, but it doesn't matter). Scruples it was

[18] See, for example, 'Acquittal of Mr. Billing' (1918) and 'Miss Radclyffe Hall's Novel' (1928). Doan (2001: xiii) asserts that *lesbian* 'rarely' occurred in early twentieth-century medical discourse, but it was used by Iwan Bloch (1908: 546), Ellis (1915: 210), A. C. Magian (1922: 108), Bernard Hollander (1922: 144), and Marie Stopes (1929: 41), although Stopes disapprovingly called it a euphemism.

> A lexicographical conscience is not so easily stifled, & when I find that Lesbian & Lesbianism have been deliberately excluded by Craigie, I wonder what else is going to happen. Lesbianism is no doubt a very disagreeable thing, but the word is in regular use, & no serious Supplement to our work should omit it.
> (OED/B/3/2/20.)[19]

Onions reaffirms the doctrine of scientific lexicography, whose 'conscience' is governed not by traditional mores but by an ethics of (ostensibly) objective empiricism. The workings of this ethics are visible in Onions's own sections of the *Supplement*, *A–K* and *S–T*. For example, in the archive, a sanctimonious draft definition of the noun *invert*—'One who has no moral sense'—has been struck through. A heavily emended replacement by one of Onions's assistants, John Leslie Noble O'Loughlin, shows the lexicographer's efforts to resignify the word in a scientific rather than moral discourse (Figure 2).

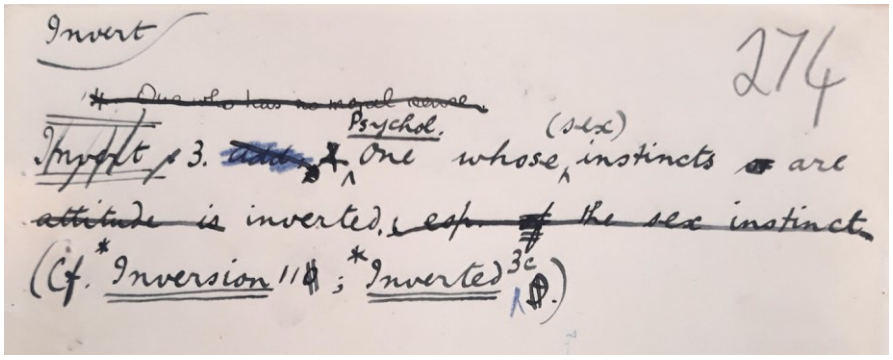


Figure 2: *OED Supplement* draft entry slip for *invert*.
Reproduced by permission of the Secretary to the Delegates of Oxford University Press.

In the published dictionary, *invert* becomes '3. *Psychol.* One whose sex instincts are inverted'. Analogous definitions attend *inverted* ('3. c. *Psychol.* spec. of the sex instincts') and *inversion* ('10. In full, *sexual inversion*: inversion of the sex instincts', oddly without a field label). In order to make sense of these definitions, the user may consult the *Supplement's* explanation of *sex instinct* (s.v. *sex* 5. c.), 'the instinct which is held to govern the relations between the sexes;

[19] The existence of this letter was brought to light by Brewer (2007: 49).

esp. the desire for the opposite sex'. Ironically, then, the shift of *invert* away from a moral absence in the draft text to an instinctual inversion in the published text still veils same-sex desire behind a negative implication. The reader is left to infer through cross-reference that sexual inversion is *not* 'desire for the opposite sex'. (The quotations attached to the entries are not much more transparent, as will be seen below.) These definitions contrast with the *Supplement's* more forthcoming explanation of *homosexual*, virtually unaltered from a draft slip in Onions's own hand: 'Pertaining to or characterized by sexual propensity for one's own sex. Also *sb.* one who has such a propensity.'[20] Here, it is same-sex desire that is explicit, while its psychological aberrancy becomes apparent in the attached quotations.

The dominance of scientific models of *homosexuality* and *inversion* in the *Supplement* is borne out by the quotational authorities selected for these headwords, as well as for *heterosexual*, *heterosexuality*, *homosexual*, *homosexualize* ('to make homosexual'), *invert*, and *inverted*. Of the nineteen quotations, thirteen (68.4%) are drawn from medical sources: sexological and psychological papers and monographs, specialist dictionaries, and a scientific handbook. Among these, the source that looms largest is *Sexual Inversion* by Havelock Ellis. The 1897 British edition accounts for six quotations, and a seventh is added from a 1924 reprint of the third American edition (36.6% in all). That the 1897 edition should figure so prominently despite its banning in England almost four decades prior deserves some comment. The archived quotation slips for both the 1897 and 1924 editions of *Sexual Inversion* are in the hand of Onions's assistant, John O'Loughlin. Though the *OED* depended on volunteer readers to supply many of its quotations, the lexicographers also gathered linguistic evidence of their own, for which they had regular recourse to Oxford's Bodleian Library (Gilliver 2016: 291, 371). Among the library's holdings was a copy of *Sexual Inversion*, acquired seven months

[20] In the draft, 'one's own sex' is instead 'the same sex'.

before the book was banned in October 1898. Rather than being withdrawn from circulation, *Sexual Inversion* was shelved in the Bodleian's restricted Phi collection—as was, three decades later, an imported copy of the 1924 American edition. Phi books were not readily made available to undergraduate students or readers external to the University, but O'Loughlin, as an Oxford graduate (Gilliver 2016: 402), should have been afforded access to them, and it seems probable that these are the copies of *Sexual Inversion* from which he extracted quotations.[21]

Given this reliance on Ellis's work, it is striking that the ways in which it is entextualized in the *Supplement* obscure the central, minoritizing view of *Sexual Inversion*: that the 'turning in of the sexual instinct towards persons of the same sex can […] be regarded as in-born, so far as any sexual instinct is in-born' (Ellis 1897: xii). The main *OED* had declared that *instinct* (2.) signifies 'Innate impulse; natural or spontaneous tendency or inclination'. Still, as we saw, the *Supplement* would epistemically hedge its definition of *sex instinct* ('the instinct which is held to govern […]') in a way that left the existence of this particular innate impulse—and, by implication, its inversion—open to doubt. In explaining the 'congenital predisposition' of inversion, Ellis (1897: 138) proposed that in some persons it remains 'latent', in others it 'forces its own way in spite of obstacles', and in yet others 'the predisposition is weaker, and a powerful exciting cause plays the predominant part'. The nuance of this model is lost in the *Supplement*. Out of its original context, Ellis's remark that 'Another exciting cause of inversion..is disappointment in normal love' (s.v. *inversion*) appears to be a general argument against the congenital theory of inversion. Instead, inversion's association with morbidity is emphasized. 'The sexual invert is specially liable to suffer from a high degree of neurasthenia,' Ellis states in the *Supplement* (s.v. *invert*). His original caveat that while 'the associated

[21] The accession stamps in the covers of the Bodleian's 1897 and 1924 copies of *Sexual Inversion* (original shelfmarks Φ e.15 and Φ e.224) confirm they were acquired in their years of publication. Houston (2015) offers a brief history of the Phi collection.

neurasthenic conditions may be largely removed' therapeutically, 'inversion is not thus removed' (Ellis 1897: 144), is not reproduced in the dictionary. Moreover, inversion in the *Supplement* appears to be a phenomenon to which foreign nations are particularly prone (cf. Chapter 2). The dictionary quotes Ellis's observations that 'Caesar was proud of his physical beauty, and like many modern inverts he was accustomed carefully to shave his skin' (s.v. *invert*), and 'The painter Bazzi seems to have been radically inverted' (s.v. *inverted*). In *Sexual Inversion*, though, Ellis is quick to add that 'In English history we find many traces of homosexual practices': William Rufus was 'undoubtedly inverted', as were Edward II, James I, and Christopher Marlowe (Ellis 1897: 18).

It should be noted that Ellis (1897) distinguishes between instinctual *inversion*—his study's primary subject—and *homosexuality*, using the latter as a hypernym that encompasses both congenital desire and 'accidental' attraction arising in sex-segregated communities, such as prisons. Chauncey (1982–1983: 124) argues that after 1900 this distinction was infrequently observed by other specialists, and *homosexuality* came increasingly to replace *inversion*. The Anglo-American *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (1901–1905), published during the shift in dominance between the two terms, uses them interchangeably in saying of *perversion* that 'a special case is inversion or homosexuality—sexual instinct directed towards persons of the same sex' (the text before the dash is quoted under *homosexuality* in the *OED Supplement*). A decade later, *homosexuality* was the preferred term for congenital same-sex attraction in, for instance, Albert Moll's translated *Sexual Life of the Child* (1912). Nevertheless, when Moll is cited in the *Supplement*, the minoritizing model is again occluded. A quotation from Moll's monograph states, 'The primary appearance of homosexual inclinations does not prove that these inclinations are congenital' (s.v. *homosexual*). This seeming denial of the innateness of homosexuality is, in its original context, simply an argument to place the burden of proof

somewhere other than a child's prepubertal behaviour. Moll (1912: 125) goes on to contend that 'The congenital nature of homosexuality is displayed […] by the fact that when the puberal development takes place, the homosexual sentiments persist'. Of course, not all specialists believed that any form of same-sex attraction was inborn. In Freudian psychoanalysis—a theoretical framework which was of growing influence in England after the First World War (Crozier 2008: 72)—adult homosexuality was reformulated primarily as a result of misdirected childhood development. Yet even Freud did not maintain that a homosexual adult could be 'cured' of same-sex attraction. In his words, 'to convert a fully developed homosexual into a heterosexual *is not much more promising than to do the reverse*' (Freud 1920: 129; emphasis added). This declaration appears in the *OED Supplement* under *heterosexual*, save that the quotation stops short of the italicized text. Decontextualized, 'To convert a fully developed homosexual into a heterosexual' looks to be an open possibility after all.

It can be difficult to lift a quotation from its context and truncate it for use in a dictionary without distorting its original meaning, as Johnson (1755 I: B2^{v}) had ruefully observed long before. The *Supplement's* quotation slips for Moll and Freud are from contributors other than O'Loughlin, and it is highly improbable that the transcribers made a deliberate, concerted effort to represent inversion or homosexuality as acquired, morbid, and curable. Still, that each of these quotations does seem to offer up the diagnosis of an acquired condition or the possibility of a cure is significant when read against the wider political backdrop of the early twentieth century. At the time, scientific arguments in favour of the legal toleration of same-sex desire often rested on the assertion that it was innate and immutable (Crozier 2001: 76–80; Beachy 2010: 819–820). Public responses to these debates were ambivalent, as the non-specialist sources in the *Supplement* demonstrate. The link between same-sex attraction and morbidity is emphasized by the novelist R. W. Chambers's 1911 remark that 'This world is full of pale,

enraptured artists;..full of unwashed little inverts' (s.v. *invert*). *Homosexual* desire is exoticized as 'a love which was common among the later Greeks' (*Blackwood Magazine* 1921) and displaced to 'The forty tolerated homosexual brothels of Berlin' (George Bernard Shaw 1914). On the other hand, Rupert Graves's *Good-Bye to All That* (1929) provides the single quotation to acknowledge the existence of (acquired) *homosexual* desire in England when it observes that 'In English preparatory and public schools romance is necessarily homo-sexual'. Among both lay and specialist quotations, the *Scots Observer* (1927) is alone in clearly articulating a congenital, if abnormal, model of same-sex attraction: 'A certain proportion of people..are as instinctively homosexual as the normal individual is heterosexual' (s.v. *heterosexual*).

The *Supplement's* definition of *heterosexual* echoes this final sentiment: 'Pertaining to or characterized by the normal relation of the sexes: opp. to *homosexual*'. The choice of this definition, rather than one structurally symmetrical to the definition of *homosexual* (e.g. 'Pertaining to or characterized by sexual propensity for the other sex'), is a bald demonstration of Hornscheidt's (2008: 115) claim that asymmetries in dictionaries entail 'conceptualizations of what is perceived as normal […or] deviant'. Despite the egalitarian intention of Karl-Maria Kertbeny when he coined the terms, the adoption of *homosexual* and *heterosexual* into scientific discourse largely led to their hierarchization: the first became 'subordinated', the second 'ontologically valorized' (Sedgwick 1990: 10). In this framework, the connotations of 'normal' are not just numerical but normative. Further, in this neat dichotomy between heterosexual/homosexual, normal/abnormal, there is no easy space for *bisexual*, which did not appear in the *Supplement*.[22]

[22] In 1887, the main *OED* had defined *bisexual* in the hermaphroditic sense 'Of two sexes; *spec.* having both sexes in the same individual', and *bisexuality* as 'Bisexual quality or condition'.

Nonetheless, in the early twentieth century, the valorisation of heterosexuality was no more unanimous than the innateness of homosexuality. In the *Supplement*, the headword *heterosexuality* is afforded a single, peculiar quotation from Dorland's *Medical Dictionary* (2nd ed., 1901): '*Heterosexuality*, abnormal or perverted sexual appetite toward the opposite sex.' Dorland does not indicate how this appetite is 'abnormal', but Jonathan Katz (1995/2007: 19–22) has documented how *heterosexuality* was used by some medical writers at the turn of the century to denote a perverse desire for cross-sex intercourse that was specifically non-procreative. Katz (1995/2007: 92) argues that this alternative construction of heterosexuality competed with the more familiar model into the 1920s—and in so doing exposed the troubling permeability of the discursive border between 'normal' and 'abnormal' sexuality. The competition between models was evidently still underway for the compilers of the *OED Supplement*, for its draft definition of *heterosexuality* is '~~depraved~~ perverted feeling towards the ~~other~~ opposite sex'. But the normalizing model would triumph by the date of publication: in the printed *Supplement*, the definition of *heterosexuality* has disappeared, and it is simply a run-on headword under the 'normal' definition of *heterosexual*. The retained quotation from Dorland's dictionary still threatens to introduce the abnormalizing model into the *OED*, but the *Supplement* shores up the normative borders of heterosexuality by noting that Dorland's usage is 'misapplied'. The linguistic proscription highlights the *OED* editors' willingness to reverse the empirical approach of the dictionary to suit particular biases (cf. non-sexual examples in Mugglestone 2005: 168–178; Brewer 2010: 25). A definition, rather than being derived from its quotational evidence, sets a regulatory standard against which the quotation is judged to be erroneous. Under the truth regime of scientific lexicography, taxonomic meaning is not allowed to be a matter of different norms competing against each other. Rather, one norm is authorized as semantic fact, and another norm is illegitimated as a misuse. Of course, this unitary view is belied by the *Supplement's* own published quotations and draft definitions. As Mugglestone

(2013: 55) observes, when it comes to individual acts of language use, semantic 'truth' is multiple and mutable.

The Semantics of Self-making

If uses of *heterosexuality* could contest the border between normality and pathology, so too could uses of *homosexuality* and its psychiatric synonyms. Though the emergence of sexological discourse furthered the pathologization of same-sex desire, it 'also made possible the formation of a "reverse" discourse […] often in the same vocabulary, using the same categories by which [homosexuality] was medically disqualified' (Foucault 1978: 101). The conceptual framework of sexology, through which same-sex-attracted people became constituted as members of an identifiable minority group with a shared psychological predisposition, afforded at least some 'inverts' in England a newfound avenue for political solidarity and advocacy. Taxonomic identity terms came to be reclaimed and depathologized in a process of affirmative self-making. Historians of sexuality have stressed the need to view this process not as a pitched battle between scientific oppressors and sexual liberators, but as a site of ongoing dialogue, in which a number of inverts corresponded and collaborated with sexologists (see Doan 2001: ch. 5). Notably, most of the personal histories that appeared as case studies in Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion* were collected for him by three people who privately identified as inverts: not only Ellis's original co-author, John Addington Symonds, but the social reformers Edward Carpenter and Edith Lees Ellis—the last of whom was in fact married to Havelock (Grosskurth 1980: 177–178). Lees herself is thought to be represented in *Sexual Inversion* as the case study of a certain 'Miss H.' (Wallace 2006: 189). Ellis (1897: 94) relates 'Miss H.'s' sexual development before stating that 'She believes that homosexual love is morally right when it is really part of a person's nature'. Yet within the generic structures of

medical discourse, this positive statement is decontextualized from Lees's original utterance and recontextualized as a third-person report that transforms Lees into a patient to be spoken for by the scientist. Ellis's assertion that the self-narratives he received would have to undergo 'modifications and omissions' before being published (Crozier 2008: 50) reminds us again of the 'issues of control and power' at work in such text trajectories (Blommaert 2005: 64).

Lees's decidedly less reserved first-hand testimony is preserved in an undated letter sent to Edward Carpenter, in which she explains 'my inversion' as 'sheer purity & sweetness to me & so for *me* the best the world cd have for me' (Wallace 2006: 189). Lees was among several inverted writers who drew selectively on sexology, co-opting its institutional legitimacy while downplaying its association with disease. From a performative perspective, these appropriations were 'not a simple assimilation to an existing norm, for that norm [was] predicated on the exclusion of the one who [spoke]', to adapt Butler (1997: 91). By speaking for themselves without the direct intervention of a scientist, inverted writers reshaped sexological discourse, both affirming the authority of science and challenging the notion that it was the *sole* authority capable of articulating the 'truth' of sexuality. Could these alternative truths have been considered for the quotation banks of the *OED*? Inevitably, much of the linguistic evidence was recorded in letters, diaries, and other personal documents that would not have been widely accessible in the decades that the *OED* was being compiled (see the Conclusion). The dictionary's reliance on printed texts for its representation of the English language was a limitation of which Murray himself was well aware: as he remarked, 'The example of modern words shows us that a word may be in conversational or even epistolary use for ten or twenty years before it attains to the dignity of literature' (Murray 1884: 517). However, over the course of the *OED's* publication, a growing literature of same-sex

apologetics did become available in England—though it was largely not to be dignified by the dictionary.

A liminal case is represented by John Addington Symonds. Before his contributions to the suppressed first publication of *Sexual Inversion*, Symonds privately printed his own pamphlets on same-sex attraction. One of these—issued in 1891 and again in 1896—is actually cited in the *Supplement*, whose first quotation under *inversion* is '**1896** J. A. Symonds (*title*) A Problem in Modern Ethics, being an Enquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion'. Yet the *OED's* evidence of the pamphlet was second-hand: the archived slip for this quotation is simply a cutting from a book catalogue which lists Symonds's pamphlet for sale. A handwritten annotation on the slip, 'Φ book', indicates the lexicographers were aware that a copy of the pamphlet existed in the Bodleian's Phi collection, but they do not seem to have consulted it, or they would not have followed the sales catalogue in misspelling its title. What the title alone does not make clear is that Symonds's *Inquiry* into sexual inversion, though articulated in the lexis of sexology, criticizes sexologists' theories of morbidity and neuropathy. Had the pamphlet been read for the *Supplement*, it could have antedated the lexicographers' earliest attestations of *homosexual* (a.) and *inverted*. In a critique of Krafft-Ebing, Symonds (1896: 47) asserts 'it cannot be contended that "only tainted individuals are capable of homosexual feelings"'. Contrary to the xenophobic quotations on display in the *Supplement*, he affirms that 'the toleration of inverted passion threatens no danger to the well-being of nations' (Symonds 1896: 85).

Reclamations of sexual taxonomy were not long restricted to privately printed apologias. Though Edward Carpenter only seems to be cited in the *OED Supplement* for his 1915 socialist treatise *Healing of Nations* (s.v. *out-of-dateness* and *root* sb. 20), he had published a monograph

on same-sex attraction entitled *The Intermediate Sex* in 1908. Carpenter (1908) rejects sexual pathologization on the grounds that 'individuals affected with inversion in marked degree do not after all differ from the rest of mankind, or womankind, in any other physical or mental particular' (57), and repeats the statistical assertion of the German physician Magnus Hirschfeld that same-sex desire is a natural variation: 'about 1½ to 2 per cent. are born pure homosexuals […] there remain some 4 per cent. who are bisexual by nature' (136). Two decades later, *The Well of Loneliness* by Radclyffe Hall novelized the stigma attached to this natural variation in the figure of Stephen Gordon. Stephen demands, 'How long would God […] tolerate the preposterous statement that inversion was not a part of nature? For since it existed what else could it be?' (Hall 1928: 474). The authority Stephen herself places in medical practitioners to uncover the truth of inversion from their patients is shaken by another invert, who asks: 'what doctor can know the entire truth? […] the whole truth is known only to the normal invert' (Hall 1928: 455).

Hall's normalization of same-sex desire attracted enough notoriety for *The Well of Loneliness* to be banned, but there were other literary uses of medicalized terms that escaped censorship. In Katherine Mansfield's short story 'The Modern Soul' (1911: 185), printed in the London magazine *The New Age*, Fraulein Sonia discloses to the narrator, 'I am curiously sapphic […] not only am I sapphic, I find in all the works of all the greatest writers, especially in their unedited letters, some touch some sign of myself.' The American memoirist Mary MacLane was more overt. In *I, Mary MacLane* (1917: 276)—published in New York and imported to England—she declares, 'I am someway the Lesbian woman […] Except two breeds—the stupid and the narrowly feline—all women have a touch of the Lesbian […] For myself, there is no vice in my Lesbian vein.' In contrast with the minoritizing models favoured by sexologists (and Hall), Mansfield's and MacLane's lesbian 'touches' are thoroughly universalizing—yet

they are not vices to be avoided or edited out, but points of commonality with the genius of others. MacLane was not cited anywhere in the main *OED* or the *Supplement*; Mansfield would appear in the *Supplement* only under *combies*, where a story from her 1923 collection *The Doves' Nest* supplies the innocuous quotation 'Long-sleeved woven combies'.[23] Of course, even women writers whose work dwelt on less controversial subjects were regularly overlooked by the *OED* editors—or, like Mansfield, sometimes consigned to quotations for domestic vocabulary (Brewer 2009b, 2015; Mugglestone 2013: 63).

Besides efforts at amelioration, some apologists turned to relexicalization to sidestep the pathological overtones of the existing taxonomy—and to redress the mixed Greek and Latin etymology of *homosexual*. Carpenter suggested the Greek term *homogenic* as a substitute for the 'bastard word' *homosexual* in a privately printed pamphlet, *Homogenic Love* (1894: 4), before introducing the term to public print in the second edition of *Love's Coming-of-age* (1906: 128) and *The Intermediate Sex* (1908). The displacement of the *sexual* element from the word allowed Carpenter to shift the focus of discourse from the sordid details of sexual gratification to an idealized image of romantic love. He argues that, by its nature, 'the homogenic love […] must tend rather more […] to run along *emotional* channels' than 'physical' (Carpenter 1908: 67). Ironically, his alternative to sexological nomenclature gained enough traction to be noticed by sexologists themselves. Havelock Ellis began *Sexual Inversion* (1897: 1) by stating, '"Homosexual" is a barbarously hybrid word, and I claim no responsibility for it. It is, however, convenient, and is now widely used. "Homogenic" has been suggested as a substitute.' The first sentence of this passage would be quoted in the *OED Supplement* under *homosexual*, but *homogenic* would not make it into the dictionary.

[23] Other issues of *The New Age* are cited in the *Supplement* under, e.g., *flat* (a. 13. b, 1911) *Nietzschean* (1908), and *profiteer* (v., 1916). The Bodleian Library acquired a copy of *I, Mary MacLane* (1917) in its year of publication (original shelfmark 25611 e.5349). It was not shelved in the Phi collection, which suggests it was not examined too closely by the librarians.

Still, another term championed by Carpenter did appear in the *Supplement*, albeit obliquely. Carpenter was partly influenced by Ulrichs's pre-sexological theory that same-sex-attracted individuals, rather than being degenerate deviations from the normal woman or man, simply combined the body of one sex with the mental temperament of the other. Carpenter proposed that such people 'might be called an Intermediate sex', first in the private pamphlet *An Unknown People* (1897: 10) and later in *The Intermediate Sex* (1908). Though *intermediate sex* had hitherto been applied in zoology to animals of ambiguous physical sex (e.g. Westwood 1828: 67), Carpenter (1908: 27) stresses that his term is concerned with 'mental characteristics': 'in bodily structure there is, as a rule, nothing to distinguish the subjects of our discussion from ordinary men and women'. An alternative term, *intersex*, was put forward for the same phenomenon in two privately printed works by Xavier Mayne (the penname of Edward Prime-Stevenson). After a passing reference to the continental 'theories of "secondary sexes" and "intersexes"' in his novel, *Imre: A Memorandum* (1906: 134), Mayne developed his views in a treatise entitled *The Intersexes*, where he also introduced the derived noun *intersexualism* and the synonym *similisexual(ism)* (Mayne c1910: 46). Mayne (c1910) identifies 'two Intersexes […] the one partaking most of the outwardly and inwardly masculine yet not fully a man, the other leaning toward the typic feminine yet not fully woman' (19), though he reminds the reader that he is dealing with 'the psychological, not physical' (17). Mayne's neologisms did not catch on. *Similisexualism* left barely a trace, and by 1915, *intersex* and *intersexualism* had been recoined in scientific discourse to denote the same physically intermediate sex characteristics that Mayne had distanced his usage from (Goldschmidt 1916: 53–54).

Nevertheless, when the *Supplement* came to define *intersex* as 'An intermediate sex' in 1933, it cited as its earliest attestation '**1911** "XAVIER MAYNE" (*title*) The Intersexes'. Strikingly, the

Supplement's definition leaves ambiguous whether 'intermediate sex' (and thus *intersex*) should be read in the physical sense used in scientific discourse or in the mental sense proposed by Carpenter. The question seems to be settled by the citations that follow Mayne's. 'Animals which have switched over from a period of development in one sex to a period of development in the other are called intersexes,' explains one quotation from *Embryology and Evolution* (1930). 'Skin and skull of intersex pig *Sus papuensis*,' states another from the *Oxford University Gazette* (1931). Read alongside these scientific descriptions of physical intersex conditions, the bare quotation of Mayne's title is not sufficient to invoke the mental sense his book argues for. Whether this conflation and elision in the *Supplement* was accidental or deliberate is a moot point. The archived copy slips show that the definition of *intersex* and the quotation from *The Intersexes* were both written by John O'Loughlin again. His quotation slip for *The Intersexes* leaves unclear whether he found the title in a secondary source or consulted Mayne's privately printed study himself (the Bodleian did not own a copy at the time). But the slip does indicate that O'Loughlin was aware the study concerned same-sex desire: underneath the quotation, he wrote 'Inversion Sym. Prob. Gr. Eth. 1883', then crossed it out. The reference is to John Addington Symonds's pamphlet on same-sex desire in ancient Greece, *A Problem in Greek Ethics*, composed in 1873 and privately printed in 1883 and 1901. However O'Loughlin had come across *Greek Ethics*, it is cited nowhere in the published *Supplement*—though it contained a significant neologism of Symonds's own.

In a meditation on a passage of Plato's *Symposium* in which men who love men are depicted as the children of the goddess Aphrodite Urania, Symonds (1901: 32) christens this 'heavenly' desire 'the Uranian love'. This term, weighted with classical rather than clinical allusions, was esoteric enough for Symonds to use it in his published works as well. Its first printed appearance may be in his poetic collection *Many Moods* (1878: 20), where he idolizes 'Love

long lost, Uranian, / Dream of immortal youth revealed to mortal man!' Symonds later applied the term to the poems of Michelangelo, observing that they 'abound in references to the contrast between Uranian and Pandemic, celestial and vulgar, Eros' (Symonds 1893: 161). Although the main *OED* had quoted numerous passages from both *Many Moods* (e.g. s.v. *hill* sb. 4, *laurel* 5) and *The Life of Michelangelo* (s.v. *trombone* 1, *Vitruvian*), Symonds's usage of *Uranian* had not appeared in Craigie's entry for the word in the *Unright–Uzzle* fascicle of 1926. Craigie notes that the broader use of *Uranian* (a.[1] 1) to mean 'Pertaining to or befitting heaven; celestial, heavenly', became 'Freq. from *c*1890', but the only post-1890 quotation he includes is from a cross-sex love poem.[24] Craigie made no additions to *Uranian* in the *Supplement*, though Symonds's specialized usage had quickly been adopted in other public texts. A year into Oscar Wilde's imprisonment, his lover Lord Alfred Douglas (1896: 6) mourned in his *Poems*, 'Spurned in the dust uranian passion lies.' In *Love's Coming-of-age*, Carpenter (1906: 120) broadened *Uranian* to both sexes when he insisted 'men and women of the exclusive Uranian type are by no means necessarily morbid in any way'. He also nominalized it: 'to confuse Uranians […] with libertines […] is to do them a great wrong' (123). The word was not confined to male writers. An anonymous contributor to the feminist journal *The Freewoman*, who identified herself as a cross-dressing 'Uranian, a woman masquerading as a man', argued that in the 'Uranian class, […] the male is only apparently and not actually dominant' (Scython 1912: 274).

At the same time as these writers attempted to destigmatize existing lexis or replace it with affirmative neologisms, other authors denied the validity of taxonomizing sexuality altogether. Another anonymous contributor to *The Freewoman's* successor journal, *The New Freewoman*,

[24] 'And parting from her, in me linger on Vague snatches of Uranian antiphon,' from Francis Thompson's *Poems* (1893).

dismisses the 'appalling "terms"' of the 'sex pathologists' as 'far more terrifying than the things themselves', for 'all and any of these "perversions" are incipient in a clear-eyed child not in her teens' ('Views and Comments' 1913: 166). Yet the writer also criticizes those 'Uranian propagandists' who in the place of these perversions were trying to erect 'a new sex-"type"' (166). Instead, the writer is 'concerned to break down the conception of "types" into individuals', among whom 'men and women should be counted qualified to bespeak their own emotions' (166). In this view, the abstract lexicalization of sexuality will always misrepresent the complexities of actual experience. In some ways, this rejection of taxonomy is also a disavowal of certain kinds of sexual knowledge—but it differs from the orchestrated ignorances we have so far encountered in dictionaries, which sought to suppress 'improper' knowledge. Rather, the disavowal suggests what Doan (2013: 140) calls the 'will to ignorance': a recognition of 'the value of unknowability and vagueness as a way of knowing differently'. In calling on women and men to 'bespeak their own emotions', the author in *The New Freewoman* refuses to be complicit in any discursive framework that, whatever its motivations, elides the individual linguistic and erotic autonomy of the subjects it constitutes.

Besides refusing normative labels, there was also the possibility of reversing them. Rose Laure Allatini, writing under the pseudonym A. T. Fitzroy, turned taxonomy back on the taxonomists in her pacifist wartime novel *Despised & Rejected*. A male-attracted conscientious objector named Alan defiantly resignifies *perversion* to denote not homosexuality but sexual repression. He declares to Dennis, who is struggling with his own attractions, 'For people made as we are it's natural and it's beautiful to love as we love, and it's perversion in the true sense to try and force ourselves to love differently' (Fitzroy 1918: 250). Even more radically, their compatriot Antoinette, who desires women and men, reverses *perverse* and *inverted* to mean 'heterosexual'. She perceives that 'M. Lefévre, normal, typical man that he was, struck her as

being much more perverse than Dennis', and wonders, 'How was she to go on living in a world […] in which what was usually accepted as natural seemed to her inverted, and only the unnatural seemed natural?' (277). Unsurprisingly, the pacifism and radicalism of *Despised & Rejected* resulted in its banning amid a flurry of newspaper reports in 1918 (e.g. 'Despised and Rejected' 1918; 'Publisher Fined £460' 1918).

These lexical tactics of reclaiming, renaming, rejecting, and reversing the 'truth' of sexuality exemplify Eckert's and McConnell-Ginet's (1992: 482) observation that the 'history of linguistic and social practice constrains but does not determine what a speaker can mean', for 'meanings are never uniform […] There is always room for resistance, challenge, and alternatives'. How this room is regulated by social constraints is an idiosyncratic process. While *The Well of Loneliness* was withdrawn from circulation in the Bodleian Library following its prohibition, no restrictions were placed on the Library's copy of *Despised & Rejected*—or on its copy of *Love's Coming-of-age*, which had itself narrowly avoided legal prosecution a few years earlier (Craig 1937: 43–44). Carpenter's *Intermediate Sex* and Symonds's privately printed *Modern Ethics* and *Greek Ethics* were relegated to the Phi collection, but all remained listed in the Bodleian's general catalogue for any suitably qualified reader to request—just like Havelock Ellis's *Sexual Inversion*.[25] That none of these other works were read in the same manner as *Sexual Inversion* was for the *OED Supplement*—that none appear in its draft papers or published pages beyond a few bare titles—cannot help but shape

[25] The accession stamps in the Bodleian's copies of these works show that it had acquired *Modern Ethics* (1896) and *Greek Ethics* (1901) in 1904 (original shelfmarks Φ e.32 and Φ e.31) and the second edition of *The Intermediate Sex* in 1909 (Φ e.45). Their listing in the general catalogue is indicated in the Bodleian's *Handlist of Φ* (Library Records d. 786). *Despised & Rejected* (1918) and a 1914 reprint of *Love's Coming-of-age* were obtained in their years of publication (25611 e.5928 and 24731 e.105). *The Well of Loneliness*, acquired in July 1928, was after its banning moved to shelfmark Res. d.14—the Reserved section comprising 'works to which readers could not legally be permitted access' (Houston 2015: 181).

the ‘eternal truth’ of language that Murray had envisioned the *OED* would embody (Murray 1977: 187).

Mugglestone (2013: 51), writing on the similar paucity of quotations from pro-suffragist sources in the *OED’s* coverage of the women’s suffrage movement, confirms that the editors’ selection of evidence ‘can affect the type of “truth” which is allowed to emerge’. It is impossible to calculate the varying extents to which the omission of same-sex apologetic discourse from the OED was the result of deliberation, negligence, or accident. What can be maintained is that the dictionary was compiled within a culture whose authorities did take overt action to prohibit, discount, or otherwise regulate the self-narratives of same-sex-attracted people. Even a progressive scientist like Havelock Ellis (1933: 201) could denounce (in the same year that the *Supplement* was published) the ‘movement of agitation, and the tendency to the glorification of homosexuality’, by same-sex rights activists in England and elsewhere. Ultimately, in sexology as well as lexicography, the ‘truth’ produced by the scientific method is shaped by the social mores that dominate the time and place in which it operates. A sexual desire cannot be compelled to confess itself any more than a word can be made to tell its own story. There is always an analyst who speaks on the subject’s behalf, and there are always other stories that the telling leaves out.

Conclusion

Even as the publication of the *OED* was underway, the principles of scientific lexicography elaborated by its compilers and the Philological Society would influence a host of other lexicographers. The editor of *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language* acknowledged the indebtedness of his etymologies to 'the magistral *New English Dictionary* of Dr James A. H. Murray and Mr Henry Bradley, so far as completed' (Davidson 1901: iii). *Cassell's New English Dictionary* forcefully concurred, 'In these days it would be an impossibility to put forth an English Dictionary that had any pretence to philological accuracy but for the labours of […] Sir James Murray with his co-workers' (Baker 1919: xi). In *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*, Henry Cecil Wyld (1932: v) affirmed the *OED's* status as 'that wonder of the age'. Though none of these dictionaries claimed to have derived their entries from quotational evidence in the same manner as the *OED*, models of descriptivist, citation-based lexicography were quickly adopted by several of the *OED's* American rivals, all of which were also published in Britain.

When the first part of the *Century Dictionary* appeared in 1889, its editor, the philologist William Dwight Whitney (1889 I: v), pronounced that the 'first duty of a comprehensive dictionary is collection, not selection'—echoing the sentiments of the Philological Society's *Proposal* thirty years before. Yet selectivity would unavoidably slip into the *Century Dictionary*, as it would into the *OED*. It is present in Whitney's (1889 I: xi) own boast that the *Century Dictionary's* definitions were informed by 'a special collection of quotations selected […] from English books of all kinds and of all periods of the language, which is probably much larger than any that has hitherto been made for the use of an English dictionary'—except, he

admitted, 'that accumulated for the Philological Society of London'.[1] A similar commitment to descriptivism and inclusion was expressed (again with a touch of equivocality) in Funk & Wagnalls's *Standard Dictionary of the English Language*, which agreed that 'A dictionary, says Archbishop Trench, should be an inventory of the language', the chief function of which was 'to record usage; not, except in a limited degree, to seek to create it' (Funk 1893 I: vii). As such, the usage recorded in the *Standard Dictionary* had been drawn by nearly 500 readers from 'the works of several thousand representative authors, of the various ages of English literature from Chaucer's time to the present' (vii). Evidently, the *OED* had 'caused the public to expect larger things of other dictionaries', as the preface to *Webster's New International Dictionary* would assert (Harris 1909: vii).

Webster's New International was clear about its own 'inestimable debt' to the *OED*, and reiterated the larger dictionary's policy that 'it is the function of a dictionary to state the meanings in which words are in fact used, not to give expression to the editors' opinions as to what their meanings should be' (Harris 1909: vii). Though the *New International's* first edition did not explain the empirical basis of its entries, its second edition was founded on a collection of over one million quotations drawn from thousands of sources by its editorial team (Neilson 1934: vii). The collection had grown to six million by the time the third edition was published in 1961, and its editor-in-chief, Philip Babcock Gove, was even firmer in his rejection of 'prescriptive and canonical definitions […] unless confirmed by independent investigation of usage borne out by genuine citations' (Gove 1961: 6a).[2] Merriam-Webster had at last equalled

[1] Murray, who saw the *Century Dictionary* as a commercial competitor, would claim that Whitney had plagiarized from the published sections of the *OED*. The ensuing quarrel is treated from different angles by Murray (1977: 266–267), Bailey (2000b: 217–220), and Gilliver (2010: 62–65).

[2] *Webster's Third* was vituperated for its descriptivist stance at the time of its publication (Morton 1994), but the perception of its critics that earlier editions of the *New International* had been staunchly prescriptivist was an oversimplification. In fact, contemporaneous reviews of the 1909 and 1934 editions had praised their inclusivity (Laughlin 1967).

the quotation files of the *OED*, which had been based on 'some five millions of excerpts from English literature of every period amassed by an army of voluntary readers and the editorial staff', as stated in the preface to its 1933 reissue (Craigie and Onions 1933a: v). Still, history has borne out Craigie's and Onions's boast about the *OED's* empiricist approach: 'It is a fact everywhere recognized that the consistent pursuit of this method has worked a revolution in the art of lexicography' (v).

Models of empirical descriptivism have dominated professional English lexicography ever since, and *Oxford* has become (and remains) a 'byword for *dictionary*' (Bailey 2000b: 225). At the same time as the collaborative nature of quotation-based lexicography has grown, the personal prominence of lexicographers has diminished. A century ago, Krapp (1925: 375) witnessed 'the disappearance of the individual in the making of modern dictionaries, and the emergence of what may be called the syndicate or composite dictionary': whereas 'older dictionaries depended for their value on a name', such as Johnson, the modern dictionary is 'the work of numerous scholars, specialists and compilers whose names are altogether unknown to the persons who use the dictionaries'. Even the *OED* has come to be known first and foremost by its publishers rather than its editors. Gone are the days when it was offhandedly referred to as 'Murray's Dictionary' (Algeo 1990: 2004). There is what Raymond Williams (1983: 18) called an 'air of massive impersonality' about the *OED*, albeit the dictionary is 'not so impersonal, so purely scholarly, or so free of active social and political values as might be supposed' (see also Brewer 2005). The same is true of later professional English dictionaries: the scientific dictionary is a 'depersonaliz[ed]' text (Algeo 1990: 2004), no longer clearly visible as the work of distinct contributors whose biases will unavoidably inflect their definitions whatever the evidence at their disposal.

In this concluding chapter, we will step beyond the temporal scope of the thesis to look briefly at how the legacy of the *OED's* empirical approach has evolved in present-day professional lexicography, both in print and online—as well as at some of the alternative models now offered by virtual grass-roots lexicons. We will consider the limits to linguistic and social representation that remain inherent even in the most modern of dictionary projects, and how these limitations must be borne in mind by any researcher who relies on present-day dictionaries as a window onto the linguistic past.

The Body Politic of Language

In *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*, Trench (1857: 6) famously described the ideal dictionary as 'an historical monument, the history of a nation contemplated from one point of view'. Whose particular point of view was to be memorialized at this intersection of language and nationhood? Trench's answer may be found in one of his earlier works, *English, Past and Present*. Here, he wrote in commendation of 'the true instinct of the national mind', which had over the course of the history of English 'rejected and disallowed' from the language 'words [that] were not idiomatic, or were not intelligible, or were not needed, or looked ill, or sounded ill' (Trench 1855: 53–54). It is the singular perspective of this *Volksgeist* which sets 'the stamp of popular allowance' on what is and is not English (53). Thus, Trench (1857: 7–8) went on to write in *Deficiencies*, it is not up to lexicographers themselves to apply 'the stamp of non-allowance' when determining the content of a dictionary; rather, it is 'for those who use a language to sift the bran from the flour, to reject that and retain this'. Lexicographers need not be selective, for the nation has selected for them.

It goes without saying that Trench's view of a homogeneous and harmonious speech community was optimistic. By contrast, James Murray perceived the English-speaking community—or, rather, communities—to be internally disparate and nationally diffuse. Upon being asked how many words existed in 'the language of Englishmen', Murray would habitually reply:

> Of *some* Englishmen? or of *all* Englishmen? is it *all* that *all* Englishmen speak, or *some* of what *some* Englishmen speak? Does it include the English of Scotland and of Ireland, the speech of British Englishmen, and American Englishmen, of Australian Englishmen, South African Englishmen, and of the Englishmen in India?
> (Murray 1977: 193.)

Of course, even this multivocal representation overlooks the usage of any speaker of English who is not by gender, nationality, or heredity an *Englishman* ('A man who is English by descent, birth, or naturalization', Bradley would explain in the *OED* in 1891). This oversight would be carried over into the *OED* itself: the gender, ethnic, and racial biases detectable in parts of the dictionary have been well documented (e.g. Benson 2001; Brewer 2005, 2011; Mugglestone 2012, 2013). If the dictionary regularly spoke in the voices of Anglocentrism and androcentrism, then it also did so in the voice of sexual conservatism. Despite its marked methodological differences from the English lexicography that came before it, we have seen that the *OED* betrayed many of the same ideological stances as the dictionaries of former centuries, variably constituting same-sex acts, actors, and desires as immoral, unnatural, criminal, exotic, pathological, or unspeakable.

The inclusion of socially and linguistically marginalized subjects remains a problem for contemporary dictionaries—although, since the *OED*, the empirical authority of descriptivist dictionary-making has been substantially advanced by the affordances of information technology (Brewer 2019: 502–507). In 1969, the *American Heritage Dictionary* became the

first published lexicon to have constructed its definitions with the aid of a machine-readable electronic corpus—comprising about one million words extracted from a range of text types—in addition to traditional sources of linguistic usage (Morris 1969). In 1987, the British *Collins COBUILD English Language Dictionary* marked a turn from corpus-assisted to corpus-based lexicography by making an electronic database of twenty million words its primary empirical foundation. Other dictionaries soon followed in their footsteps. The digital revolution came too late for the second *Supplement* to the *OED*, published in four volumes from 1972 to 1986, but by the time the final volume was released, the 'computerization of the *OED*' was already underway (Burchfield 1986: xii; see Weiner 2009). The product of this computerization was the second edition of the *OED* (1989), an amalgam of the first edition and its two *Supplements* which added about five thousand new words and senses of its own. For the last of these, the editorial team supplemented the *OED's* traditional reading programme and quotation slips with 'large computer databases containing research abstracts, newspaper and periodical texts, and legal reports', which were 'invaluable in […] providing examples to complete the lexicographical record' ('Introduction' 1989: xxii). Corpora allow lexicographers to analyse how individual words are used across a range of real-world contexts on a hitherto inconceivable scale (Walter 2010; Hanks 2012). As the decades have passed, their size has increased exponentially. Merriam-Webster now combines a citation file of 15.7 million quotations with an electronic database of 'more than 70 million words drawn from a great variety of sources' ('Help' n.d.). Collins's current dictionaries are based on the Bank of English—a 650-million-word subset of the 4.5-billion-word Collins Corpus—which is built from 'a carefully chosen selection of sources, to give a balanced and accurate reflection of English as it is used today' ('The Collins Corpus' n.d.). At almost 2.5 billion words, the Oxford English Corpus used by lexicographers at OUP 'represents all types of English' from 'all parts of the world' ('The Oxford English Corpus' n.d.).

Paradoxically, with the rise of corpus-based lexicography, the dictionary's construction of authority appears to have become circular. The public defers to lexicographers to learn how language is (or should be) used, and lexicographers learn how language is used by deferring to the utterances of the public. On the surface, this may seem futile. If a dictionary simply records English as it is used by English speakers, why should English speakers have any need to consult it? But a corpus-based dictionary is meant to be a record of how words are used by English speakers *collectively*. An individual speaker might be unaware of the consensus about a particular word's meaning, spelling, or pronunciation, and lexicographers, through the use of corpus evidence, provide access to that consensus (cf. Cameron 1995: 48). This has ostensibly led dictionaries to throw off the last vestiges of partiality—in multiple senses of the word—and become truly objective reflections of English as it is used by the majority of speakers. The authority of dictionaries has, in a way, shifted from the *ipse dixits* of earlier centuries to *argumenta ad populum*. The earlier 'authorizing realms' (Gal 1998: 322) that legitimated dictionaries' judgements, such as citations of an elite literary canon, have been replaced by a new authorizing realm that resembles what Gal (1998: 322) calls 'the collective social unit': a conglomeration of the reported speech of 'an anonymous public'.

Nevertheless, as one of the early contributors to the *Collins COBUILD Dictionary* has pointed out, 'a corpus is never neutral' (Hoey 1996: 163). Claims about the representativeness of any corpus are complicated by Stuart Hall's (1982/2005: 60) observation that representation is not a passive replication of reality, but 'implies the active work of selecting and presenting, of structuring and shaping: not merely the transmitting of an already existing meaning, but the more active labour of *making things mean*' (original emphasis). As such, any attempt to represent the common usage of a language is a performative act (cf. Butler 1997: 86–91). A

linguistic consensus is never unanimous, and a corpus will inevitably amplify certain perspectives over others—depending on what texts are available to the compiler, which of these are selected for inclusion, and how the data are accessed and interpreted by the analyst (cf. Kilgarriff 2013). Lexicographers still cannot escape the matter of which usages among many are to be represented by the dataset, and in the dictionaries derived from it.

Moreover, in any dictionary intended to document a 'majority view' of language, the position of minority groups is necessarily precarious. The lexicographer Kori Stamper (2017: 151–152) has observed in an eloquent meditation on the social power of slurs: 'when the force of a profane word or slur is felt and perceived differently person to person, how can lexicographers possibly concisely communicate […] its full range of use?' Following on from this, if a word used to refer to a particular minority group is considered a slur by some of the group's members but not by the majority of speakers in a speech community (however that community is defined), should lexicographers side with popular usage when treating the word, or should they respect the views of some minority members and label the word 'offensive' or 'derogatory'? Furthermore, how do lexicographers adjudicate among diverging popular, radical, reactionary, and sometimes legal uses of politically contested words such as *marriage*, *family*, *queer*, *sex*, and *gender*? Do lexicographers have a duty to record the identity terms of marginalized groups if those terms and identities are overlooked or disputed by mainstream society? How large or loud does a minority have to be before the language used by it warrants representation in a general dictionary?

The positioning of any individuals as constituents of a minority group is itself a historically contingent and politically divisive process, but one which has proved effective in advancing social acceptance and civil protections for same-sex-attracted people since the mid-twentieth

century (Jagose 1996). For queer linguists, 1969 is less memorable as the year that heralded corpus-assisted lexicography than as the year that witnessed the Stonewall riots in New York (Leap 2020). Since the riots helped to galvanize the modern queer rights movement in North America, Britain, and beyond (Faderman 2015; Buckle 2015), it has become commonplace to construct same-sex-attracted people as a minority community akin to a marginalized ethnic group, and often classed with other sexual and gender minorities under initialisms such as *LGBTQIA* (lesbian, gay, bisexual, trans, queer, intersex, asexual). In England and Wales, the last half-century has witnessed the decriminalization of private sexual activity between men over the age of twenty in 1967, the equalization of the age of consent to sixteen for sexual partners regardless of gender in 2000, the creation of same-sex civil partnerships in 2004, prohibitions against some forms of sexuality-based discrimination under the Equality Acts of 2006 and 2010, and the legalization of same-sex marriage in 2013. Since 2018, the British government has also been considering a ban on attempts to eliminate a person's same-sex desires through the controversial practice of 'conversion therapy' (Government Equalities Office 2018).

The growing acceptance of same-sex-attracted people into some sectors of mainstream society has inevitably shaped the discourses of sexuality encoded in recent dictionaries, both in print and online. There have been moves towards revising definitions of *marriage* to include same-sex unions (Stamper 2017: 230–254), removing negative vocabulary from definitions of same-sex terms (Brewer 2013: 112–114), and adding usage labels to homophobic slurs (Norri 2000: 85–87, 98–99). But in other, less overt ways, present-day dictionaries still echo the discursive asymmetries of bygone eras. Early English lexicographers' disregard of Latin loanwords for sexuality between women finds a contemporary echo in certain French and German dictionaries' failure to include *queer* and *coming out* as common loanwords from English

(Nossem 2018: 182–183). Present-day definitions of *sexual intercourse* can elide same-sex acts as effectively as did eighteenth-century definitions of *copulation* (Brewer 2016: 35), while the clitoris has continued to be described as homologous to the penis, but not the reverse, in contemporary medical, general, and school dictionaries (Willinsky 1987: 152; Braun and Kitzinger 2001: 218). In general lexicography, the pathologizing word *homosexual* is still presented as the default term for same-sex desire in English, while identity labels championed by in-groups—now *lesbian* and *gay* rather than *Sapphic* and *Uranian*—are positioned as socially marked (Turton forthcoming b). Old cycles of salience (Traub 2016: 85), and their associated biases, continue to circulate in present constructions of sexuality, albeit their discursive forms have changed along with the formats of the dictionaries they occur in.

Of course, the rise of online dictionaries has also encouraged forms of dictionary-making that diverge from the 'majority rule' approach of corpus-based lexicography. Dynamic, crowdsourced lexicons, to which anyone with an Internet connection can contribute, theoretically avoid some of the problems of representing the diversity of English by enabling diverse speakers to represent themselves. The open-ended nature of user-generated 'bottom-up lexicography' (Carr 1997: 214) allows for the codification of terms and discourses that may be side-lined in conventional corpora and excluded from professional dictionaries. Whereas the *OED Online* includes entries for about 600,000 words ('About' n.d.), *Wiktionary* (2002–), one of the largest grass-roots dictionary projects, has over 900,000 English entries ('Statistics' 2020).[3] Nonetheless, the crowdsourcing of dictionaries has not transformed them into egalitarian utopias. For one thing, there remain representational biases among volunteer contributors and, by extension, in the content they create.[4] For another, one need only look at

[3] All online data cited in this and the following sections were last accessed on 21 April 2020.
[4] For example, see Hargittai and Shaw (2015) and Wagner, Graells-Garrido, Garcia, and Menczer (2016) for gender bias on *Wikipedia*, *Wiktionary's* encyclopaedic counterpart.

Wiktionary's editorial discussion page for an entry such as *marriage*—where arguments about how to define the word have ranged over issues of gender, religion, miscegenation laws, polygamy, and consensual extramarital relationships—to see that semantic disagreement is an inherent aspect of language use.[5]

Some online lexicons have avoided presenting the semblance of a linguistic consensus by jettisoning the conventional dictionary structure of one entry per headword, instead allowing multiple users to post different entries for the same word. One such dictionary is *Queer Undefined* (2018–), whose 'About' page explains that it is meant to be an antidote to dictionaries that 'give an impersonal dictionary definition' of 'LGBTQ+ terms'; instead, *Queer Undefined* 'gather[s] informal definitions from LGBTQ+ people—to give multiple personal perspectives' (see Rodriguez 2018). The dictionary currently lists, for instance, thirty-nine entries for *bisexual*. However, even this atomization offers no escape from questions of linguistic authority and regulation. Rather than a corpus or a literary canon, the legitimacy of entries on *Queer Undefined* comes to rest on personal authenticity: it is speakers' identification with a particular term that validates their definition of it (cf. Turton forthcoming b). The site's submission form thus not only instructs users to 'Define [a] term and/or say what it means to you', but asks 'What has this term meant in your experience? How have you embodied this term?' and 'How do you identify?' Once an entry has been submitted, it is reviewed by the site administrator. If the entry does not adhere to the dictionary's guidelines and 'disrespects the LGBTQ+ community' or 'dismisses/erases a particular LGBTQ+ identity', it is rejected. In order to maintain civil discourse, language is still subject to gatekeeping.

[5] *Wiktionary's* entry for *marriage* currently combines an expansive main sense ('2. A union of two or more people that creates a family tie and carries legal, social, and/or religious rights and responsibilities') with sub-senses that restrict by number ('[2.] 1. (*sometimes specifically*) The union of only two people, to the exclusion of all others') and gender ('[2.] 2. (*often specifically*) The union of two people of opposite sex, to the exclusion of all others').

Of the grass-roots dictionaries that have dispensed with the need for civility, the most notorious must be *Urban Dictionary* (1999–). Chiefly intended to record slang and other informal usage, the website was 'set up in opposition to established authority and is, by its nature, irreverent' (Peckham and Coleman 2014: 186). As with *Queer Undefined*, *Urban Dictionary's* founder, Aaron Peckham, locates the dictionary's authority in its contributors—in 'the speakers of the informal language it seeks to document' (Peckham and Coleman 2014: 186). Unlike on *Queer Undefined*, editorial policing on *Urban Dictionary* is not centralized. Just as anyone who signs in can submit an entry, so anyone can act as an editor by voting on whether newly submitted entries should be accepted into the dictionary. An entry that receives the approval of four editors is published. Although *Urban Dictionary* claims to have 'a zero tolerance policy for definitions that include hate speech, bullying, or statements meant to discriminate or incite violence against others' ('Content Guidelines' n.d.), the dictionary is in fact riddled with abusive entries, often directed against marginalized groups (see Damaso and Cotter 2007: 24–25; Turton forthcoming a). Bottom-up lexicography is not in itself a cure for linguistic or social ostracism.

From the perspective of the language researcher, while these grass-roots lexicons are in no way scholarly works, they are still rich primary sources of present-day linguistic usage when handled with care. *Urban Dictionary's* unfiltered spontaneity furnishes 'raw materials that are invaluable to any serious slang lexicographer' (Coleman 2012: 291), while *Queer Undefined* could supply scholars of language, gender, and sexuality with exemplary data on the extent to which even 'shared' identities are differently understood and articulated by different speakers. For researchers of English before the twentieth century, there can be no real equivalent to these bottom-up, massively polyphonic texts among the ranks of pre-1900 dictionaries. The closest it is possible to come is in the curated quotation banks of contemporary dictionaries with a

historical scope, such as the *OED*, the *Middle English Dictionary* (1952–2001), and the ongoing *Dictionary of Old English* (1986–); corpora connected to the latter two dictionaries have been available online since 1997 (*DOE*) and 1998 (*MED*).[6] But because of contemporary professional dictionaries' status as descriptivist works, some scholars have not approached them with as much caution as they might show to other text types.

We may take two examples connected to the *OED*. In 1980, John Boswell (1980/2015: 42) observed that the first attestation of *homosexual* in the *OED* could be antedated by the 1891 edition of *A Problem in Modern Ethics* by John Addington Symonds. However, a decade later, Halperin (1990: 15) still cited the *OED's* second *Supplement* as evidence that before Krafft-Ebing's *Psychopathia Sexualis* (1892b) 'there was no homosexuality'. Shortly afterwards, Donoghue (1993b: 3) pointed out that the second *Supplement's* earliest evidence of the same-sex sense of *lesbian*—1890 for the adjective, 1925 for the noun—could be pushed back to 1732. Twenty years later, Doan (2013: 138) continued to rely on the *OED* data as proof that lesbianism had not reified into a stable sexual identity in England before the 1920s. Halperin (1990) and Doan (2013) respectively cite Boswell (1980/2015) and Donoghue (1993b) among their references, and so it is an open question whether the former authors overlooked the latter's antedatings or simply decided that the *OED* was the more authoritative source. Either way, had Halperin or Doan consulted the dictionary today, they would have had to modify their arguments. Since 2018, the ongoing revision of the *OED* for its third, online edition has seen largescale updates to the dictionary's coverage of gender and sexuality (Dent 2018; Gilliver 2020). Following Boswell and Donoghue, the *OED3* now gives 1891 and 1732 as the earliest known dates of use for *homosexual* and *lesbian*.

[6] Adams (2009) and Considine (2016) offer overviews of historical dictionaries, and Frank (2003) comments on the *DOE's* treatment of sexual terminology in particular.

Though all four of the above authors have written influentially on the history of sexuality, they have come to it from diverse backgrounds. Halperin is a classicist and queer theorist; Boswell was a medieval historian. Doan specializes in modernist literature, Donoghue in literature of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. It is to the great and lasting credit of the *OED* that it is one of the few reference works that English-speaking researchers across specialisms and disciplines (including linguistics) hold in common, and any criticism of the dictionary must be tempered by the fact that while 'Few inquiries into particular words end with the great *Dictionary's* account […] even fewer could start with any confidence if it were not there' (Williams 1983: 18). However, it is precisely because of the *OED's* status as the first authority on English that the gaps in its representation of the language must not be taken for granted by historical researchers.

Historicizing the Minority Report

In light of the absences discussed in Chapter 5, it is noteworthy that the ongoing revision of the *OED* has introduced a number of quotations from texts written by Sapphic and Uranian authors in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. Collecting data of this kind has been rendered easier in the last few decades by the reissuing of previously banned books and the publication of private pamphlets, letters, and diaries.[7] For example, John Addington Symonds's *Problem in Modern Ethics* has been cited five times, Radclyffe Hall's *Well of Loneliness* eight times, Oscar Wilde's letters twenty-three times, and Virginia Woolf's diaries sixty-six times. Nonetheless, these authors have not always been read as carefully as they could have been.

[7] The availability of some of this literature in England was enabled by the passage of the Obscene Publications Act 1959 (replacing Lord Campbell's more stringent Act of 1857), under which the courts famously tried and failed to ban an unexpurgated edition of *Lady Chatterley's Lover* in 1960. The effect of this ruling on British lexicography is discussed by Burchfield (1972a).

Though the *OED3* has shifted its earliest attestation of *homosexual* (adj.) from *Psychopathia Sexualis* to Symonds's *Modern Ethics*, the dictionary still cites *Psychopathia Sexualis* for the first known use of *homosexuality*. Here again it could be antedated by Symonds. The translator's preface to *Psychopathia Sexualis* (Krafft-Ebing 1892b: ix) is dated November 1892; Symonds had used *homosexuality* in a letter to Havelock Ellis in October of that year (Brady 2012: 228). Unaccountably, the *OED's* second *Supplement* and the *OED2* had both cited Symonds's letter (placed after the quotation from *Psychopathia Sexualis*), but the citation has been removed from the *OED3*. Since the second *Supplement*, the *OED* has also included an entry for Symonds's coinage of *Uranian* to describe (male) same-sex desire. In the *OED3*—which defines the adjective as 'Homosexual; pederastic; *spec.* (of poetry) expressing an admiration for male youth'—the earliest citation is taken from *A Problem in Greek Ethics* (1883), though Symonds had used it five years before in *Many Moods* (1878). The nominal use of *Uranian*, 'A homosexual man; a pederast', is first attested in the *OED3* from *The Intermediate Sex* (1908) by Edward Carpenter, rather than the second edition of *Love's Coming-of-age* (1906). Significantly, Carpenter's and other writers' use of *Uranian* to encompass women-desiring women, discussed in Chapter 5, is elided by the dictionary's gender-restricted definition of the noun.[8] Finally, the *OED3's* earliest attestation of *intersex* in the same-sex sense remains Mayne's *Intersexes* (c1910), despite his use of it in *Imre* (1906). These writers' antedatings are illustrated in Table 6.1. (The quotations have been formatted in the *OED3's* house style.)

[8] It is also worth mentioning that the *OED3* has added an entry for one of Carpenter's coinages, *homogenic*, but not for *intermediate sex*; Mayne's (c1910) much rarer term *similisexual* is also absent.

Table 6.1: Antedatings of same-sex lexis in the *OED3*

Headword	*OED3 first quotation*	*Antedating*
homosexuality, n. 1.a.	1892 C. G. CHADDOCK tr. R. von Krafft-Ebing *Psychopathia Sexualis* III. 185 (heading) Great diminution or complete absence of sexual feeling for the opposite sex, with substitution of sexual feeling and instinct for the same sex. (Homo-sexuality, or contrary sexual instinct [Ger. *homosexuale s. conträre Empfindung*]).	1892 J. A. SYMONDS *Let. to Havelock Ellis* 21 Oct. in S. Brady *J. A. Symonds & Homosexuality* (2012) v. 228 The fact that the majority are uninfluenced by these suggestions, while the minority feel the stirrings of sexual instinct under their impact, seems to prove that in the case of the latter there is an inborn bias toward homosexuality.
intersex, n. †1.	*c*1910 'X. MAYNE' *Intersexes* ii. 18 To the..perfect masculine sex..and perfect female sex.., we will add at least two Intersexes... A second and 'intersexual' sex, known..as the Urning, or Uranian sex... A third sex, or intersex, called the Uraniad.., refers to the..feminine sexually masculinized.	1906 'X. MAYNE' *Imre: A Memorandum* ii. 134 I learned of the much-discussed theories of 'secondary sexes' and 'intersexes'.
Uranian, adj.[1] 1.c.	1883 J. A. SYMONDS *Probl. Greek Ethics* xiii. 43 Then he turns to the Uranian love.	1878 J. A. SYMONDS *Many Moods* 20 My spirit leans to thee With yearning, Love long lost, Uranian, Dream of immortal youth revealed to mortal man!
Uranian, n.[2]	1908 E. CARPENTER *Intermediate Sex* i. 13 One may safely say that the defect of the male Uranian, or Urning, is *not* sensuality—but rather *sentimentality*.	1906 E. CARPENTER *Love's Coming-of-age* new ed. vii. 118 Contrary to the general impression, one of the first points that emerges from this study is that 'Urnings', or Uranians, are by no means so very rare; but that they form, beneath the surface of society, a large class.

Such antedatings, however slight, are significant not only for the historical basis of the dictionary but for the bearing they have on the array of ideologies embedded in it. As Halberstam (2011: 19) asserts, 'The history of alternative political formations is important because it contests social relations as given […] while not necessarily successful in the sense of becoming dominant, [they] do offer models of contestation, rupture, and discontinuity for the political present.' The antedatings inflect our present understanding of how words for same-sex desire were disseminated in Victorian and Edwardian England, and how institutionalized discourses concerning that desire were accepted, adapted, and challenged.

The same value can be found in interdatings. For instance, the *OED3* has two nineteenth-century quotations for *sodomist*, one from the *Encyclopædia Britannica* (1858, 'He..barely escaped being burnt as a sodomist and heretic'), the other from the *Medical Record* (1890, 'This practice gave him a peculiar pleasure, such as sodomists experience, I suppose'). The discourses of criminality and eccentricity in these citations, in which sodomists are spoken about rather than speaking for themselves, could have been complicated by including a use of *sodomist* as an affirmative self-identifier. In the privately printed erotic novel *Teleny*, sometimes claimed to have been co-written by Oscar Wilde (Thomas 1969: 271), the narrator states that 'men of the highest intelligence, of the kindest heart, and of the purest æsthetic feelings, were—like myself—sodomists' (*Teleny* 1893 II: 130). Moving ahead to the first half of the twentieth century, the *OED3* offers two quotations for the same-sex sense of *invert*: R. W. Chambers's 1911 jibe that 'This world is full of pale, enraptured artists;..full of unwashed little inverts', retained from the first *Supplement*, is now paired with a comment from the *Washington Post* (1937) that 'Hugh is not a sexual invert, although the pale and timid minister, Father Bonteen, quivers and weakens with love at the sight of [him]'. The abnormality implied by these quotations could be contrasted with Radclyffe Hall's (1928: 475–476) naturalization of the invert: 'Nature was trying to do her bit; inverts were being born in increasing numbers, and after a while their numbers would tell, even with the fools who still ignored Nature.'

When it comes to terms specific to sexuality between women, the *OED3's* dearth of quotations from female authors is particularly striking. For example, although the early twentieth century witnessed the reclamation of *lesbian* and *Sapphic* by some women-attracted women in Britain and America (see Chapter 5), this act of linguistic self-making is barely represented in the

entries for these terms in the dictionary.[9] The sparse quotational treatment of women's writing in general has been a longstanding problem across editions of the *OED*—the reasons for and effects of which have been most fully explored by Brewer (2009b, 2009c, 2011, 2015)—and the treatment of writing by women-desiring women in particular must be seen against this broader problem. To begin with, Table 6.2 counts the author attributions for quotations under *lesbian*, *Sapphic*, and related headwords in the *OED3*, and sorts them according to gender. 'Attribution' in this case means the name (or names, for works by more than one author) appearing at the beginning of each quotation in small capitals. Multiple attributions to the same author are counted separately. In instances where a quotation has been taken from a text for which the *OED3* gives no author (such as a newspaper, magazine, or scholarly journal), the attribution is counted as anonymous. In all, sixty-four attributions were found for sixty-two quotations.

Table 6.2: Quotational attributions for lesbian and Sapphic entries in the *OED3*

Headword	*Female authors*	*Male authors*	*Anonymous*	*Total attributions*
lesbian, n. 2.	3	4	3	10
lesbian, adj. 2. a.[10]	0	4	3	7
lesbian, adj. 2. b.	0	3	5	8
lesbianism, n.	1	4	2	7
lesbic, adj. 2.	0	4	0	4
Sapphic, n.	1	0	2	3
Sapphic, adj. 2.	0	4	4	8
Sapphism, n.	1	0	4	5
Sapphist, n.	3	1	3	7
Sapphistic, adj.	0	2	1	3
Sapphistically, adv.	1	1	0	2
Total	10 *(15.6%)*	27 *(42.2%)*	27 *(42.2%)*	64

[9] While *Sapphic*, like *lesbian*, has denoted sexuality between women since the eighteenth century (see Chapter 3), I know of no evidence of their use as self-identifiers before 1900. Anne Lister referred (in orthographic code) to 'Saffic regard' in a diary entry of 1821, but she distanced herself from the term: 'Got on the subject of Saffic [sic] regard. [I] said there was artifice in it. It was very different from mine & would be no pleasure to me. I liked to have those I loved near me as possible' (Lister 1992b: 49; the insertions are by Lister's editor). The context makes clear that Lister was alluding to the use of a dildo.

[10] The *OED3* distinguishes between *lesbian* (adj. 2.a.), 'Characterized by sexual activity between women, or sexual or romantic attraction between women; involving or relating to lesbians or lesbianism', and *lesbian* (adj. 2.b.), 'Of a woman: that is a lesbian; engaging in sexual activity with other women; sexually or romantically attracted (esp. wholly or largely) to other women'.

Just 15.6% of the attributions are to women writers. If one discounts the anonymous citations and considers only the thirty-seven named attributions, women still make up 27.0% against men's 73.0%. It goes without saying that the writing of women known to have desired women is given short shrift in these entries.

A closer inspection of a historical subset of the data is instructive. If we consider the period from 1900 to 1933—the closing date of this study—we find that of the ten quotations for lesbianism and Sapphism within this span, only one is attributed to a woman author. A 1923 entry from Virginia Woolf's diary is cited under *Sapphist*: 'She is a pronounced Sapphist, & may..have an eye on me.'[11] The *OED3* has no citations at all for *lesbianism* or *Sapphic* (adj.) in this period, which happens to fall during a larger gap in the quotational record for each of these entries: seventy-four years for *lesbianism* and fifty-five years for *Sapphic* (adj.). These gaps could be filled, and the records of most of the other entries expanded, by a greater attention to the writing of Woolf and her contemporaries. In this case, the published works of Katherine Mansfield and Mary MacLane considered in Chapter 5 may be supplemented with the now-public letters of Woolf; her sister Vanessa Bell, whose letters to Woolf contain references to the latter's sexuality; Woolf's sometime lover, Vita Sackville-West; the American poet H. D. (Hilda Doolittle); the English novelist Bryher (Annie Winifred Ellerman); and the American literary editor Jane Heap, all of whom existed in partly overlapping professional and personal networks. Attestations of *lesbian*, *Sapphic*, and related words in these women's writings are contrasted with the quotations in the *OED3* in Tables 6.3 and 6.4.[12]

[11] Brewer (2009a) considers the wider treatment of Woolf in the *OED*.
[12] Woolf's letters are excerpted from Nicolson and Trautmann (1975–1980), Bell's from Marler (1993), Sackville-West's from DeSalvo and Leaska (1984), H. D.'s and Bryher's from Friedman (2002), and Heap's from Baggett (2000).

Table 6.3: Alternative quotations for lesbian entries in the *OED3*, 1900–1933

Headword	*Quotations in the* OED3	*Alternative quotations*
lesbian, n. 2.	1925 A. HUXLEY *Let.* 21 Apr. (1969) 246 After a third-rate provincial town, colonized by English sodomites and middle-aged Lesbians, which is, after all, what Florence is, a genuine metropolis will be lively.	1924 J. HEAP *Let.* 19 July (2000) 99 The descriptions of the Lesbians home must wait—'too delicious'. 1929 V. SACKVILLE-WEST *Let.* 31 Jan. (1984) 329 I took her along to tea with the red headed Lesbian. 1929 V. WOOLF *Let.* 4 Feb. (1978) 14 The percentage of Lesbians is rising in the States, all because of you. 1933 'H. D.' *Let.* 15 Mar. (2002) 96 I finally got into the old dame's den, it was fearful, several other Lesbians buying other people.
lesbian, adj. 2. a.	1921 L. SLOMINSKI *Erroneous Human Laws & Social Evils* iv. 41 Often the fear of infection by the opposite sex leads them into Lesbian practices.	1917 M. MACLANE *I, Mary MacLane* 277 I have lightly kissed and been kissed by Lesbian lips in a way which filled my throat with a sudden subtle pagan blood-flavored wistfulness. 1928 V. SACKVILLE-WEST *Let.* 31 Aug. (1984) 296 I did go to a revue last night in which two ravishing young women sing a frankly Lesbian song. 1933 'H. D.' *Let.* 2 Jan. (2002) 3 They seem to have a great Lesbian case on one another, so I better keep, as they say, 'in'.
lesbian, adj. 2. b.	1931 R. CAMPBELL *Georgiad* i. 13 No Lesbian governess had got the start of him. 1933 H. S. WALPOLE *Vanessa* iv. 781 She disliked people to take it for granted that unless she was Lesbian she was uninteresting.	1917 M. MACLANE *I, Mary MacLane* 276 I am someway the Lesbian woman.
lesbianism, n.	[None between 1897 and 1971.]	1930 V. WOOLF *Let.* 28 Sept. (1978) 222 What other subject had I in mind to write about? Lesbianism? Thats your theme; I await illumination anxiously. 1933 'BRYHER' *Let.* 26 May (2002) 327 She has..asked me why I didn't have a little one as the aim of all analysis for women was to have a little one, and there was nothing so dreadful as lesbianism.
lesbic, adj.	1922 J. JOYCE *Ulysses* II. ix. [Scylla & Charybdis] 199 Sons with mothers,..lesbic sisters, loves that dare not speak their name.	1933 'H. D.' *Let.* 28 Apr. (2002) 205–6 You look most dashing, dear Fiend [sic], and Lesbic in that hat and that Cat.

Table 6.4: Alternative quotations for Sapphic entries in the *OED3*, 1900–1933

Headword	*Quotations in the* OED3	*Alternative quotations*
Sapphic, n.	[None before 1985.]	[None found.]
Sapphic, adj. 2.	[None between 1895 and 1950.]	1911 K. MANSFIELD in *New Age* 22 June 185/2 Not only am I sapphic, I find in all the works of all the greatest writers, especially in their unedited letters, some touch some sign of myself. 1925 V. WOOLF *Let.* 24 Jan. (1977) 155 My aristocrat..is violently Sapphic, and contracted such a passion for a woman cousin, that they fled to the Tyrol..to be followed in an aeroplane by a brace of husbands. 1928 V. SACKVILLE-WEST *Let.* 29 Feb. (1984) 272–3 She..nourishes a posthumous and entirely Sapphic passion for the Lady of Shalott.
Sapphism, n.	1901 *Lancet* 1 June 1548/1 As yet in this country the novelist..has not arrived at the treatment in romance of excessive morphiomania, or Sapphism, or vaginismus, all of which diseases will be found in French novels.	1910 V. BELL *Let.* 17 July (1993) 94 What with your cultivation of Sapphism with a Swede at Twickenham & Lytton's of Sodomism with Swedes in Sweden..you will be a fine couple worthy of each other. 1927 V. WOOLF *Let.* ?8 July (1977) 397 I've just written, or re-written, a nice little story about Sapphism, for the Americans.
Sapphist, n.	1923 V. WOOLF *Diary* 19 Feb. (1978) II. 235 She is a pronounced Sapphist, & may..have an eye on me.	1909 V. BELL *Let.* 16 May (1993) 84 You will have a desperate liaison with her I believe, for I rather think she shares your Sapphist tendencies and only wants a little encouragement. 1927 V. WOOLF *Let.* 15 Oct. (1977) 431 Sixty pounds just received from America for my little Sapphist story.
Sapphistic, adj.	*c*1910 'X. MAYNE' *Intersexes* viii. 246 Many of these unsexed women were similisexual—sapphistic prostitutes, or similar, in instincts and habits. 1913 J. M. KEYNES *Let.* 23 Jan. in L. Mahood *Feminism & Voluntary Action* (2009) vii. 137 Margaret is more deeply entangled than ever in a Sapphistic affair.	1928 V. WOOLF *Let.* 16 Oct. (1980) 523 Leonard, Morgan and I have all got to appear in Court in defence of Miss Radcliffe [sic] Hall's Sapphistic novel.
Sapphistically, adv.	1913 R. BROOKE *Let.* 13 Dec. (1968) 547 A woman..who loved Lulu sapphistically.	[None found.]

Private correspondence evidently allowed for greater freedom in the use of explicit terms for same-sex desire—though the never-quite-banished need for secrecy, or simply brevity, could still result in coded and curtailed word-forms that would not be admissible in a conventional dictionary quotation bank. H. D., for example, used 'Saph.' for *Sapphic* and 'L.' or 'Lllllllllls' for *Lesbian(s)* in several letters to Bryher (Friedman 2002: 50, 325, 525). However, unabridged forms are also quite well attested. The only forms for which I have found no evidence are the noun *Sapphic* ('A lesbian'), which the *OED3* has not traced further back than 1985, and the adverb *Sapphistically*.

I call the quotations in the above tables 'alternative' to highlight the divergent sociolinguistic trajectories of lesbianism and Sapphism that they represent beside the accounts given in the *OED3*. However, I do not wish to argue that the *OED3's* existing quotations and the prejudices they embody—Huxley's contempt for 'English sodomites and middle-aged Lesbians', Slominski's assertion that 'Lesbian practices' are instigated by women's fear of venereal disease, the *Lancet's* claim that 'Sapphism' itself is a disease—should be struck from the record. The preceding chapters have made clear that such attitudes are important components in the discursive histories of same-sex lexis. In any case, negative bias is also palpable in some of the alternative quotations, such as in Bryher's invocation of *lesbianism* as she wryly passes on an acquaintance's psychoanalytic concern for Bryher's lack of children. Yet these quotations also capture usage that is playful (as when H. D. writes to Bryher about her efforts to buy pictures of the actress Elisabeth Bergner while jostling a roomful of 'other Lesbians'), amused (Sackville-West's remark that the poet Else Lasker-Schüler nursed a 'Sapphic passion for the Lady of Shalott'), teasing (Bell's reaction to Lytton Strachey's failed marriage proposal to Woolf, in light of her 'Sapphism' and his 'Sodomism'), and delighted (Jane Heap's description of her 'delicious' experience in the Parisian 'Lesbians' salon of Natalie Clifford

Barney). Turning from semantics and pragmatics to morphosyntax, we could also note that Woolf's and Bell's use of *Sapphist* as an attributive noun or adjective is not a possibility recorded in the *OED3*.

It is inaccurate to suggest, as the current evidence in the *OED3* does, that *lesbian* and *Sapphic* were not used as in-group terms during this period, or that the pejorative connotations assigned to them in dominant discourses were never subverted or overridden. Of course, the range of authors put forward in Tables 6.3 and 6.4 is necessarily partial as well. It has been determined by such factors as the uneven levels of wealth and education among English-speaking women in the early twentieth century, the means at individual writers' disposal to broadcast their work and establish lasting literary reputations for themselves, the judgements of later executors and scholars about whose papers were worth archiving and publishing, and my selective reading of those publications. That Virginia Woolf alone accounts for six of the nineteen alternative quotations is due to the comparatively high number of tokens for these terms preserved across six volumes of her edited letters (Nicolson and Trautmann 1975–1980). Doan and Garrity (2006: 8) admit a tendency among modernist scholars to focus on the lives of 'privileged white middle- or upper-middle-class lesbians precisely because they are the best documented'. The same could be said of the male Victorian and Edwardian authors I have cited.

Beyond this queer academic canon stand speakers like the African American poet and playwright Angelina Weld Grimké (1880–1958), whose love poems and letters to women, unpublished in her lifetime, have thus far been made public only in part. A letter she wrote as a teenager in 1896, which wistfully addresses another girl as 'my love, my wife' (Grimké 1991: 7), demonstrates as well as the diaries of Anne Lister that self-articulations of same-sex desire in English have never solely depended on explicit same-sex lexis (see Leap 2020: ch. 2). Other

explicit in-group terms that have no relation to classical and scientific discourses are preserved in retrospective sources. In interviews given towards the end of her life, the performer and activist Mabel Hampton (1902–1989) recollected that she and other butch lesbians in Harlem in the 1920s and 1930s had called themselves 'Bulldykers and ladylovers, stud and butch, and the other ladies [i.e. their partners], "This is my friend, my wife"' (Nestle 1993: 934). These terms may yet come to light in contemporaneous in-group texts as new archives are made available through digitization projects.[13] (Hampton herself was a long-time contributor to the Lesbian Herstory Archives, whose website now hosts audio recordings of her interviews.) As Blommaert (2005: 64–65) observes, what analysts do with discourse is 'also part of [its] text trajectory', for 'the way in which data have been gathered, recorded, and treated by the analyst influence[s] what these data tell us'. While true descriptivism may be unattainable, transparency about the biases inherent in scholarly endeavours is not.

Past Performances and Presentiments

The question of which speakers 'count' in lexicography—which speakers are to be legitimated as linguistic originators, disseminators, definers, and critics—is not trivial. Eckert and McConnell-Ginet (1995: 505) argue that 'Unequal power in general social processes translates into unequal power in succeeding in definitional projects'. Likewise, unequal power in definitional projects reinforces unequal power in social processes, for 'Attempts to define and delimit what [social] labels mean are really attempts to delimit what people and the social structures they build can or should be like' (505). If even contemporary lexicography is not a

[13] Pre-1940 attestations of *bulldyker* or *bulldagger* in the *OED3* are from texts attributed to male authors. It has no pre-1940 quotations for *butch* or *stud* in the same-sex sense and no entry for *lady(-)lover*. *Green's Dictionary of Slang* (2016–) records pre-1940 quotations for *bull-dyker*, *butch*, and *lady lover*, but they are also from male authors (though Green has found a 1942 attestation of *butch* in an advertisement for a lesbian club named Mona's). Green cites *lady lover* in *Sister of the Road* (1937), the alleged autobiography of 'Boxcar Bertha', but this was a piece of fiction by Ben Reitman (Browder 2000: 191).

colourless description of reality but a performative reconstruction of it, then it follows that, as Sedgwick (1990: 155) observed, 'the most productive questions we can ask' about the meanings of words are 'not "What is the true meaning, the accurate assignment of these labels?" but, rather, "What are the relations instituted by the giving of these labels?"' Or, to put it another way, what does the definition of a word reveal about the relations between a dictionary and the social norms that it cites, alters, contests, or ignores?

Adams (2010: 20) reminds us that embedded in every dictionary are the 'language attitudes of its maker or makers, of its time and place, of its readers or users'; uncovering these attitudes 'requires careful attention to dictionary structure and content, but also to the inner history of the dictionary project and the outer social history to which it responds and contributes'. As we saw in Chapter 5, Chen (2019: 372) makes a similar point in the terminology of critical discourse analysis: it is not enough for researchers to analyse a dictionary as a text if they do not also consider the 'discursive practice' through which the text was produced and transmitted and the 'social practice', or wider socio-historical milieu, in which the discursive practice took place. The ramifications of this milieu may be more difficult to perceive in a dictionary that occupies the same temporal and cultural space as the researcher, for the familiar is apt to be naturalized and so pass unnoticed. Here, the value of historical research for 'defamiliarizing and denaturalizing' the here and now is evident (Sedgwick 1990: 44).

The preceding chapters have shown that the sexual norms encoded in lexicography are informed not only by the particular lexis under consideration—be it *buggery*, *sodomy*, *tribady*, *lesbianism*, *Sapphism*, *uranism*, *inversion*, or *homosexuality*—but by a host of factors beyond the immediate text. Features of discursive practice that have a bearing on the construction of sexuality in a given dictionary include the textual sources to which the lexicographer has

access, the genre, size, and price of the resultant dictionary, and the gender, education, and profession of the target usership.[14] All of these factors interact with wider ideologies about sexuality and language. Some ideologies involve weighty ontological or epistemological questions about the natures of these two social behaviours, while other ideologies concern smaller, more pragmatic matters that exist on a spectrum between the erotic and the linguistic, shading from one into the other. They include: what sexuality is and is not; which expressions of sexuality are permissible or objectionable, and which are appropriate subjects for the law, the church, literature, or science; what qualifies a text as obscene; what a dictionary ought and ought not to be (polite or forthright, selective or exhaustive, intuitive or empirical, prescriptivist or descriptivist); which words do or do not belong to the language; and what language is and is not. The answers to these questions vary across dictionaries and over centuries, but they continue to inform—and be informed by—lexicography today. Whatever their discursive and cultural scaffolding, all dictionaries are caught up in the performative construction of social knowledge. In this respect, searching for a sharp Bachelardian rupture between the subjective dictionaries of the past and the objective dictionaries of the present proves futile.

Indeed, the trouble with staring too deeply into any historical rift is that it may come to seem untraversable to the analyst as well. This is as true for the study of sexuality as it is for lexicography. The argument of this thesis has been shaped from the outset by conceptual tools from queer linguistics, but it must be observed that thus far those tools have rarely been applied to historical analysis. I hope I have shown that this is not because they are unequal to the task.

[14] Historical research of course has its own obstacles, including how to collect data on the private reception of dictionaries by their users—that is, reception beyond public appraisals by reviewers and other lexicographers, or citations of definitions in parliamentary and judicial records. Some evidence of private use relies on artefactual or anecdotal serendipity, such as annotations left in personal copies of dictionaries (e.g. Adams 2018), Netta Syrett's recollection of the confiscation of her classical dictionary at school (Chapter 2), and Johnson's apocryphal encounter with a literary lady or ladies (Chapter 3).

Although the inaugural anthology of queer linguistics, Livia's and Hall's *Queerly Phrased* (1997b), contained several papers devoted to the history of sexuality, in the two decades since then, interest in the past has flagged. At present, queer linguists' research agenda risks being swept along by a broader interdisciplinary current in queer studies that Traub (2016: 269) argues has emphasized 'the cultural production of the last century and the current moment: these temporal frames become the occasion for theory, while everything prior to the twentieth century is positioned as simply history'—in other words, not worth theorizing about. In fact, the focus of queer linguistics has been trained more often on the current moment than the last century. However, a change of tack has been promised by recent work on the decades immediately prior to the 1969 Stonewall riots (Leap 2020, forthcoming; Motschenbacher 2020). This thesis has sought to push the temporal frame back before 1900 as well.

While queer linguistics currently finds much of its *raison d'être* in opposing heteronormativity in particular (Meyerhoff and Ehrlich 2019: 461; cf. Milani forthcoming), the linguistic policing of same-sex desire clearly predates the historical line drawn by the coining of *heterosexuality* in the late nineteenth century. If we accept that the articulation of sexuality is performative, and a successful performative is an 'action [that] echoes prior actions' (Butler 1993/2011: 172)—not identical but not entirely independent—then to understand fully the sexual inequalities codified in language in the present, we must trace their trajectories into the past. As this thesis has demonstrated, lexicography offers one rich resource for this kind of linguistic research. Bygone dictionaries are 'archeological sites' that reveal not just 'the refuse of discarded social attitudes' (Landau 1985: 268) but the reliquaries of still-hallowed traditions. It becomes easier to upend inherited assumptions about language and sexuality once we have a better sense of where they began.

Bibliography

Unpublished Sources

Bodleian Library

Handlist of Φ. ([1892–1927]). Library Records d. 786.

Oxford University Press Archives

OED/B/3/2/20. C. T. Onions to R. W. Chapman, 10 April 1931.
Oxford English Dictionary first edition slips (uncatalogued).
Oxford English Dictionary 1933 *Supplement* slips (uncatalogued).

Published Sources

Print Dictionaries, Encyclopaedias, and Works Containing Glossaries

Algeo, J. (1990). American Lexicography. In F. J. Hausmann, O. Reichmann, H. E. Wiegand, and L. Zgusta (Eds.), *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* (Vol. II, pp. 1987–2009). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Allen, F. (1765). *A Complete English Dictionary*. London: J. Wilson and J. Fell.

Andrewes, G. (1809). *A Dictionary of the Slang and Cant Languages*. London: G. Smeeton.

Ash, J. (1775). *The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). London: E. Dilly, C. Dilly, and R. Baldwin.

Atkyns, A. (1741). *The Family Magazine: In Two Parts*. London: J. Osborn.

Bailey, N. (1721). *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary*. London: E. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, J. Hooke… E. Symon.

Bailey, N. (1724). *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (2nd ed.). London: E. Bell, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, J. Pemberton, J. Hooke… E. Symon.

Bailey, N. (1727). *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (Vol. II). London: T. Cox.

Bailey, N. (1730). *Dictionarium Britannicum: or a more Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary Than any Extant.* London: T. Cox.

Bailey, N. (1731). *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (5th ed.). London: J. Knapton, J. Knapton, D. Midwinter, A. Ward, A Bettesworth, C. Hitch… R. Hett.

Bailey, N. (1736). *Dictionarium Britannicum: or a more Compleat Universal Etymological English Dictionary Than any Extant* (2nd ed.). London: T. Cox.

Bailey, N. (1737). *The Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (3rd ed. Vol. II). London: T. Cox.

Bailey, N. (1770). *An Universal Etymological English Dictionary* (22nd ed.). London: J. Buckland, J. Beecroft, W. Strahan, J. Hinton, J. Rivington, F. Rivington… Urquhart.

Baker, E. A. (Ed.). (1919). *Cassell's New English Dictionary*. London: Cassell & Company.

Baldwin, J. M. (Ed.). (1901–1905). *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology* (Vols. I–III). New York and London: Macmillan.

Barclay, J. (1774). *A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan*. London: Richardson, Urquhart, W. Otridge, H. Gardner, G. Pearch, S. Leacroft… T. Wright.

Barlow, F. (1772). *The Complete English Dictionary: or, General Repository of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). London: F. Barlow.

Barrow, J. (1749). *Dictionarium Medicum Universale: or, a New Medicinal Dictionary*. London: T. Longman, C. Hitch, and A. Millar.

[Baskerville, J.] (1765). *A Vocabulary, or Pocket Dictionary*. Birmingham: J. Baskerville.

Bately, J. (2004). Cawdrey, Robert (*b.* 1537/8?, *d.* in or after 1604). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/69578.

Bayle, P. (1710). *An Historical and Critical Dictionary* (Trans. Vols. I–IV). London: C. Harper, D. Brown, J. Tonson, A. Churchill, J. Churchill, T. Horne… W. Lewis.

Beattie, J. M. (2004). Hitchen, Charles (*c.* 1675–1727?). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/62079.

Bee, J. (1823). *Slang. A Dictionary of the Turf, the Ring, the Chase, the Pit, of Bon-Ton, and the Varieties of Life*. London: T. Hughes.

[Beeton, S. O.] ([1871]). *Beeton's Medical Dictionary, a Safe Guide for Every Family*. London: Ward, Lock, and Tyler.

Bell, W. J., Jr. (2004). Dunglison, Robley (1798–1869). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/8264.

Bettany, G. T., and Bevan, M. (2004). Hooper, Robert (1775–1835). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/13707.

Billings, J. S. (Ed.). (1890). *The National Medical Dictionary* (Vols. I–II). Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co.

Blankaart, S. (1679). *Lexicon medicum, Græco-Latinum*. Amsterdam: J. ten Hoorn.

Blankaart, S. (1684). *A Physical Dictionary* (J. G., Trans.). London: Printed by J. D.

Blankaart, S. (1693). *The Physical Dictionary* (Trans. 2nd ed.). London: S. Crouch.

Blankaart, S. (1702). *The Physical Dictionary* (Trans. 4th ed.). London: S. Crouch and J. Sprint.

Blount, T. (1656). *Glossographia: or a Dictionary, Interpreting all such Hard Words, Whether Hebrew, Greek, Latin, Italian, Spanish, French, Teutonick, Belgick, British or Saxon; as are now used in our refined English Tongue.* London: Printed by T. Newcomb.

Blount, T. (1661). *Glossographia: or a Dictionary, Interpreting all such Hard Words of Whatsoever Language, now used in our refined English Tongue* (2nd ed.). London: G. Sawbridge.

Blount, T. (1670). *Νομο-γεξικομ: A Law-Dictionary*. London: J. Martin and H. Herringman.

Boag, J. (Ed.). (1848). *A Popular and Complete English Dictionary* (Vols. I–II). Glasgow: W. Collins.

Boorde, A. ([1547]). *The Breuiary of Helthe, for all maner of syckenesses and diseases the whiche may be in man, or woman doth folowe*. London: W. Myddelton.

Brown, A. (1874). *A New Law Dictionary and Institute of the Whole Law*. London: Stevens & Haynes.

Browne, T. (1797). *A New Classical Dictionary, for the Use of Schools*. London: G. G. Robinson, J. Robinson, and E. Newbery.

Browne, T. (1827). *A Classical Dictionary, for the Use of Schools* (6th ed.). London: Longman, Rees, Orme, and Co., Baldwin, Cradock… J. Souter.

Buchanan, J. (1757). *Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio: or, a New English Dictionary*. London: A. Millar.

Bullokar, J. (1616). *An English Expositor*. London: Printed by J. Legatt.

Bullokar, J., and S., W. (1654). *An English Expositor* ([4th] ed.). London: Printed by J. L.

Bullokar, J., and 'a Lover of the Arts' (1663). *An English Expositor, or Compleat Dictionary* ([6th] ed.). London: Printed by J. Field.

Burchfield, R. W. (1986). Preface. In R. W. Burchfield (Ed.), *A Supplement to the Oxford English Dictionary* (Vol. IV, pp. vii–xiii). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Burn, R., and Burn, J. (1792). *A New Law Dictionary* (Vols. I–II). London: T. Cadell.
Castelli, B. (1598). *Lexicon medicvm, Græcolatinvm*. Messina: Typis P. Breæ.
Castelli, B., and Bruno, J. P. (1682). *Castellus renovatus: hoc est, lexicon medicum* (Rev. ed.). Nuremburg: J. D. Tauber.
Castelli, B., and Bruno, J. P. (1688). *Amaltheum Castello-Brunonianum: sive lexicon medicum* (Rev. ed.). Nuremburg: J. D. Tauber.
Cawdrey, R. (1604a). *A Table Alphabeticall, conteyning and teaching the true vvriting, and vnderstanding of hard vsvall English wordes, borrowed from the Hebrew, Greeke, Latine, or French. &c.* London: E. Weaver.
Chambers, E. (1728). *Cyclopædia: or, an Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (Vols. I–II). London: J. Knapton, J. Knapton, J. Darby, D. Midwinter, A. Bettesworth, J. Senex… T. Osborn.
Clarke, H. (1855). *A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language, as Spoken and Written*. London: J. Weale.
[Cleland, J.] (1753). *The Dictionary of Love*. London: R. Griffiths.
Cocker, E. (1704). *Cocker's English Dictionary.* J. Hawkins (Ed.). London: A. Back and A. Bettesworth.
Cockeram, H. (1623). *The English Dictionarie: or, an Interpreter of hard English Words*. London: E. Weaver.
Cockeram, H., and C[larke], S. (1670). *The English Dictionary; or, an Expositor of Hard English Words* (12th ed.). London: W. Miller.
Coles, E. (1676). *An English Dictionary.* London: S. Crouch.
Coles, E. (1677). *A Dictionary, English–Latin and Latin–English.* London: Printed by P. Parker.
Cooley, A. J. (1861). *A Dictionary of the English Language*. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers.
Coote, E. (1596). *The English Schoole-maister*. London: R. Jackson and R. Dexter.
Cowell, J. (1607). *The Interpreter: or Booke Containing the Signification of Words*. Cambridge: Printed by J. Legate.
Cowell, J., and Manley, T. (1672). *Νομοθετης· the Interpreter* (Rev. ed.). London: H. Twyford, G. Sawbridge, J. Place, and T. Basset.
Cowell, J., Manley, T., and [Kennett, W.]. (1701). *The Interpreter of Words and Terms, Used either in the Common or Statute Laws of this Realm* (Rev. ed.). London: W. Battersby, J. Place, A. Churchil, J. Churchil, and R. Sare.
Craig, J. (1849). *A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). London: H. G. Collins.
Craigie, W. A., and Onions, C. T. (1933a). Preface. In J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions (Eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Vol. I, pp. v–vi). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Craigie, W. A., and Onions, C. T. (1933b). Preface to the Supplement. In J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions (Eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Supplement, pp. v–vi). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Cunningham, T. (1764–1765). *A New and Complete Law-Dictionary, or, General Abridgment of the Law* (Vols. I–II). London: S. Crowder and J. Coote.
Dalton, J. (1728). *A Genuine Narrative of All the Street Robberies Committed since October last, by James Dalton, and his Accomplices*. London: Printed by J. Roberts.
Davidson, T. (Ed.). (1901). *Chambers's Twentieth Century Dictionary of the English Language*. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers.

Defoe, B. N. (1735). *A New English Dictionary*. Westminster: J. Brindley, O. Payne, J. Jolliffe, A. Lyon, C. Corbett, and R. Wellington.
Dekker, T. (1608). *The Belman of London*. London: N. Butter.
Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise (4th ed. Vols. I–II). (1762). Paris: Chez la Veuve de B. Brunet.
Dictionnaire de l'Académie françoise (5th ed. Vols. I–II). (1798). Paris: Chez J. J. Smits.
Dobson, T. (1798). *Encyclopædia; or, a Dictionary of the Arts, Sciences, and Miscellaneous Literature* (Vol. III). Philadelphia: Printed by T. Dobson.
Donald, J. (Ed.). (1867). *Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language*. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers.
Donald, J. (Ed.). (1872). *Chambers's English Dictionary*. London and Edinburgh: W. & R. Chambers.
Dorland, W. A. N. (1900). *The American Illustrated Medical Dictionary*. Philadelphia and London: W. B. Saunders.
Ducange Anglicus. (1857). *The Vulgar Tongue*. London: B. Quaritch.
Dunglison, R. (1833). *A New Dictionary of Medical Science and Literature* (Vols. I–II). Boston: C. Bowen.
Dunglison, R. (1839). *Medical Lexicon. A New Dictionary of Medical Science* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.
Dunglison, R. (1844). *A Dictionary of Medical Science* (4th ed.). Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.
Dunglison, R. (1851). *Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science* (8th ed.). Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea.
Dunglison, R. (1865). *Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science* (Rev. ed.). Philadelphia: Blanchard and Lea.
Dunglison, R., and Dunglison, R. J. (1874). *Medical Lexicon. A Dictionary of Medical Science* (New ed.). Philadelphia: H. C. Lea.
Dunglison, R., and Dunglison, R. J. (1893). *A Dictionary of Medical Science* (21st ed.). Philadelphia: Lea Brothers & Co.
Dyche, T., and Pardon, W. (1735). *A New General English Dictionary*. London: R. Ware.
Dyche, T., and Pardon, W. (1737). *A New General English Dictionary* (2nd ed.). London: R. Ware.
E., B. ([c1698]). *A New Dictionary of the Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew*. London: W. Hawes, P. Gilbourne, and W. Davis.
Earnshaw, C. ([1816]). *Orthoepy Simplified: Being a New and Comprehensive Explanatory Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. Leeds: C. Earnshaw.
Enfield, W. (1807). *A General Pronouncing Dictionary*. London: B. Crosby and Co.
Entick, J. (1766). *The New Spelling Dictionary* (2nd ed.). London: E. Dilly and C. Dilly.
Entick, J. (1776). *The New Spelling Dictionary* (New ed.). London: E. Dilly and C. Dilly.
Farmer, J. S., and Henley, W. E. (1890–1904). *Slang and Its Analogues Past and Present* (Vols. I–VII). (n.p.): Privately printed.
Fenning, D. (1761). *The Royal English Dictionary: or, a Treasury of the English Language*. London: S. Crowder and Co.
Fenning, D. (1763). *The Royal English Dictionary: or, a Treasury of the English Language* (2nd ed.). London: R. Baldwin, J. Richardson, S. Crowder, B. Collins, J. Coote, J. Wilson, and J. Fell
Fisher, A. (1773). *An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary, and Expositor of the English Language* (2nd ed.). London: A. Fisher.
The Flash Dictionary. (1821). London: (n.p.).

Florio, J. (1598). *A Worlde of Wordes, or Most copious, and exact Dictionarie in Italian and English*. London: E. Blount.

Forsyth, J. S. (1826). *The New London Medical and Surgical Dictionary*. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, and Piper.

Fowler, R. (1860). *The Medical Vocabulary*. London: H. Renshaw.

Fox, J., and Bradley, T. (1803). *A New Medical Dictionary*. London: Darton, Harvey, Longman, Rees, Murray, and Highly.

Funk, I. K. (Ed.). (1893–1895). *A Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

Funk, I. K. (Ed.). (1903). *Supplement to a Standard Dictionary of the English Language*. New York and London: Funk & Wagnalls.

Funk, I. K. (Ed.). (1913). *Funk & Wagnalls New Standard Dictionary of the English Language* (2nd ed.). New York: Funk & Wagnalls.

A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language. (1785). London: W. Peacock.

The Gentleman and Lady's Key, to Polite-Literature; or A Compendious Dictionary of Fabulous History. ([c1760]). London: J. Newbery.

Glossographia Anglicana Nova: or, a Dictionary, Interpreting Such Hard Words of whatever Language, as are at present used in the English Tongue, with their Etymologies, Definitions, &c. (1707). London: D. Brown, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, M. Newborough, J. Nicholson, B. Took… F. Coggan.

Gould, G. M. (1890). *A New Medical Dictionary*. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son, & Co.

Gould, G. M. (1892). *A Pocket Medical Dictionary*. Philadelphia: P. Blakiston, Son, & Co.

Gould, G. M. (1894). *An Illustrated Dictionary of Medicine Biology and Allied Sciences*. Philadelphia: Blakiston, Son, & Co.

Gove, P. B. (Ed.). (1961). *Webster's Third New International Dictionary of the English Language*. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

Greene, R. W. (Ed.). (1897). *Lippincott's Pocket Medical Dictionary*. Philadelphia and London: J. B. Lippincott Company.

Grose, F. (1785). *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*. London: S. Hooper.

Grose, F. (1788). *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (2nd ed.). London: S. Hooper.

Grose, F., and 'a Member of the Whip Club' (1811). *Lexicon Balatronicum. A Dictionary of Buckish Slang, University Wit, and Pickpocket Eloquence*. London: C. Chappel.

Grose, F., and Egan, P. (1823). *Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue* (Rev. ed.). London: P. Egan.

H., N. (1694). *The Ladies Dictionary; Being a General Entertainment For the Fair-Sex*. London: J. Dunton.

Harris, J. (1704). *Lexicon Technicum: or, an Universal English Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*. London: D. Brown, T. Goodwin, J. Walthoe, T. Newborough, J. Nicholson, T. Benskin… F. Coggan.

Harris, W. T. (Ed.). (1909). *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language*. London and Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

An Historical, Genealogical, and Classical Dictionary. (1743). (Vols. I–II). London: A. Millar.

[Hitchen, C.] (1718). *The Regulator: or, a Discovery of the Thieves, Thief-Takers, and Locks, alias Receivers of Stolen Goods in and about the City of London*. London: T. Warner.

Hoblyn, R. D. (1835). *A Dictionary of Terms Used in Medicine and the Collateral Sciences*. London: Sherwood, Gilbert, & Piper.

[Hogarth, R.] (1689). *Gazophylacium Anglicanum*. London: R. Taylor.

Holthouse, H. J. (1839). *A New Law Dictionary*. London: W. Crofts.

Holyoke, F. (1639). *Dictionarium etymologicum Latinum* (Rev. ed.). London: Printed by F. Kingston.

Hooper, R. (1798). *A Compendious Medical Dictionary*. London: Murray and Highley.
Hooper, R., and Grant, K. (1839). *Lexicon Medicum; or Medical Dictionary* (7th ed.). London: Longman, Orme, and Co., T. Cadell, J. Richardson, Hamilton… A. Sterling.
[Hotten, J. C.] (1859). *A Dictionary of Modern Slang, Cant, and Vulgar Words*. London: J. C. Hotten.
Hughes, G. (2006). *An Encyclopedia of Swearing: The Social History of Oaths, Profanity, Foul Language, and Ethnic Slurs in the English-speaking World*. Armonk and London: M. E. Sharpe.
Hunter, R. (1879–1888). *The Encyclopædic Dictionary* (Vols. I–VII). London, Paris, and New York: Cassell, Petter, Galpin, & Co.
Introduction. (1989). In J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, C. T. Onions, R. W. Burchfield, J. A. Simpson, and E. S. C. Weiner (Eds.), *The Oxford English Dictionary* (2nd ed., Vol. I, pp. xi–xxiii). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Jacob, G. (1729). *A New Law-Dictionary*. The Savoy: J. Knapton, J. Knapton, J. Darby, A. Bettesworth, F. Fayram, W. Mears… A. Ward.
Jacob, G. (1744). *A New Law-Dictionary* (5th ed.). The Savoy: R. Ware, A. Ward, J. Knapton, P. Knapton, T. Longman, K. Hett… H. Pemberton.
Jacob, G., and Tomlins, T. E. (1797). *The Law-Dictionary* (Rev. ed. Vols. I–II). London: T. Longman, B. Law, C. Dilly, G. G. Robinson, J. Robinson, T. Cadell… R. Banister.
James, R. (1743–1745). *A Medicinal Dictionary* (Vols. I–III). London: T. Osborne.
Jodrell, R. P. (1820). *Philology on the English Language*. R. P. Jodrell by Cox and Baylis.
Johnson, S. (1755). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). London: J. Knapton, P. Knapton, T. Longman, T. Longman, C. Hitch, L. Hawes… J. Dodsley.
Johnson, S. (1773). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (4th ed. Vols. I–II). London: W. Strahan, J. Rivington, F. Rivington, T. Davies, J. Hinton, L. Davis… M. Hingeston.
Johnson, S., and Jameson, R. S. (1827). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Rev. ed.). London: W. Pickering.
Johnson, S., and Todd, H. J. (1818). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Rev. ed. Vols. I–IV). London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Browne, P. C. Rivington… Holdsworth.
Johnson, S., Todd, H. J., and Latham, R. G. (1866–1870). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Rev. ed. Vols. I–II). London: Longmans, Green, & Co., W. Allan & Co., Aylott… G. R. Wright.
Jolly, S. (1866). *A Vocabulary of Egyptian, Grecian, and Other Mythologies*. London: Simpkin, Marshall, and Co.
Jones, S. (1797). *Sheridan Improved. A General Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language* (2nd ed.). London: Vernor and Hood, J. Cuthell, Ogilvy and Son, and Lackington, Allen, and Co.
K., J. (1702). *A New English Dictionary: or, a Compleat Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, Commonly used in the Language*. London: H. Bonwicke and R. Knaplock.
K., J. (1713). *A New English Dictionary; or, a Compleat Collection of the Most Proper and Significant Words, and Terms of Art commonly used in the Language* (2nd ed.). London: R. Knaplock, R. Bonwicke, and J. Bonwicke.
Kenrick, W. (1773). *A New Dictionary of the English Language*. London: J. Rivington, F. Rivington, W. Johnston, T. Longman, and T. Cadell.
Kent, G. ([1835]). *Modern Flash Dictionary Containing All the Cant Words, Slang Terms, and Flash Phrases, now in Vogue*. London: J. Duncombe.
Kersey, J. (1708). *Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum: or, a General English Dictionary*. London: J. Phillips, H. Rhodes, and J. Taylor.

Knowles, J. (1835). *A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language*. London: F. de Porquet and Cooper.

Kraus, L. A. (1826). *Kritisch-etymologisches medicinisches Lexikon* (2nd ed.). Göttingen: Deuerlich.

Lara, B. (1796). *A Dictionary of Surgery; or, the Young Surgeon's Pocket Assistant*. London: J. Ridgway.

Leigh, E. (1652). *A Philologicall Commentary, or, an Illustration of the most Obvious and Usefull Words in the Law*. London: C. Adams.

Lemprière, J. (1788). *Bibliotheca Classica; or, a Classical Dictionary*. Reading: T. Cadell.

Lemprière, J. (1853). *Lempriere's Classical Dictionary* ('New ed.'). London: H. G. Bohn.

Lemprière, J., and Barker, E. H. (1832). *Bibliotheca Classica: or, a Classical Dictionary* (2nd rev. ed.). London: Black, Young, and Young.

Lemprière, J., and Barker, E. H. ([1833]). *Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, Abridged […] for Public and Private Schools of Both Sexes*. London: Longman, Whittaker, and Simpkin.

Lemprière, J., Barker, E. H., and Cauvin, J. (1843). *Lempriere's Classical Dictionary, Abridged for Public and Private Schools of Both Sexes* (New ed.). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Lloyd, W. (1668). *An Alphabetical Dictionary*. London: S. Gellibrand and J. Martin.

Longmuir, J. (Ed.). (1864). *Walker and Webster Combined in a Dictionary of the English Language*. London: W. Tegg.

Macaulay, A. (1828). *A Dictionary of Medicine, Designed for Popular Use*. Edinburgh: A. Black.

Marchant, J., and Gordon, M. (1760). *A New Complete English Dictionary*. London: J. Fuller.

Martin, B. (1749). *Lingua Britannica Reformata: or, a New English Dictionary*. London: J. Hodges, S. Austen, J. Newbery, J. Ward, R. Raikes, J. Leake… B. Collins.

Martin, B. (1754). *Lingua Britannica Reformata: or, a New Universal English Dictionary* (2nd ed.). London: C. Hitch, L. Hawes, J. Hodges, J. Newbery, W. Owen, J. Ward… B. Collins.

Mason, G. (1801). *A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary*. London: J. White, Leigh and Sothebys, and T. Payne.

Maunder, S. (1830). *Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge, and Library of Reference*. London: S. Maunder.

[Mayne, R. G.] (1836). *A Medical Vocabulary, or Explanation of All Names, Synonymes, Terms and Phrases Used in Medicine, Surgery, and the Relative Branches of Medical Science*. Edinburgh: J. Carfrae & Son.

Mayne, R. G. (1860). *An Expository Lexicon of the Terms, Ancient and Modern, in Medical and General Science*. London: J. Churchill.

Ménage, G. (1650). *Les origines de la langue françoise*. Paris: Chez A. Courbé.

Minsheu, J. (1617). *Ἡγεμὼν εἰς τὰς γλώσσας, id est, Ductor in linguas, The Guide into Tongues*. London: J. Minsheu.

Moréri, L. (1694). *The Great Historical, Geographical and Poetical Dictionary* ('several Learned Men', Trans.). London: H. Rhodes, L. Meredith, J. Harris, and T. Newborough.

Morris, R., and Kendrick, J. (1807). *The Edinburgh Medical and Physical Dictionary* (Vols. I–II). Edinburgh: Bell, Bradfute, Mundell, Doig, and Stevenson.

Mortimer, I. (2004, September 23). Blount, Thomas (1618–1679). *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*. Retrieved from https://doi.org/10.1093/ref:odnb/2697.

Motherby, G. (1775). *A New Medical Dictionary; or, General Repository of Physic*. London: J. Johnson.

Motherby, G., and Wallis, G. (1791). *A New Medical Dictionary; or, General Repository of Physic* (3rd ed.). London: J. Johnson, G. G. J. Robinson, J. Robinson, A. Hamilton, and J. Murray.

Mozley, H. N., and Whiteley, G. C. (1876). *A Concise Law Dictionary*. London: Butterworths.

Murray, J. A. H. (1888). General Explanations. In J. A. H. Murray, H. Bradley, W. A. Craigie, and C. T. Onions (Eds.), *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society* (Vol. I, pp. xvii–xxiv). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Murray, J. A. H., Bradley, H., Craigie, W. A., and Onions, C. T. (Eds.). (1888–1928). *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles; Founded Mainly on the Materials Collected by the Philological Society* (Vols. I–X). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Murray, J. A. H., Bradley, H., Craigie, W. A., and Onions, C. T. (1933). *The Oxford English Dictionary: Being a Corrected Re-issue with an Introduction, Supplement, and Bibliography of A New English Dictionary on Historical Principles* (Vols. I–XII, Supplement). Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Neilson, W. A. (Ed.). (1934). *Webster's New International Dictionary of the English Language* (2nd ed.). Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

A New and Enlarged Dictionary of the English Language. (1836). London: Isaac, Tuckey, and Co.

A New Canting Dictionary. (1725). London: The Booksellers of London and Westminster.

A New English Dictionary. (1759). Glasgow: Printed by J. Bryce and D. Paterson.

Nuttall, P. A. (Ed.). (1863). *The Standard Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. London: Routledge, Warne, and Routledge.

Nuttall, P. A. (Ed.). (1867). *Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. London: G. Routledge & Sons.

Ogilvie, J. (Ed.). (1850). *The Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific* (Vols. I–II). Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London: Blackie & Son.

Ogilvie, J. (Ed.). (1855). *A Supplement to the Imperial Dictionary, English, Technological, and Scientific*. Glasgow, Edinburgh, and London: Blackie & Son.

Ogilvie, J., and Annandale, C. (Eds.). (1882–1883). *The Imperial Dictionary of the English Language* (Rev. ed. Vols. I–IV). London: Blackie & Son.

Parker, G. (1789). *Life's Painter of Variegated Characters in Public and Private Life*. London: J. Ridgway.

Parr, B. (1809). *The London Medical Dictionary* (Vols. I–II). London: J. Johnson, F. Rivington, C. Rivington, J. Walker, G. Wilkie, J. Robinson… W. Grace.

[Patten, W.] (1575). *The Calender of Scripture*. [London]: [Printed by R. Jugge].

Perry, W. (1775). *The Royal Standard English Dictionary*. Edinburgh: W. Perry.

Perry, W. (1805). *The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary*. London: J. Walker, Cuthell and Martin, Longman, Hurst, Rees… Allen.

Pierer, J. F., and Choulant, L. (Eds.). (1816–1829). *Medizinisches Realwörterbuch zum Handgebrauch practischer Aerzte und Wundärzte und zu belehrender Nachweisung für gebildete Personen aller Stände* (Vols. I–VIII). Leipzig and Altenburg: F. A. Brockhaus and Literatur-Comptoir.

Phillips, E. (1658). *The New World of English Words: or, a General Dictionary*. London: N. Brooke.

Phillips, E., and Kersey, J. (1706). *The New World of Words: or, Universal English Dictionary* (6th ed.). London: J. Phillips, H. Rhodes, and J. Taylor.

A Physical Dictionary. (1657). London: J. Garfield.

A Pocket Dictionary or Complete English Expositor. (1753). London: J. Newbery.

Porter, N., and Harris, W. T. (1900). *Webster's International Dictionary of the English Language […] To Which Is Now Added a Supplement*. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

Potter, H. T. (1795). *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages, Both Ancient and Modern* (2nd ed.). London: Printed by W. Mackintosh.

Potts, T. (1803). *A Compendious Law Dictionary*. London: T. Ostell.
Power, H., and Sedgwick, L. W. (1881–1899). *The New Sydenham Society's Lexicon of Medicine and the Allied Sciences* (Vols. I–V). London: The New Sydenham Society.
Prosodia Chirurgica: Being a Lexicon Calculated for the Use of Young Students in Surgery. (1729). London: T. Corbett.
Quain, R. (Ed.). (1882). *A Dictionary of Medicine* (Vols. I–II). London: Longmans, Green, and Co.
Quincy, J. (1719). *Lexicon Physico-Medicum: or, a New Physical Dictionary*. London: A. Bell, W. Taylor, and J. Osborn.
Quincy, J. (1722). *Lexicon Physico-Medicum: or, a New Physical Dictionary* (2nd ed.). London: E. Bell, W. Taylor, and J. Osborn.
Quincy, J. (1726). *Lexicon Physico-Medicum: or, a New Medicinal Dictionary* (3rd ed.). London: J. Osborn and T. Longman.
Quincy, J. (1787). *Lexicon Physico-Medicum; or, a New Medicinal Dictionary* (10th ed.). London: T. Longman.
Quincy, J. (1794). *Lexicon Physico-Medicum: or, a New Medicinal Dictionary* (11th ed.). London: T. Longman.
Quincy, J., and Hooper, R. (1802). *Quincy's Lexicon-Medicum. A New Medical Dictionary* (Rev. ed.). London: T. N. Longman, O. Rees, Murray, and Highley.
[Rastell, J.] ([c1525]). *Exposicio[n]es t[er]mi[n]o[rum] legu[m] anglo[rum]*. London: [Printed by J. Rastell].
[Rastell, J., and Rastell, W.] (1624). *Les Termes de la Ley*. London: The Company of Stationers.
[Rawson, H. G.] (1882). *The Students' Pocket Law-Lexicon, or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*. London: Stevens and Sons.
Richardson, C. (1836–1837). *A New Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. 1–2). London: W. Pickering.
Richardson, C. (1856). *Supplement to a New Dictionary of the English Language*. London: Bell and Daldy.
Rider, W. (1759). *A New Universal English Dictionary: or, a Compleat Treasure of the English Language*. London: I. Pottinger.
Rodgers, B. (1972). *The Queens' Vernacular: A Gay Lexicon*. London: Blond & Briggs.
[Salmon, W.] (1695). *The Family-Dictionary; or, Houshold Companion*. London: H. Rhodes.
Scott, G. L. (1753). *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia: or, Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences* (Vols. I–II). London: W. Innys, J. Richardson, R. Ware, J. Knapton, P. Knapton, T. Osborne… J. Darby.
Sheridan, T. (1780). *A General Dictionary of the English Language*. London: J. Dodsley, C. Dilly, and J. Wilkie.
Simpson, J. Y. (1839). Hermaphroditism. In R. B. Todd (Ed.), *The Cyclopædia of Anatomy and Physiology* (Vol. II, pp. 684–738). London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts.
Simpson, J. A. (1990). English Lexicography after Johnson to 1945. In F. J. Hausmann, O. Reichmann, H. E. Wiegand, and L. Zgusta (Eds.), *Dictionaries: An International Encyclopedia of Lexicography* (Vol. II, pp. 1953–1966). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.
Skinner, S. (1671). *Etymologicon linguæ Anglicanæ*. London: Printed by T. Roycroft.
Smart, B. H. (1836). *Walker Remodelled. A New Critical Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. London: T. Cadell, Longman, Rees, and Co., J. Richardson, J. Hooker… J. J. Deighton.
Smith, A. (1719). *The Thieves New Canting Dictionary of the Words, Proverbs, Terms, And Phrases, Used in the Modern Language of the Thieves, &c*. London: S. Briscoe.

Smith, W. (Ed.). (1844–1849). *Dictionary of Greek and Roman Biography and Mythology* (Vols. I–III). London: Taylor and Walton.

Smith, W. (1850). *New Classical Dictionary of Biography, Mythology, and Geography*. London: J. Murray and Taylor, Walton, and Maberly.

Somner, W. (1659). *Dictionarium Saxonico–Latino–Anglicum*. Oxford: W. Somner.

Stormonth, J. (1871). *Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language*. Edinburgh and London: W. Blackwood and Sons.

The Student's Law-Dictionary; or Compleat English Law-Expositor. (1740). The Savoy: J. Hodges.

Sweet, C. (1882). *A Dictionary of English Law*. London: H. Sweet.

Thomas, T. (1587). *Dictionarium linguæ Latinæ et Anglicanæ*. Cambridge: T. Thomas.

Thomas, T. (1593). *Dictionarium summâ fide ac diligentiâ accuratissimè emendatum* (4th ed.). Cambridge: I. Legatt.

Thomas, T. (1600). *Dictionarium summâ fide ac diligentiâ accuratissimè emendatum* (6th ed.). Cambridge: I. Legat.

Thomas, T. (1615). *Dictionarium summa fide ac diligentia accuratissime emendatum* (10th ed.). London: I. Legat.

Thomas, T. (1620). *Dictionarium summa fide ac diligentia accuratissime emendatum* (12th ed.). London: I. Legat.

Thomas, T. (1644). *Dictionarium summa fide ac diligentia accuratissime emendatum* (14th ed). London: I. Legat.

Tuke, D. H. (Ed.). (1892). *A Dictionary of Psychological Medicine* (Vols. I–II). London: J. & A. Churchill.

Turton, W. (1797). *A Medical Glossary*. London: J. Johnson.

Tuus Inimicus. (1703). *Hell upon Earth: or The most Pleasant and Delectable History of Whittington's Colledge, Otherwise (vulgarly) called Newgate*. London: (n.p.).

An Universal Dictionary of the English Language. (1763). Edinburgh: Printed by A. Donaldson and J. Reid.

Walker, J. (1791). *A Critical Pronouncing Dictionary and Expositor of the English Language*. London: G. G. J. Robinson, J. Robinson, and T. Cadell.

Webster, N. (1828). *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). New York: S. Converse.

Webster, N. (1831–1832). *A Dictionary of the English Language* (Vols. I–II). London: Black, Young, and Young.

Webster, N., Goodrich, C. A., and Porter, N. (1864). *An American Dictionary of the English Language* (Rev. ed.). Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

[Wesley, J.] (1753). *The Complete English Dictionary*. London: Printed by W. Strahan.

Wharton, J. J. S. (1848). *The Law Lexicon, or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*. London: Spettigue and Farrance.

Wharton, J. J. S. (1864). *The Law-Lexicon or Dictionary of Jurisprudence* (3rd ed.). London: V. & R. Stevens, Sons, & Haynes.

Whishaw, J. (1829). *A New Law Dictionary*. London: J. & W. T. Clarke.

Whitney, W. D. (Ed.). (1889–1891). *The Century Dictionary* (Vols. I–VI). New York: Century.

Williams, G. (1994). *A Dictionary of Sexual Language and Imagery in Shakespearean and Stuart Literature* (Vols. I–III). London and Atlantic Highlands: Athlone Press.

Williams, T. W. (1816). *A Compendious and Comprehensive Law Dictionary*. London: Gale and Fenner.

Wilson, T. (1612). *A Christian Dictionarie, Opening the signification of the chiefe wordes dispersed generally through Holie Scriptures of the Old and New Testament, tending to increase Christian knowledge*. London: Printed by W. Iaggard.

Wittig, M., and Zeig, S. (1980). *Lesbian Peoples: Material for a Dictionary* (M. Wittig and S. Zeig, Trans.). London: Virago.
Wyld, H. C. (Ed.). (1932). *The Universal Dictionary of the English Language*. London: G. Routledge & Sons.
Yokel's Preceptor. ([c1855]). London: [W. Dugdale].

Online Dictionaries

About. (n.d.). *OED Online*. Retrieved from https://public.oed.com/about on 21 April 2020.
About. (n.d.). *Queer Undefined: A Crowdsourced LGBTQ+ Dictionary*. Retrieved from https://www.queerundefined.com/about on 21 April 2020.
The Collins Corpus. (n.d.). *Collins*. Retrieved from https://collins.co.uk/pages/elt-cobuild-reference-the-collins-corpus on 21 April 2020.
Content Guidelines. (n.d.). *Urban Dictionary*. Retrieved from https://about.urbandictionary.com/content-guidelines on 21 April 2020.
Dent, J. (2018, March 29). Release Notes: The Formal Language of Sexuality and Gender Identity. *OED Online*. Retrieved from https://public.oed.com/blog/march-2018-update-release-notes-formal-language-sexuality-gender-identity.
Gilliver, P. (2020, February 28). Making Use of New Resources in LGBT History. *OED Online*. Retrieved from https://public.oed.com/blog/making-use-of-new-resources-in-lgbt-history.
Green, J. (Ed.). (2016–). *Green's Dictionary of Slang*. Retrieved from https://greensdictofslang.com.
Help. (n.d.). *Merriam-Webster*. Retrieved from https://www.merriam-webster.com/help/faq-words-into-dictionary on 21 April 2020.
Kay, C., Roberts, J., Samuels, M., and Wotherspoon, I. (Eds.). (2010–). *Historical Thesaurus of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Retrieved from http://www.oed.com/thesaurus.
The Oxford English Corpus. (n.d.). *Oxford Dictionaries Online*. Retrieved from https://web.archive.org/web/20190108164924/https://en.oxforddictionaries.com/explore/oxford-english-corpus on 21 April 2020.
Queer Undefined: A Crowdsourced LGBTQ+ Dictionary. (2018–). Retrieved from https://www.queerundefined.com.
Simpson, J. A., and Proffitt, M. (Eds.). (2000–). *OED Online* (3rd ed.). Retrieved from http://www.oed.com.
Statistics. (2020, April 1). *Wiktionary*. Retrieved from https://en.wiktionary.org/wiki/Special:Statistics.
Urban Dictionary. (1999–). Retrieved from https://www.urbandictionary.com.
Wiktionary. (2002–). Retrieved from https://en.wiktionary.org.

Other Sources

Acquittal of Mr. Billing. (1918, June 5). *The Times*, p. 4.
Adams, J. N. (1982). *The Latin Sexual Vocabulary*. London: Duckworth.
Adams, M. (2009). The Period Dictionaries. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 326–352). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Adams, M. (2010). Introduction. In M. Adams (Ed.), *'Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors': Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography* (pp. 9–23). Monza: Polimetrica.
Adams, M. (2018). Reading Trench Reading Richardson. In R. McConchie and J. Tyrkkö (Eds.), *Historical Dictionaries in Their Paratextual Context* (pp. 1–22). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Adams, M. (2020). The Lexical Object: Richardson's *New English Dictionary of the English Language* (1836–1837). In S. Ogilvie and G. Safran (Eds.), *The Whole World in a Book: Dictionaries in the Nineteenth Century* (pp. 34–53). New York: Oxford University Press.

[Addison, J.] (1726). No. 223. Thursday, November 15, 1711. In [J. Addison], *The Spectator* (8th ed. Vol. III, pp. 208–212). London: J. Tonson.

Advertisements. (1747, December 12–15). *The London Evening-Post*, pp. 2–3.

Allen, F. S. (1909). *Noah Webster's Place among English Lexicographers*. Springfield: G. & C. Merriam.

Alston, R. C. (1966–2006). *A Bibliography of the English Language from the Invention of Printing to the Year 1800* (Vols. V–XVIII). Leeds: R. C. Alston.

Anderson, K. (1991). Encyclopedic Dictionary as Utopian Genre: Two Feminist Ventures. *Utopian Studies*, *2*(1–2), 124–130.

Anderson, K. (1994). Lesbianizing English: Wittig and Zeig Translate Utopia. *L'Esprit Créateur*, *34*(4), 90–102.

Andreadis, H. (2001). *Sappho in Early Modern England: Female Same-sex Literary Erotics, 1550–1714*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Argus Centoculi. (1750, June 2). *Old England*, *323*.

Arnaud, G. (1750). *A Dissertation on Hermaphrodites*. London: A. Millar.

Austin, J. L. (1962). *How to Do Things with Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bachelard, G. (2002). *The Formation of the Scientific Mind* (M. McAllester Jones, Trans.). Manchester: Clinamen Press.

Baggett, H. A. (Ed.). (2000). *Dear Tiny Heart: The Letters of Jane Heap and Florence Reynolds*. New York and London: New York University Press.

Bailey, R. W. (2000a). Appendix III: The *OED* and the Public. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 253–284). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bailey, R. W. (2000b). 'This Unique and Peerless Specimen': The Reputation of the *OED*. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 207–227). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bain, D. (1991). Six Greek Verbs of Sexual Congress (*βινῶ*, *κινῶ*, *πυγίζω*, *ληκῶ*, *οἴφω*, *λαικάζω*). *The Classical Quarterly*, *41*(1), 51–77.

Barrell, J. (1983). *English Literature in History, 1730–80: An Equal, Wide Survey*. London: Hutchinson.

Barrett, R. (2002). Is Queer Theory Important for Sociolinguistic Theory? In K. Campbell-Kibler, R. J. Podesva, S. J. Roberts, and A. Wong (Eds.), *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice* (pp. 25–43). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Barrett, R. (2014). The Emergence of the Unmarked: Queer Theory, Language Ideology, and Formal Linguistics. In L. Zimman, J. L. Davis, and J. Raclaw (Eds.), *Queer Excursions: Retheorizing Binaries in Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (pp. 195–224). New York: Oxford University Press.

Bartholin, C. (1663). *Bartholinus Anatomy* (N. Culpeper and A. Cole, Trans.). London: Printed by P. Cole.

Bately, J. (2009). Bilingual and Multilingual Dictionaries of the Renaissance and Early Seventeenth Century. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 41–64). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bates, A. W. (2005). *Emblematic Monsters: Unnatural Conceptions and Deformed Births in Early Modern Europe*. Amsterdam and New York: Rodopi.

Baumann, R., and Briggs, C. L. (1990). Poetics and Performance as Critical Perspectives on Language and Social Life. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *19*, 59–88.

Beachy, R. (2010). The German Invention of Homosexuality. *The Journal of Modern History*, *82*(4), 801–838.

Beccalossi, C. (2011). Female Same-sex Desires: Conceptualizing a Disease in Competing Medical Fields in Nineteenth-century Europe. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, *67*(1), 7–35.

Beck, T. R., and Beck, J. B. (1842). *Elements of Medical Jurisprudence* (7th ed.). London: Longman, Brown, Green, and Longmans.

Béjoint, H. (2010). *The Lexicography of English: From Origins to Present*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Béjoint, H. (2016). Dictionaries for General Users: History and Development; Current Issues. In P. Durkin (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography* (pp. 7–24). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Benson, P. (2001). *Ethnocentrism and the English Dictionary*. London and New York: Routledge.

Bentham, J. (1978a). Offences against One's Self: Paederasty, Part 1. L. Crompton (Ed.). *Journal of Homosexuality*, *3*(4), 389–405.

Bentham, J. (1978b). Jeremy Bentham's Essay on 'Paederasty', Part 2. L. Crompton (Ed.). *Journal of Homosexuality*, *4*(1), 91–107.

[Beste, H. D.] (1829). *Personal and Literary Memorials*. London: H. Colborn.

Billing, N. P. (1918). *Verbatim Report of the Trial of Noel Pemberton Billing, M.P.* London: Vigilante.

Bivens, L. (1980–1981). Nineteenth Century Reactions to the *O.E.D.*: An Annotated Bibliography. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *3*, 146–152.

Blackstone, W. (1769). *Commentaries on the Laws of England. Book the Fourth*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Blair, L. (2013, July 26). Oxford Dictionary to Change Definition of Marriage to Include Gays. *Christian Post*. Retrieved from https://www.christianpost.com/news/oxford-dictionary-to-change-definition-of-marriage-to-include-gays.html.

Blank, P. (1996). *Broken English: Dialects and the Politics of Language in Renaissance Writings*. London and New York: Routledge.

Blank, P. (2012). The Babel of Renaissance English. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English* (Rev. ed., pp. 262–297). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Bloch, I. (1908). *The Sexual Life of Our Time in Its Relations to Modern Civilization* (M. E. Paul, Trans.). London: Rebman.

Blommaert, J. (2005). *Discourse: A Critical Introduction*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Bonnet, M. (1997). Sappho, or the Importance of Culture in the Language of Love: *Tribade*, *Lesbienne*, *Homosexuelle*. In A. Livia and K. Hall (Eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (pp. 147–166). New York: Oxford University Press.

The Book of the Thousand Nights and One Night [Review]. (1886, July). *The Edinburgh Review, or Critical Journal*, *CCCXXXV*, 166–199.

Boswell, James. (1799). *The Life of Samuel Johnson, LL.D.* (3rd ed. Vols. I–IV). London: C. Dilly.

Boswell, John. (2015). *Christianity, Social Tolerance, and Homosexuality: Gay People in Western Europe from the Beginning of the Christian Era to the Fourteenth Century*. Chicago: Chicago University Press. (Original work published 1980.)

Brady, S. (2005). *Masculinity and Male Homosexuality in Britain, 1861–1913*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Brady, S. (2012). *John Addington Symonds (1840–1893) and Homosexuality: A Critical Edition of Sources*. Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Braun, V., and Kitzinger, C. (2001). Telling It Straight? Dictionary Definitions of Women's Genitals. *Journal of Sociolinguistics*, *5*(2), 214–232.

Braunschneider, T. (1999). The Macroclitoride, the Tribade and the Woman: Configuring Gender and Sexuality in English Anatomical Discourse. *Textual Practice*, *13*(3), 509–532.

Bray, A. (1995.) *Homosexuality in Renaissance England* (New ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Brewer, C. (1996). *Editing* Piers Plowman*: The Evolution of the Text*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brewer, C. (2000). *OED* Sources. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 40–58). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brewer, C. (2005). Authority and Personality in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, *103*(3), 261–301.

Brewer, C. (2007). *Treasure-house of the Language: The Living* OED. Newhaven and London: Yale University Press.

Brewer, C. (2009a). The *OED* as 'Literary Instrument': Its Treatment Past and Present of the Vocabulary of Virginia Woolf. *Notes and Queries*, *56*(3), 430–444.

Brewer, C. (2009b). The *Oxford English Dictionary's* Treatment of Female-authored Sources of the Eighteenth Century. In I. Tieken-Boon van Ostade and W. van der Wurff (Eds.), *Current Issues in Late Modern English* (pp. 209–238). Bern: Peter Lang.

Brewer, C. (2009c). The Use of Literary Quotations in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, *61*(248), 93–125.

Brewer, C. (2010). Prescriptivism and Descriptivism in the First, Second and Third Editions of the *OED*. *English Today*, *26*(2), 24–33.

Brewer, C. (2011). 'Happy Copiousness'? *OED's* Recording of Female Authors of the Eighteenth Century. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, *63*(258), 86–117.

Brewer, C. (2012). 'A Goose-quill or a Gander's?': Female Writers in Johnson's *Dictionary*. In F. Johnston and L. Mugglestone (Eds.), *Samuel Johnson: The Arc of the Pendulum* (pp. 120–139). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Brewer, C. (2013). *OED Online* Re-launched: Distinguishing Old Scholarship from New. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *34*, 101–126.

Brewer, C. (2015). 'That Reliance on the Ordinary': Jane Austen and the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *The Review of English Studies*, New Series, *66*(276), 744–765.

Brewer, C. (2016). Monarchs and Minnows vs. Broadband and Bungee Jumping: Content, Correctness and Cultural Bias—'Language as It Is Used' in Children's English Language Dictionaries. *English Today*, *126*(32), 31–37.

Brewer, C. (2019). Standard Varieties of English from c. 1700. In J. Considine (Ed.), *The Cambridge World History of Lexicography* (pp. 484–508). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Brooks, R. (2012). Transforming Sexuality: The Medical Sources of Karl Henrich Ulrichs (1825–95) and the Origins of the Theory of Bisexuality. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, *67*(2), 177–216.

Browder, L. (2000). *Slippery Characters: Ethnic Impersonators and American Identities*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press.

Brown, T. (1995). Word Wars: The Debate over the Use of the Vernacular in Medical Writings of the English Renaissance. *Texas Studies in Literature and Language*, *37*(1), 98–113.

Browne, T. (1645). *A true and full coppy of that which was most imperfectly and Surreptitiously printed before under the name of: Religio Medici*. [London]: A. Crooke.

Buckle, S. (2015). *The Way Out: A History of Homosexuality in Modern Britain*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Budziszewski, J. (2014). *Commentary on Thomas Aquinas's* Treatise on Law. New York: Cambridge University Press.

Burchfield, R. W. (1972a, October 13). Four-letter Words and the OED. *Times Literary Supplement*, p. 1233.

Burchfield, R. W. (1972b, November 26). *The Queen's Vernacular*, *Playboy's Book of Forbidden Words* [Review]. *New York Times*, p. BR22.

Burchfield, R. W. (1992). *Unlocking the English Language*. New York: Hill & Wang. (Original work published 1989.)

Burne, G. S. (1966). Havelock Ellis: An Annotated Selected Bibliography of Primary and Secondary Works. *English Literature in Transition, 1880–1920*, *9*(2), 55–107.

[Burton, Robert.] (1841). *The Anatomy of Melancholy* (16th ed.). London: T. Tegg.

Butler, J. (1997). *Excitable Speech: A Politics of the Performative*. New York and London: Routledge.

Butler, J. (1999). *Gender Trouble: Feminism and the Subversion of Identity*. New York and London: Routledge. (Original work published 1990.)

Butler, J. (2011). *Bodies That Matter: On the Discursive Limits of 'Sex'*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1993.)

The Byble in Englyshe. (1539). London: Printed by R. Grafton and E. Whitchurch.

Cameron, D. (1992). *Feminism and Linguistic Theory* (2nd ed.). Basingstoke: Macmillan.

Cameron, D. (1995). *Verbal Hygiene*. London: Routledge.

Cameron, D. (2005). Language, Gender, and Sexuality: Current Issues and New Directions. *Applied Linguistics*, *26*(4), 482–502.

Cameron, D., and Kulick, D. (2003). *Language and Sexuality*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Cameron, D., and Panović, I. (2014). *Working with Written Discourse*. London: Sage.

Cannon, G., and Roberson, S. (1985). Sexism in Present-day English: Is It Diminishing? *Word*, *36*(1), 23–35.

Capp, B. (2012). *England's Culture Wars: Puritan Reformation and Its Enemies in the Interregnum, 1649–1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

[Carlile, R.] (1826). *Every Woman's Book; or, What Is Love?* (4th ed.). London: R. Carlile.

Carpenter, E. (1894). *Homogenic Love, and Its Place in a Free Society*. Manchester: Privately printed.

Carpenter, E. (1897). *An Unknown People*. London: Privately printed.

Carpenter, E. (1906). *Love's Coming-of-age: A Series of Papers on the Relations of the Sexes* (2nd ed.). London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

Carpenter, E. (1908). *The Intermediate Sex: A Study of Some Transitional Types of Men and Women*. London: Swan Sonnenschein & Co.

Carr, M. (1997) Internet Dictionaries and Lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *10*(3), 209–230.

Carr, R. (1714). *Dr. Carr's Medicinal Epistles Upon Several Occasions* (J. Quincy, Trans.). London: W. Newton and J. Phillips.

Casper, J. L. (1864). *A Handbook of the Practice of Forensic Medicine, Based upon Personal Experience* (G. W. Balfour, Trans. Vol. III). London: The New Sydenham Society.

Cavendish, J. ([1778]). *A Sapphick Epistle, from Jack Cavendish to the Honourable and most beautiful Mrs. D*****. London: (n.p.).

Cawdrey, R. (1604b). *A short and fruitfull Treatise, of the profit and necessitie of Catechising* (Rev. ed.). London: T. Man.

Chauncey, G., Jr. (1982–1983). From Sexual Inversion to Homosexuality: Medicine and the Changing Conceptualization of Female Deviance. *Salmagundi*, *58–59*, 114–146.

Chen, W. (2017). Lexicography, Discourse and Power: Uncovering Ideology in the Bilingualization of a Monolingual English Dictionary in China. *Pragmatics and Society*, *8*(4), 601–629.

Chen, W. (2019). Towards a Discourse Approach to Critical Lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *32*(3), 362–388.

Chester, R. (1601). *Loves Martyr: or, Rosalins Complaint*. London: E. B.

A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue [Review]. (1785, September). *The European Magazine and London Review*, *VIII*, 200–201.

Clayton, S. (1991). A Word Defined Speaks a Mind: Social Images of Male Homosexuality in Dictionaries. *Franco-British Studies: Journal of the British Institute in Paris*, *12*, 55–75.

[Cleland, J.] (1749). *Memoirs of a Woman of Pleasure* (Vols. I–II). London: G. Fenton.

Cocks, H. G. (2003). *Nameless Offences: Homosexual Desire in the 19th Century*. London and New York: I. B. Tauris.

Cohen, M. (2004). Gender and 'Method' in Eighteenth-century English Education. *History of Education*, *33*(5), 585–595.

Coke, E. (1644). *The Third Part of the Institutes of the Laws of England*. London: W. Lee and D. Pakeman.

Coke, E. (1656). *The Twelfth part of the Reports of Sir Edward Coke*. London: H. Twyford and T. Dring.

Coleman, J. (2004–2010). *A History of Cant and Slang Dictionaries* (Vols. I–IV). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, J. (2012). *The Life of Slang*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Coleman, J., and Ogilvie, S. (2009). Forensic Dictionary Analysis: Principles and Practice. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *22*(1), 1–22.

Coleridge, H. (1860). A Letter to the Very Rev. the Dean of Westminster. In R. C. Trench, *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries* (2nd ed., pp. 71–78). London: J. W. Parker and Son.

Conner, R. (1997). *Les Molles et les chausses*: Mapping the Isle of Hermaphrodites in Premodern France. In A. Livia and K. Hall (Eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (pp. 127–146). New York: Oxford University Press.

Considine, J. (2014a). *Academy Dictionaries 1600–1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Considine, J. (2014b). John Jamieson, Franz Passow, and the Double Invention of Lexicography on Historical Principles. *Journal of the History of Ideas*, *75*(2), 261–281.

Considine, J. (2016). Historical Dictionaries: History and Development; Current Issues. In P. Durkin (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography* (pp. 163–175). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Considine, J., and Brown, S. (2010). Introduction. In J. Considine and S. Brown (Eds.), *The Ladies Dictionary* (pp. vii–liv). Farnham and Burlington: Ashgate.

Cooper, A. (Ed.). (1983). *A Durable Fire: The Letters of Duff and Diana Cooper 1913–1950*. London: Collins.

Cowie, A. P. (Ed.). (2009). *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vols. I–II). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Craft-Fairchild, C. (2006). Sexual and Textual Indeterminacy: Eighteenth-century English Representations of Sapphism. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, *15*(3), 408–431.

Craig, A. (1937). *The Banned Books of England*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.

Craigie, W. A. (1934). Sir William Craigie's Response. *The Periodical*, *19*(173), 24–26.

Crawford, K. M. (2003). Love, Sodomy, and Scandal: Controlling the Sexual Reputation of Henry III. *Journal of the History of Sexuality*, *12*(4), 513–542.

Crawford, P., and Mendelson, S. (1995). Sexual Identities in Early Modern England: The Marriage of Two Women in 1680. *Gender & History*, *7*(3), 362–377.

Crompton, L. (1978). Jeremy Bentham's Essay on 'Paederasty': An Introduction. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *3*(4), 383–387.

Crozier, I. (2001). The Medical Construction of Homosexuality and Its Relation to the Law in Nineteenth-century England. *Medical History*, *45*, 61–82.

Crozier, I. (2005). 'All the Appearances Were Perfectly Natural': The Anus of the Sodomite in Nineteenth-century Medical Discourse. In C. E. Forth and I. Crozier (Eds.), *Body Parts: Critical Explorations in Corporeality* (pp. 65–84). Lanham and Oxford: Lexington Books.

Crozier, I. (2008). Introduction: Havelock Ellis, John Addington Symonds and the Construction of *Sexual Inversion*. In I. Crozier (Ed.), *Sexual Inversion: A Critical Edition* (pp. 1–86). Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Dalton, M. (1626). *The Countrey Iustice, containing the Practise of the Iustices of the Peace out of their Sessions* (3rd ed.). London: The Society of Stationers.

Damaso, J., and Cotter, C. (2007). UrbanDictionary.com. *English Today*, *23*(2), 19–26.

D'Avity, P. (1613). *Les estats, empires, et principautez du monde*. Paris: Chez O. de Varennes.

D'Avity, P. (1615). *The Estates, Empires, & Principallities of the world* (E. Grimstone, Trans.). London: M. Lownes and J. Bill.

Day, A. (2013, July 25). Oxford Dictionary Will Change the Definition of 'Marriage' to Include Equal Marriage. *PinkNews*. Retrieved from https://www.pinknews.co.uk/2013/07/25/oxford-dictionary-will-change-the-definition-of-marriage-to-include-equal-marriage/.

De Nicolay, N. (1585). *The Nauigations, peregrinations and voyages, made into Turkie by Nicholas Nicholay* (T. Washington, Trans.). London: Printed by T. Dawson.

[Defoe, D.] (1700). *The True-born Englishman. A Satyr.* [London]: (n.p.).

Derry, C. (2008). Sexuality and Locality in the Trial of Mary Hamilton, 'Female Husband'. *King's Law Journal*, *19*(3), 595–616.

DeSalvo, L., and Leaska, M. A. (Eds.). (1984). *The Letters of Vita Sackville-West to Virginia Woolf*. London: Hutchinson.

'Despised and Rejected': Publisher of Pacifist Novel Fined. (1918, October 11). *The Times*, p. 5.

Dickson, J. (1794). *J. Dickson's Catalogue for the Year M.DCC.XCV.* Edinburgh: J. Dickson.

Diderot, D. (1797). *The Nun* (Trans.). Dublin: Printed by B. Smith.

Digby, A. (1994). *Making a Medical Living: Doctors and Patients in the English Market for Medicine, 1720–1911*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Dille, C. (2005). The Dictionary in Abstract: Johnson's Abridgements of the *Dictionary of the English Language* for the Common Reader. In J. Lynch and A. McDermott (Eds.), *Anniversary Essays on Johnson's Dictionary* (pp. 198–211). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Doan, L. (2001). *Fashioning Sapphism: The Origins of a Modern English Lesbian Culture*. New York: Columbia University Press.

Doan, L. (2013). *Disturbing Practices: History, Sexuality, and Women's Experience of Modern War*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Doan, L., and Garrity, J. (2006). Introduction. In L. Doan and J. Garrity (Eds.), *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture* (pp. 1–13). New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Donoghue, E. (1993a). Imagined More than Women: Lesbians as Hermaphrodites, 1671–1766. *Women's History Review*, *2*(2), 199–216.

Donoghue, E. (1993b). *Passions between Women: British Lesbian Culture, 1668–1801*. London: Scarlet Press.

Douglas, A. (1896). *Poems*. Paris: Mercure de France.

Dover, K. J. (1989). *Greek Homosexuality* (Rev. ed.). Cambridge: Harvard University Press.

Dr. Johnson at Oxford, and Lichfield. (1785, April). *The Gentleman's Magazine: and Historical Chronicle*, *LV*, 288.

Duncan, W. W. (1970). How 'White' Is Your Dictionary? *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, *27*(1), 89–91.

Dunglison, R. (1841). *Human Physiology* (4th ed. Vol. II). Philadelphia: Lea and Blanchard.

Durkin, P. (2014). *Borrowed Words: A History of Loanwords in English*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Dynes, W. R. (2005). Light in Hellas: How German Classical Philology Engendered Gay Scholarship. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *49*(3–4), 341–356.

Early English Books Online. (2003–). Retrieved from https://eebo.chadwyck.com.

Eckert, P., and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1992). Think Practically and Look Locally: Language and Gender as Community-based Practice. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *21*, 461–490.

Eckert, P., and McConnell-Ginet, S. (1995). Constructing Meaning, Constructing Selves: Snapshots of Language, Gender, and Class from Belten High. In K. Hall and M. Bucholtz (Eds.), *Gender Articulated: Language and the Socially Constructed Self* (pp. 469–507). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Edelman, E. A., and Zimman, L. (2014). Boycunts and Bonus Holes: Trans Men's Bodies, Neoliberalism, and the Sexual Productivity of Genitals. *Journal of Homosexuality*, *61*(5), 673–690.

Edward III: April 1376. (2005). In C. Given-Wilson, P. Brand, S. Phillips, M. Ormrod, G. Martin, A. Curry, and R. Horrox (Eds.), *Parliament Rolls of Medieval England*. Woodbridge: Boydell. Retrieved from http://www.british-history.ac.uk/no-series/parliament-rolls-medieval/april-1376.

Eighteenth Century Collections Online. (2003–). Retrieved from https://find.gale.com/menu/start?prod=ECCO.

Ellis, H. H. (1890). *The Criminal*. New York: Scribner & Welford.

Ellis, H. H. (1897). *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion* (Vol. I). London: University Press.

Ellis, H. H. (1898). *A Note on the Bedborough Trial*. London: University Press.

Ellis, H. H. (1901). *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion* (2nd ed.). Philadelphia: F. A. Davis.

Ellis, H. H. (1915). *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion* (3rd ed. Vol. II). Philadelphia: F. A. Davis.

Ellis, H. H. (1933). *Psychology of Sex: A Manual for Students*. London: W. Heinemann.

Ellis, H. H., and Symonds, J. A. (1897). *Studies in the Psychology of Sex: Sexual Inversion* (Vol. I). London: Wilson and Macmillan.

Estienne, H. (1607). *A World of Wonders: or an Introduction to a Treatise touching the Conformitie of ancient and moderne wonders* (R. C., Trans.). London: J. Norton.

Faderman, L. (2013). *Scotch Verdict: The Real-life Story That Inspired* The Children's Hour. New York: Columbia University Press. (Original work published 1983.)

Faderman, L. (2015). *The Gay Revolution: The Story of the Struggle*. New York: Simon & Schuster.

Fairclough, N. (1985). Critical and Descriptive Goals in Discourse Analysis. *Journal of Pragmatics*, *9*(6), 739–763.

Fairclough, N. (1992). *Discourse and Social Change*. Cambridge: Polity Press.

Fairclough, N. (1995). *Critical Discourse Analysis: The Critical Study of Language*. Harlow: Longman.
Fairclough, N. (2003). *Analysing Discourse: Textual Analysis for Social Research*. London and New York: Routledge.
Fairclough, N., and Wodak, R. (1997). Critical Discourse Analysis. In T. A. van Dijk (Ed.), *Discourse Studies: Discourse as Social Interaction* (Vol. II, pp. 258–284). London: Sage.
Ferrein, A. (1776). An Inquiry into the Real Sex of Those Called Hermaphrodites. In L. Wood (Ed.), *Cases, Medical, Chirurgical, and Anatomical, with Observations* (pp. 112–129). London: J. Bew.
Fetterley, J. (1978). *The Resisting Reader: A Feminist Approach to American Fiction*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press.
[Fielding, H.] (1746). *The Female Husband: or, the Surprising History of Mrs. Mary, Alias Mr George Hamilton*. London: M. Cooper.
Finch, H. (1627). *Lavv, or, a Discovrse thereof, in foure Bookes* (H. Finch, Trans.). London: The Society of Stationers.
Fishman, J. A. (1995). Dictionaries as Culturally Constructed and as Culture-constructing Artifacts: The Reciprocity View as Seen from Yiddish Sources. In B. B. Kachru and H. Kahane (Eds.), *Cultures, Ideologies, and the Dictionary* (pp. 29–34). Tübingen: Max Niemeyer Verlag.
Fitzherbert, A., and Rastell, W. (1609). *La nouel natura breuium* (New ed.). London: The Company of Stationers.
Fitzroy, A. T. (1918). *Despised & Rejected*. London: C. W. Daniel.
Fortescue Aland, J. (1748). *Reports of Select Cases in all the Courts of Westminster-Hall*. The Savoy: H. Lintot.
Foucault, M. (1977). The Political Function of the Intellectual. *Radical Philosophy*, *17*, 12–14.
Foucault, M. (1978). *The History of Sexuality: An Introduction* (R. Hurley, Trans. Vol. I). New York: Pantheon Books.
Foucault, M. (2002). *The Archaeology of Knowledge* (A. M. S. Smith, Trans.). Abingdon and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1969.)
Fournier, H. S., and Russell, D. W. (1992). A Study of Sex-role Stereotyping in the Oxford English Dictionary 2E. *Computers and Humanities*, *26*, 13–20.
Fowler, R., and Kress, G. (1979). Critical Linguistics. In R. Fowler, B. Hodge, G. Kress, and T. Trew (Eds.), *Language and Control* (pp. 185–213). London: Routledge and Kegan Paul.
Foyster, E. A. (2014). *Manhood in Early Modern England: Honour, Sex and Marriage*. Abingdon and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1999.)
Frank, R. (2003). Sex in the *Dictionary of Old English*. In M. C. Amodio and K. O'Brien O'Keeffe (Eds.), *Unlocking the Wordhord: Anglo-Saxon Studies in Memory of Edward B. Irving, Jr.* (pp. 302–312). Toronto: University of Toronto Press.
Frantz, D. O. (1997). Negotiating Florio's *A Worlde of Wordes*. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *18*, 1–32.
Freud, S. (1920). The Psychogenesis of a Case of Female Homosexuality. *The International Journal of Psycho-analysis*, *1*(2), 125–149.
Friedman, S. S. (Ed.). (2002). *Analyzing Freud: Letters of H. D., Bryher, and Their Circle*. New York: New Directions.
Furdell, E. L. (2002). *Publishing and Medicine in Early Modern England*. New York: University of Rochester Press.
[Furnivall, F. J.] (1861). *List of Books Already Read, or Now (June 14, 1861) Being Read, for the Philological Society's New English Dictionary*. London: Trübner & Co.

Gal, S. (1998). Multiplicity and Contention among Language Ideologies: A Commentary. In B. B. Schieffelin, K. A. Woolard, and P. V. Kroskrity (Eds.), *Language Ideologies: Practice and Theory* (pp. 317–331). New York: Oxford University Press.

George, G. (1999). Sexual Orientation and the *Oxford Dictionary of Slang*. *English Today*, *15*(3), 52–57.

Gershuny, H. L. (1974). Sexist Semantics in the Dictionary. *ETC: A Review of General Semantics*, *31*(2), 159–169.

Gilliver, P. (2000). Appendix II: *OED* Personalia. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 232–252). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gilliver, P. (2010). Collaboration, Competition, Confrontation: The *Oxford English Dictionary's* Associations with Other Dictionaries, c. 1880–1900. In M. Adams (Ed.), *'Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors': Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography* (pp. 57–84). Monza: Polimetrica.

Gilliver, P. (2016). *The Making of the Oxford English Dictionary*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Gladfelder, H. (2007a). In Search of Lost Texts: Thomas Cannon's *Ancient and Modern Pederasty Investigated and Exemplify'd*. *Eighteenth-Century Life*, *31*(1), 22–38.

Gladfelder, H. (2007b). The Indictment of John Purser, Containing Thomas Cannon's *Ancient and Modern Pederasty Investigated and Exemplify'd*. *Eighteenth-Century Life*, *31*(1), 39–61.

Godbeer, R. (2007). 'The Cry of Sodom': Discourse, Intercourse, and Desire in Colonial New England. In T. A. Foster (Ed.), *Long before Stonewall: Histories of Same-sex Sexuality in Early America* (pp. 81–113). New York and London: New York University Press.

Goldschmidt, R. (1916). A Preliminary Report on Further Experiments in Inheritance and Determination of Sex. *Proceedings of the National Academy of Sciences of the United States of America*, *2*(1), 53–58.

Goldsmith, N. M. (2004). Netta Syrett's Lesbian Heroine. *Women's History Review*, *13*(4), 541–557.

Gove, P. B. (1967, October 7). *The International Scientific Vocabulary in* Webster's Third. Paper presented at the meeting of the American Society of Geolinguistics, New York.

Government Equalities Office. (2018). *LGBT Action Plan*. London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office.

Green, J. (2014). *Language! 500 Years of the Vulgar Tongue*. London: Atlantic.

Green, J. (2019). *Sounds & Furies: The Love–Hate Relationship between Women and Slang*. London: Robinson.

Grimké, A. W. (1991). *Selected Works of Angelina Weld Grimké*. C. Herron (Ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Groneman, C. (1994). Nymphomania: The Historical Construction of Female Sexuality. *Signs*, *19*(2), 337–367.

Grosskurth, P. (1980). *Havelock Ellis: A Biography*. London: Allen Lane.

Gumperz, J., J., and Levinson, S. C. (1996). Introduction to Part I. In J. J. Gumperz and S. C. Levinson (Eds.), *Rethinking Linguistic Relativity* (pp. 21–36). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Halberstam, J. (2011). *The Queer Art of Failure*. Durham and London: Duke University Press.

Hall, R. (1928). *The Well of Loneliness*. Paris: Pegasus Press.

Hall, S. (2005). The Rediscovery of 'Ideology': Return of the Repressed in Media Studies. In M. Gurevitch, T. Bennett, J. Curran, and J. Woollacott (Eds.), *Culture, Society and the Media* (pp. 52–86). London and New York: Methuen. (Original work published 1982.)

Halliday, M. A. K. (1976). Anti-languages. *American Anthropologist*, New Series, *78*(3), 570–584.
Halperin, D. M. (1989). Is There a History of Sexuality? *History and Theory*, *28*, 257–274.
Halperin, D. M. (1990). *One Hundred Years of Homosexuality*. New York: Routledge.
Halperin, D. M. (2000). How to Do the History of Male Homosexuality. *GLQ*, *6*(1), 87–123.
Hanks, P. (2012). The Corpus Revolution in Lexicography. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *25*(4), 398–436.
Hanks, P. (2013). *Lexical Analysis: Norms and Exploitations*. Cambridge: MIT Press.
Hansard HL Deb Vol. 43 cols. 567–577. (1921, August 15). Retrieved from https://hansard.parliament.uk/Lords/1921-08-15/debates/79d32ffb-c9ba-46f7-a46f-0020f1269fd5/CommonsAmendment.
Hargittai, E., and Shaw, A. (2015). Mind the Skills Gap: The Role of Internet Know-how and Gender in Differentiated Contributions to Wikipedia. *Information, Communication & Society*, *18*(4), 424–442.
HathiTrust. (2008–). Retrieved from https://www.hathitrust.org/.
Hayes, S. (1788). *A Catalogue of Books, Containing Near Fifty Thousand Volumes*. London: S. Hayes.
Herbert, A. (1826). *Nimrod: A Discourse upon Certain Passages of History and Fable. The First Part*. London: R. Priestley.
Herbert, A. (1828). *Nimrod: A Discourse upon Certain Passages of History and Fable* (Vol. II). London: R. Priestley.
Hintikka, M., and Nevala, M. (2017). Representations of Prostitutes and Prostitution as a Metaphor in Nineteenth-century English Newspapers. *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, *3*(2), 219–240.
Hitchcock, T. (1997). *English Sexualities, 1700–1800*. New York: St Martin's Press.
Hoare, M. R. (2009). Scientific and Technical Dictionaries. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. II, pp. 47–93). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hoare, M. R., and Salmon, V. (2000). The Vocabulary of Science in the *OED*. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 207–227). Oxford: Oxford University Press.
Hoey, M. (1996). A Clause-relational Analysis of Selected Dictionary Entries: Contrast and Compatibility in the Definitions of 'Man' and 'Woman'. In C. R. Caldas-Coulthard and M. Coulthard (Eds.), *Texts and Practices: Readings in Critical Discourse Analysis* (pp. 150–165). London and New York: Routledge.
Hollander, B. (1922). *The Psychology of Misconduct, Vice, and Crime*. London: G. Allen & Unwin.
The Holy Bible, Conteyning the Old Testament, and the New. (1611). London: Printed by R. Barker.
The Holy Bible, Containing the Old and New Testaments. (1769). Oxford: Printed by T. Wright and W. Gill, Printers to the University.
Hooker, R. ([1593]). *Of the Lavves of Ecclesiasticall Politie*. London: Printed by J. Windet.
Hornscheidt, A. (2008). A Concrete Research Agenda for Critical Lexicographic Research within Critical Discourse Studies: An Investigation into Racism/Colonialism in Monolingual Danish, German, and Swedish Dictionaries. *Critical Discourse Studies*, *5*(2), 107–132.
Houston, L. (2015). Towards a History of the Phi Collection, 1882–1945. *Bodleian Library Record*, *28*(2), 179–194.
Howard-Jones, N. (1951). John Quincy, M.D. [d. 1722], Apothecary and Iatrophysical Writer: A Study of His Works, Including His Commentary on Santorio, His *Compleat English*

Dispensatory, and His *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*. *Journal of the History of Medicine and Allied Sciences*, *6*(1), 149–175.

Howell, T. B. (1813). *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (Vol. XVII). London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, J. Richardson… T. C. Hansard.

Howell, T. B. (1816). *A Complete Collection of State Trials* (Vol. XIX). London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, & Brown, J. M. Richardson… T. C. Hansard.

Hubbard, T. K. (2003). *Homosexuality in Greece and Rome: A Sourcebook of Basic Documents*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Hurst, I. (2006). *Victorian Women Writers and the Classics: The Feminine of Homer*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Iedema, R. (2003). Multimodality, Resemiotization: Extending the Analysis of Discourse as Multi-semiotic Practice. *Visual Communication*, *2*(1), 29–57.

Internet Archive. (1996–). Retrieved from https://archive.org/.

Irvine, J. T., and Gal, S. (2000). Language Ideology and Linguistic Differentiation. In P. V. Kroskrity (Ed.), *Regimes of Language: Ideologies, Polities, and Identities* (pp. 35–83). Santa Fe: School of American Research Press.

Jagose, A. (1996). *Queer Theory: An Introduction*. New York: New York University Press.

Jagose, A. (2015). The Trouble with Antinormativity. *Differences: A Journal of Feminist Cultural Studies*, *26*(1), 26–47.

James, R. (1741). *Proposals for Printing a Medicinal Dictionary*. [London:] To be printed according to the following conditions, by the Society of Booksellers for Promoting Learning.

Johnson, S. (1747). *A Plan of a Dictionary of the English Language.* London: J. Knapton, P. Knapton, T. Longman, T. Shewell, C. Hitch, A. Millar, and R. Dodsley.

Johnson, S. (1781). *The Lives of the Most Eminent English Poets* (Vol. I). London: C. Bathurst, J. Buckland, W. Strahan, J. Rivington and Sons, T. Davies… J. Bowen.

Johnson, S. (1790). *The Celebrated Letter from Samuel Johnson, LL.D., to Philip Dormer Stanhope, Earl of Chesterfield; Now First Published, with Notes*. J. Boswell (Ed.). London: C. Dilly.

Johnston, F. (2005). *Samuel Johnson and the Art of Sinking, 1709–1791*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Jolly, S. (1854). *Thoughts on the Vocation and Progression of the Teacher*. London: Seeleys.

Jonson, B. (1607). *Volpone or The Foxe*. London: T. Thorppe.

Jonson, B. (1616). *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson*. London: Printed by W. Stansby.

Jonson, B. (1640). *The Workes of Beniamin Ionson. The second Volume*. London: R. Meighen.

Jost, D. A., and Crocker, A. C. (1987). The Handling of Down Syndrome and Related Terms in Modern Dictionaries. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *9*, 97–109.

Juvenal. (1693). *The Satires of Decimus Junius Juvenalis* (J. Dryden, Trans.). London: J. Tonson.

Katz, J. N. (2007). *The Invention of Heterosexuality*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press. (Original work published 1995.)

Kerling, J. (1979). *Chaucer in Early English Dictionaries: The Old-word Tradition in English Lexicography down to 1721 and Speght's Chaucer Glossaries*. Dordrecht: Springer.

Kerr v. Kennedy (1942) 1 KB 409.

Kilgarriff, A. (2013). Using Corpora as Data Sources for Dictionaries. In H. Jackson (Ed.), *The Bloomsbury Companion to Lexicography* (pp. 77–96). London and New York: Bloomsbury.

[King, W.] (1732). *The Toast, an Epic Poem in Four Books*. [London]: (n.p.).

Krafft-Ebing, R. von. (1892a). *Psychopathia Sexualis mit besonderer Berückichtigung der conträren Sexualempfindung* (7th ed.). Stuttgart: F. Enke.

Krafft-Ebing, R. von. (1892b). *Psychopathia Sexualis, with Especial Reference to Contrary Sexual Instinct* (C. G. Chaddock, Trans.). Philadelphia and London: F. A. Davis.

Kramarae, C. (1992). Punctuating the Dictionary. *International Journal of the Sociology of Language*, *94*, 135–154.

Krapp, G. P. (1925). *The English Language in America* (Vol. I). New York: Modern Language Association of America.

Kristeva, J. (1986). *The Kristeva Reader*. T. Moi (Ed.). New York: Columbia University Press.

Kulick, D. (2000). Gay and Lesbian Language. *Annual Review of Anthropology*, *29*, 243–285.

Kulick, D. (2005). The Importance of What Gets Left Out. *Discourse Studies*, *7*(4–5), 615–624.

Kulick, D. (2014). Language and Desire. In S. Ehrlich, M. Meyerhoff, and J. Holmes (Eds.), *The Handbook of Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (2nd ed., pp. 68–84). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Lakoff, G. (1987). *Women, Fire, and Dangerous Things: What Categories Reveal about the Mind*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Landau, S. I. (1974). Sexual Intercourse in American College Dictionaries. *Verbatim*, *1*(1), 73–77.

Landau, S. I. (1985). The Expression of Changing Social Values in Dictionaries. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *7*, 261–269.

Landau, S. I. (2001). *Dictionaries: The Art and Craft of Lexicography* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Landau, S. I. (2009). Major American Dictionaries. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. II, pp. 182–229). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lanser, S. (2014). *The Sexuality of History: Modernity and the Sapphic, 1565–1830*. Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press.

Laqueur, T. (1989). 'Amor Veneris, vel Dulcedo Appeletur'. In M. Feher (Ed.), *Fragments for a History of the Human Body* (Part III, pp. 91–131). New York: Zone.

Laqueur, T. (1990). *Making Sex: Body and Gender from the Greeks to Freud*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

Larkey, S. V. (1937). Scientific Glossaries in Sixteenth Century English Books. *Bulletin of the Institute of the History of Medicine*, *5*(2), 105–114.

Laughlin, R. M. (1967). The Predecessors of That Dictionary. *American Speech*, *42*(2), 105–113.

Leap, W. L. (2015). Queer Linguistics as Critical Discourse Analysis. In D. Tannen, H. E. Hamilton, and D. Schiffrin (Eds.), *The Handbook of Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed. Vol. II, pp. 661–680). Chichester: John Wiley & Sons.

Leap, W. L. (2020). *Language before Stonewall: Language, Sexuality, History*. Cham: Palgrave Macmillan.

Leap, W. L. (Forthcoming). Language, Sexuality, History. In K. Hall and R. Barrett (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Lesbian Herstory Archives. (1997–). Retrieved from http://lesbianherstoryarchives.org/.

Liberman, A. (2009). English Etymological Dictionaries. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. II, pp. 269–289). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Lister, A. (1992a). *I Know My Own Heart: The Diaries of Anne Lister, 1791–1840*. H. Whitbread (Ed.). New York and London: New York University Press.

Lister, A. (1992b). *No Priest but Love: Excerpts from the Diaries of Anne Lister, 1824–1826*. H. Whitbread (Ed.). Otley: Smith Settle.

Livia, A. (2002). The Future of Queer Linguistics. In K. Campbell-Kibler, R. J. Podesva, S. J. Roberts, and A. Wong (Eds.), *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice* (pp. 87–97). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

Livia, A., and Hall, K. (1997a). 'It's a Girl!': Bringing Performativity Back to Linguistics. In A. Livia and K. Hall (Eds.), *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (pp. 3–18). New York: Oxford University Press.

Livia, A., and Hall, K. (Eds.). (1997b). *Queerly Phrased: Language, Gender, and Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

MacKinney, L. C. (1938). Medieval Medical Dictionaries and Glossaries. In J. L. Cate and E. N. Anderson (Eds.), *Medieval and Historiographical Essays in Honor of James Westfall Thompson* (pp. 240–268). Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

MacKinnon, C. A. (1989). *Toward a Feminist Theory of the State*. Cambridge and London: Harvard University Press.

MacLane, M. (1917). *I, Mary MacLane: A Diary of Human Days*. New York: F. A. Stokes.

Magian, A. C. (1922). *Sex Problems in Women*. London: W. Heinemann.

Mansfield, K. (1911, June 22). Pension Sketches: The Modern Soul. *The New Age*, *9*, 183–186.

Marler, R. (Ed.). (1993). *Selected Letters of Vanessa Bell*. London: Bloomsbury.

Marmion, S. (1633). *A Fine Companion*. London: R. Meighen.

Masten, J. (1997). Is the Fundament a Grave? In D. Hillman and C. Mazzio (Eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (pp. 129–145). London and New York: Routledge.

Masten, J. (2016). *Queer Philologies: Sex, Language, and Affect in Shakespeare's Time*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.

Mayne, X. (1906). *Imre: A Memorandum*. Naples: Privately printed.

Mayne, X. ([c1910]). *The Intersexes: A History of Similisexualism as a Problem in Social Life*. (n.p.): Privately printed.

McCabe, B. (1964). Francis Bacon and the Natural Law Tradition. *Natural Law Forum*, *9*, 111–121.

McCluskey, J. (1989). Dictionaries and Labeling of Words Offensive to Groups, with Particular Attention to the Second Edition of the *OED*. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *11*, 111–123.

McConchie, R. W. (2009). 'Propagating What the Ancients Taught and the Moderns Improved': The Sources of George Motherby's *A New Medical Dictionary; or, a General Repository of Physic*, 1775. In R. W. McConchie, A. Honkapohja, and J. Tyrkkö (Eds.), *Selected Proceedings of the 2008 Symposium on New Approaches in English Historical Lexis (HEL-LEX 2)* (pp. 123–133). Somerville: Cascadilla Proceedings Project.

McConchie, R. W. (2019). *Discovery in Haste: English Medical Dictionaries and Lexicographers 1547 to 1796*. Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

McConnell-Ginet, S. (2002). 'Queering' Semantics: Definitional Struggles. In K. Campbell-Kibler, R. J. Podesva, S. J. Roberts, and A. Wong (Eds.), *Language and Sexuality: Contesting Meaning in Theory and Practice* (pp. 137–160). Stanford: CSLI Publications.

McCormick, T. L. (2009). A Queer Analysis of the Discursive Construction of Gay Identity in *Gayle: The Language of Kinks and Queens: A History and Dictionary of Gay Language in South Africa* (2003). *Southern African Linguistics and Applied Language Studies*, *27*(2), 149–161.

McEnery, T., and Baker, H. (2017). The Public Representation of Homosexual Men in Seventeenth-century England: A Corpus Based View. *Journal of Historical Sociolinguistics*, *3*(2), 197–217.

McIntosh, M. (1968). The Homosexual Role. *Social Problems*, *16*(2), 182–192.

McKeon, M. (2006). *The Secret History of Domesticity: Public, Private, and the Division of Knowledge*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press.

McMorris, J. (2000). Appendix I: *OED* Sections and Parts. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 228–231). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Medical Dictionaries. (1902). *British Medical Journal*, *1*(2164), 1543–1545.

Medical Times & Gazette Advertiser. (1861). *Medical Times & Gazette*, *1*(550), (n.p.).

Meyerhoff, M., and Ehrlich, S. (2019). Language, Gender, and Sexuality. *Annual Review of Linguistics*, *5*, 455–475.

Micklethwait, D. (2000). *Noah Webster and the American Dictionary*. Jefferson: McFarland.

Middlesex Sessions. (1861, October 8). *The Times*, p. 9.

Milani, T. M. (Forthcoming). Queer Performativity. In K. Hall and R. Barrett (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Language and Sexuality*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Miss Radclyffe Hall's Novel. (1928, November 10). *The Manchester Guardian*, p. 14.

Mitchell, L. C. (2010). Dictionaries as Behavior Guides in Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-century England. In J. Considine (Ed.), *Adventuring in Dictionaries: New Studies in the History of Lexicography* (pp. 82–93). Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars.

Moll, A. (1893). *Die konträre Sexualempfindung* (2nd ed.). Berlin: Fischer's Medicinische Buchhandlung.

Moll, A. (1912). *The Sexual Life of the Child* (M. E. Paul, Trans.). London: G. Allen & Company.

Momma, H. (2013). *From Philology to English Studies: Language and Culture in the Nineteenth Century*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Moon, R. (1989). Objective or Objectionable? Ideological Aspects of Dictionaries. *ELR Journal*, *3*, 59–94.

Moon, R. (2014). Meanings, Ideologies, and Learners' Dictionaries. In A. Abel, C. Vettori, and N. Ralli (Eds.), *Proceedings of the XVI EURALEX International Congress: The User in Focus, 15–19 July 2014* (pp. 85–105). Bolzano/Bozen: Institute for Specialised Communication and Multilingualism.

Morgan, J. (2013, July 24). Oxford Dictionary Says Marriage Definition Will Change to Include Gay People. *Gay Star News*. Retrieved from https://www.gaystarnews.com/article/oxford-dictionary-says-marriage-definition-will-change-include-gay-people240713/.

Morris, W. (1969). The Making of a Dictionary—1969. *College Composition and Communication*, *20*(3), 198–203.

Morton, H. C. (1994). *The Story of* Webster's Third*: Philip Gove's Controversial Dictionary and Its Critics*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Motschenbacher, H. (2010). *Language, Gender and Sexual Identity: Poststructuralist Perspectives*. Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

Motschenbacher, H. (2020). Language Use before and after Stonewall: A Corpus-based Study of Gay Men's Pre-Stonewall Narratives. *Discourse Studies*, *22*(1), 64–86.

Motschenbacher, H., and Stegu, M. (2013). Queer Linguistic Approaches to Discourse. *Discourse & Society*, *24*(5), 519–535.

Mugglestone, L. (2000a). Labels Revisited: Objectivity and the *OED*. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *21*, 22–36.

Mugglestone, L. (2000b). 'Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest': The *New* English Dictionary. In L. Mugglestone (Ed.), *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest* (pp. 1–21). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (Ed.). (2000c). *Lexicography and the* OED*: Pioneers in the Untrodden Forest*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (2005). *Lost for Words: The Hidden History of the Oxford English Dictionary*. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (2007a). 'The Indefinable Something': Representing Rudeness in the English Dictionary. In M. Gorji (Ed.), *Rude Britannia* (pp. 23–34). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Mugglestone, L. (2007b). 'Decent Reticence': Coarseness, Contraception, and the First Edition of the *OED*. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *28*, 1–22.

Mugglestone, L. (2010). Registering the Language: Dictionaries, Diction and the Art of Elocution. In R. Hickey (Ed.), *Eighteenth-century English: Ideology and Change* (pp. 309–338). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (2011). *Dictionaries: A Very Short Introduction*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (2012). Patriotism, Empire and Cultural Prescriptivism: Images of Anglicity in the *OED*. In C. Percy and M. C. Davidson (Eds.), *The Languages of Nation* (pp. 175–191). Bristol: Multilingual Matters.

Mugglestone, L. (2013). Acts of Representation: Writing the Woman Question in the *Oxford English Dictionary*. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *34*, 39–65.

Mugglestone, L. (2015). *Samuel Johnson and the Journey into Words*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mugglestone, L. (2016). Description and Prescription in Dictionaries. In P. Durkin (Ed.), *The Oxford Handbook of Lexicography* (pp. 546–560). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Mullin, K. (2013). Poison More Deadly than Prussic Acid: Defining Obscenity after the 1857 Obscene Publications Act (1850–1885). In D. Bradshaw and R. Potter (Eds.), *Prudes on the Prowl: Fiction & Obscenity in England, 1850 to the Present Day* (pp. 11–29). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Murphy, M. L. (1998). Defining People: Race and Ethnicity in South African English Dictionaries. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *11*(1), 1–33.

Murray, J. A. H. (1881, January 1). Shaksperian Illustrations and the Philological Society's Dictionary. *The Academy*, *452*, 9.

Murray, J. A. H. (1884). Thirteenth Address of the President, to the Philological Society, Delivered at the Anniversary Meeting, Friday, 16th May, 1884. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, *19*, 501–531.

Murray, J. A. H. (1900). *The Evolution of English Lexicography*. Oxford: Clarendon Press.

Murray, K. M. E. (1977). *Caught in the Web of Words: James Murray and the* Oxford English Dictionary. New Haven and London: Yale University Press.

Nestle, J. (1993). Excerpts from the Oral History of Mabel Hampton. *Signs*, *18*(4), 925–935.

Nevalainen, T. (1999). Early Modern English Lexis and Semantics. In R. Lass (Ed.), *The Cambridge History of the English Language* (Vol. III, pp. 332–458). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

New Medical Works. (1852). *The Lancet*, *59*(1487), (n.p.).

Nicolson, N., and Trautmann, J. (Eds.). (1975–1980). *The Letters of Virginia Woolf* (Vols. I–VI). London: Chatto & Windus.

Norri, J. (2000). Labelling of Derogatory Words in Some British and American Dictionaries. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *13*(2), 71–106.

Norri, J. (2019). The Treatment of Words for Illness and Disability in Monolingual English Dictionaries. *International Journal of Lexicography*. Advance online publication.

Norton, R. (2006). *Mother Clap's Molly House: The Gay Subculture in England 1700–1830* (2nd ed.). Stroud: Chalford Press.

Nossem, E. (2018). Queering Lexicography: Balancing Power Relations in Dictionaries. In B. J. Baer and K. Kaindl (Eds.), *Queering Translation, Translating the Queer: Theory, Practice, Activism* (pp. 172–187). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

O'Driscoll, S. (2013). The Molly and the Fop: Untangling Effeminacy in the Eighteenth Century. In C. Mounsey (Ed.), *Developments in the Histories of Sexualities: In Search of the Normal, 1600–1800*. Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press.

Ogilvie, S. (2013). *Words of the World: A Global History of the* Oxford English Dictionary. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Old Bailey Proceedings Online, 1674–1913. (2003–). Retrieved from https://www.oldbaileyonline.org/.

Onania; or, the Heinous Sin of Self-Pollution. (1723). (9th ed.). London: T. Crouch.

[Onions, C. T.] (1928). How the Dictionary Is Made. *The Periodical*, *13*(143), 15–17.

Osselton, N. E. (2009). The Early Development of the English Monolingual Dictionary (Seventeenth and Early Eighteenth Centuries). In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 131–154). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Ovid. (1626). *Ovid's Metamorphosis* (G. S[andys], Trans.). London: Printed by W. Stansby.

Ovid. (1639). *Ovids Heroical Epistles* (J. Sherburne, Trans). London: W. Cooke.

Ovid. (1712). *Ovid's Epistles, Translated by Several Hands* (Trans. 8th ed.). London: J. Tonson.

Ovid. (1746). *The Epistles of Ovid Translated into English Prose* (Trans.). London: J. Davidson.

Ovid. (1753). *A New Translation of Ovid's Metamorphoses into English Prose* ([N. Bailey], Trans. 2nd ed.). London: The assigns of J. Davidson.

Ovid. (1811). *Ovid's Metamorphoses* (T. Orger, Trans.). London: T. Orger.

Ovid. (1858). *Ovid's Epistles, Translated into Verse* (J. F. Byrne, Trans.). Southampton: Printed by Forbes and Bennett.

Pakuła, Ł. (Forthcoming). Dictionaries and Heteronormativity: A Look Back. In Ł. Pakuła (Ed.), *Linguistic Perspectives on Sexuality in Education: Representations, Constructions, and Negotiations*. Basingstoke: Palgrave.

Park, K. (1997). The Rediscovery of the Clitoris: French Medicine and the Tribade, 1570–1620. In D. Hillman and C. Mazzio (Eds.), *The Body in Parts: Fantasies of Corporeality in Early Modern Europe* (pp. 171–193). London and New York: Routledge.

Parker, G. (1781). *A View of Society and Manners in High and Low Life* (Vols. I–II). London: G. Parker.

Parker, P. (1993). Preposterous Reversals: *Love's Labor's Lost*. *Modern Language Quarterly*, *54*(4), 435–462.

Parsons, J. (1741). *A Mechanical and Critical Enquiry into the Nature of Hermaphrodites*. London: J. Walthoe.

Partridge, E. (2001). *Shakespeare's Bawdy* (3rd ed.). London and New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1968.)

Paterson, W. (Ed.). (1857). *The Practical Statutes of the Session 1857*. London: J. Crockford.

Peckham, A., and Coleman, J. (2014). *Urban Dictionary* and the Documentation of Contemporary Slang. In J. Coleman (ed.), *Global English Slang: Methodologies and Perspectives* (pp. 186–193). Abingdon: Routledge.

Penelope, J. (1990). *Speaking Freely: Unlearning the Lies of the Fathers' Tongues*. New York: Pergamon Press.

The Perfect Diurnall of Some Passages and Proceedings of, and in Relation to, the Armies in England, Ireland, & Scotland, *166*. (1652, February 7–14).

[Philological Society]. (1859). *Proposal for the Publication of a New English Dictionary*. London: Trübner.

Philological Society. (1884). Annual Dictionary Evening. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, *19*, v–vi.

Pierce, J. B. (2010). Defining Health: Melancholy and Mutation in Early Modern and Modern Medical Dictionaries. In M. Adams (Ed.), *'Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors': Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography* (pp. 147–163). Monza: Polimetrica.

Plain Reasons for the Growth of Sodomy, in England. ([c1730]). London: A. Dodd and E. Nutt.

Plato. (1761). *The Banquet a Dialogue of Plato Concerning Love. The First Part* ([F. Sydenham], Trans.). London: Printed by H. Woodfall.

Poovey, M. (1984). *The Proper Lady and the Woman Writer: Ideology as Style in the Works of Mary Wollstonecraft, Mary Shelley, and Jane Austen*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Porter, R. (1993). *Disease, Medicine and Society in England, 1550–1860* (2nd ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Psychopathia Sexualis [Review]. (1893a). *British Medical Journal*, *1*(1695), 1325–1326.

Psychopathia Sexualis [Review]. (1893b). *Journal of Mental Science*, *39*(165), 251–252.

The Public Statute Laws of the State of Connecticut, as Revised and Enacted by the General Assembly. (1821). Hartford: S. G. Goodrich, Huntington, and Hopkins.

Publisher Fined £460. (1918, October 11). *Daily Mail*, p. 4.

Puff, H. (2003). *Sodomy in Reformation Germany and Switzerland, 1400–1600*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

Read, A. W. (1934). An Obscenity Symbol. *American Speech*, *9*(4), 264–278.

Read, A. W. (1966). The Spread of German Linguistic Learning in New England during the Lifetime of Noah Webster. *American Speech*, *41*(3), 163–181.

Read, A. W. (2003). The Beginnings of English Lexicography. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *24*, 187–226.

Reddick, A. (1996). *The Making of Johnson's Dictionary: 1746–1773* (Rev. ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Reddick, A. (2009). Johnson and Richardson. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 155–181). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Rickards, G. K. (1861). *The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 24 & 25 Victoria, 1861*. London: Printed by G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode.

Riolan, J. (1657). *A Sure Guide; or, The Best and Nearest Way to Physick and Chyrurgery* (N. Culpeper and W. R., Trans.). London: Printed by P. Cole.

[Rivington, J.] (1872). *A Syllabus of the Cambridge University Examinations 1872–73 with a List of Books Suitable to the Course of Study*. Cambridge: Rivington and Co.

Rodriguez, M. (2018, October 8). This Crowd-Sourced LGBTQ+ Dictionary Will Help You Find the Right Language. *Into*. Retrieved from https://www.intomore.com/impact/this-crowd-sourced-lgbtq-dictionary-will-help-you-find-the-right-language.

Ross, A. S. C. (1934). *A New English Dictionary on Historical Principals* [sic]*: Introduction, Supplement and Bibliography* [Review]. *Neuphilologische Mitteilungen*, *35*(2), 128–132.

Rowe, N. (1715). *The Poetical Works of Nicholas Rowe, Esq.* London: E. Curll.

Russell, L. R. (2012). This Is What a Dictionary Looks Like: The Lexicographical Contributions of Feminist Dictionaries. *International Journal of Lexicography*, *25*(1), 1–29.

Russell, L. R. (2018). *Women and Dictionary Making: Gender, Genre, and English Language Lexicography*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Salih, S. (2002). Sexual Identities: A Medieval Perspective. In T. Betteridge (Ed.), *Sodomy in Early Modern Europe* (pp. 112–130). Manchester: Manchester University Press.

Sauer, H. (2009). Glosses, Glossaries, and Dictionaries in the Medieval Period. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 17–40). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Schaffner, A. K. (2017). Sexology. In J. Holmes and S. Ruston (Eds.), *The Routledge Research Companion to Nineteenth-century British Literature and Science* (pp. 408–422). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

Scython. (1912, February 22). Uranians. *The Freewoman: A Weekly Feminist Review*, *1*, 274.

Second Division. October 10. 1811. Add. Pet.—Misses Woods and Pirie, against an Inner-House Interlocutor. (1811). (n.p.): (n.p.).

Sedgwick, E. K. (1990). *Epistemology of the Closet*. Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press.

Select Trials at the Sessions-House in the Old-Bailey, for Murder, Robberies, Rapes, Sodomy, Coining, Frauds, Bigamy, and other Offences (Vol. III). (1742). London: J. Hodges.

[Shadwell, T.] (1682). *The Medal of John Bayes: A Satyr against Folly and Knavery*. London: R. Janeway.

Sharp, J. (1671). *The Midwives Book. Or the whole Art of Midwifery Discovered*. London: S. Miller.

Simes, G. (2005). Gay Slang Lexicography: A Brief History and a Commentary on the First Two Gay Glossaries. *Dictionaries: Journal of the Dictionary Society of North America*, *26*, 1–159.

Sinclair, J. (2004). *Trust the Text: Language, Corpus and Discourse*. R. Carter (Ed.). London and New York: Routledge.

Sinibaldi, G. (1658). *Rare Verities. The Cabinet of Venus Unlocked, and Her Secrets laid open* (Erotodidascalus, Trans.). London: P. Briggs.

The Slang Dictionary Case—Rehearing Yesterday. (1891, November 4). *Pall Mall Gazette*, p. 7.

Smith, A. (1719–1720). *A Compleat History of the Lives and Robberies Of the most Notorious Highway-Men, Foot-Pads, Shop-Lifts, and Cheats* (5th ed. Vols. I–III). London: S. Briscoe.

Stamper, K. (2017). *Word by Word: The Secret Life of Dictionaries*. New York: Pantheon Books.

Starnes, D. T., and Noyes, G. E. (1991). *The English Dictionary from Cawdrey to Johnson, 1604–1755* (New ed.). Amsterdam: John Benjamins.

The Statutes: William & Mary to 10 George III. A.D. 1688–1770 (Rev. ed. Vol. II). (1871). London: Printed by G. E. Eyre and W. Spottiswoode.

The Statutes of the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Ireland, 9 George IV. 1828. (1828). London: Printed by His Majesty's Statute and Law Printers.

Steenburg, N. H. (2005). *Children and the Criminal Law in Connecticut, 1635–1855: Changing Perceptions of Childhood*. New York and London: Routledge.

Stein, G. (2017). *Word Studies in the Renaissance*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Stein, G. (2018). Claudius Hollyband: A Lexicographer Speaks His Mind. In R. McConchie and J. Tyrkkö (Eds.), *Historical Dictionaries in Their Paratextual Context* (pp. 211–236). Berlin: Walter de Gruyter.

Stillar, G. F. (1998). *Analyzing Everyday Texts: Discourse, Rhetoric, and Social Perspectives*. Thousand Oaks: Sage.

Stopes, M. C. (1929). *Enduring Passion* (2nd ed.). London: G. P. Putnam.

Strainchamps, E. (1971). Our Sexist Language. In V. Gornick and B. K. Moran (Eds.), *Woman in Sexist Society: Studies in Power and Powerlessness* (pp. 240–250). New York and London: Basic Books.

Sullivan, J. P. (1991). *Martial: The Unexpected Classic*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Symonds, J. A. (1878). *Many Moods: A Volume of Verse*. London: Smith, Elder, & Co.
Symonds, J. A. (1893). *The Life of Michelangelo Buonarotti* (Vol. II). London: J. C. Nimmo.
Symonds, J. A. (1896). *A Problem in Modern Ethics: Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion* (Rev. ed.). London: Privately printed.
Symonds, J. A. (1901). *A Problem in Greek Ethics: Being an Inquiry into the Phenomenon of Sexual Inversion* (Rev. ed.). London: Privately printed.
Syrett, N. (1939). *The Sheltering Tree*. London: G. Bles.
Tacitus. (2017). *The Annals of Tacitus: Books 5 and 6*. A. J. Woodman (Ed.). Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Taylor, T. J. (1990). Which Is to Be Master? The Institutionalization of Authority in the Science of Language. In J. E. Joseph and T. J. Taylor (Eds.), *Ideologies of Language* (pp. 9–26). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.
Teleny: or the Reverse of the Medal (Vols. I–II). (1893). [London]: Privately printed.
Thomas, D. (1969). *A Long Time Burning: The History of Literary Censorship in England*. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul.
Thomson, A. T. (1836). Lectures on Medical Jurisprudence, Now in Course of Delivery at the University of London. *The Lancet*, *27*(692), 345–354.
Thrale, H. L. (1942). *Thraliana: The Diary of Mrs. Hester Lynch Thrale (Later Mrs. Piozzi)* (Vol. II). K. C. Balderston (Ed.). Oxford: Clarendon Press.
Tissot, S. (1766). *Onanism: or, a Treatise upon the Disorders produced by Masturbation* (A. Hume, Trans.). London: A. Hume.
Toulalan, S. (2011). 'Unripe' Bodies: Children and Sex in Early Modern England. In K. Fisher and S. Toulalan (Eds.), *Bodies, Sex and Desire from the Renaissance to the Present* (pp. 131–150). Basingstoke and New York: Palgrave Macmillan.
Tractatus de Hermaphroditis: or, a Treatise of Hermaphrodites. (1718). London: E. Curll.
Traub, V. (1995). The Psychomorphology of the Clitoris. *GLQ: A Journal of Lesbian and Gay Studies*, *2*(1–2), 81–113.
Traub, V. (1996). The Perversion of 'Lesbian' Desire. *History Workshop Journal*, *41*, 23–49.
Traub, V. (2002). *The Renaissance of Lesbianism in Early Modern England*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
Traub, V. (2016). *Thinking Sex with the Early Moderns*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press.
Treichler, P. A. (1989). From Discourse to Dictionary: How Sexist Meanings Are Authorized. In F. W. Frank and P. A. Treichler (Eds.), *Language, Gender, and Professional Writing: Theoretical Approaches and Guidelines for Nonsexist Usage* (pp. 51–79). New York: Modern Language Association.
Trench, R. C. (1855). *English, Past and Present* (2nd ed.). London: J. W. Parker and Son.
Trench, R. C. (1857). *On Some Deficiencies in Our English Dictionaries*. London: J. W. Parker and Son.
Trumbach, R. (1999). London. In D. Higgs (Eds.), *Queer Sites: Gay Urban Histories Since 1900* (pp. 89–111). London and New York: Routledge.
Trumbach, R. (2012). The Transformation of Sodomy from the Renaissance to the Modern World and Its General Sexual Consequences. *Signs*, *37*(4), 832–848.
Trye, M. (1675). *Medicatrix: or the Woman-Physician*. London: Printed by T. R. & N. T.
Tulp, N. (1716). *Observationes medicæ* (5th ed.). Leiden: J. du Vivie, V. C. Boutesteyn, F. C. Boutesteyn, A. Dyckhuysen, and J. A. Langerak.
Turton, S. (Forthcoming a). Deadnaming as Disformative Utterance: The Redefinition of Trans Womanhood on *Urban Dictionary*. *Gender and Language*, *14*(4).

Turton, S. (Forthcoming b). Redefining Realness: Bringing Queer Performativity to the English Dictionary. *Journal of Language and Sexuality*, *9*(2).

[Ulrichs, K. H.] (1864). *Vindex. Social-juristische Studien über mannmännliche Geschlechtsliebe*. Leipzig: [K. H. Ulrichs].

[Ulrichs, K. H.] (1865). *Vindicta. Kampf für Freiheit von Verfolgung*. Leipzig: [K. H. Ulrichs].

Van Diemerbroeck, I. (1689). *The Anatomy of Human Bodies, Comprehending the most Modern Discoveries and Curiosities in that Art* (W. Salmon, Trans.). London: E. Brewster.

Van Dijk, T. A. (1993). Principles of Critical Discourse Analysis. *Discourse & Society*, *4*(2), 249–283.

Van Dijk, T. A. (2013). Ideology and Discourse. In M. Freeden, L. Tower Sargent, and M. Stears (Eds.), *The Oxford Handbook of Political Ideologies* (pp. 175–196). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Van Leeuwen, T. (2007). Legitimation in Discourse and Communication. *Discourse & Communication*, *1*(1), 91–112.

Views and Comments. (1913, October 15). *The New Freewoman: An Individualist Review*, *1*, 163–166.

Vigus, J. (2009). *Platonic Coleridge*. Abingdon and New York: Legenda.

Wagner, C., Graells-Garrido, E., Garcia, D., and Menczer, F. (2016). Women through the Glass Ceiling: Gender Asymmetries in Wikipedia. *EPJ Data Science*, *5*(5), 1–24.

Walker, A. (1838). *Intermarriage*. London: J. Churchill.

Wallace, J. (2006). Edith Ellis, Sapphic Idealism, and *The Lover's Calendar* (1912). In L. Doan and J. Garrity (Eds.), *Sapphic Modernities: Sexuality, Women and National Culture* (pp. 183–200). New York and Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wallfield, J. (1988). Note: Slovene *Oglje* 'Charcoal' and English *Ingle* 'Fire'. *Slovene Studies*, *10*(1), 87–88.

Walter, E. (2010). Using Corpora to Write Dictionaries. In A. O'Keeffe and M. McCarthy (Eds.), *The Routledge Handbook of Corpus Linguistics* (pp. 428–443). Abingdon and New York: Routledge.

[Ward, E., Lock, G., and Tyler, C. T.] (1875). *Ward, Lock, & Tyler's Catalogue of New and Popular Books*. London: Ward, Lock, & Tyler.

[Webb, P. C.] (1763). *Copies Taken from the Records of the Court of King's-Bench, at Westminster*. London: Court of the King's Bench.

Webb, S. (2013, July 25). Oxford English Dictionary Will Change the Entry for 'Marriage' to Include Gay People after Same-sex Weddings Enshrined in Law. *Daily Mail*. Retrieved from https://www.dailymail.co.uk/news/article-2377485/Dictionary-change-entry-marriage-include-gay-people-sex-weddings-enshrined-law.html.

Weedon, A. (2013). The Economics of Print. In M. F. Suarez and H. R. Woudhuysen (Eds.), *The Book: A Global History* (pp. 154–168). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Weeks, J. (2005). *Sexuality*. New York: Routledge. (Original work published 1986.)

Weiner, E. (2009). The Electronic *OED*: The Computerization of a Historical Dictionary. In A. P. Cowie (Ed.), *The Oxford History of English Lexicography* (Vol. I, pp. 378–409). Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Wenzel, H. V. (1981). The Text as Body/Politics: An Appreciation of Monique Wittig's Writings in Context. *Feminist Studies*, *7*(2), 264–287.

Wesley, J. (1781, August). A Plain Account of Kingswood School, near Bristol. *Arminian Magazine*, *IV*, 486–493.

Westphal, C. (1870). Die conträre Sexualempfindung, Symptom eines neuropathischen (psychopathischen) Zustandes. *Archiv für Psychiatrie und Nervenkrankheiten*, *2*(1), 73–108.

Westwood, J. O. (1828). Observations upon *Siagonium Quadricorne* of Kirby, and on Other Portions of the *Brachelytra* (*Staphylinus*, *Lin.*). *The Zoological Journal*, *3*, 56–67.

Wheatley, H. (1865). Chronological Notices of the Dictionaries of the English Language. *Transactions of the Philological Society*, *10*, 218–293.

Whibley, C. (1893, December 30). Slang. *National Observer*, *11*(267), 164–165.

The vvhole volume of statutes at large, which at anie time heeretofore haue beene extant in print, since Magna Charta*, vntill the xxix. yeere of the reigne of our most gratious souereigne Ladie Elizabeth by the grace of God, Queene of England, France and Ireland, defender of the faith, &c.* (1587). London: C. Barker.

Wild, K. (2010). Ludicrous Exaggerations and Colloquial Licenses: 'Prescriptive' Labels in Samuel Johnson's *A Dictionary of the English Language*. In M. Adams (Ed.), *'Cunning Passages, Contrived Corridors': Unexpected Essays in the History of Lexicography* (pp. 165–185). Monza: Polimetrica.

Wilkins, J. (1668). *An Essay towards a Real Character, and a Philosophical Language*. London: S. Gellibrand and J. Martin.

Willett, M. (2013, July 26). The Oxford Dictionary Is Changing the Definition of 'Marriage' to Include Gay Couples. *Business Insider*. Retrieved from https://www.businessinsider.com/oxford-dictionary-re-defining-marriage-2013-7/lightbox?r=AU&IR=T.

Williams, C. A. (2010). *Roman Homosexuality* (2nd ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, R. (1983). *Keywords: A Vocabulary of Culture and Society* (Rev. ed.). New York: Oxford University Press.

Williams, T. W. (1824). *A Compendious Abstract of the Public General Acts, Passed in 5 Geo. IV*. London: G. Wightman.

Willinsky, J. (1987). Learning the Language of Difference: The Dictionary in the High School. *English Education*, *19*(3), 146–158.

[Wilmot, J.] (1680). *Poems on Several Occasions by the Right Honourable, the E of R—*. Antwerp: (n.p.).

Wilmot, J. (2010). *The Poems and Lucina's Rape*. K. Walker and N. Fisher (Eds.). Chichester: Wiley-Blackwell.

Wimsatt, W. K., Jr., and Wimsatt, M. H. (1948). Self-quotations and Anonymous Quotations in Johnson's Dictionary. *ELH*, *15*(1), 60–68.

Witz, A. (1992). *Professions and Patriarchy*. London and New York: Routledge.

Wodak, R., and Meyer, M. (2009). Critical Discourse Analysis: History, Agenda, Theory, and Methodology. In R. Wodak and M. Meyer (Eds.), *Methods of Critical Discourse Analysis* (2nd ed., pp. 1–33). London: Sage.

Wollstonecraft, M. (1792). *A Vindication of the Rights of Woman: with Strictures on Political and Moral Subjects*. London: J. Johnson.

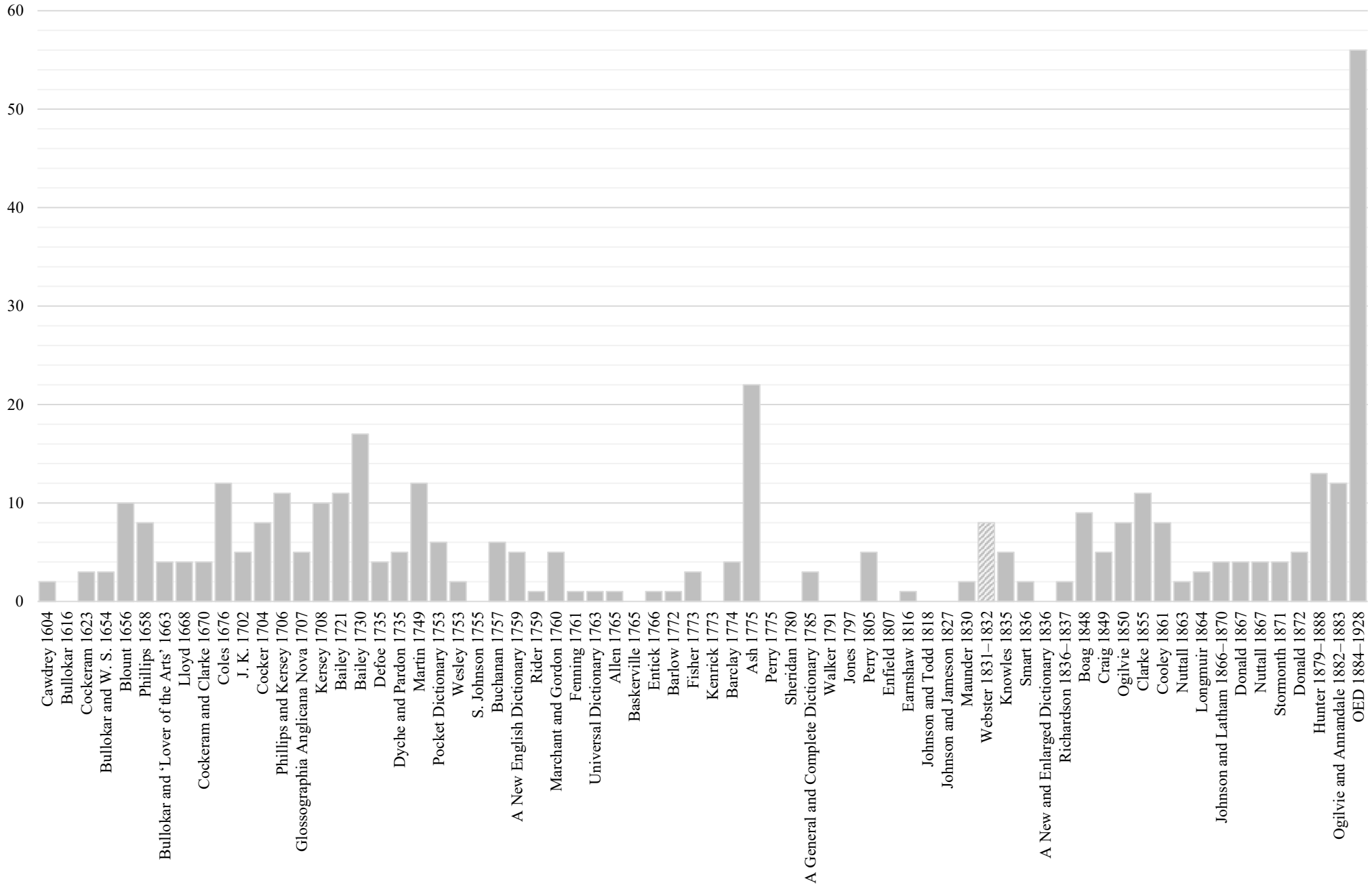
Zimman, L. (2014). The Discursive Construction of Sex: Remaking and Reclaiming the Gendered Body in Talk about Genitals among Trans Men. In L. Zimman, J. L. Davis, and J. Raclaw (Eds.), *Queer Excursions: Retheorizing Binaries in Language, Gender, and Sexuality* (pp. 13–34). New York: Oxford University Press.

Zimmerman, N. (2013, July 26). Oxford Dictionary to 'Redefine' Marriage to Include Same-sex Partners. *Gawker*. Retrieved from https://gawker.com/oxford-dictionary-to-redefine-marriage-to-include-sam-920948807/.

Appendix I

The bar graph below plots the coverage of same-sex lexis in British hard-word and general dictionaries published from Cawdrey (1604) to the *OED* (1884–1928), including only first editions (except where these have been unobtainable) and later editions revised by a different lexicographer from the first. Dictionaries compiled to supplement earlier works rather than to present a full wordlist on their own (e.g. Bailey 1727; Mason 1801; the 1933 *Supplement* to the *OED*) are excluded. The graph also includes the 1831–1832 British republication of Webster's *(American) Dictionary of the American Language*, which had a significant influence on subsequent British lexicographers' coverage of same-sex lexis (see Chapter 1).

Figure 3: Same-sex headwords in British hard-word and general English dictionaries from Cawdrey to the *OED*



Appendix II

Below are two lists of terms that were systematically looked up in the hard-word and general dictionaries under analysis. Medical and law dictionaries were checked against variations of the first list.

The lists are presented at their full extent here, in simple alphabetical order, though during data collection the number of items on each list gradually increased as the dictionaries being surveyed moved forward in time, and more terms for gender and sexuality became available, between 1604 and 1933. Each term tacitly ends with a wildcard (e.g. *Sodom* = *Sodom*, *sodomite*, *sodomitical*, *sodomitically*, *sodomiticalness*, *sodomitish*, *sodomitrie*, *sodomy*). Parentheses represent alternative spellings (e.g. *Sap(p)hic(k)* = *Saphic*, *Saphick*, *Sapphic*, and *Sapphick*). For polysemous words with non-sexual as well as sexual meanings (e.g. *ingle*), only relevant senses were recorded.

1. Terms concerning same-sex sexuality: *ambisexual*, *androcoetesis*, *andromania*, *andrumesis*, *badling*, *b(a/e)rda(c/s)h(e)*, *bisexual*, *bougeron*, *bugger*, *bull-d(i/y)ke*, *catamite*, *cin(a)edia*, *cin(a)edus*, *confricatri(ce/x)*, *confrictri(ce/x)*, *etaeristria*, *fag*, *faggot*, *femme*, *fricatri(ce/x)*, *frictri(ce/x)*, *fututri(ce/x)*, *gan(i/y)med(e)*, *Gom(m)orrh(a)ean*, *hetaeristria*, *homogenic*, *homosexual*, *ingle*, *intersex*, *inversion*, *invert*, *leman*, *les*, *lesbian*, *lez*, *macroclitorideus*, *malacos*, *malthacos*, *mascula*, *molly*, *p(a)ederast*, *p(a)edicate*, *p(a)edicatio(n)*, *pathic*, *perverse*, *perversion*, *pervert*, *po(o/u)f*, *po(o/u)f*, *punk*, *pygist*, *queer*, *rubber*, *rubster*, *Sap(p)hic(k), Sap(p)hism, Sap(p)hist*, *sellary*, *sexual inversion*, *sexual invert*, *sexual perversion*, *sexual pervert*, *Sodom*, *Sotadic*, *spintrian*, *spintry*, *sub(a/i)g(a/i)t(at)ri(ce/x)*, *third gender*, *third sex*, *tribade*, *tribadism*, *tribady*, *tribas*, *Uranian*, *uranism*, *uranist*, *urning*, *urnism*.

2. Other terms concerning gender and sexuality: *adultery*, *allosexual*, *American disease*, *androgyny*, *andromania*, *anilingus*, *asexual*, *bawd*, *be(a)stiality*, *bigamy*, *bisexual* (hermaphroditic), *brothel*, *caudatio*, *cercosis*, *clap*, *clitoris*, *cock*, *coition*, *coitus*, *condom*, *copulation*, *couple*, *cross(-)dress*, *cunnilingus*, *cunnus*, *cunny*, *cunt*, *dildo*, *dioning*, *drag*, *Eonism*, *Eonist*, *exhibitionism*, *exhibitionist*, *fellatio*, *female*, *fornication*, *French disease/fever/gout/malady/pox*, *Frenchified*, *frig*, *fuck*, *furor uterinus*, *gamahuche*, *gender*, *genitalia*, *genitals*, *godemiche*, *gonorrh(o)ea*, *gynandrism*, *gynanthrope*, *harlot*, *hermaphrodite*, *heterosexual*, *h(i/y)p(p)ospadian*, *incest*, *intercourse*, *irrumate*, *le(a)(t)cher*, *leman*, *love*, *lues venerea*, *male*, *man*, *ma(nu)stupratio*, *masochism*, *masochist*, *masturbation*, *monosexual*, *morbus gallicus*, *necrophilia*, *nymphomania*, *nymphotomy*, *occupy*, *oestromania*, *oestrum*, *onan*, *orthosexual*, *p(a)edophilia*, *penis*, *phallus*, *pintle*, *platonic love*, *polygamy*, *priapism*, *prick*, *privies*, *privities*, *prostitution*, *pudend(a/um)*, *quaint*, *rape*, *rapist*, *running of the reins*, *sadism*, *satyriasis*, *scart(h)/scrat(h)*, *sex*, *sexology*, *sexual*, *sixty-nine*, *soixante-neuf*, *Spanish disease/gout/needle/pip/pox*, *subagitation*, *swive*, *syphilis*, *transe(ct/x)ion, transf(o)eminate*, *transvestite*, *twat*, *vagina*, *venereal disease*, *vulva*, *whore*, *will-(g/j)ill*, *woman*, *yard*, *zoophilia*.

Appendix III

This appendix reproduces definitions of terms for same-sex acts, actors, and desires from a survey of monolingual British dictionaries published between 1604 and 1933. After 1884, the appendix's focus mostly narrows to the *Oxford English Dictionary* and its 1933 *Supplement*. Headwords are arranged alphabetically, and the definitions beneath them are ordered chronologically. In the case of multi-volume dictionaries published over a span of years, each definition is dated to the year in which the relevant volume appeared. Entries from the *OED* are dated according to the section or part in which they were first issued, and they are attributed to whichever editor was responsible for overseeing that section or part.

The focus of the appendix is on first editions of dictionaries (except where these have been unobtainable) and later editions revised by a different lexicographer from the first. Definitions from yet other editions have been included only when they are new or have been significantly altered from an earlier edition. When a later edition carries over a definition from an earlier edition without any significant change, the appendix does not include the replicated definition alongside the original. Editorial annotations are placed in braces to distinguish them from comments in square brackets made by the lexicographers themselves.

As in the thesis, the focus of the appendix is on hard-word and general dictionaries, but it also surveys dictionaries of cant and slang (Ⓒ), law (Ⓛ), medicine (Ⓜ), and technical terms (Ⓣ). These other genres are indicated by circled letters preceding the dictionaries' titles. However, the appendix is not meant to be exhaustive. Its purpose is to demonstrate in a limited space how dictionaries' coverage and treatment of same-sex lexis changed (and did not change) over time. It does not include:

- Most non-definitional elements of dictionary entries, such as etymologies, pronunciations (and diacritical pronunciation marks on headwords), part of speech labels, and quotations, except in cases where these elements have not been treated discretely by a dictionary and are incorporated into a definition. However, sense numbers and usage labels are retained.
- Encyclopaedic explanations of proper nouns except when they occur within definitions of common nouns (e.g. *Ganymede*).
- Entries from dictionaries of etymology or classical mythology, due to the above exclusions of proper nouns and etymologies.
- Definitions from glossaries.
- Non-same-sex senses of polysemous terms (e.g. demonymic uses of *Lesbian* 'of Lesbos' and *Bugger* 'Bulgarian') unless:
    i. The senses have not been treated discretely from the same-sex sense (i.e. through sense numbering) and are simply run together in one definition.
    ii. The senses concern other forms of sexuality that may overlap with same-sex sexuality (e.g. *confricatrix* 'a female who masturbates').
- Definitions that do not directly signify same-sex sexuality despite citing it relationally or tangentially (e.g. *cristæ* as a venereal complaint arising from sodomy or *clitorism* as an enlargement of the clitoris arising from 'abuse', but not the 'abuse' itself).

Title	Author(s)/ Editor(s)	Pub. Date	Headword	Definition
androcoetesis, *n.*				
Ⓜ *A Medical Glossary*	Turton	1797	Androcoetesis	The venereal act; or the infamous act of sodomy.
Ⓜ *A New Medical Dictionary*	Fox, Bradley	1803	Androcoetesis	coition; sodomy
Ⓜ *The New London Medical and Surgical Dictionary*	Forsyth	1826	Androcœtesis	The venereal act; or the infamous act of sodomy. *Moschion*, &c.
© *The Law Lexicon, or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*	Wharton	1848	ANDROCOETESIS	The infamous act of sodomy.
andrumesis, *n.*				
Ⓜ *A Medical Glossary*	Turton	1797	Andrumesis	The same as ANDROCOETESIS.
Ⓜ *A New Medical Dictionary*	Fox, Bradley	1803	Andrumesis	androcoetesis
back door (gentleman, usher), *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Usher, or gentleman of the back door	the same {i.e. as *back gammon player*}.
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages*, 2nd ed.	Potter	1795	Back-door gentleman	the same {i.e. as *back-gammon player*}.
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Back Door (Usher, or Gentleman of the)	The same {i.e. as *back gammon player*}.
© *Slang*	Bee	1823		{See *backgammoner*.}
backgammon player, backgammoner, *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Back gammon player	a sodomite.
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages*, 2nd ed.	Potter	1795	Back-gammon player	a sodomite.
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Back Gammon Player	a sodomite.
© *Slang*	Bee	1823	Backgammoner, or Back-doors man or gentleman	a fellow whose propensities lie out of the natural order of *things* in England.
badling, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1885	†Badling	*Obs.* {…} An effeminate or womanish man.
bardach, bardash, bardachio, *n.*				

The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Bardach or Bardash	a Boy kept for Pleasure, to be abus'd contrary to Nature.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Bardach or Bardash	a Boy kept for Pleasure, to be abus'd contrary to Nature.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	BARDACH, BARDASH	a Boy kept for Pleasure, to be abused contrary to Nature.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Bardach, Bardash	a Boy kept for Pleasure, to be abused contrary to Nature.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	BARDACHIO or BARDASH	a boy kept for pleasure, to be used contrary to nature.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	BARDACH	A catamite, a boy kept for unnatural practices.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	BARDASH	A catamite. *Scott.*
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Bardash†	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
OED	Murray	1885	†Bardash	*Obs.* {…} A catamite, 'cinædus.'
bardashing, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1885	Bardashing	*Obs.* {s.v. *Bardash*; undefined.}
bougeron, *n.*				
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Bougerons	buggering.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Bailey	1724	BOUGERONS	Buggerers. *Chaucer*.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Bougerons	{(}*obsolete*) Sodomites. *Chaucer.*
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1879	*bougeron	A sodomite.
OED	Murray	1887	†Bougeron	*Obs. rare.* {…} A sodomite.
bud sallogh, *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Bud sallogh	shitten p—ck; an Irish appellation for a sodomite.
bugger, *n.*				
℗ *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia*	Scott	1753	Bugger, or Buggerer	came afterwards to be used for a Sodomite; it being one of the imputations laid, right or wrong, on the Bulgarian heretics, that they taught, or at least practised, this abominable crime. *Casen.* Orig. p. 27. *Menag.* Orig. p. 114. Trev. Dict. Univ. T. 1. p. 1149. voc. *Bougre*. *Du Cange*, Gloss. Lat. T. 1. p. 637. voc. *Bulgari*.

A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Bugger	One guilty of the crime against nature. A vile wretch: *a term of reproach*.
Chambers's English Dictionary	Donald	1872	BUGGER	(*lit.*) *A Bulgarian*, then a heretic (because heresy prevailed in Bulgaria): one guilty of the unnatural crime of sodomy, because heretics were considered capable of the worst crimes.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1879	bugger	**1.** One guilty of buggery (q.v.).
OED	Murray	1888	Bugger	**2.** One who commits buggery; a sodomite. In decent use only as a legal term.
bugger, *v.*				
A New English Dictionary	J. K.	1702	To bugger	*or* commit *buggery*.
The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, Vol. II	Bailey	1727	To BUGGER	to copulate beastlily.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	To Bugger	to copulate with a beast; also with a man or woman after an unnatural manner.
A New General English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Dyche, Pardon	1737	BUGGER	to copulate or generate between the human and bestial Species; also in an unnatural Way between the human Species only; also to play the Cheat in Play, as between Boys at Taw, &c.
A New Complete English Dictionary	Marchant, Gordon	1760	BUGGER	to generate or copulate in an unnatural manner.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Bugger	{(}*a low word*) To commit an unnatural crime.
The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary	Perry	1805	Bugger	to commit the unnatural crime of sodomy.
OED	Murray	1888	Bugger	*trans.* To commit buggery with. Also *absol.*
buggerage, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1888	†Buggerage	*Obs. rare*—[1]. Heresy; buggery.
buggered, *adj.*				
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Buggered	{In Supplement} Defiled by unnatural intercourse.
buggerer, *n.*				
A New English Dictionary	J. K.	1702	A Buggerer	{Undefined.}
The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, Vol. II	Bailey	1727	BUGGERER	{Undefined.}

Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Buggerer	one who copulates beastlily.
⑦ *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia*	Scott	1753		{See *bugger*, n.}
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Buggerer	{In Supplement} One guilty of an unnatural crime.
The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary	Perry	1805	Buggerer	a sodomite, a pederast.
OED	Murray	1888	Buggerer	= BUGGER 2.
buggeress, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1888	†Buggeress	*Obs.* A female bugger.
buggering, *adj.*				
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Buggering	{In Supplement} Committing an unnatural crime.
buggering, *n.*				
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Buggering	{In Supplement} The act of committing an unnatural crime.
buggerly, *adj. and adv.*				
OED	Murray	1888	Buggerly	Like or pertaining to a bugger.
buggery, *adj.*				
OED	Murray	1888	Buggery	**B.** *attrib.* or as *adj.* {Undefined.}
buggery, buggerie, *n.*				
A Table Alphabeticall	Cawdrey	1604	buggerie	cōiunction with one of the same kinde, or of men with beasts.
© *A Philologicall Commentary*	Leigh	1652	BUGGERIE	*Buggerie* committed with mankind or beast is felony without benefit of Clergy, it being a sin against God, nature, and the Law, and in ancient times such offenders were to be burned by the Common Law. One describeth this offence to be *carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem specierum*, *sc.* a man or woman with a brute beast, *vel sexuum*, *sc.* a man with a man, a woman with a woman. *There are two Statues for it,* 25 *H.* 8. *revived* 3 *Eliz.* 17. *Fitz. Nat. brev.* 269. B. *Dalton.*
Glossographia, 2nd ed.	Blount	1661	Buggerie	is described to be *carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem Specierum, sc.* a man or a woman with a bruit beast, *vel sexuum*; a man with a man, or a woman with a woman. See *Levit.* 18.22, 23. This offence committed with mankinde or beast is fellony without Clergy; it being a sin against God, Nature, and the Law; And in ancient time such offenders were to be burnt by the Common-Law. 25. *Hen.* 86. 5. *Eliz.* 17. *Fitz. Nat. Br.* 269. My

				Lord *Coke* (*Rep.* 12. *pag.* 36.) saith, that this word comes from the *Italian, Buggerare,* to bugger.
An English Expositor, {6th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. 'A Lover of the Arts'	1663	Buggery	Sodomy.
An Alphabetical Dictionary	Lloyd	1668	Buggery	R. J. III. 5 {sic 6}. A. ☞ JUDICIAL RELATION {…} III. CRIMES CAPITAL (*Enormity, facinorous, criminal, Malefactor*,) such as are or ought to be punished with Death, may be distinguished into such Offences as are more commonly *against* {…} 6. *Chastity*; by *unnatural coition*, either ‖ with *Beasts* : or *Males*. {…} BESTIALITY, *Buggery*.
© *Νομο-γεξικομ*	Blount	1670	Buggery	(According to Sir *Edward Coke*, *Rep.* 12. *pag.* 36.) Comes from the Ital. *Buggerare*, to Bugger, and is described to be *Carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem specierum, sc.* A Man or a Woman with a bruit Beast, *vel sexuum*; A Man with a Man, or a Woman with a Woman. This offence committed with Mankinde or Beast, is Felony without Clergy; it being a sin against God, Nature, and the Law, and was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*, as appears by *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Edw.* 3. *num.* 58. See the Stat. 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. revived 5 *Eliza.* 17. *Fitzh. Nat. Br. fol.* 269. *b.* In ancient time such Offenders were burnt by the Common Law. This most detestable sin was justly excepted out of the Act of *General Pardon*, 12 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 8.
© *Νομοθετης*	Cowell, rev. Manley	1672	Buggery	According to *Co. Rep.* 12. *pag.* 36. Comes from the Italian *Buggerare*. It hath been defined to be *Carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem specierum, sc.* a Man or Woman with a brute Beast, *vel sexuum*, a Man with a Man, or a Woman with a Woman, see *Levit.* 18. 22, 23. This Offence committed either with Man or Beast is Felony, without benefit of Clergy, being a sin against God, Nature, and the Law, 25 *H.* 8. revived, and 3 *Eliz.* 17. It was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*, as appears *Rot. Parl.* 50 *E.* 3. *num.* 58. See F. N. B. 269. and *Dalton.* In ancient times such Offendors were to be burned by the Common-Law. This most detestable sin was most justly excepted out of the Act *Of General Pardon*, 12 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 8. made after his Majesties Happy Restoration.
© *The Interpreter*, rev. ed.	Cowell, rev. Manley, rev. Kennett	1701	Buggery	According to *Co. Rep.* 12. *pag.* 36. Comes from the Italian *Buggerare*. It hath been defin'd to be *Carnalis copula contra naturam, & hæc vel per confusionem Specierum, sc.* a Man or Woman with a brute Beast, *vel Sexuum*, a Man with a Man, or a Woman with a Woman; see *Levit.* 18. 22, 23. This Offence committed either with Man or Beast, is Felony without benefit of Clergy, being a Sin against God, Nature, and the Law, 25 *H.* 8. reviv'd, and 3 *Eliz.* 17. It was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*, as appears by *Rot. Parl.* 50 *E.* 3. *num.* 58. See F. N. B. 269. and *Dalton.* In ancient times such Offendors were burn'd by the Common Law. This most detestable Sin was most justly excepted out of the Act of General Pardon, 12 *Car.* 2. *cap.* 8. made after his Majesty's Happy Restoration.
A New English Dictionary	J. K.	1702	Buggery	*or* sodomy.
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Buggery	the Coupling of one Man with another, or of a Man or Woman with a brute Beast; a most detestable Sin against God, Nature and the Law, which is here made a Capital Crime, without Benefit of the Clergy.

Glossographia Anglicana Nova	Anon	1707	Buggery	is a Copulation of Man or Woman with Brute Beasts; or of one Man with another.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Buggery	the Coupling of one Man with another, or of a Man or Woman with a brute Beast.
A New English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	J. K.	1713	Buggery	the coupling of one Man with another; or of Man or Woman with a Beast.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	BUGGERY	the Copulation of one Man with another, or of a Man or Woman with Brute Beasts.
℗ *Cyclopædia*	Chambers	1728	BUGGERY	Sir *Edward Coke* defines, *Carnalis Copula contra Naturam, & hoc vel per confusionem Specierum; viz.* a Man or Woman with a brute Beast: *vel Sexuum*, a Man with a Man, or a Woman with a Woman: each kind is Felony, without Benefit of Clergy. In antient Times, such Offenders were burnt by the Common Law. *Buggery* is generally excepted out of a General Pardon. The Practice is said to have been introduc'd into *England* by the *Lombards*: It is supposed to take its Name from the antient *Bulgarians*.
© *A New Law-Dictionary*	Jacob	1729	Buggery, or Sodomy	comes from the Italian *Buggerare*, to *bugger*; and is defined to be *Carnalis copula contra naturam, & hoc vel per confusionem Specierum, sc.* a Man or Woman with a brute Beast; *vel Sexuum*, a Man with a Man, or Man with a Woman. 12 *Rep*. 36. This Sin against God, Nature, and the Law, 'tis said was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*. *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Ed.* 3. *numb.* 58. *Stat.* 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. And in antient Times, according to some Authors, it was punished with Burning, though others say with burying alive: But at this Day it is Felony excluded Clergy, and punished as other Felonies. 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. and 5 *Eliz.* 17. And it is Felony both in the Agent and Patient consenting, except the Person on whom committed be a Boy under the Age of Discretion; when 'tis Felony only in the Agent. For many Years past, the Crime of *Buggery* has been greatly practised in this Kingdom, without any exemplary Punishments of the Committers of it; till *Anno* 12 *Geo.* a great Number of these Wretches were detected of the most abominable Practices, and three of them put to Death; which seasonable Justice seems to have given a Check to the before growing Evil. In every Indictment for this Offence, there must be the Words, *Rem habuit veneream & carnaliter cognovit, &c.* and of Consequence some Kind of Penetration and Emission must be proved; but any the least Degree is sufficient. 1 *Hawk.* 6. This Sin is excepted out of our Acts of general Pardon.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Buggery	the copulation of one man with another, or of a man or woman with a beast.
A New English Dictionary	Defoe	1735	BUGGERY	the Sin of Sodomy, or one Man's copulating with another.
© *The Student's Law-Dictionary*	Anon	1740	Buggery	in *Co. Rep.* 12. 36. is defin'd to be a carnal Copulation against Nature, and this either by the Confusion of Species; that is to say, a Man or a Woman with a Brute Beast; or Sexes; as a Man with a Man, or a Woman with a Woman. We are told that this Sin against God, Nature, *&c.* was first brought into *England* by the *Lombards*. *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Ed.* 3. *Numb.* 58. This abominable Crime has for many Years past been much practised in the Kingdom, without any exemplary Punishment of the Offender, (tho' by *Statute* it is made without Clergy) until 12 *Geo.* 1. when a Number of Wretches

				being convicted of these detestable Practices, some of them were put to Death.
© *A New Law-Dictionary*, 5th ed.	Jacob	1744	Buggery, or Sodomy	comes from the Italian *Buggerare*, to *bugger*; and is defined to be a carnal Copulation against Nature, and this either by the Confusion of Species; that is to say, a Man or a Woman with a brute Beast; or of Sexes, as a Man with a Man, or Man unnaturally with a Woman. 12 *Co. Rep*. 36. This Sin against God, Nature, and the Law, 'tis said was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*. *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Ed.* 3. *numb.* 58. *Stat.* 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. And in antient Times, according to some Authors, it was punishable with Burning, though others say with burying alive: But at this Day it is Felony excluded Clergy, and punished as other Felonies. 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. and 5 *Eliz.* 17. And it is Felony both in the Agent and Patient consenting, except the Person on whom committed be a Boy under the Age of Discretion; when 'tis Felony only in the Agent: Also Persons present, aiding and abetting to this Crime, are all Principals; and the Statutes make it Felony generally: There may be Accessaries before and after the Fact; but though none of the principal Offenders shall be admitted to Clergy, the Accessaries are not excluded it. 1 *Hale's Hist. P. C.* 670. For many Years past, the Crime of *Buggery* has been greatly practised in this Kingdom, without any exemplary Punishment of the Committers of it; till *Anno* 12 *Geo.* 1. a great Number of these Wretches were convicted of the most abominable Practices, and three of them put to Death; which seasonable Justice seems to have given a Check to the before growing Evil. In every Indictment for this Offence, there must be the Words, *Rem habuit veneream & carnaliter cognovit, &c.* and of Consequence some Kind of Penetration and Emission must be proved; but any the least Degree is sufficient. 1 *Hawk.* 6. The general Words of these *Indictments* are, that *A. B.* on such a Day, at, *&c.* with Force and Arms, made an Assault upon *C. D.* and then and there wickedly, devilishly, feloniously, and against the Order of Nature, committed the Venereal Act with the said *C. D.* and carnally knew him, and then and there wickedly, *&c.* did with him that sodomitical and detestable Sin called *Buggery*, (not to be named among Christians) to the great Displeasure of God, and Disgrace of all Mankind, *&c.* This Crime is excepted out of our Acts of General Pardon.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	BUGGERY	sodomy, or sin against nature, as one man having copulation with another; or a man or woman with brute beasts.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	BUGGERY	The coupling of one man with another; or of a man or woman with a beast.
Lingua Britannica Reformata, 2nd ed.	Martin	1754	BUGGERY	sodomy, or sin against nature, as one man coupling with another; one woman with another woman; or a man or woman with brute beasts; each of which is felony, without benefit of the clergy.
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Buggery	The unnatural copulation of one man with another, or of a man or woman with a beast.
A New English Dictionary	Anon	1759	BUGGERY	a sin against nature, or copulation of one man with another, or of a man or woman with brute beasts.
© *A New and Complete Law-Dictionary*	Cunningham	1764	Buggery	Is a detestable and abominable sin, amongst Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge, against the ordinance of the creator, and order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by woman kind with brute beast. 3 *Inst.* 58.

				All unnatural carnal copulations, whether with man or beast, seem to come under the notion of buggery or sodomy, which was felony by the ancient Common law, and punished, according to some authors, with burning, according to others, with burying alive. But at this day, by force of the statutes 25 *Hen.* 8 *c.* 6. and 5 *El. c.* 17. it is punished in the same manner as other felonies which are excluded from the clergy. 1 *Hawk.* 6. 3 *Inst.* 58. 12 *Co.* 36, 37. The said statute of 25 *Hen.* 8 making it felony generally, there may be accessaries both before and after; but those that are present, aiding and abetting, are all principals. And altho' none of the principals are admitted to their clergy, yet accessaries before and after are not excluded from clergy. 1 *Hal H.* 670. If the party buggered be within the age of discretion (which is generally reckoned the age of 14,) it is no felony in him, but in the agent only. But if buggery be committed upon a man of the age of discretion, it is felony in them both. 3 *Inst.* 59. In every indictment for this offence, there must be the words *rem habuit Veneream et carnaliter cognovit*; and consequently some kind of penetration, and also of emission, must be proved; but any the least degree is sufficient, and emission is *prima facie* an evidence of penetration. 1 *Hawk.* 6. 12 *Co.* 36, 37. 3 *Inst.* 58. By the articles of the navy, (22 *Geo.* 2. *c.* 33.) if any person in the fleet shall commit the unnatural and detestable sin of buggery or sodomy, with man or beast; he shall be punished with death by the sentence of a court martial. This crime is excepted out of the act of general pardon. 20 *Geo.* 2. *c.* 52. *s.* 17.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Buggery	An unnatural intercourse.
© *A New Law Dictionary*	Burn, Burn	1792	BUGGERY	is a detestable and abominable sin, among christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the Creator, and order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by womankind with brute beast. 3 *Inst.* 58. By statute 25 *H.* 8 *c.* 6 this offence is made felony without benefit of clergy. If the party buggered be within the age of discretion (which is generally reckoned the age of fourteen) it is no felony in him, but in the agent only. But if buggery be committed upon a man of the age of discretion, it is felony in them both. 3 *Inst.* 59.
© *The Law-Dictionary*, rev. ed.	Jacob, rev. Tomlins	1797	Buggery, or Sodomy	Comes from the Italian *bugarone* or *buggerare*, and it is defined to be a carnal copulation against nature, and this either by the confusion of species; that is to say, a man or a woman with a brute beast; or of sexes, as a man with a man, or man unnaturally with a woman. 3 *Inst.* 58 : 12 *Co. Rep.* 36. This sin against God, nature, and the law, it is said was brought into *England* by the *Lombards*. *Rot. Parl.* 50 *Ed.* 3. *numb.* 58. In ancient times, according to some authors, it was punishable with burning, though, others say with burying alive: but at this day it is felony excluded clergy and

				punished as other felonies by stat. 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6, inforced by 5 *Eliz.* 17. By the articles of the navy, (*Art.* 29. *stat.* 22 *Geo.* 2. *c.* 33,) If any person in the fleet shall commit the unnatural and detestable sin of buggery or sodomy, with man or beast; he shall be punished with death by the sentence of a court martial. It is felony both in the agent and patient consenting, except the person on whom it is committed be a boy under the age of discretion; (which is generally reckoned at fourteen;) when it is felony only in the agent: all persons present, aiding and abetting to this crime, are all principals, and the statutes make it felony generally: there may be accessaries before and after the fact; but though none of the principal offenders shall be admitted to clergy, the accessaries are not excluded it. 1 *Hale's Hist. P. C.* 670. In every indictment for this offence, there must be the words, *rem habuit veneream & carnaliter cognovit, &c.* and of consequence some kind of penetration and emission must be proved; but any the least degree is sufficient. 1 *Hawk. P. C. c*. 4. The general words of these indictments are, that *A. B.* on such a day, at, *&c.* with force and arms, made an assault upon *C. D.* and then and there wickedly, devilishly, feloniously, and against the order of nature, commited the venereal act with the said *C. D.* and carnally knew him, and then and there wickedly, *&c.* did with him that sodomitical and detestable sin called buggery, (not to be named among Christians) to the great displeasure of God, and disgrace of all mankind, *&c.* This crime is excepted out of our acts of general pardon.—This says *Blackstone* is a crime which ought to be strictly and impartially proved, and then as strictly and impartially punished. But it is an offence of so dark a nature, so easily charged, and the negative so difficult to be proved, that the accusation should be clearly made out; for if false, it deserves a punishment inferior only to that of the crime itself.
© *A Compendious and Comprehensive Law Dictionary*	Williams	1816	BUGGERY, or sodomy	is a carnal copulation against nature, and this either by the confusion of species; that is to say, a man or a woman with a brute beast; or of sexes, as a man with a man, or man unnaturally with a woman. 12 *Co. Rep.* 36. This sin was brought into England by the Lombards. *Rot Parl.* 50 *Ed.* 3 *numb.* 38. *Stat.* 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6. And in ancient times, it was punishable with burning, though others say with burying alive: but at this day it is felony excluded clergy, and punished as other felonies. 25 *H.* 8. *cap.* 6 and 5 *Eliz. cap.* 17. By the articles of the navy, (22 *Geo.* 2. *c.* 33.) if any person in the fleet shall commit the unnatural and detestable sin of buggery or sodomy, with man or beast; he shall be punished with death by the sentence of a court martial. It is felony both in the agent and patient consenting, except the person on whom committed be a boy under the age of discretion; when it is felony only in the agent: all persons present, aiding and abetting to this crime, are all principals, and the statutes make it felony generally: there may be accessaries before and after the fact; but though none of the principal offenders shall be admitted to clergy, the accessaries are not excluded it. 1 *Hale's Hist. P. C.* 670.

				In every indictment for this offence, there must be the words, *rem habuit veneriam & carnaliter cognovit, &c.* and of consequence some kind of penetration and emission must be proved; but any the least degree is sufficient. 1 *Hawk.* 6.
© *A New Law Dictionary*	Whishaw	1829	BUGGERY or SODOMY	is a carnal copulation against nature, and this either by the confusion of species; that is to say, a man or a woman with a brute beast; or of sexes, as a man with a man, or a man unnaturally with a woman. 12 *Co. Rep.* 36. 3 *Inst.* 58.
© *A New Law Dictionary*	Holthouse	1839	Buggery or Sodomy	A carnal copulation against nature; and this of the species, as a man or woman with any animal; or of sexes, as a man with a man, or a man unnaturally with a woman. This infamous crime is said to have been introduced into England by the Lombards.—3 *Inst.* 58.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Buggery	The unnatural and detestable crime of carnal intercourse of man or woman with a beast; or of human beings unnaturally with each other. Sodomy.
© *The Law Lexicon, or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*	Wharton	1848	BUGGERY	a detestable and abominable sin, amongst Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the Creator and order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by womankind with brute beasts. 3 *Inst.* 58; 9 *Geo. IV.*, *c.* 31, §15.
© *The Law-Lexicon or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed.	Wharton	1864	Buggery	a detestable and abominable sin, amongst Christians not to be named, committed by carnal knowledge against the ordinance of the Creator and order of nature, by mankind with mankind, or with brute beast, or by womankind with brute beasts.—3 *Inst.* 58; 24 & 25 *Vict.* c. 100, s. 61.
Chambers's English Dictionary	Donald	1872	BUGGERY	The copulation of men with each other, or of a man or woman with a beast: sodomy.
© *A New Law Dictionary and Institute of the Whole Law*	Brown	1874	BUGGERY	*See* title SODOMY.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1879	buggery	Sodomy. (*Blackstone*.)
OED	Murray	1888	Buggery	**A.** {…} **b.** Unnatural intercourse of a human being with a beast, or of men with one another, sodomy. Now only as a technical term in criminal law.
buggery (a boy kept for), *n.*				
An English Expositor, {6th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. 'A Lover of the Arts'	1663	A Boy kept for Buggery	Catamite, Ganimede, Pathick Boy.
catamite, *n.*				
The English Dictionarie	Cockeram	1623	Catamite	A boy which is vsed for buggery.
An English Expositor, {4th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. W. S.	1654	Catamite	a Ganimede or Ingle; that is, a boy hired to be used contrary to nature, to commit Sodomy with.
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Catamite	a boy hired to be abused contrary to nature, a *Ganymede*. *Herb. tr.*
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	A Catamite	an Ingle, a boy kept for Sodomy.

An Alphabetical Dictionary	Lloyd	1668	Catamite	[adj. p. Sodomy (person.]
The English Dictionary, 12th ed.	Cockeram, rev. Clarke	1670	Catamite	a boy kept for Sodomy.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Catamite, Catem-	Ingle, a boy kept for Sodomy.
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Catamite	a boy hired to be used contrary to nature, for Sodomy.
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Catamite	an Ingle, or Boy kept for Sodomy.
Glossographia Anglicana Nova	Anon	1707	Catamite	a Boy kept for Sodomy.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Catamite	a Boy kept for Sodomy.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	CATAMITE	a Boy kept for Sodomy.
℗ *Cyclopædia*	Chambers	1728	CATAMITE	a *Ganymede*, or Boy kept for Sodomy; see SODOMY. The Word is form'd of *κατα*, and *μιθος*, hir'd.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Catamite	{in supplement at end} an Ingle, a Boy kept for sodomitical Practices.
A New General English Dictionary	Dyche, Pardon	1735	CATAMITE	A *Ganymede*, or Boy kept for Sodomitical Practices.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	CATAMITE	a Ganymede, a boy hired to be abused contrary to nature.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	CATAMITE	A boy kept for sodomitical practices.
The Complete English Dictionary	Wesley	1753	CATAMITE	a boy used unnaturally.
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Catamite	A boy kept to be abused contrary to nature.
A New English Dictionary	Anon	1759	CATAMITE	a boy kept for sodomy.
A New Universal English Dictionary	Rider	1759	CATAMITE	a person kept by the antient Romans and Italians for immodest purposes.
A New Complete English Dictionary	Marchant, Gordon	1760	CATAMITE	a boy kept for sodomitical practices; a ganymede.
The Royal English Dictionary	Fenning	1761	CATAMITE	a person kept by the antient Romans and Italians for the vilest of purposes.
An Universal Dictionary of the English Language	Anon	1763	CATAMITE	a sodomite.
The Royal English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fenning	1763	CATAMITE	a person kept by the antient Romans, and the modern Italians, for the vilest of purposes.

A Complete English Dictionary	Allen	1765	CATAMITE	a person kept by the antient Romans and Italians for the vilest of purposes.
The New Spelling Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Entick	1766	Catamite	one kept for sodomy
The Complete English Dictionary	Barlow	1772	CATAMITE	a person kept by the antient Romans and Italians, for the most infamous purposes.
An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fisher	1773	Catamite	one kept for sodomy
A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan	Barclay	1774	CATAMITE	a person kept by the ancient Romans, and the modern Italians, for the vilest of purposes.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	CATAMITE	A Ganymede, a boy kept for unnatural purposes.
A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Anon	1785	Catamite	one kept for vile purposes.
A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary	Mason	1801	CATAMITE	One kept for the crime against nature.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Catamite	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	CATAMITE	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	{Cata}mite	an unnatural companion
The Standard Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1863	Catamite	A boy kept for heinous purposes.
A Dictionary of the English Language, rev. ed.	Johnson, rev. Todd, rev. Latham	1866	Catamite	{Undefined.}
Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1867	Catamite	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1882	†catamite	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Catamite	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.
OED	Murray	1889	Catamite	A boy kept for unnatural purposes.

catamited, *adj.*				
OED	Murray	1889	Catamited, Catamiting	{s.v. *Catamite*} (as if from a vb. *catamite*).
catamiting, *adj.*				
OED	Murray	1889		{see *catamited*.}
cinaedia, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Cinædia	Unnatural sexual connection with a boy; also, masturbation.
cinaedus, *n.*				
Ⓣ *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia*	Scott	1753	CINÆDUS	in antiquity, is used to signify a dancer or pantomime. At first they performed only on the stage, but afterwards were admitted to the entertainments of princes. *{Samuel} Pitisc{us}.*
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Cinædus	One on whom *Cinædia* is practised.
clitorism, clitorismus, *n.*				
Ⓜ *The Medical Vocabulary*	Fowler	1860	CLITORISM	The abuse, or a morbid enlargement, of the clitoris.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Clitorism	Same as *Clitorismus*.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Clitorismus	The condition in which there is a very large clitoris, when the woman was called *Androgyna*. Also, the unnatural intercourse of a woman with a woman by reason of the enlarged clitoris.
confric(a)trix, ?confric(a)trice, *n.*				
Ⓜ *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*, 2nd ed.	Quincy	1722	Confricatrices, or Confrictrices	are used by many Authors for such lustful Women who have learned to titulate one another with their *Clitoris*, in imitation of venereal Intercourses with Men.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Bailey	1724	CONFRICATRICES, CONFRICTRICES	so some Authors call lustful Women, who titulate one another with their *Clitoris*, in imitation of Venereal Intercourses with Men.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Confricatrices, Confrictrices	lustful women, who titulate one another in the *Clitoris*, in imitation of venereal intercourses with men.
Ⓜ *A Medicinal Dictionary*	James	1745	CONFRICATRICES	The same as TRIBADES, which see.
Ⓜ *Dictionarium Medicum Universale*	Barrow	1749	CONFRICATRICES	See TRIBADES.
Ⓜ *A New Medical Dictionary*	Motherby	1775	CONFRICATRICES	i. e. Tribades {dead-end cross-reference}.
Ⓜ *A New Medical Dictionary*, 3rd ed.	Motherby, rev. Wallis	1791	CONFRICATRICES	Lascivious women, who gratify their lustful desires with what the Greeks call *ολισθος*, penis coriaceus, and hence plunge themselves into a variety of chronic diseases.
Ⓜ *The London Medical Dictionary*	Parr	1809	CONFRICATRICES	Lascivious women, who induce a variety of chronic diseases from unnatural practices.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Confricatrix	A female who masturbates.
duncarring, *?n.*				
© *A New Dictionary of the*	B. E.	c1698	Duncarring	Buggering.

Terms Ancient and Modern of the Canting Crew				
etaeristria, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1882	Etæristria	Same as *Tribas*.
fricatrice, fric(a)trix, *n.*				
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Fricatrice†	A harlot. *B. Jonson.*
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1884	*fricatrice	A harlot.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1888	Fricatrix	A synonym of *Tribas*.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1888	Frictrix	A synonym of *Tribas*.
OED	Bradley	1898	Fricatrice	A lewd woman.
fututrix, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1888	Fututrix	Same as *Tribas*.
ganymed(e)(s), ganimede, *n.*				
An English Expositor, {4th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. W. S.	1654	Ganimede	vide *Catamite*.
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Ganymede	the name of a Trojan boy, whom *Jupiter* so loved (say the Poets) as hee took him up to Heaven, and made him his Cup-bearer. Hence any boy that is loved for carnal abuse, or is hired to be used contrary to nature, to commit the detestable sin of *Sodomy* is called a *Ganymede*; an Ingle.
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Ganymed	the son of *Tros*, whom for his excellent form, *Jupiter* fell in love with, and causing him to be brought up to Heaven upon an Eagles back, made him his Cup-bearer instead of *Hebe* the daughter of *Juno*. Also it is metaphorically taken for an ingle or boy hired to commit Sodomy.
The English Dictionary, 12th ed.	Cockeram, rev. Clarke	1670	Ganymed	a beautiful Boy with whom *Jupiter* fell in love; used for the same with a Catamite.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Ganymed	*Jupiters* cup-bearer, an Ingle.
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Ganymede	See *Catamite*.
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Ganymedes	the Son of *Tros*, King of *Troy*, whom *Jupiter*, (according to the Fable) taking the form of an Eagle, carry'd away into Heaven, for his admirable Beauty, and made him his Cup-bearer; whence *Ganymed* is figuratively taken for an Ingle, or Boy hired to commit Sodomy.
Glossographia Anglicana Nova	Anon	1707	Ganymede	the name of a *Trojan* Boy; now it commonly signifies any Boy loved for Carnal Abuse, or hired to be used contrary to Nature, to commit the Sin of *Sodomy*.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	GANYMEDE	the Name of a *Trojan* Boy, so beloved by *Jupiter* (as the Poets feign) that he took him up into Heaven, and made him his Cup-bearer; hence it is commonly used to signify any Boy loved for

				Carnal Abuse, or hir'd to be us'd contrary to Nature, to commit the Sin of *Sodomy*, {sic}
⑦ *Cyclopædia*	Chambers	1728	GANYMEDE	a Term lately come into Use, to express a Catamite, or Bardachio. See CATAMITE, SODOMY, &c. The Expression takes its rise from a young, beautiful *Trojan* Shepherd, thus called; whom *Jupiter* ravish'd, or carried off by his Eagle, or rather by himself under the Figure of an Eagle, as he was hunting on Mount *Ida*; and made him his Cup-bearer, in the place of *Hebe*; who, having made a false Step, and spilt her Liquor, was turn'd out of Office. Some say, that the *Jupiter*, who ravished *Ganymede*, was *Tantalus*, King of *Phrygia*: The Eagle express'd the Swiftness, wherewith he was carried off. *Vossius, De Idolol. L. I. c.* 14, &c. And *Barthus*, on the *Thebaid. L. I. v.* 548.— {sic}
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Ganymede	a Catamite or Bardachio, the Name takes its rise from what the Poets tell us of a beautiful young *Trojan* Shepherd, whom *Jupiter* ravish'd or carried off by his Eagle, or rather by himself under the Figure of an Eagle, as he was Hunting on Mount *Ida* near *Troy*, and made him his Cup-bearer in the room of *Hebe*, whom he displac'd, for having made a false Step and spilling his Nectar.
A New General English Dictionary	Dyche, Pardon	1735	GANYMEDE	A Person kept for Sodomitical Practices, so called from a beautiful young Man said to be ravished by *Jupiter*, and made his Cup-Bearer instead of *Hebe*.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	GANYMEDE	2. A person kept for sodomitical practices.
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Ganymede	A person kept for sodomitical practices, so called from a beautiful boy who was snatcht up by Jupiter in the form of an eagle, and made his cupbearer in the room of Hebe.
A New Complete English Dictionary	Marchant, Gordon	1760	GANYMEDE	a male prostitute, or one kept for sodomitical practices; such was Ganymede, a beautiful youth, to Jupiter.
A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan	Barclay	1774	GANYMEDE	a male prostitute, or one kept for sodomitical practices: such, it is fabled, was Ganymede, a beautiful youth, to Jupiter.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Ganymed, Ganymedes	{(}*in heathen mythology*) A beautiful boy, Jupiter's cup-bearer. *Figuratively*, An ingle, a boy kept for unnatural purposes.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Ganymede	page of Jupiter; a page.
Walker and Webster Combined	Longmuir	1864	GANYMEDE	Jupiter's cup-bearer, noted for beauty; hence, cup-bearer.
OED	Bradley	1898	Ganimede, -medean	see GANY-.
OED	Bradley	1898	Ganymede	**2.** A catamite.
ganymedean, *n.*				
OED	Bradley	1898	†Ganymedean	*Obs.*—¹ {…} One who follows the practices of a ganymede (see GANYMEDE 2).
gomor(r)(h)(a)ean, *n.*				

Glossographia	Blount	1656	Gomorrhean	a Sodomite, a Buggerer.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Gomorrhæan	one of *Gomorrha*, a *Sodomite*.
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Gommorhean	a Sodomite or Buggerer.
Glossographia Anglicana Nova	Anon	1707	Gomorrhean	a *Sodomite*, a Buggerer.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Gomorrhean	sodomite.
OED	Bradley	1900	†Gomorr(h)ean	*Obs.* {…} **B.** {…} An inhabitant of Gomorrah; hence, one who follows the practices of its inhabitants.
hermaphrodite, *n.*				
Ⓜ *Lexicon Physico-Medicum*	Quincy	1719	Hermaphrodite	is generally understood to be a Person where there is a Confusion of Sexes, by a Participation of the genital Parts of both. But there seems no more of Truth in this, than that some Females have their *Clitoris* of an uncommon size; and which frequently happen {sic} from lascivious Titillations, and Frictions, as in the celebrated Instance of the two Nuns at *Rome*.
Ⓣ *Cyclopædia*	Chambers	1728	HERMAPHRODITE	a Person who has both the Sexes; or the genital Parts both of Male, and Female. See SEX, *&c.* {…} Others dispute all that has been said of the Subject; maintaining, that the ill Conformation of the Parts of Generation, the Testicles being detain'd or conceal'd in Men, and the Clitoris longer than ordinary in Women; have been the sole Occasion of the Mistake. Dr. *Quincy* thinks, that the frequent Use of Lascivious, Frictions, and Titillations, may contribute greatly to the Extention of the Clitoris; and make it pass with the Ignorant for a Penis. This, he adds, was the Case in the celebrated Instance of the two Nuns at *Rome*, who after they had lived Women for many Years, became Men: But on what Grounds we do not know. {…}
OED	Murray	1898	Hermaphrodite	**A.** {…} **1.** {…} **c.** A catamite.
homosexual, *adj.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Homosexual	Pertaining to or characterized by sexual propensity for one's own sex.
homosexual, *n.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Homosexual	{s.v. *homosexual*, a.} Also *sb.* one who has such a propensity.
homosexuality, *n.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Homosexuality	{s.v. *homosexual*, a.; undefined.}
homosexualize, *v.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Homosexualize	{s.v. *Homosexual*} *trans.*, to make homosexual.
indorser, indorsor, *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Indorser	a sodomite; to indorse with a cudgel, to drub or beat a man over the back with a stick, to lay *cane* upon Abel.
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and*	Potter	1795	Indorsor	a sodemite {sic}.

Flash Languages, 2nd ed.				
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Indorser	A sodomite. To indorse with a cudgel; to drub or beat a man over the back with a stick, to lay *cane* upon Abel.
© *Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose, rev. Egan	1823	Indorser	A sodomite. To indorse with a cudgel; to drub or beat a man over the back with a stick, to lay *cane* upon Abel.
ingle, *n.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Ingle	a boy kept for Sodomy. See *Ganymede*.
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Ingle	see *Catamite*.
An English Expositor, {6th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. 'A Lover of the Arts'	1663	Ingle	A boy used for Sodomy, or masculine Venery.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Ingle	as *Catamite*, also a fire or a blaze, *Cu{mberland}.*
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Ingle	a Boy for Sodomy, used by Masculines.
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Ingle	See *Catamite*.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Ingle	a Boy hir'd to be abused contrary to Nature: Also a North Country Word for Fire or Blaze.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	INGLE	Fire, *N{orth}. C{ountry}.* also a Boy hired to be abused against Nature.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Ingle	a Boy hired to be abused contrary to Nature.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	INGLE	a bardachio, catamite, or boy hired to be abused against nature.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	INGLE	A boy prostituted to unnatural purposes.
A Supplement to Johnson's English Dictionary	Mason	1801	INGLE	A paramour.
A New Dictionary of the English Language	Richardson	1836	INGLE, or Engle	In Sp. *Ingle* is the groin. Originally (says Nares) signified a male favourite of the most detestable kind. (See *Nares*.)
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Ingle*	fire; flame; fireplace; catamite.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Ingle†	Originally, a male favourite or paramour in a bad sense: subsequently used as a term of endearment; a mistress; a sweetheart; a friend, male or female; an engle.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1884	*ingle (2)	**1.** A male favourite or paramour.
OED	Murray	1900	†Ingle	*Obs.* {…} A boy-favourite (in bad sense); a catamite.

inversion (of sexual instinct), sexual inversion, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	S{exual} instinct, inversion of	The special variety of sexual perversion in which there is sexual desire for another person of the same sex.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	S{exual} inversion	The same as *S{exual}. insinct, inversion of.*
Ⓜ *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*	Baldwin	1901	Inversion (sexual)	see PERVERSION (sexual).
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Inversion	**10.** In full, *sexual inversion*: inversion of the sex instincts.
invert, *n.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Invert	**3.** *Psychol.* One whose sex instincts are inverted. (Cf. *INVERSION 10; *INVERTED 3 c.)
inverted, *adj.*				
OED Supplement	Onions	1933	Inverted	**3. c.** *Psychol.* spec. of the sex instincts.
leman, *n.*				
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Leman	a Concubine, or Catamite, (*Pullus Jovis* Latin) some say it comes from the French word *Le mignon*, or Leyman, as it were ly by man.
The English Dictionary, 12th ed.	Cockeram, rev. Clarke	1670	Leman	A Concubine; or Catamite.
lesbian, *adj.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1888	Lesbian love	A synonym of *Tribadism*.
madge, *n.*				
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages*, 2nd ed.	Potter	1795	Madge	a sodomite.
madge cove, *n.*				
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages*, 2nd ed.	Potter	1795	Madge-Cove	a keeper of a house for buggerers.
© *Slang*	Bee	1823	Badge Coves	Paupers who wear the livery of their parish. '*Madge* Coves,' infamy itself—men who enact the parts of women: not to be confounded with the first in false elision.
madge cull, *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Madge culls	sodomites, *(cant)*
© *A New Dictionary of All the Cant and Flash Languages*, 2nd ed.	Potter	1795	Madge-Cull	a buggerer.
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Madge Culls	Sodomites. *Cant.*

malthacos, *n.*				
Ⓜ *A Medicinal Dictionary*	James	1745	MALTHACOS	the same as MALACOS; which see {irrelevant cross-reference}. *Cœlius Aurelianus*, among the Number of Diseases reckons that infamous and detestable Disposition of those, whom the *Greeks* called *μαλθακοὶ*, (*Malthaci*) and the *Latins Molles* and *Subacti*, and whom he opposes to the Women called *Tribades*. And tho' he acknowledges, that those abominable Inclinations were rather Vices or Diseases of the Mind, than the Body, and the Fruits of a Corruption of Manners, he was yet of Opinion, that the Birth of those unhappy Persons, or the Manner in which they had been conceived, contributed something towards it; and he entertains us, with the Conjectures of the Philosopher *Parmenides*, on that Subject. The Poets also speak of those enormous Vices, as if they were Diseases: Thus *Hispo subit juvenes, &* Morbo *pallet utroque*: Juvenal. *Campanum in* Morbum*, in Faciem permulta jocatus*. Hor.
Ⓜ *Dictionarium Medicum Universale*	Barrow	1749	MALTHACOS	See MALACOS {irrelevant cross-reference}.
mascula, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1892	Mascula	A female with so long a clitoris as to lead to her being mistaken for an hermaphrodite. Also, one who practices tribadism.
molly, *n.*				
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	MOLLY	a man that loves boys, a sodomite.
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Molly	a miss Molly, an effeminate fellow, a sodomite.
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Molly	A Miss Molly; an effeminate fellow, a sodomite.
© *Grose's Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose, rev. Egan	1823	Molly	A Miss Molly; an effeminate fellow.
OED	Bradley	1907	Molly[1]	**2.** An effeminate man or boy; a milksop. *Miss Molly*, in the same sense (cf. *Miss Nancy*, MISS *sb.*[2] 3 b); hence *Miss Mollyism*. *Cf.* MOLLY-CODDLE.
p(a)ederast, *n.*				
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Pederast	a Buggerer.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Pederast	a Buggerer.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	A PEDERAST	a Buggerer.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Pederast	a Sodomite, a Buggerer.

Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	PEDERAST	a lover of boys, a buggerer, a sodomite.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	PEDERAST	One who has a criminal passion for boys, a sodomite.
The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary	Perry	1805	Pederast	one who has a criminal and unnatural passion for boys, a SODOMITE {dead-end cross-reference}.
A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language	Knowles	1835	PEDERAST	A sodomite.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Pederast	A sodomite.
A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Craig	1849	Pederast	A Sodomite.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	PEDERAST	A sodomite.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Pederast	one d{itt}o. d{itt}o {i.e. who is pederastic}.
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	Pederast	A sodomite.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Pederast	A sodomite.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1886	*pederast	One addicted to pederasty; a sodomite.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pederast	One who practises *Pederasty*.
OED	Murray	1904	Pæderast	{s.v. *Pæderasty*} a sodomite
OED	Murray	1904	Pederast, etc.	see PÆDERAST, etc.
p(a)ederastia, *n.*				
Ⓜ *An Expository Lexicon*	Mayne	1860	Pæderastia	*Med.* Term for sodomy: pederasty.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pæderastia	Sodomy with a boy.
p(a)ederastic, *adj.*				
A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language	Knowles	1835	PEDERASTIC	Pertaining to pederasty.

A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Pederastic	Pertaining to pederasty.
A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Craig	1849	Pederastic	Relating to pederasty.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	PEDERASTIC	Pertaining to pederasty.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Pederastic	given to d{itt}o {i.e. pederasty}.
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	pederastic	{s.v. *pederast*} (pert{aining} to)
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Pederastic	Pertaining to pederasty.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1886	*pederastic	Pertaining or relating to pederasty.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pæderastic	Relating to *Pæderastia*.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pederastic	Pertaining to *Pederasty*.
OED	Murray	1904	Pæderastic	{s.v. *Pæderasty*} pertaining to or practising sodomy
p(a)ederastically, *adv.*				
OED	Murray	1904	Pæderastically	{s.v. *Pæderasty*; undefined.}
p(a)ederasticus, *n.*				
Ⓜ *An Expository Lexicon*	Mayne	1860	Pæderasticus	*Med.* Of or belonging to *Pæderastia*: pederastic.
p(a)ederastist, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1904	†Pæderastist	{s.v. *Pæderasty*} a sodomite
p(a)ederasty, p(a)ederastie, *n.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Pederastie	a vitious and dishonest loving of children, buggery.
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Pederasty, or Pæderasty	buggery, or a lusting after boyes.
Glossographia, 2nd ed.	Blount	1661	Pederastie	the loving of young boys, commonly taken in the ill part, as signifying the abuse of them against kind.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Pederasty, Pæd-	a lusting after boyes.
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Pederasty	a lusting after Boys, Sodomy, Buggery.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Pederasty	a lusting after Boys, Sodomy.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	PEDERASTY	Buggery.

The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, Vol. II	Bailey	1727	PEDERASTY	Buggery, Sodomy.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Pederasty	Buggery, Sodomy.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	PEDERASTY	buggery, sodomy, or lusting after boys.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Pederasty	A criminal passion for boys, sodomy.
The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary	Perry	1805	Pederasty	a criminal and unnatural passion for boys, sodomy, buggery.
A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language	Knowles	1835	PEDERASTY	Sodomy; the crime against nature.
Walker Remodelled	Smart	1836	Pederasty	The heathen sentiment of love for boys contrarily to nature.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Pederasty	Sodomy; the crime against nature.
A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Craig	1849	Pederasty	Sodomy.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	PEDERASTY	Sodomy; the crime against nature.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Pederasty	unnatural love for boys
Ⓜ *The Medical Vocabulary*	Fowler	1860	PÆDERASTY	Sodomy.
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	pederasty	{s.v. *pederast*} (crime of)
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Pederasty	The crime against nature; sodomy.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1886	*pederasty	The crime against nature; sodomy.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pederasty	See *Pæderastia*.
OED	Murray	1904	Pæderasty, ped-	Unnatural connexion with a boy; sodomy.

p(a)ederist, *n.*

Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pederist	The same as *Pederast*.
p(a)edicate, *v.*				
The English Dictionarie	Cockeram	1623	Pedicate	To bugger.
p(a)edication, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pædication	The committal of sodomy with a boy.
pathic, *adj.*				
OED	Murray	1904	Pathic	Now *rare* or *Obs.* {…} **B.** {…} **1.** That is the subject of sodomy; being, or pertaining to, a catamite.
pathic, *n.*				
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Bailey	1724	PATHICKS	those that suffer themselves to be abus'd by Men contrary to Nature, Sodomites.
The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, Vol. II	Bailey	1727	PATHIC	a Sodomite, an ingle, who suffers his Body to be abused contrary to Nature.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Pathic	a Sodomite, an Ingle, who suffers his Body to be abused contrary to Nature.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	PATHIC	a catamite, sodomite, or one who suffers himself to be abused contrary to nature.
A New Complete English Dictionary	Marchant, Gordon	1760	PATHIC	a catamite, a sodomite, or one who suffers himself to be abused contrary to nature.
The Royal English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fenning	1763	PATHICKS	Sodomites, or those who suffer themselves to be abused by men contrary to nature.
A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan	Barclay	1774	PATHICKS	Sodomites, or catamites.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	PATHIC	An ingle, one who suffers himself to be abused contrary to nature.
The Synonymous, Etymological, and Pronouncing English Dictionary	Perry	1805	Pathic	a CATAMITE {dead-end cross-reference}, one who suffers himself to be abused contrary to nature.
A New Dictionary of the English Language	Richardson	1837	Pathic	{s.v. *pathetic*; undefined.}
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Pathic	A catamite; a male that submits to the crime against nature.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	PATHIC	A catamite; a male that submits to the crime against nature.

A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Pathic	a person abused contrary to nature
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	Pathic	A male that submits to an unnat. crime.
A Dictionary of the English Language, rev. ed.	Johnson, rev. Todd, rev. Latham	1870	Pathic	Passive sodomite.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1882	Pathic	A male that submits to the crime against nature; a catamite. *Drayton.*
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1886	*pathic	**A.** *As subst:* A male that submits to the crime against nature; a catamite, an ingle.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Pathic	Remaining passive. Also (*Πάθος*), morbid suffering. Also, term for one who allows the crime of sodomy to be practised upon him.
OED	Murray	1904	Pathic	Now *rare* or *Obs.* {…} **A.** {…} **1.** A man or boy upon whom sodomy is practised; a catamite.
pathicism, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1904	Pathicism	the practice of a pathic.
pederast*				
{See *p(a)ederast**.}				
perversion (of sexual instinct), sexual perversion, *n.*				
Ⓜ *A Dictionary of Psychological Medicine*	Tuke	1892	SEXUAL PERVERSION	The term ‘perverse sexual feeling’ (*conträre Sexualempfindung*) was first used by Westphal (in *Archiv f. Psych.*) to express a condition which had already received attention from Casper and others, and which is described as consisting of an innate perversion or ‘inversion’ of the sexual feelings with consciousness of its morbid nature. It is maintained that in this condition a passion for the sex to which the sufferer belongs, instead of the normal inclination to the opposite sex, exists; and that this is a state which is innate—*i.e.*, appears as early as the dawn of sexual feelings, and remains constant; is in fact, *quâ* the individual, a physiological state. The evidence to prove this view, which seems at a first glance so untenable, is derived in part from the statements of persons who have exhibited the symptoms of sexual perversion. These unhappy creatures, for whom the term ‘Urnings’* was invented by a certain German lawyer who wrote on the subject from personal experience, claim that a large number of the human race are born with this abnormal appetite, and that they have the power throughout life of recognising each other when they meet. Now it is to be observed that the reminiscences and confessions of persons exhibiting sexual disturbance are notoriously untrustworthy. Any man who gives way to sexual depravity in whatever form at the period of puberty, and continues to indulge in it, will be disposed to feel that he had been led by a natural tendency. And yet how many cases of sexual depravity of various sorts occur in boyhood and are followed by the development of the ordinary sexual passion. A more solid argument is derived from the fact that such persons often spring from neurotic families—are themselves neurasthenic, and frequently exhibit temporary or permanent conditions of degenerative mental disturbance. It is also noted that the sexual passion appears at an abnormally early age in such cases. But all

				this is capable of another interpretation which appears to us to be, at least in the majority of cases, the true one. In a neurotic, delicate, or ill brought up child, the sexual passion appears early. The sexual passion at its first appearance is always indefinite, and is very easily turned in a wrong direction. This occurs in ordinary cases of masturbation. As in masturbation, so in other forms of sexual depravity, the vice is more apt to become permanent if it begins early before the higher faculties have developed, and once the vicious habit of mind is definitely organised, development of appetite along the normal lines may fail to take place. Some such explanation as this seems more rational than the belief that an individual is born with the anatomical characteristics of one sex and the mental characteristics of another. Besides, it brings these cases into line with that form of sexual aberration with which we are most familiar, self-abuse. This view is also borne out by the fact that these cases are almost always complicated with it. Out of seventeen cases of so-called congenital sexual perversion described by Krafft-Ebing, in the third edition of his book on 'Sexual Psychopathy,' in three or four at most the condition did not seem to have originated in masturbation in early life, and many of the histories are simply accounts of the depraved habits unfortunately common in boyhood carried on into adult life. Akin to sexual perversion, in the limited sense of the word, are many other aberrations of the venereal appetite, all of which are probably to be regarded as essentially of the same nature and having a similar origin. In these, apparently through some accidental mental association formed in early life, some object not directly connected with the performance of the sexual functions calls up sexual feelings and desires. Such cases in their disgusting details seem hardly worthy of the minute study that has been given to them. For the purpose of the physician it seems sufficient to look upon them as varieties of masturbation. One class, perhaps, deserves special note through its possible importance from a medico-legal point of view. In this form sexual excitement is combined with bloodthirsty tendencies to mutilation, or even murder, or to both. It would seem that in some cases the murderous tendency appears as the equivalent and representative of sexual passion. Some shocking crimes certainly seem to have been due to this association, but here, as in the previously considered cases, we must not hastily assume that a highly abnormal development of the generative feelings necessarily implies congenital perversion. Those who wish to follow up the subject of sexual aberration in its less usual forms will find detailed information in the works of Casper, Westphal, Krafft-Ebing, Tarnowsky, Lombroso, Charcot, Moll, and others. CONOLLY NORMAN. *The Word 'Urning' has no derivation. Ulrich {sic}, who was the Bavarian jurist referred to, wrote several extraordinary pamphlets claiming for people of this kind the legal right of marriage with persons of the same sex. The term has come into general use in Germany.—[ED.]
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	S{exual} instinct, perversion of	See *S{exual} perversion*.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	S{exual} perversion	Any abnormal alteration of the natural sexual instincts.

Ⓜ *Dictionary of Philosophy and Psychology*	Baldwin	1902	Perversion	A degeneration or morbid alteration of the instincts, feelings, habits, or modes of thought. These occur in many forms of insanity and in individuals of morbid, neurotic heredity. Perversions of taste, perversions of the sense of pain, a perverted moral sense have been noted in hysteria, in mania, in idiocy, &c. (Cf. these terms, and also especially MORAL INSANITY, and DEGENERATION.) Sexual perversions have been extensively studied, and are in most cases regarded as symptomatic of nervous or mental disorder; a special case is inversion or homosexuality—sexual instinct directed towards persons of the same sex. *Literature*: HAVELOCK ELLIS, Studies in the Psychol. of Sex, i; Sexual Inversion (1897); KRAFFT-EBING, Psychopathia Sexualis; MOLL, Conträre Sexualempfindung (1891). (J{OSEPH} J{ASTROW}.)
pervert, *n.*				
OED Supplement	Craigie	1933	Pervert	**2.** *Psych.* One whose instincts have been perverted.
prostitute, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1909	Prostitute	**B.** {…} **1.** {…} †**b.** A catamite. *Obs. rare.*
pygist, *n.*				
The English Dictionarie	Cockeram	1623	Pygist	One that vseth buggerie.
OED	Murray	1909	†Pygist	*Obs. rare*—°. {Undefined.}
Sapphism, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Sapphism	The unnatural sexual passion of woman for woman. Also termed *Tribadism*.
OED	Bradley	1909	Sapphism	Unnatural sexual relations between women.
Sapphist, *n.*				
OED	Bradley	1909	Sapphist	{s.v. *Sapphism*} 'one addicted to sapphism' (*Webster's Suppl.* 1902).
sellary, *n.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Sellary	a place wherein were formes and stools for men to sit on. It is used by *Tacitus* in his Annals for that place where *Tiberius* exercised his horrid and unnatural lusts.
OED	Bradley	1911	†Sellary[1]	*Obs.* {…} A male prostitute.
sodometrous, *adj.*				
OED	Craigie	1913	†Sodometrous	*Obs. rare.* {…} Sodomitical.
sodomic, *adj.*				
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomic	*rare.* {…} Of or pertaining to Sodom; sodomitic.
sodomist, *n.*				
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	sodomist	{s.v. *sodomy*} (one guilty of)
Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Stormonth	1871	sodomist	one guilty of sodomy.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomist	*rare*—°. {…} A sodomite.
sodomite, *n.*				

An English Expositor, {4th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. W. S.	1654	Sodomite	One guilty of that filthy sin of Sodom, mentioned Gen. 19. 5. thence called *Sodomy*.
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Sodomite	an Ingler or Buggerer.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Sodomite	he that commits {*Sodomy*}
A New English Dictionary	J. K.	1702	Sodomite, A	one that commits {*Sodomy*}
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Sodomite	in which City of *Sodom*, this wickedness was first committed, that we read of. {sic}
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Sodomite	one that commits Sodomy, a Buggerer.
Glossographia Anglicana Nova	Anon	1707	Sodomite	a Person given to *Sodomy* or Buggery, the Sin of *Sodom* the chief of the five Cities in *Palestine* which was destroy'd by fire from Heaven; the Territory where it stood being swallowed up in the Brimstone Lake, commonly called the dead Sea.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Sodomite	one that commits Sodomy, a Buggerer.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	SODOMITE	one who commits the Sin of Sodomy, a Buggerer.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Sodomite	one who commits the Sin of *Sodomy*, a Buggerer.
A New English Dictionary	Defoe	1735	SODOMITE	one who commits the Sin of Sodomy, a Buggerer.
A New General English Dictionary	Dyche, Pardon	1735	SODOMITE	One who commits, or is guilty of the unnatural Sin of *Sodomy*.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	SODOMITE	a buggerer, one that commits sodomy.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	SODOMITE	One guilty of sodomy.
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Sodomite	One guilty of sodomy.
A New English Dictionary	Anon	1759	SODOMITE	one who commits the sin of sodomy; a buggerer.
An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fisher	1773	Sodomite	one who commits sodomy
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Sodomite	An inhabitant of Sodom, one guilty of sodomy.
A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Anon	1785	Sodomite	one who is guilty of sodomy.

Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge	Maunder	1830	Sodomite	one guilty of sodomy
A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language	Knowles	1835	SODOMITE	One guilty of sodomy.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Sodomite	An inhabitant of Sodom. One guilty of sodomy.
A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Craig	1849	Sodomite	An inhabitant of the ancient city of Sodom; one guilty of sodomy.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	SODOMITE	2. One guilty of sodomy.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	{Sodo}mite	one practising d{itt}o {i.e. sodomy}.
A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	Sodomite	An inhab. of *Sod'om*; a sodomist.
Walker and Webster Combined	Longmuir	1864	SODOMITE	One guilty of sodomy; an inhabitant of Sodom.
Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language	Donald	1867	Sodomite	lit. *an inhabitant of Sodom*; one guilty of sodomy.
Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1867	Sodomite	One guilty of sodomy.
A Dictionary of the English Language, rev. ed.	Johnson, rev. Todd, rev. Latham	1870	Sodomite	One guilty of sodomy.
Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Stormonth	1871	Sodomite	an inhabitant of Sodom; one guilty of an unnatural crime, attributed to the inhabitants of Sodom
Chambers's English Dictionary	Donald	1872	SODOMITE	(*lit.*) *An inhabitant of Sodom*: one guilty of sodomy.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1883	Sodomite	2. One guilty of sodomy.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1887	Sodomite	**2.** One given to or guilty of sodomy.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomite	**†1.** Sodomy. *Obs rare.* {…} **2.** One who practises or commits sodomy. {…} **b.** *attrib.* Sodomitic, sodomitish. *rare.*
sodomiter, *n.*				

OED	Craigie	1913	†Sodomiter	{s.v. *Sodomite*} a sodomite {…} *Obs.*
sodomitess, *n.*				
OED	Craigie	1913	†Sodomitess	{s.v. *Sodomite*} a woman sodomite. *Obs.*
sodomitic, *adj.*				
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomitic	*rare.* {…} = next {i.e. *Sodomitical*}.
sodomitical, *adj.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Sodomitical	pertaining to Sodomy or Buggery.
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Sodomitical	belonging to *Sodomy*, i. buggery, or unnatural lust.
The English Dictionary, 12th ed.	Cockeram, rev. Clarke	1670	Sodomitical	Belonging to Sodomy; or Unnatural lust.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Sodomitical	belonging to a {*Sodomite*}
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Sodomitical	one guilty of the horrid sin of {Sodomy; sic}
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Sodomitical	belonging to that hainous {sic} Crime.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Sodomitical	belonging to that heinous Crime.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	SODOMITICAL	belonging to Sodomy.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Sodomitical	of, or pertaining to the Sin of *Sodomy*.
A New English Dictionary	Defoe	1735	SODOMITICAL	belonging to Sodomy.
A New General English Dictionary	Dyche, Pardon	1735	SODOMITICAL	Pertaining or belonging to the Act of Sodomy.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	SODOMITICAL	of, or belonging to the sin of sodomy.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	SODOMITICAL	Of, or belonging to {SODOMY}
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Sodomitical	Of or belonging to sodomy.
A New English Dictionary	Anon	1759	SODOMITICAL	belonging to *Sodomy*.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Sodomitical	Pertaining to sodomy, guilty of sodomy.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	SODOMITICAL	Relating to sodomy.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	{Sodo}mitical	{Undefined.}

A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	sodomitical	{s.v. *sodomy*} (pert. to or tainted with)
Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language	Donald	1867	sodomitical	*pertaining to* or of the nature of *sodomy*.—*adv.* **sodomitically**.
Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1867	Sodomitical	{s.v. *sodomy*; undefined.}
Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Stormonth	1871	sodomitical	pert. to sodomy
Chambers's English Dictionary	Donald	1872	SODOMITICAL	Pertaining to or of the nature of sodomy.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1883	Sodomitical	Relating to sodomy.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1887	sodomitical	Pertaining or relating to sodomy.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Sodomitical	Guilty of sodomy.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomitical	**1.** Of persons: Guilty of, committing, or practising sodomy. {…} **†b.** With whom sodomy is committed. *Obs.* {…} **2.** Of the nature of, characterized by, consisting in, or involving sodomy. {…} **†3.** Of places, institutions, etc.: Polluted or infected by sodomy. *Obs.*
sodomitically, *adv.*				
Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language	Donald	1867	sodomitically	{s.v. *sodomitical*}
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1883	Sodomitically	In a sodomitical manner.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Sodomitically	In a sodomitical manner.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomitically	{s.v. *Sodomitical*; undefined.}
sodomiticalness, *n.*				
The Universal Etymological English Dictionary, Vol. II	Bailey	1727	SODOMITICALNESS	Guiltiness of Sodomy.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Sodomiticalness	Guiltiness of Sodomy.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Sodomiticalness	The guilt of sodomy.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomiticalness	{s.v. *Sodomitical*; undefined.}

sodomitish, *adj.*				
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Sodomitish	Belonging to Sodom.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomitish	*rare.* {…} Sodomitical; of Sodom.
sodomitry, sodomitrie, *n.*				
A Table Alphabeticall	Cawdrey	1604	sodomitrie	when one man lyeth filthylie with another man
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Sodomitry	Sodomitic processes. Sodomy, gross wickedness.
OED	Craigie	1913	†Sodomitry	*Obs.* {…} **1.** = SODOMY 1. (Common *c*1540–*c*1650.) {…} **2.** = SODOMY 2.
sodomy, *n.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Sodomy	buggery, so called from the City *Sodom* in *Judæa*, which for that detestable sin was destroyed with fire from heaven. *Gen.* 19.
An English Expositor, {6th} ed.	Bullokar, rev. 'A Lover of the Arts'	1663	Sodomy	Masculine Venery, buggery, first known to have been used among the people of *Sodom*.
An Alphabetical Dictionary	Lloyd	1668	Sodomy	RJ. III. 6. A. ☞ JUDICIAL RELATION {…} III. CRIMES CAPITAL (*Enormity, facinorous, criminal, Malefactor*,) such as are or ought to be punished with Death, may be distinguished into such Offences as are more commonly *against* {…} 6. *Chastity*; by *unnatural coition*, either || with *Beasts* : or *Males*. {…} SODOMY*, Buggery, Catamite*.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Sodomy	buggery, the sin of {*Sodom*}
A New English Dictionary	J. K.	1702	Sodomy	*or* Buggery, the sin of *Sodom*, the chief of the five Cities in *Palestine* that were destroy'd by fire from heaven; the territory where they stood being swallow'd up in the brimstone-lake, commonly call'd the dead-sea.
Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Sodomy	Male venery, or buggery: A {Sodomite}
The New World of Words, 6th ed.	Phillips, rev. Kersey	1706	Sodomy	Buggery, a Sin of the Flesh against Nature, so call'd because it was notoriously committed by the Inhabitants of the City of *Sodom*.
Dictionarium Anglo-Britannicum	Kersey	1708	Sodomy	Buggery, a Sin of the Flesh against Nature, which was notoriously committed by the Inhabitants of *Sodom*.
A New English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	J. K.	1713	Sodomy	i.e. Buggery; a heinous Crime, so call'd because the Inhabitants of *Sodom* were notoriously guilty of it.
An Universal Etymological English Dictionary	Bailey	1721	SODOMY	Buggery, a Sin of the Flesh against Nature, so call'd because committed by the Inhabitants of *Sodom*.
Ⓣ *Cyclopædia*	Chambers	1728	SODOMY	an unnatural Crime, thus called from the City of *Sodom*, which was destroy'd by Fire for the same. See BUGGERY. The *Levitical* Laws adjuged those guilty of this execrable Evil to the Fire, *Lev. c.* 18 and 20. And the Civil Law assigns the same Punishment. Our Laws make it Felony.

© *A New Law-Dictionary*	Jacob	1729	Sodomy	The Crime of, and how punished, see *Buggery*.
Dictionarium Britannicum	Bailey	1730	Sodomy	the Sin of the Flesh against Nature, so named because committed by the Inhabitants of the City of *Sodom*, Buggery.
A New English Dictionary	Defoe	1735	SODOMY	a Sin of the Flesh against Nature, Buggery.
A New General English Dictionary	Dyche, Pardon	1735	SODOMY	The unnatural coupling of one Man with another, *&c.*
© *The Student's Law-Dictionary*	Anon	1740	Sodomy	See *Buggery*.
Lingua Britannica Reformata	Martin	1749	SODOMY	buggery, a sin of the flesh against nature; so called because committed by the inhabitants of Sodom.
A Pocket Dictionary	Anon	1753	SODOMY	The unnatural coupling of one man with another; so called, because committed by the inhabitants of Sodom.
℗ *A Supplement to Mr. Chambers's Cyclopædia*	Scott	1753	SODOMY	(*Cycl{opædia}.*)—There is no Statute in Scotland against *sodomy*; the libel of this crime is therefore founded on the divine law, and practice makes its punishment to be burning alive.
The Complete English Dictionary	Wesley	1753	SODOMY	men's lying with men.
Linguæ Britannicæ Vera Pronunciatio	Buchanan	1757	Sodomy	The unnatural coupling of one man with another; so called, because committed by the inhabitants of Sodom.
A New English Dictionary	Anon	1759	SODOMY	buggery, a sin of the flesh against nature, so called, because committed by the inhabitants of *Sodom*.
A New Complete English Dictionary	Marchant, Gordon	1760	SODOMY	the unnatural crime for which Sodom was destroyed by fire from heaven.
The Royal English Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fenning	1763	SODOMY	buggery; a sin of the flesh against nature: so called because committed by the inhabitants of Sodom.
© *A New and Complete Law-Dictionary*	Cunningham	1765	Sodomy	See *Buggery*.
An Accurate New Spelling Dictionary, 2nd ed.	Fisher	1773	Sodomy	a sin of the flesh against nature
A Complete and Universal English Dictionary on a New Plan	Barclay	1774	SODOMY	buggery; a sin of the flesh against nature; so called because committed by the inhabitants of Sodom.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	Sodomy	The sin of sodomy, the unnatural sin of buggery.
A General and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Anon	1785	Sodomy	an unnatural crime.

© *The Law-Dictionary*, rev. ed.	Jacob, rev. Tomlins	1797	Sodomy	See *B* {i.e. *buggery*}.
Orthoepy Simplified	Earnshaw	1816	Sodomy	{In Addenda} an unnatural crime, so called from the city of Sodom, which was destroyed by fire for the same.
© *A Compendious and Comprehensive Law Dictionary*	Williams	1816	BUGGERY, or sodomy	See *Buggery*.
© *A New Law Dictionary*	Whishaw	1829	SODOMY	Vide *Buggery*.
Maunder's Treasury of Knowledge	Maunder	1830	Sodomy	an heinous and unnatural crime
A Pronouncing and Explanatory Dictionary of the English Language	Knowles	1835	SODOMY	A crime against nature.
Walker Remodelled	Smart	1836	SODOMY	The sin of Sodom.
© *A New Law Dictionary*	Holthouse	1839	Sodomy	See tit. *Buggery*.
A Popular and Complete English Dictionary	Boag	1848	Sodomy	A crime against nature.
© *The Law Lexicon, or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*	Wharton	1848	SODOMY	the crime against nature. It may be required to examine the individual on whom it has been committed. If, without consent, inflammation, excoriation, heat, and contusion will probably be present. The effects of a frequent repetition of the crime are a dilitation of the sphincters, ulcerations on the parts, or a livid appearance and thickening. It has been suggested that secondary symptoms of lues might be mistaken for these, but Beck is hardly of this opinion. No man, however, ought to be condemned on medical proofs solely: the physician should only deliver his opinion in favour or against an accusation already preferred. *Beck's Med. Jurisp.* 119. *Sodomie est crime de Majestie vers le Roy Celestre* {sic}. 3 Inst. 58.—(Sodomy is high treason against the King of Heaven.)
A New Universal Etymological, Technological, and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Craig	1849	Sodomy	A crime against nature,—so named from its commission by the inhabitants of Sodom.
The Imperial Dictionary	Ogilvie	1850	SODOMY	A crime against nature.
A New and Comprehensive Dictionary of the English Language	Clarke	1855	Sodo-my	unnatural crime

A Dictionary of the English Language	Cooley	1861	Sodomy	Sexual commerce bet. males (a crime imputed to the inhab. of Sodom).
The Standard Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1863	Sodomy	A crime against nature.
Walker and Webster Combined	Longmuir	1864	SODOMY	A crime against nature.
© *The Law-Lexicon or Dictionary of Jurisprudence*, 3rd ed.	Wharton	1864	Sodomy	the crime against nature.—4 *Step. Com.* 175; *Beck's Med. Jurisp.* 119; *Tayl. Med. Jur.* c. 51 *ad fin*. *Sodomie est crime de Majestie vers le Roy Celeste.* 3 *Inst.* 58.—(Sodomy is treason against the King of Heaven.)
Chambers's Etymological Dictionary of the English Language	Donald	1867	sodomy	copulation in an unnatural manner, so called because this crime was imputed to the inhabitants of *Sodom*.
Routledge's Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Nuttall	1867	Sodomy	The sin of Sodom; unnatural crime{.}
A Dictionary of the English Language, rev. ed.	Johnson, rev. Todd, rev. Latham	1870	Sodomy	Unnatural crime.
Etymological and Pronouncing Dictionary of the English Language	Stormonth	1871	sodomy	the sin of Sodom
Chambers's English Dictionary	Donald	1872	SODOMY	Copulation between males, so called because this crime was imputed to the inhabitants of Sodom.
© *A New Law Dictionary and Institute of the Whole Law*	Brown	1874	SODOMY	The crime of having unnatural intercourse with a male human being, or, *semble*, a female person; or with a brute animal. *See* also title BUGGERY.
The Imperial Dictionary, rev. ed.	Ogilvie, rev. Annandale	1883	Sodomy	The crime of Sodom; a carnal copulation against nature.
The Encyclopædic Dictionary	Hunter	1887	sodomy	An unnatural crime; carnal copulation against nature.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Sodomy	Unnatural sexual relations with the same sexes or with beasts.
OED	Craigie	1913	Sodomy	**1.** An unnatural form of sexual intercourse, esp. that of one male with another. {…} **2.** An act or instance of this.
spintrian, *adj.*				
Glossographia	Blount	1656	Spintrian	pertaining to those that seek out, or invent new and monstrous actions of lust. *Tacitus annal lib.* 6. *& Rel. Med.*
The New World of English Words	Phillips	1658	Spintrian	inventing new actions of lust.
An English Dictionary	Coles	1676	Spintrian	belonging to new inventions of lust.

Cocker's English Dictionary	Cocker	1704	Spintrian	lewd and unnatural ways of lust.
The New and Complete Dictionary of the English Language	Ash	1775	SPINTRIAN	Inventive of indulgences to lust. *Cole.*
OED	Craigie	1914	†Spintrian	*Obs.* {…} (See quot. 1656.) {The quotation is Blount's definition.}
spintry, *n.*				
OED	Craigie	1914	†Spintry	*Obs. rare.* {…} **1.** A species of male prostitute. The L{atin} form is used as a pl. by Goldsm. *Cit. World* xxxiv. {…} **2.** A place used for unnatural practices.
subagitatrix, subigitatrix, *n.*				
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Subagitatrix	One who practises *Tribadism*.
Ⓜ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Subigitatrix	*Tribas*.
tribade, tribas, *n.*				
Ⓜ *A Medicinal Dictionary*	James	1745	TRIBADES	See MALTHACOS. Tho' the *Clitoris* is commonly concealed within the Lips of the Pudenda; yet in some Women it becomes so far prominent, that they are either, by ignorant Persons, thought to be transform'd into Men, or make Attempts to converse in a criminal manner with other Women. The unhappy Females, who pollute themselves in this manner, are by the *Greeks* call'd *Τριβάδες*, and by the *Latins Fricatrices*, who, according to *Cœlius Aurelianus*, in *Lib.* 4. *Tard. Pass. Cap.* 9. are fonder of associating themselves with Women than with Men. *Henrica Schuria*, a Woman of a masculine Turn of Mind, being weary of her Sex, dress'd herself like a Man, and serv'd in Quality of a Soldier for some time under his Serene Highness *Frederic Henry* Prince of *Orange*, in the Siege of *Boisleduc*. But returning Home, she was accus'd of uncommon and preternatural Lust, since her *Clitoris* sometimes appear'd so far without the Lips of the Pudenda, that she frequently attempted that Species of criminal Dalliance with other Women, which the *Greeks* call *Κειτορίζειν* {sic *Κλιτορίζειν*}. She could, also, perform what the *Greeks* call *Τρίβειν* with such a Degree of Vigour and Virility, that she pleas'd a certain Widow, of whom she was excessively fond, so well, that, if the Laws of the Land had permitted, she would have married her, perhaps more chearfully than she had done her deceas'd Husband, by whom she had six Children. This Woman, in external Appearance had the same Configuration of the Parts of the Pudenda with other Women. But, according to the Declaration of three Midwives, internally, a little before the urinary Passage, there was evidently perceiv'd a certain glandulous Caruncle, call'd the *Clitoris*, which tho' in other Women it hardly exceeds the Bulk of a Nail, was yet said to be

				half a Finger long in her, and in Thickness to resemble the Penis of a Boy. This Clitoris, tho' not always, yet sometimes, appear'd without the Lips of the Pudenda, especially when she discharg'd her Urine with Difficulty, or was under the Influence of strong Inclinations to her unnatural Crime; at which time her Clitoris protuberated half a Finger's Length, or sometimes more, according to the Strength of her Inclinations. *Johannes Poponius*, a celebrated Lawyer, in *L.* 22. *Tit.* 7. *Arest*. II is of Opinion, that such Women ought to be punished by Death. But *Henrica Schuria* had a milder Judge, and, being only whipt with Rods, was banish'd far from the Partner of her Crimes; who was, also, punish'd, tho' allowed to remain in the City. *Tulpii Observat. L.* 3. *C.* 35.
ℳ *Dictionarium Medicum Universale*	Barrow	1749	TRIBADES	See MALTHACOS.
OED	Murray	1914	Tribade	A woman who practises unnatural vice with other women. Also *attrib.*
tribadism, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1914	Tribadism	{s.v. *tribade*; undefined.}
tribady, *n.*				
OED	Murray	1914	Tribady	{s.v. *tribade*; undefined.}
urning, *n.*				
ℳ *NSSL*	Power, Sedgwick	1899	Urning	One affected with sexual perversion in which the desire is only for persons of the same sex.
windward passage, *n.*				
© *A Classical Dictionary of the Vulgar Tongue*	Grose	1785	Windward passage	one who uses, or navigates the windward passage, a sodomite.
© *Lexicon Balatronicum*	Grose, rev. 'A Member of the Whip Club'	1811	Windward Passage	One who uses or navigates the windward passage; a sodomite.