SHAKESPEARE IN PRINT

Second Edition

Described by the *TLS* as 'a formidable bibliographical achievement ... destined to become a key reference work for Shakespeareans', *Shakespeare in Print* is now issued in a revised and expanded edition offering a wealth of new material, including a chapter which maps the history of digital editions from the earliest computer-generated texts to the very latest digital resources. Andrew Murphy's narrative offers a masterful overview of the history of Shakespeare publishing and editing, teasing out the greater cultural significance of the ways in which the plays and poems have been disseminated and received over the centuries from Shakespeare's time to our own. The opening chapters have been completely rewritten to offer close engagement with the careers of the network of publishers and printers who first brought Shakespeare to print, additional material has been added to all chapters, and the chronological appendix has been updated and expanded.

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A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing

Second Edition

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In memory of Gerard Murphy, 1950–2019
'. . . and not this broken wave . . .'

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The first edition of *Shakespeare in Print* was dedicated to my brother, Gerard Murphy, as 'my oldest friend and encourager'. I re-dedicate the book now, to his memory.

Preface to the Second Edition

When *Shakespeare in Print* was first published, the reviewer in the *Year's Work in English Studies* very kindly commented that the book would 'remain the standard single-volume reference work for a long time.'[1] While the text has, I hope, been broadly useful over its lifespan so far, it has nevertheless come, in recent years, to feel in need of updating, recasting and revision. One notable deficiency in the original edition – clearly apparent now in retrospect – is that digital texts were covered in just a handful of pages at the very end of the book's Conclusion. I offered, in fact, very little recognition of the greater significance of digital textuality, ending the volume by implying that the 'pocket-sized printed book' seemed, in truth, unlikely to face much real competition from what I characterised at the time as a 'dispersed electronic Shakespearean archive'. I must now admit that there was more than a slight touch of complacency about this conclusion, but, in my defence, I might say that my original text was completed at a time when digital editions were still being read almost exclusively on computers – with the texts themselves sometimes still, in certain instances, needing to be loaded from CD-ROM discs. The iPhone and the Kindle were, at that point, still five years off in the future, and the first iPad would not be released until a further three years later. It had not been all that long ago, indeed, since E. Annie Proulx had declared in the *New York Times* that 'the electronic highway is for bulletin boards on esoteric subjects, reference works, lists and news – timely, utilitarian information, efficiently pulled through the wires. Nobody is going to sit down and read a novel on a twitchy little screen. Ever.'[2] It is hard not to feel that Proulx's assertion sounds endearingly old-fashioned now. The advent of more sophisticated mobile devices – coupled with significant improvements in screen technology – has had the effect of greatly enhancing the potential of the digital text. An app such as the Touch Press *Sonnets* package offers something very different from what was available at the time when the first edition of *Shakespeare in Print* went to press: a well-edited

modern text seamlessly integrated with facsimiles; with a generous amount of high-quality video and audio; and with a broad range of commentary configurable in a variety of different ways. There simply was not anything of this level of sophistication – or, indeed, with such high production values – available when the present volume was first written. We have come a long way from the days when the videos provided as part of a Shakespeare digital package were displayed in tiny windows within the screen. But there is a further point that might be made here also: the first edition of this book was produced during a period of transition, as we moved from the world of the printed text to the world of the screen. The present edition has been created at a time when digital textuality is a wholly native realm to a great many readers. For many people now – and certainly for many students – reading Shakespeare on screen is as much, if not more, of a natural experience as reading him on the printed page. Given these developments, it has felt important, in producing this new edition, to add to the book a completely new chapter, dedicated to the history of digital editions of the playwright's works. It has seemed particularly critical to capture this history at a time when it is still possible to do so – to log the evolution of the digital Shakespeare text in a period which may in time come to be seen as the equivalent of its incunabular phase.

Other developments over the past stretch of years have prompted me to do more in this new edition than simply attempting to bring the text up to date by adding a single new chapter. The closing decades of the twentieth century witnessed a significant increase in the amount of scholarly attention being given to textual matters. Much of the work that came out of that period was (rather polemically) theoretical in nature – an issue to be discussed further below. But, from early in the new century onwards, there was something of a turn towards a more determinedly contextualist approach to bibliography. Scholars such as Zachary Lesser sought to emphasise the importance both of seeing the specific careers of individual stationers in the round *and* of seeing these stationers as part of a greater network operating in collaboration.[3] Building on this, András Kiséry has nicely observed that we might see St Paul's Churchyard – the centre of the London publishing trade – as being 'London's most prominent news exchange, a public arena whose bookshops have even been compared to the coffee shops of a century later, with the implication that the Habermasian public sphere may have originated in these establishments of commercial, social encounter, and intellectual exchange.'[4] Such contextualisations have the capacity significantly to change the way in which we view the early publishing history of Shakespeare's texts. Thus, for

instance, Tara L. Lyons has argued that stationers discovered, in the closing years of the sixteenth century, that there was a buoyant market for editions of history plays that could be gathered together into monarchical sequences.[5] For these stationers, Shakespeare was less important in himself (though he would quickly become so) than he was as a prolific producer of just the kinds of texts that were beginning to find a ready market. The more we learn about the careers of stationers, about their priorities, and about their connections with each other, the better able we are to understand how Shakespeare became established in the print marketplace of his own time. Reading the work of scholars such as Lesser, Kiséry, Lyons and many others prompted me to feel that the opening sections of this volume required more than just an updating here and there. As a result, I have dropped the original first two chapters of the book and have replaced them with wholly new versions, written from the ground up. Readers familiar with the first edition of *Shakespeare in Print* will find in this new edition a much greater emphasis on the extended careers of the early publishers and printers of Shakespeare's texts. Thus, for instance, where, in my original book, Thomas Millington appears essentially in passing, registered simply as having been involved in the first editions of *Titus Andronicus* and *2* and *3 Henry VI*, here I give much greater attention to the overall trajectory of his career as a stationer, noting the populist character of his portfolio and registering also the significance of his peripheral location, while also noting that his editions seem, in essence, to have provided 'proof of concept' in identifying Shakespeare as a viable commodity. Likewise, in the new Chapter 2 of this study I spend considerably more time mapping out the context of Thomas Pavier's career, and of the careers of the stationers who came together to produce the First Folio collection of 1623.

I have already mentioned the theoretical cast of much of the work that emerged in the arena of textual studies in the closing decades of the twentieth century. It was against this backdrop that the original edition of *Shakespeare in Print* was conceived and written. The work produced by some scholars in this period has sometimes been referred to as constituting a 'New Textualism' – generally as a convenient way of casting it in opposition to the long-established New Bibliography.[6] In truth, 'New Textualism' was never much more than a convenient catch-all way of referring to a fairly dispersed set of studies which often had little more in common than a desire to challenge New Bibliographic orthodoxies. Nevertheless, at the time when the first edition of this book was being written, it was unclear exactly how much long-term impact this set of ideas

would have within the field of Shakespeare editing (as opposed to textual theorising). When the New Bibliographic approach itself was taking shape, early in the twentieth century, R. W. Chapman of Oxford University Press wrote to Kenneth Sisam, observing 'I still hope to publish a Shakespeare; but perhaps we had better wait till this dust settles and see what it leaves standing.'[7] In recent years, it has felt as if the dust of the New Textualism has itself started to settle, and it is now remarkable how much of the old edifice of the New Bibliography remains standing, albeit, in many instances, in carefully modified form. This being the case, it has felt appropriate, as I have revised this volume, to condense some of the sections dedicated to the controversies of the later twentieth century. So there is, for instance, much less attention given in the current version of Chapter 11 to the issue of authorial revisionism, though this was a much discussed topic from the mid-1980s through to the end of the twentieth century.

Other much bewritten controversies of the time – such as the question of whether Shakespeare was the author of the 'Funeral Elegy' poem, or whether playbooks were or were not successful print commodities in Shakespeare's time – have since for the most part fallen from view, and I have largely removed discussion of them from the current text.[8] In addition to cutting certain sections of Chapter 11, I have also extended it considerably, to give attention to the most important new complete works editions that have appeared since the first edition of this book was published: notably the *RSC Shakespeare*, the *New Oxford Shakespeare* and *Norton 3* – all of them offering innovative new texts, though all differing very considerably from each other. In revising my text I also came to feel that the original Introduction made rather heavier weather than was necessary in mapping out certain aspects of the book, most notably offering arguments for the distinction between the history of editing and the history of publishing. Other elements of the original Introduction also came to feel a little heavy-handed to me as I reconsidered it, so I provide here a new Introduction, intended to offer a rather more lightly conceived overview of the purpose and remit of the volume.

In essence, then, this new edition of *Shakespeare in Print* provides one wholly new chapter; two completely rewritten chapters; one chapter that has been both cut and significantly extended; and a new Introduction. All of these changes happen at, so to speak, the extremities of the main text. In between, the remaining chapters have been revised and updated to a greater or lesser extent. All of these chapters have had some new material added to them – generally from relevant studies that have appeared since the book was first published. Throughout the volume I have also taken

advantage of the new electronic resources that have become available in the past decade and a half or so – notably *Early English Books Online* (*EEBO*) and *Eighteenth Century Collections Online* (*ECCO*). A particularly useful resource has been the *Burney Collection* and other newspaper databases available online from the British Library.[9] This latter set of resources has enabled me to chase out a good deal more information relating, in particular, to eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions. I have drawn on these resources fairly extensively in revising Chapters 3, 4, 5, 8 and 9. Beyond this, the revision process has also benefited from research that I have undertaken subsequent to completing work on the original *Shakespeare in Print* – most notably the materials I gathered when writing *Shakespeare for the People* (2008) and for producing an extended profile of W. W. Greg for the 'Great Shakespeareans' series (2011). Some of the underlying research for these publications has now been incorporated into the present text, particularly in Chapters 8 and 10.

In addition to revising the main body of the volume, I have also revised the chronological appendix. Here, a number of errors that have helpfully been pointed out to me by colleagues over the years have been corrected. In most cases, these are relatively minor inaccuracies, such as mistakenly identifying the format of the 1675 *Venus and Adonis* as an octavo when it is, in fact, a sextodecimo. The oddest error I have discovered is the note on the 1611 edition of *Pericles* in which I mysteriously describe it as being printed on 'octavo paper, arranged in quires of four'; this has now been corrected.[10] The revised version of the chronology has also benefited from excellent work by scholars such as Carter Hailey and Emma Depledge, who have offered convincing bibliographic evidence enabling the more accurate dating of some troublesome early editions. Where necessary, these dates have now been adjusted. Materials drawn from the British Library newspaper collections have also helped in tweaking and clarifying details in relation to some of the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century editions. The chronology has also been extended, by a further decade and a half. Here, the writer of a volume such as this cannot but feel a certain Canute-like sense of humility in the face of the vanity of human endeavour, since the chronology will, of course, quickly enough be out of date once more. But the revised version does at least provide a complete accounting of those major editions – such as Arden 3, the New Cambridge, the Oxford and the New Penguin – which have been brought to fruition since the first edition of this volume was published. The updated chronology also provides details of significant new editions which have appeared in recent times and logs the major digital texts that were issued between 1986 and 2017.

If the original edition of *Shakespeare in Print* has been of some service to scholars over the past decade and a half or so, it is my hope that this updated and recast version of the book might, for some little while longer, also earn the right to its place on the bookshelves of those working on the editorial, publishing and reception history of Shakespeare's texts.

Abbreviations

Secondary Works

AEB	*Analytical and Enumerative Bibliography*
Ath.	*Athenæum*
BEPD	Greg, *A Bibliography of the English Printed Drama*
BL	British Library
C&H	*Computers and the Humanities*
CÉ	*Cahiers Élisabéthains*
CUP	Cambridge University Press
DPB I	McKerrow (gen. ed.), *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1557–1640*
DPB II	Plomer, *Dictionary of the Booksellers and Printers . . . 1641–1667*
DPB III	Plomer *et al.*, *Dictionary of the Printers and Booksellers . . . 1668–1725*
DPB IV	Plomer *et al.*, *Dictionary of Printers and Booksellers . . . 1726–1775*
EEBO	*Early English Books Online*
ER	*Edinburgh Review*
Lib.	*The Library*
MLA	Modern Language Association
MLR	*Modern Language Review*
MR	*Monthly Review*
NLS	National Library of Scotland
ODNB	*Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*
OED	*Oxford English Dictionary*
OUP	Oxford University Press
PBA	*Proceedings of the British Academy*
PBSA	*Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America*
PC	*Publishers' Circular*

PMLA	*Publications of the Modern Language Association of America*
RCSC I	Greg and Boswell (eds), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, vol. I
RCSC II	Jackson (ed.), *Records of the Court of the Stationers' Company*, vol. II
RES	*Review of English Studies*
RN	*Reynolds's Newspaper*
SB	*Studies in Bibliography*
SQ	*Shakespeare Quarterly*
SR I, II, III, IV	Arber (ed.), *Transcript of the Registers of the Company of Stationers*, vols. I, II, III, IV
SS	*Shakespeare Survey*
STC II	Pollard & Redgrave (eds), *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. II
STC III	Pollard, Redgrave & Pantzer (eds), *A Short-title Catalogue of Books Printed in England, Scotland, and Ireland*, vol. III
TLS	*Times Literary Supplement*
WorldCat	WorldCat bibliographic database

Bibliographical Terms

F	Folio
F1, F2, etc.	First Folio, Second Folio, etc.
LQ	long quarto
Q	Quarto
Q0	Remnants of a lost Quarto
Q1, Q2, etc.	First Quarto, Second Quarto, etc.
SQ	short quarto

Shakespeare works and apocrypha

Ado • *Much Ado About Nothing*
Ant. • *Antony and Cleopatra*
Apoc. • Apocryphal plays
AWW • *All's Well that Ends Well*
AYL • *As You Like It*
Cor. • *Coriolanus*
Cym. • *Cymbeline*
E3 • *Edward III*
Err. • *The Comedy of Errors*
Ham. • *Hamlet*
1H4 • *Henry IV, part 1*
2H4 • *Henry IV, part 2*
H5 • *Henry V*
1H6 • *Henry VI, part 1*
2H6 • *Henry VI, part 2*
3H6 • *Henry VI, part 3*
H8 • *Henry VIII*
JC • *Julius Caesar*
Jn. • *King John*
1JO • *Sir John Oldcastle, part 1*
LC • *A Lover's Complaint*
LLL • *Love's Labour's Lost*
Loc. • *Locrine*
LP • *London Prodigal*
Lr. • *King Lear*
Luc. • *The Rape of Lucrece*
Mac. • *Macbeth*
MM • *Measure for Measure*
MND • *A Midsummer Night's Dream*
More • *Sir Thomas More*
MV • *The Merchant of Venice*
Oth. • *Othello*
Per. • *Pericles*
PhT • *The Phoenix and the Turtle*
PP • *The Passionate Pilgrim*
Pur. • *The Puritan*
R2 • *Richard II*
R3 • *Richard III*
Rom. • *Romeo and Juliet*
AShr. • *The Taming of a Shrew*
Shr. • *The Taming of the Shrew*
Son. • *Sonnets*
TGV • *The Two Gentlemen of Verona*
Tho. • *Thomas Lord Cromwell*
Tim. • *Timon of Athens*
Tit. • *Titus Andronicus*
Tmp. • *The Tempest*
TN • *Twelfth Night*
TNK • *Two Noble Kinsmen*
Tro. • *Troilus and Cressida*
Ven. • *The Merchant of Venice*
Wiv. • *The Merry Wives of Windsor*
WT • *The Winter's Tale*
YT • *A Yorkshire Tragedy*