CHAPTER 6

Shakespeare in the Wake of the Exclusion Crisis, 1683–1700

This concluding chapter explores the impact the Exclusion Crisis had on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife at the end of the seventeenth century. There are several ways in which Shakespeare's status was boosted following the Crisis. Most importantly, a greater number of quarto editions of his (unaltered) plays were published than at any point since the closing of the theatres in 1642, and these playbooks were joined by the release of the Fourth Folio in 1685. When we turn to the performance market we see that unaltered versions of Shakespeare's plays were not only produced in the public theatre(s) but were also selected for performance at the Court of James II (1685–8). With this apparent return to Shakespeare plays it is perhaps unsurprising that they were altered far less frequently in the years following the Exclusion Crisis.[1] Indeed, on the few occasions when Shakespeare's plays were altered, his authorship was not simply acknowledged but was also discussed with unambiguous reverence.

I begin with an overview of Shakespeare in print from 1683 to 1700, before considering key publications in chronological order. These include the quartos of 1683–4 and the Fourth Folio in 1685, the impact of the new folio, the substantial number of Shakespeare playbooks published between 1686 and 1700, and the release of what has been labelled the 'Fifth Folio' in 1700. Throughout I am keen to highlight links between the stationers who published Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis and those who financed Shakespeare quartos and folios. The impact the Crisis had on Shakespeare's position in the book trade is to be felt not merely in the years immediately following the Tory reaction period, but also throughout the rest of the seventeenth century. I end by considering Shakespeare in performance between 1683 and 1700, and build on my analysis in the previous chapter to examine the paratexts that accompanied the two new Shakespeare alterations produced between 1683 and 1700 on the stage and page. That the Crisis led to renewed interest in Shakespeare's plays is unsurprising when one recalls how Shakespeare alterations dominated

the new-plays market, with his authorship promoted to audiences via prologues and epilogues delivered on stage. What is perhaps less surprising is the sustained impact the Crisis had not just on Shakespeare's popularity as a playwright but also on his reputation as a defender of the monarchy. Equally, from 1683 onwards Shakespeare was not only recognized as the author behind his own plays and the plays on which the alterations were based, but also increasingly portrayed as the 'true original' whose copies and intentions ought to be consulted and respected when preparing his plays for performance and print.

Shakespeare in Print, 1683–1700

The most drastic change in Shakespeare's authorial status in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis can be observed in the print market. As Table 6.1 documents, a total of twenty-five Shakespeare playbooks were printed during this eighteen-year period. I distinguish between Shakespeare plays and alterations of Shakespeare plays, but in doing so I do not intend to prioritize either; critics of Shakespeare's authorial afterlife at times privilege unaltered Shakespeare over altered Shakespeare, but to do so is somewhat anachronistic, especially as many of the altered plays (just like the spurious plays that I have also included) were sold as Shakespearean or based on his plays. Equally, as I go on to argue below, altered versions of the plays – particularly those published between 1678 and 1682 – probably helped to convince influential publishers such as Richard Bentley, Henry Herringman, Richard Wellington and Jacob Tonson that Shakespeare's plays were a profitable commodity. One accordingly sees links between publishers of alterations and those who went on to finance quarto and folio editions of unaltered Shakespeare. I have made two basic assumptions here and throughout: if Shakespeare's name is found on a title page then somebody – most probably a publisher – deemed his name to be vendible, and if a playwright decided to perform or modify a Shakespeare play then we might deduce that the play in question (or at least large parts of it) was thought to have the potential to satisfy audiences and readers.

Julius Caesar, a play staged in unaltered form during the Crisis, made its first ever quarto appearance in 1684, and was arguably the most popular Shakespeare play of the late seventeenth century. The popularity *Julius Caesar* enjoyed is, I would argue, directly linked to the politics of the Exclusion Crisis and also to related crises such as the Rye-house Plot.[2] As Table 6.1 documents, in addition to the Fourth Folio (F4), five quartos of *Julius Caesar* (1684, 1691, QU1–3[3]), a pirate edition (1683 but dated 1676) and

Table 6.1 *Publication of Shakespeare's plays (including alterations), 1683–1700*

	Title	Publishers	Title-page attribution	Alteration
1683	*Hamlet*	Herringman and Bentley	'By William Shakespeare'	No
	Hamlet (with false date of 1676)	Bentley and Jacob Tonson	'By William Shakespeare'	No
1684	*Julius Caesar*	Herringman and Bentley	'Written by William Shakespeare'	No
1685	F4	Herringman, Bentley, Brewster and Chiswell	'William Shakespear's comedies, histories, and tragedies'	No
1687	*Othello*	Bentley and Magnes	'Written by William Shakespear'	No
	Macbeth	Herringman and Bentley	N/A	Yes
	Titus Andronicus; or, The Rape of Lavinia	Hindmarsh	'alter'd from Mr. Shakespear's Works, by Mr. Edw. Ravenscroft'	Yes
1688	*Timon of Athens*	Herringman	'Tho. Shadwell'	Yes
1689	*King Lear*	Bentley and Magnes	'By N. Tate'	Yes
1691	*Julius Caesar*	Herringman and Bentley	'Written by William Shakespeare'	No
QU1-3	*Julius Caesar*	??	'Written by William Shakespeare'	No
1692–?	*Troilus and Cressida*	?	'By John Dryden'	Yes[a]
1692	*Caius Marius/Romeo and Juliet*	Bentley	'By Thomas Otway'	Yes[b]
1695	*Hamlet*	Herringman and Bentley	N/A	No
1696	*Othello*	Bentley	'Written by William Shakespeare'	No
	Macbeth	Herringman and Bentley	N/A	Yes[c]
	Troilus and Cressida	J. Tonson	'Written By Mr. Dryden'	Yes
	Caius Marius	Bentley	'By Thomas Otway'	Yes
	Timon of Athens	Herringman	'Tho. Shadwell'	Yes
1698	*Sauny the Scott/The Taming of the Shrew*	Whitlock	'By J. Lacey'	Yes
1699	*King Lear*	Wellington	'By N. Tate'	Yes
1700	*1 Henry IV*	Wellington	'Written originally by Mr. Shakespear'	No
1700	*Richard III*	Lintott	'By C. Cibber'	Yes
1700	*Measure for Measure; or, Beauty's Best Advocate*	Brown	'Written originally by Mr. Shakespear'	Yes
1700	F5	Wellington	'William Shakespear's comedies, histories, and tragedies'	No

[a] The edition bears the date 1679 but was very probably published later and furnished with a false imprint to pass it off as old stock. See Hugh MacDonald, *John Dryden: A Bibliography of Early Editions and of Drydeniana* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1939).

[b] According to Gertrude L. Woodward and James G. McMannaway, *A Check List of English Plays, 1641–1700* (Chicago: The Newberry Library, 1945), another edition appeared in 1694.

[c] According to Woodward and McMannaway, another edition appeared in 1697, but I have not managed to locate this edition.

two genuine editions (1683, 1695) of *Hamlet*, two quartos of *Othello* (1687, 1695) and an edition of *1 Henry IV* (1700) were also published. *Othello* had not been published since 1655 – before the reopening of the theatres – but enjoyed renewed popularity following a new edition at the height of the Crisis in 1681 (see Chapter 5), and *1 Henry IV* – one of the most frequently published Shakespeare plays in the pre-1640 period – was published in 1700, for the first time since 1639. As argued in Chapter 2, *Hamlet* appears to have been used to test market demand for Shakespeare in 1676 before proving popular in the wake of the Crisis.

Pirate editions published after 1683 suggest that Shakespeare's plays had become popular enough to risk not just investment but even illegal publication and the potential consequences such practices entailed. Two editions of *Hamlet* bear the date 1676, but *Hamlet* did not go through two editions in 1676.[4] As I have demonstrated elsewhere,[5] one of the two quarto editions dated 1676 actually dates from just after the Exclusion Crisis in about 1683 and was financed by Bentley, probably in collaboration with Jacob Tonson.[6] Interest in *Hamlet* (and confusion over who owned copy) is reflected in the number of Stationers' Register entries for the play in 1683. It was first entered to Bentley, but Herringman went on to insist on his own claim to the play in a note added to Bentley's entry later in the year.[7] It is thus not surprising that Herringman and Bentley went on to co-publish a genuine *Hamlet* edition in 1683. Examination shows that the falsely dated ('1676') *Hamlet* edition dates from around the same time, 1683, with some of the same paper stocks used in both *Hamlet* editions and contemporaneous Bentley publications.[8] Panicked by Herringman's claim to the play in the Stationers' Register, Bentley probably furnished his first *Hamlet* edition with a false date in order to pass it off as leftover stock from the genuine 1676 edition and then co-financed a second *Hamlet* edition with Herringman. That Bentley would finance another *Hamlet* edition in such quick succession suggests that not only did he wish to cover his back, but he also had great confidence in the vendibility of Shakespeare's *Hamlet*. Either way, *Hamlet* was not marketable enough to justify two editions in 1676 but, by 1683, in the immediate wake of the Crisis, it was popular enough to go through two quarto editions within twelve months, and Bentley deemed the play to be worth the risk of both legal and clandestine investment.

Julius Caesar was first published in quarto format by Herringman and Bentley in 1684. The two men brought out another edition in 1691. These two quartos are both dated and there seems no reason to suspect that they are not legitimate editions. Three other quartos of *Julius Caesar* were also published at some point between the two Herringman–Bentley quartos and the turn of the century, but these are undated and critics have – I believe rightly – assumed that they are pirate editions.[9] The printer responsible for them appears to have gone to some effort to make the editions resemble Q1684. For example, the imprints on QU1–3 closely resemble Q1684, as do the fleur-de-lys ornaments used, but the print jobs are rather sloppy and probably represent 'fly-by-night publications', as QU2 and QU3 'were set in two fonts'.[10] The paper stocks on which the quartos were printed are also of a poor quality. It is not clear who financed or printed them but, as with the example of Bentley and Tonson's *Hamlet*, the stationers responsible must have deemed *Julius Caesar* to have been worth not just financing the print job but also risking the wrath of Herringman and Bentley, who could have taken them to court if the piracy had been exposed.[11]

In addition to the aforementioned Shakespeare quartos, at least fourteen editions of Shakespeare alterations were also published between 1683 and 1700. Of these, only two of the plays were new, post-1683 alterations (*Richard III* and *Measure for Measure; or, Beauty's Best Advocate*), two dated from before 1677 (*Macbeth* and *Sauny the Scott; or, The Taming of the Shrew*) and the rest – nine editions of five plays – were Exclusion Crisis alterations. The folio(s), along with twenty-one of the twenty-five quarto playbooks, contained reference to Shakespeare's authorship, including twelve title-page citations (more if we count F4 and 'F5') telling readers that the play was 'Written by William Shakespear', or else that it was 'Written originally by Mr. Shakespear'.

If we compare the number of Shakespeare playbooks produced between 1683 and 1700 with those produced between 1642 and 1683, then Shakespeare's increased popularity in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis becomes even more apparent. The period 1642–59 witnessed the publication of two Shakespeare playbooks and the reissue of a playbook first published in 1637; in 1660–77 we count F3 plus three Shakespeare playbooks (this includes *The Birth of Merlin*) and four alterations (four quarto editions of three plays and one play included in Davenant's *Works*), a total of eight; during the Exclusion Crisis – thus a five- as opposed to eighteen-year span – we note the publication of two Shakespeare plays (this includes *The Two Noble Kinsmen* in Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*) and nine alterations, a total of eleven. When we get to the period 1683–1700, it is clear that the increase in Shakespeare publications during the Crisis continued as, in addition to F4, we now have eleven Shakespeare playbooks and fourteen alterations, a total of twenty-five, and this is without considering the inclusion of Shakespeare alterations within collected works such as those of

John Dryden (1693), Thomas Otway (1692) and Thomas Shadwell (1693).[12] Whether we consider unaltered Shakespeare, or alterations, or both combined, this is by far the highest number of Shakespeare publications recorded since the closing of the theatres. The total number of playbooks even rivals the figures for the seventeen years before the closure.[13]

Equally, if we compare the number of playbooks in which Shakespeare's authorship is cited between 1642 and 1677 with those published during and after the Exclusion Crisis then we again see a sharp increase in the recognition of Shakespeare's authorial claim after 1678. The Interregnum *Hamlet* and *Othello*, and the reissued *Merchant of Venice*, all feature title-page attributions to Shakespeare, as do F3 and the three playbooks published between 1660 and 1677. However, none of the alterations published from 1660 to 1677 are attributed to Shakespeare, and only one, the Dryden and Davenant *Tempest*, cites him in its paratexts. This is a total of eight Shakespeare publications in which his authorship is acknowledged or discussed over a thirty-four year period. As analysed in Chapter 5, seven of the nine Exclusion Crisis alterations printed between 1678 and 1682 contained references to Shakespeare;[14] the title page to the 1681 *Othello* also attributed the play to him, making a total of eight references to his authorship, but this time in only five years. This pattern then continues, with reference to Shakespeare's authorship made in a whopping twenty-one playbooks, not to mention F4 and F5, in the eighteen years between the end of the Exclusion Crisis and the turn of the century. Shakespeare goes from being a seldom-printed playwright whose authorship is rarely recognized to an author whose works – or alterations thereof – are printed at an average rate of 1.4 per year, with his authorship referenced in 83 per cent of them.

Shakespeare in Print, 1683–1685

One of the most important publications issued in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis was the Fourth Folio, a prestigious collection that made Shakespeare's plays readily available for the first time in over twenty years. The impact of the Shakespeare Third Folio of 1663/4 was probably reduced as a result of the Great Fire (1666), which is said not simply to have destroyed a significant number of copies of this book but to have 'decimated' more generally the stocks of many 'London booksellers'.[15] The significance of F4 for Shakespeare's authorial afterlife was thus probably greater than is often recognized. In their readerly paratexts the altering playwrights of the Crisis urged readers to compare their texts with the Shakespeare originals,

but readers in the late 1670s and early 1680s, like those of the 1660s, would have struggled to find copies of Shakespeare's plays. Not so after 1685. In fact, I would argue that the publication of F4 came as a direct result of the Exclusion Crisis alterations: the plays promoted Shakespeare's name on stage while earning their publishers an encouraging return when sold on the print market, and these two factors must have helped to persuade Henry Herringman and Richard Bentley that Shakespeare was now marketable enough to warrant publication in unaltered playbooks, followed by an expensive new folio edition of his works.

The Fourth Folio's primary publishers were Herringman and Bentley, who were joined by Richard Chiswell and Edward Brewster. The Folio was issued with three imprints, but we do not know how many copies bore each of them. The imprints advertised the books as printed: 'for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley'; 'for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Chiswell'; and 'for H. Herringman' alone. As discussed in Chapter 2, Herringman had acquired a half share in Shakespeare's plays back in 1674, and yet F4 was not published until eleven years later.[16] The delay may have been partly due to the death of Herringman's partner in the project, John Martyn (d. 1680), but it seems more likely that both stationers held back because they did not think there was enough demand to warrant the expense of a folio printing in the 1670s. Indeed, Herringman and Martyn published a quarto edition of *Hamlet* in 1676, but neither released any other unaltered Shakespeare playbooks until Herringman's next *Hamlet* edition (with Bentley) in 1683, three years after Martyn's death.

That Herringman and Martyn (and Richard Marriot) had their eyes on profit margins is reflected in a note to the reader found in a folio publication they financed in 1679, the Beaumont and Fletcher Folio. This folio was published only six years after they had purchased the rights to the playwrights' work, despite the time-consuming addition of innovative features not included in earlier editions. In the preface to the 1679 edition of Beaumont and Fletcher's *Works*, the publishers speak of their intention to produce similar volumes, should their first endeavour prove to be a financial success: 'If our care and endeavours to do our Authors right (in an incorrupt and genuine Edition of their Works) and thereby to gratifie and oblige the Reader, be but requited with a suitable entertainment, we shall be encourag'd to bring *Ben. Johnson*'s two Volumes into one [folio] … and also to reprint Old *Shakespear*'.[17] Three points ought to be made here. The first is that Herringman and his collaborators were already contemplating a Jonson and a Shakespeare folio as early as 1679. The second is that they planned to publish only when they had received sufficient indication of

market demand (been 'requited with a suitable entertainment'). The third is that they had envisaged printing a Jonson folio second, with Shakespeare coming last ('and also reprint Old *Shakespear*'). That the Jonson folio did not appear until 1692 suggests that something major intervened in order to convince the stationers that a Shakespeare folio would be a more commercially successful enterprise. This intervention came, I suggest, in the form of the Exclusion Crisis. It would appear that by 1685 there was finally enough confirmed demand not only to justify going to the expense and effort of producing the Shakespeare Fourth Folio, but also to publish it ahead of a new Jonson folio.

When observing Tables 5.1 and 6.1 one is struck by the repeated reference to two of the publishers responsible for the Fourth Folio of 1685: Herringman and Bentley. In the years leading up to the printing of the Fourth Folio, Herringman published the genuine 1676 *Hamlet* (with Martyn), Shadwell's *Timon of Athens* of 1678, the 1683 *Hamlet* with Bentley and Q1 *Julius Caesar* (1684) with Bentley.[18] Bentley and Mary Magnes, the widow of James Magnes (d. 1679), were together responsible for the 1681 *Othello*.[19] Bentley also produced the *Hamlet* with a false date (with Tonson, 1683) and four – so almost 50 per cent – of the Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis, including Tate's popular *The History of King Lear*. Thus, Bentley and Herringman were keen to invest in an expensive Shakespeare folio, and they were probably prompted to do so as a result of the commercial success they had enjoyed with Shakespeare-derived playbooks during the Exclusion Crisis.

Herringman and Bentley's publication of *Hamlet* in 1683, like their joint publication of *Julius Caesar* in 1684 (and Bentley's false-dated *Hamlet* edition in 1683–4), suggest that they were keen to test the market for Shakespeare once more, and that they were already contemplating a Shakespeare folio in the immediate wake of the Exclusion Crisis. As with Bentley's *Othello* in 1681, the title pages to the *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* quartos emphasized Shakespeare's authorship. They also linked the plays to the recent explosion of Shakespeare productions by including title-page puffs that implied that they had been performed at the same theatres as the Exclusion Crisis alterations. *Othello* was advertised as being printed 'as it hath been divers times acted at the Globe and at the Black-Friers, and now at the Theater Royal', *Hamlet* as 'it is now acted at His Highness the Duke of York's theatre' and *Julius Caesar* 'as it is now acted at the Theatre Royal'. That the two stationers were contemplating a folio publication at this time is reflected in their decision to mine an earlier folio for a new Shakespeare product. The 1684 *Julius Caesar* is the first quarto edition of the play. The

first three Shakespeare quartos to appear after 1678 therefore suggest that Bentley and Herringman were keen to cash in on Exclusion Crisis alterations, and that they were probably gearing up for a new folio edition of Shakespeare's works.

Bentley and Herringman also seem to have envisaged a folio publication that would do more than simply reprint the plays as they had appeared in previous editions. This is evidenced by their decision to employ someone, perhaps John Dryden, to edit the *Hamlet* they released together in 1683.[20] Critics frequently describe the genuine 1683 *Hamlet* as a reprint of the 1676 *Hamlet*,[21] but the text not only differs substantially but also does so in ways that suggest that its editor consulted copies of both the 1676 quarto and a Shakespeare folio.[22] Sonia Massai has offered yet further evidence to link F4 to Exclusion Crisis alterations and their authors as she observes how Tate's *The Ingratitude of a Commonwealth* (*Coriolanus*) 'anticipates some of the substantive emendations subsequently introduced in F4 *Coriolanus*', before suggesting that Tate may have been employed as a perfector of the text.[23] Thus, Herringman and Bentley were probably preparing to publish F4 as early as 1683, and the *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* quartos may be seen as trial runs or preparation for their new Shakespeare folio.

The Fourth Folio of 1685

By 1685 Bentley and Herringman were convinced that there was sufficient demand to make investment in an expensive folio publication a profitable business venture. At some point before 1685 Bentley acquired one-third of Martyn's shares, meaning that he owned a one-sixth share in the Shakespeare titles Martyn had acquired in partnership with Herringman (a half each) back in 1674. Bentley held a one-third share in F4; the most likely explanation for this (put forward by Mandelbrote) is that Bentley bought a second one-sixth share from George Wells, who had received Martyn's stock from his widow, along with Scott.[24] This division of ownership indicates that scholarship has been wrong to emphasize Herringman's 'contribution to the exclusion of the others'.[25] It also suggests that Bentley was actively seeking to invest not simply in Martyn's old shares but in his Shakespeare shares in particular.

Critics often take a dismissive tone as they note that the Fourth Folio does not add any new paratexts or plays, apocryphal or otherwise, but I would argue that it is important to consider the publication in the immediate context in and for which it was produced.[26] As noted above, copies of F3, the second impression of which saw the addition of seven new plays,

will have been very rare by 1685 as a result of both the Great Fire and the lapse of over twenty years. This suggests that for contemporaries F4 may have been credited with the addition of the new plays 'Never before Printed in Folio', which we today associate with the second issue of F3 (1664). Understood in the immediate context of the Exclusion Crisis, the title page's announcement that this is the 'Fourth Edition' of Shakespeare's plays in folio supports the claim, made in Exclusion Crisis prologues and epilogues, that Shakespeare was a popular and prestigious playwright.

The title page to F4 may also have seemed like a response to the alterations, with its claim that, rather than alterations, these plays are 'Published according to the true Original Copies'. Equally, the address to the 'Great Variety of Readers' takes on new meaning when printed in 1685. Readers are told of how '(before) [they] were abused with diverse stolne, and surreptitious copies, maimed, and deformed by the frauds and stealthes of injurious impostors', a line suggestive of the ways in which authors of the Exclusion Crisis alterations presented themselves to audiences and readers.[27] In their theatrical paratexts the playwrights claimed to have stolen from Shakespeare,[28] and 'graft[ed] upon Shakespears Stock' (thereby mutating it),[29] while the readerly paratexts suggested novelty, emphasizing the ways in which they modified Shakespeare's plays. Consumers of the 1680s may therefore have interpreted the note's reference to 'injurious imposters' as a comment on the playwrights who offered them Shakespeare-derived material during the Crisis. In announcing that 'even those [stolen and maimed plays], are now offer'd to [the reader's] view cur'd, and perfect of their limbes', the old note accidentally tells readers of the 1680s that they may enjoy both improved versions of the Shakespeare plays they recently enjoyed on stage, and 'all the rest' of Shakespeare's plays, 'absolute in their numbers as he conceived them' (A1r).

The frontispiece to the folio, though again not new (see Figure 6.1), also provided readers with a face to put to the name they heard echoing through the theatres between 1678 and 1682. Rather than a lack of innovation on the part of the stationers, the decision to reprint paratexts from earlier folios may instead have been a shrewd marketing ploy on the part of Herringman, Bentley *et al.* Whether intentional or not, the note is likely to have helped promote Shakespeare's plays to consumers of the 1680s just as its instruction for readers to 'buy' influenced people back in the 1620s. Thus, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis did not simply convince the likes of Bentley and Herringman that it was worthwhile investing in Shakespeare plays, but, thanks to the reprinted folio paratexts, the alterations also indirectly assisted in the promotion of F4, a publication made

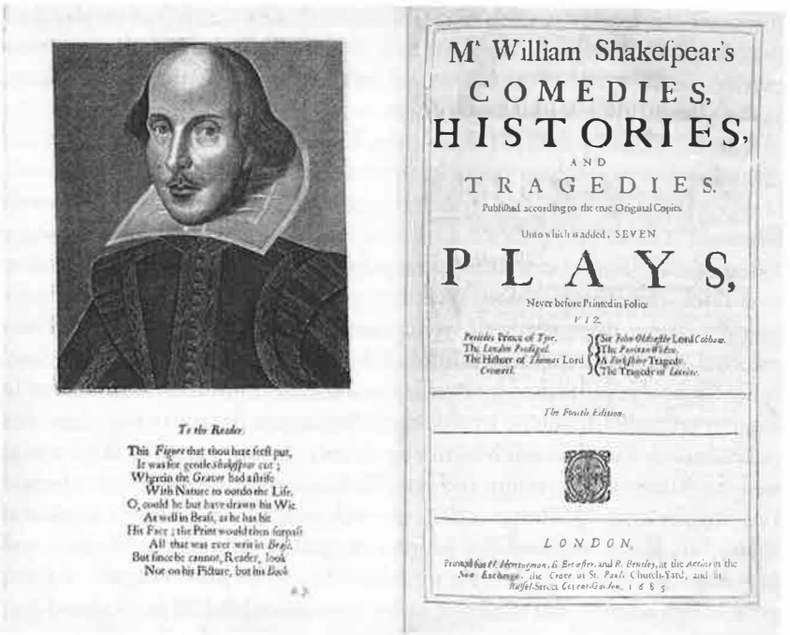

Figure 6.1 Frontispiece and title page to the Fourth Folio (1685). Folger Shakespeare Library Shelfmark: STC S2915 Fo.4 no.1, [pi]1V, [pi]2R. Used by permission of the Folger Shakespeare Library.

possible by their very existence. Whether a deliberate ploy or accidental fortune, the use of pre-existing folio paratexts saved time while also helping to advertise Shakespeare's plays to readers of the 1680s.

Shakespeare in Print, 1685–1700

The profound effect the Fourth Folio had on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife is evidenced by impressive sales of the book and the number of new Shakespeare playbooks that appeared in the years following its release in 1685. Between 1685 and 1700 'new copies of the Fourth Folio commanded the top price (18*s*.) among all works in folio, eclipsing the prices paid for the works of Beaumont and Fletcher, Chaucer, Cowley, Davenant, Donne, Hobbes, Holinshed, Jonson, Killigrew, Philips, and Sidney'. Equally, 'auction records from the period 1685–1699 provide evidence of a sustained resale market for Fourth Folios'.[30] A large number of Shakespeare quartos followed F4 into print, suggesting that F4 not only sold well but also helped

to ensure the longevity of the impact the Exclusion Crisis had on demand for Shakespeare's plays. As shown in Table 6.1, *Othello* went through new editions in 1687 and 1695, *Julius Caesar* went through four more editions, and *1 Henry IV* was published in 1700.

The alterations produced during the Exclusion Crisis also look to have provided their publishers with a healthy return.[31] The big successes in terms of new editions between the Crisis and the turn of the century were Shadwell's *Timon of Athens*, first published by Herringman in 1678; Thomas Otway's *Caius Marius* (*Romeo and Juliet*), first published by Thomas Flesher in 1680; and Tate's *The History of King Lear*, first published by Bentley and Magnes in 1681. These three plays all went through four quarto editions. *Timon* received new editions, each published by Herringman, in 1688, 1696 and 1703; *Caius* was published by Bentley in 1692 and 1696 and then, following Bentley's death (d. 1697), by Richard Wellington in 1703; and *Lear* was published by Bentley and Magnes again in 1689, and then by Wellington and E. Rumbold in 1699, and for Wellington, Rumbold and Thomas Osborne in 1702. Wellington thus not only purchased Bentley's stock and shares but also continued the promotion and investment in Shakespeare begun by his predecessor. Tate's *Richard III The Sicilian Usurper* did not go through two quarto editions; it was instead published by Richard and Jacob Tonson in 1681 and then reissued with a cancelled title page by James Knapton in 1691. John Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida, or, Truth Found Too Late* was published in two issues in 1679, one for Jacob Tonson and one for Abel Swall, and then again for Tonson in around 1692, but falsely dated as 1679. Copies bearing the date 1695 also exist.[32] This suggests that, like Herringman and Bentley, Tonson – whose company went on to become the best-known Shakespeare publishers of the eighteenth century – first sold Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis. Again like Bentley and Herringman, Tonson invested in the rights to publish Shakespeare's plays and then issued a (falsely dated) *Hamlet* edition with Bentley in around 1683 before he published an expensive edition of Shakespeare's unaltered works in 1709. Thus, it may be that the Shakespeare alterations not only proved popular, but also actively encouraged the release of new, unaltered Shakespeare publications. Either way, Shakespeare's plays – altered and unaltered – were more widely available in the wake of the Exclusion Crisis than at any point since the closing of the theatres back in 1642.

The significance of the Fourth Folio and its impact on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife is often overlooked in favour of Nicholas Rowe's edition of Shakespeare's works in octavo format in 1709, while the role stationers of the Restoration played in canonizing Shakespeare has been overshadowed

by discussions of Tonson's promotion of Shakespeare in the eighteenth century.[33] New research has revealed that another important (re)printing of Shakespeare's works – what has been termed the 'Fifth Folio' – was issued between the Fourth Folio of 1685 and Rowe's *The Works of William Shakespear; in Six Volumes. Adorn'd with Cuts* of 1709. Building on Giles Dawson's discovery of reprinted sheets within surviving copies of the Fourth Folio, which may be identified by the absence of ruled text boxes found on all other pages, Eric Rasmussen and Lara Hansen have demonstrated that one of the three printing houses responsible for the production of F4 'short-sheeted' the publishers, thereby prompting Wellington, who purchased Bentley's stock after his death in 1697, to finance a new printing of the missing sheets in 1700.[34] This was by no means a small job; quoting Charlton Hinman's estimate 'that two compositors and a single press could produce approximately 1,200 perfected sheets per day', Rasmussen and Hansen calculate that 'the F5 printing could well have occupied a printing-house for upwards of two weeks'.[35] That Wellington was prepared to go to such expense and that he was already confident enough to do so within less than three years of gaining the rights to Bentley's stock and shares speaks volumes about the perceived marketability of Shakespeare in 1700. As Dawson states, it appears that 'a calculation of costs and the probability of future sales showed [Wellington] that it would be profitable to go to the expense of reprinting the seventeen or more sheets required to make the remaining stock good'.[36] The profitability of Shakespeare's plays in 1700, like the printing of the missing sheets needed to produce 'F5', speak to the sustained impact the Crisis had on Shakespeare's authorial afterlife.

As with Herringman and Bentley, and Tonson, in Wellington one again observes a publisher's progression from selling individual Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis (e.g. Q1699 Tate *King Lear*) to involvement with Shakespeare's unaltered plays. The existence of a 'Fifth Folio' at the turn of the century suggests that a quarter of a century did not lapse between F4 and the next investment towards a collected edition of Shakespeare's plays. Wellington's investment in 'F5' in 1700, like Herringman, Bentley and Tonson's continued investment in Shakespeare playbooks (altered and unaltered) between 1683 and 1700, suggests that there was sustained demand for Shakespeare between the Crisis and the end of the seventeenth century. Tonson published the Rowe edition only nine years after the last folio (re)printing of Shakespeare's plays. It may therefore be that Tonson's decision to issue the works in a portable, octavo format, not to mention the inclusion of a Shakespeare biography and the other innovations associated with his edition, were fuelled by a need to

distinguish his new product from the larger-format version of the plays (re)issued less than a decade earlier. Either way, it is clear that Shakespeare's plays increased in popularity between 1683 and 1700, and the number of Shakespeare products released onto the print market continued to rise without any noticeable gaps.

Shakespeare in Performance, 1683–1700

The London theatre scene underwent radical changes in the years 1683–1700 as the financial collapse of the King's Company led to the establishment of a theatre monopoly, with the Duke's Company effectively swallowing up their rivals. The newly formed United Company enjoyed performance rights to the large number of plays previously owned by the King's Company, many of which came from pre-1642 playwrights and, as the prompter, John Downes, tells us, 'the mixt Company then Reviv'd the several old and Modern Plays, that were the Propriety of Mr. Killigrew'.[37] The United Company's repertory was indeed dominated by revivals of 'old and modern' plays. Importantly, and arguably as a result of the way in which his authorship was promoted to audiences via Exclusion Crisis prologues and epilogues, Shakespeare's plays were once again among those found in the performance calendar for these years. *The London Stage* documents revivals of Shakespeare's *Othello*, *Hamlet*, *Julius Caesar*, *The Merry Wives of Windsor* and *Richard III*. *Much Ado about Nothing* may also have appeared during this period, and it is likely that more productions occurred than those for which we have records.[38] To cite but one example, the 1698 edition of *Sauny the Scott* featured a cast list that is consistent with Christopher Rich's Company of 1697/8; it may well be that the title-page puffs found on Shakespeare playbooks printed between 1683 and 1700 record performances for which we lack concrete records. Altered versions of Shakespeare's plays were revived in the form of Davenant's *Macbeth*, Tate's *King Lear* and Thomas Otway's *Caius Marius* (*Romeo and Juliet*). Thus, following the Crisis, Shakespeare's plays returned to the London stage and their presence was probably greater than Table 6.2 suggests.

The plays did not simply return to the public stage in numbers after 1683; indeed, one of the most exciting post-Exclusion Crisis developments was the number of Shakespeare plays and alterations selected for performances at Court, especially during the reign of James II (Charles II died in February 1685). Only one Shakespeare play (Davenant's *Macbeth*) was selected for performance at Court between 1660 and 1683 and yet, in the wake of the Crisis, seven performances of five plays took place at Court. The January

Table 6.2 *Performances of Shakespeare's plays, 1683–1700*

Date	Title	Company/theatre	Alteration
18 January 1683	*Othello*	United Company	No
30 May 1685	*Othello*	United Company	No
24 November 1685	*Othello*	COURT	No
6 February 1686	*Othello*	United Company	No
8 February 1686	*Macbeth*	United Company	Yes
30 April 1686	*Hamlet*	COURT	No
10 November 1686	*Othello*	COURT	No
18 April 1687	*Julius Caesar*	COURT	No
9 May 1687	*King Lear*	COURT	Yes
20 February 1688	*King Lear*	COURT	Yes
31 December 1691	*The Merry Wives of Windsor*	United Company	No
16 March 1692	*Caius Marius*	United Company	Yes
2 January 1697	*Timon of Athens*	Rich's Company	Yes
28 October 1697	*Troilus and Cressida*	Betterton's Company	Yes
26 November 1697	*Timon of Athens*	Rich's Company	Yes
3 February 1699	*King Lear*	Rich's Company	Yes
11 November 1699	*Caius Marius*	Rich's Company	Yes
Late December 1699	*The Tragic History of King Richard the Third*	Rich's Company	Yes
9 January 1700	*Henry IV*	Betterton's Company	No
February 1700	*Measure for Measure; or, Beauty's Best Advocate*	Betterton's Company	Yes

1683 production of *Othello* attracted a royal audience, with the King and Queen in attendance;[39] the Queen also attended the May 1685 performance of *Othello*, and these attendances appear to have culminated in the play's premiere at the Court of James II in November 1685.[40] *Othello* was performed at Court twice, as was *King Lear*, and *Hamlet* and *Julius Caesar* were also performed at least once each. Otway's *Caius Marius* (*Romeo and Juliet*) was probably also performed at Court.[41] As Eleonore Boswell has stated, 'after the accession of William and Mary, there were many balls in the [White] Hall theatre but few plays'; however, during the reign of James II Shakespeare's plays ranked high among those selected for Court performances.[42] As argued in Chapters 3 and 4, Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis voiced support for James, duke of York's claim to the throne. It is therefore perhaps unsurprising to see that York – by then James II – financed Court performances of plays such as Tate's *King Lear*, with its joyous announcement that 'legitimacy at last has got it'.[43] Although absent

during periods of heightened tension, both York and Charles II attended performances at the two theatres in operation during the Crisis. It seems plausible that, like other audience members, they will thus have heard Shakespeare praised as the author of the plays they enjoyed on stage. The support the Exclusion Crisis Shakespeare alterations offered to York will surely not have gone unnoticed, what with Tate's *Lear*'s attack on a bastard character that offered clear parallels with York's upstart nephew, the duke of Monmouth; Tate's *Coriolanus* with its celebration of a military hero who resembled York, and its criticism of public ingratitude towards him; and Ravenscroft's *Titus*, with its demonization of those who would invade 'a prince's right'.[44] The Court performances recorded during these years reflect an important return to royal favour for Shakespeare, whose unaltered plays had not been performed at Court since before the closing of the theatres,[45] and it would appear he owed his renewed favour to both the onstage promotion of his authorship and the anti-Exclusion politics found in alterations of the Crisis.

Shakespeare alterations did not begin to reappear until the turn of the century, and this is perhaps due to the fact that the theatre monopoly established in 1682 convinced managers that there was little need to offer new plays in a market that lacked competition. The United Company survived until 1694, when infighting caused actors Thomas Betterton, Anne Bracegirdle and Elizabeth Barry to leave the United Company to form a second one. Thomas Skipworth and Christopher Rich's Company continued to perform at Drury Lane and Dorset Gardens, the two theatres used by the United Company, while Betterton's new company performed at Lincoln's Inn Fields.[46] As discussed below, the two new Shakespeare alterations produced in the years 1683 through 1700 were performed by Betterton and Rich's companies respectively; Charles Gildon's *Measure for Measure; or, Beauty's Best Advocate* was performed at Lincon's Inn Fields in February 1700, and the premiere of Colly Cibber's *The Tragical History of Richard the Third* took place at Drury Lane around the end of December 1699.

Shakespeare's Authorship in Alterations, 1683–1700

The years 1683–94 were rather barren in terms of new theatrical productions, and a failure to acknowledge this fact may have caused critics – especially those whose studies concentrate primarily on alterations – to focus their attention on the eighteenth century while mistakenly viewing the Exclusion Crisis as but a short-lived peak in Shakespeare's authorial status.

Gildon's *Measure for Measure* and Cibber's *Richard the Third* were the only two new Shakespeare alterations produced between 1683 and 1700. Both plays are eclectic and reflect the influence of earlier alterations. Gildon incorporated sections of Henry Purcell's *Dido and Aeneas*, and is indebted to Davenant's *Law against Lovers*; and Cibber included material from *3 Henry VI*, *Richard II*, *Henry V* and *2 Henry IV* in ways that nod towards Crowne's alterations.[47] Gildon and Cibber's alterations reflect the reverence for Shakespeare found in the theatrical paratexts that accompanied Shakespeare alterations of the Exclusion Crisis onto the stage. They also offer evidence to suggest that by 1700 Shakespeare's name and plays were no longer considered old and obscure but instead were well known and well respected.

The practice established during the Exclusion Crisis, of acknowledging Shakespeare's role as author source while also stressing novelty, is continued in the first alteration. The title page to Gildon's *Measure for Measure* announces that the play was 'VVritten *Originally* by Mr. *Shakespear*', adding that the play is 'now very much Alter'd: VVith *Additions* / of Several *Entertainments* of *MUSIC*'.[48] The biggest selling points appear to be Shakespeare's authorship and the addition of music. Gildon's name does not feature on the title page. The prologue to the play, delivered by Betterton, complains about how audiences have 'Cram'd' the rival playhouse while shunning Lincoln's Inns Fields because they seem to prefer farce to sense, before informing the audience that Shakespeare wrote during an age when 'Good Sense was well receiv'd' (A3r). It goes on to declare that what the audience are about to behold is 'Purcell's Musick, and tis Shakespear's Play' (A3r), thereby reiterating the selling points found on the title page. In the dedication to Nicholas Bettersby, Gildon also insists that the play is 'much more *Shakespear's*' than his own (A2v). Thus, the process of canonization and promotion of Shakespeare begun during the Crisis is continued here, and Shakespeare's authorship is stressed to the detriment of Gildon in both the theatrical and the readerly paratexts.[49]

Gildon's alteration again resembles those of the Crisis by deploying Shakespeare's authorship as a defence mechanism, but the most telling feature of the play's epilogue is just how many of Shakespeare plays are discussed, as if by then well known. The epilogue, like the prologue to Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida*, is to be delivered by 'Shakespeares Ghost' (spoken by John Verbruggen). However, while in 1679 Dryden's ghost character introduced himself by telling audiences to see 'Shakespeare rise' (A4r), this Shakespeare ghost, speaking in 1700, needs no introduction. In fact, the character merely walks on stage and begins to address

the audience. This suggests either that Verbruggen was dressed so as to resemble convincingly the frontispiece image of Shakespeare included in F4 or, more likely, that audiences now knew to associate the characters the ghost reels off as taken from the works of Shakespeare. The ghost cites 'Fat Falstaff … Machbeth [*sic*] … Hamlet … Desdemona … Brutus' and 'the Bleeding Caesar' (A4v), characters from the same plays I discussed above as becoming popular in both performance and print between 1683 and 1700. No longer 'old Shakespeare' in need of an introduction, by the turn of the century Shakespeare addresses audiences in a way that suggests that he and his characters have become household names.

While the former Shakespeare ghost was designed to protect Dryden's play from would-be-censors, this Shakespeare ghost instead speaks in a 'Rage' on behalf of Betterton's Company, their actors and their authors, and against Rich's Company.[50] Rich's Company are guilty, the ghost claims, of deforming his plays and killing his characters: 'My Plays, by Scribblers, Mangl'd I have seen; / By Lifeless Actors Murder'd on the Scene' (A4v). He goes on to contrast Betterton's Company's Falstaff with the character depicted by their rivals (presumably in their production of *The Merry Wives of Windsor*). Speaking of Betterton's theatre, Lincoln's Inn Fields, the ghost states that:

> Fat Falstaff here, with Pleasure, I beheld,
> Toss off his Bottle, and his Truncheon weild:
> Such as I meant him, such the Knight appear'd.

This provides great contrast, the ghost claims, with his experience at the rival house as

> … when, on yonder Stage the Knave [i.e. Falstaff] was shewn
> Ev'n by my self, the Picture scarce was known
> Themselves, and not the Man I drew, they Play's.

The rhetoric used to defend Betterton's Company's productions of Shakespeare (here presumably the 1700 production of *1 Henry IV*) and attack Rich's Company's is the same as that found on the title page of F4: these are 'true and original copies', Shakespeare's plays and characters represented as Shakespeare intended. He has not only become an author who demands title-page recognition but even one whose 'intentions' ought to be considered; this may be a ghost, but Shakespeare the author is by no means dead.

Cibber's *Richard III* does not contain reference to Shakespeare on the title page, but the preface to the play expresses the same confidence found

in the epilogue to Gildon's *Measure for Measure* about consumers now being able to recognize Shakespeare's work.[51] In his preface to the play, Cibber bemoans the fact that it fell foul of the censor because of the censor's fears that the character of Henry VI would 'put the Audience in mind of the late *King James*' and potentially encourage Jacobite sympathies (A4r), what with the monarch being ousted from power by his daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, in 1688. He goes on to state that:

> Tho' there was no great danger of the readers mistaking any of my lines for *Shakespeare's*; yet, to satisfie the curious, and unwilling to assume more praise than is really my due, I have caus'd those that are interely *Shakespear's* to be Printed in this *Italick Character*; and those lines with this mark (') before 'em, are generally his thoughts, in the best dress I could afford 'em: What is not so mark'd, or in a different Character is interely my own. I have done my best to imitate his Style, and manner of thinking. (A4r)

Cibber's use of quotation marks mirrors the practice begun in Q1676 *Hamlet* but, rather than simply distinguish between a performance script and a complete play, Cibber uses quotation marks to distinguish between Shakespeare's authorial property and his own. Cibber's use of the quotation mark is thus an early example of the form of citation still used to demarcate intellectual property around the world today. As critics have noted, Cibber was not always accurate when distinguishing between his words and ideas and those of Shakespeare, but, rather than take credit for words that are not his own, he tends to follow the example set in the prologues to Exclusion Crisis alterations of Shakespeare by attributing to Shakespeare his own work.[52] The playbook is void of any criticism of Shakespeare's authorship. In fact, Cibber says that he has done his 'best to imitate [Shakespeare's] Style, and manner of thinking', adding that if he has failed, then he may at least take comfort from the fact that 'our best living Author in his imitation of Shakespear's Style only writ Great and Masterly' (A4r). The 'living Author' is, of course, Dryden; the imitation his 1677 *All for Love*. This is rather a telling statement, as Dryden died shortly afterwards and went on to be revived in a prologue alongside Shakespeare,[53] thereby illustrating both the way in which Shakespeare was now placed on an equal footing with contemporary writers, and the significant role Exclusion Crisis alterations such as Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* played in Shakespeare's canonization.

The widespread practice of silently appropriating Shakespeare's plays during the early Restoration was abandoned during the Exclusion Crisis, never to return. The dramatic and readerly paratexts that accompanied

Exclusion Crisis alterations of Shakespeare set a precedent for acknowledging his role as an author source, and that practice was followed by altering playwrights of the late Restoration. While the Exclusion Crisis alterations offered conflicting representations of Shakespeare to readers and playgoers, this was no longer the case for alterations produced at the turn of the century, which spoke of Shakespeare with unambiguous reverence.

In the years between the Exclusion Crisis and the turn of the century, unaltered versions of Shakespeare's plays had been selected for performance in the public theatres and, for the first time since the closing of the theatres in 1642, at Whitehall. It would appear that by the end of the seventeenth century, Shakespeare was an author who had earned the respect of other writers, who deserved to be credited with works derived from his own, and who was recognized as the creator of popular characters such as Othello, Desdemona, Falstaff, Hamlet, Macbeth, Brutus, Caesar and others. Several of his plays had been published in quarto format for the first time since the reopening of the theatres, and a prestigious new folio edition of his plays had been offered to consumers (and then partially reprinted to meet further demand in 1700). The years 1683–1700 saw Shakespeare's plays printed more frequently than at any other point since before the closure of the theatres back in 1642. He had become a highly marketable author whose works, sold under his name, look to have made a tidy profit for his publishers. In the wake of the Exclusion Crisis Shakespeare became an author who was frequently printed, seldom altered and almost always acknowledged. The Crisis saw his plays dominate the new-plays market, with his name advertised to audiences via prologues and epilogues, and this promotion of Shakespeare led not only to a resurgence of interest in him but also, and more importantly, to the sustained marketability of his works. It would thus appear that the watershed moment in Shakespeare's authorial afterlife occurred not in the eighteenth century as earlier scholars have suggested, but instead during the Exclusion Crisis of 1678–82. Without the Crisis and the material conditions it ushered in, knowledge of Shakespeare's authorship, like the availability of his plays, would probably have remained as limited as it had been in 1677, and the innovative Shakespeare publications that continued to appear from 1683 through the eighteenth century might never have been produced.

Notes

Introduction

1 On the number of Shakespeare plays (and poetry books) published between 1653 and 1660, see Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), esp. Table 1, 14–16. A helpful overview of explanations for this decline is provided by Sonia Massai in 'The Mixed Fortunes of Shakespeare in Print', in Sonia Massai and M. J. Kidnie, eds., *Shakespeare and Textual Studies* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2015), 57–68. For discussion of trends in the publication of playbooks per year from 1576 to 1660, see Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'Canons and Classics: Publishing Drama in Caroline England', in *Localizing Caroline Drama: Politics and Economics of the Early Modern Stage, 1625–1642* (New York: Palgrave, 2006), 17–41. For more on Shakespeare's print fortunes in the years preceding 1642, see Chapter 2.

2 See Emma Depledge, 'False Dating: The Case of the "1676" *Hamlet* Quartos', *PBSA*, forthcoming.

3 Michael Dobson provides an 'account of how Shakespeare came to occupy the centre of English literary culture between the restoration of the monarchy and the Stratford Jubilee', and does so by 'selecting those pieces of evidence' – from alterations and prefaces to diary entries and representations of Shakespeare's authorial image in different media – that best highlight 'the underlying assumptions and mechanisms' that inform how Shakespeare was 'authorized' during the 109-year period he considers. See Michael Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Authorship, 1660–1769* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1992), 3, 5. Jean I. Marsden explores alterations, Shakespeare's eighteenth-century reception history, and the conjunction of drama and literary theory (*The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995)). See also: Marsden's edited collection, *The Appropriation of Shakespeare: Post-Renaissance Reconstructions of the Works and the Myth* (Hemel Hempstead: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1991); Barbara Murray, *Restoration Shakespeare: Viewing the Voice* (London: Associated University Presses, 2001); Mongi Raddadi, *Davenant's Adaptations of Shakespeare* (Uppsala: Almqvist &

of altered plays being acted as new under changed titles ('Introduction' to *LS*, lxx).

42 William. J. Lawrence suggests that 'handbills' were probably also used during the post-1660 period. *The Elizabethan Playhouse and Other Studies*, 2 vols. (Stratford-upon-Avon: Shakespeare Head Press, 1912), Vol. II, 241.

43 I am here defining 'old', 'new' and 'altered' plays based on what audiences or readers were told about a play's status. For the majority of Restoration theatregoers, 'adaptations of unknown old plays were simply new plays' and, as Dobson sagely adds, 'whether we now categorize a Renaissance adaptation as such or as a Restoration play in its own right tends simply to reflect our own sense of the relative importance of the two writers involved' (Michael Dobson, 'Adaptations and Revivals', in Deborah Payne Fiske, ed., *The Cambridge Companion to English Restoration Theatre* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 40–51 (47)).

44 See: *LS*, 293–4; and Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, eds., *A Register of English Theatrical Documents*, 2 vols. (Edwardsville: Southern Illinois University Press, 1982), Vol. I, entry 1118 (218).

45 Both alterations were published in London in 1685.

46 Dryden, *The Works*, Vol. XIII, 497.

47 Edward Arber, ed., *The Term Catalogues, 1668–1709*, 3 vols. (London: privately printed, 1903–6), Vol. I (1903), 370–1.

48 Dryden, *The Works*, Vol. XIII, 497; Arber, *Term Catalogues*, Vol. I, 370–1.

49 Rosenthal, '(Re)Writing Lear', 238.

50 Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 5.

51 Lodowick Carlell, *Arviragus and Philicia* (London, 1639).

52 Samuel Tuke, *The Adventures of Five Hours* (London, 1663), A3r. I am indebted to Stern for the first example.

53 William Chamberlayne, *Wits Led by the Nose; or, A Poets Revenge* (London, 1678), A2r.

54 *Versatile Ingenium: The Wittie Companion; or, Jests of All Sorts* (London, 1679). I have retained the italic font used in the original in order to clarify the use of reported speech.

55 Gerard Langbaine, *Momus Triumphans; or, The Plagiaries of the English Stage; Expos'd in a Catalogue* (Oxford, 1687), A4r.

56 Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 105. See also: Paulina Kewes, 'Gerard Langbaine's "View of Plagiaries": The Rhetoric of Dramatic Appropriation in the Restoration', *RES* 48 (1997), 2–18; and Kevin Pask, 'Plagiarism and the Originality of National Literature: Gerard Langbaine', *ELH* 69 (2002), 727–47.

57 Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 106.

58 For details of the print market as an additional source of income, see: Hume, 'The Economics of Culture in London'; Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, Chapter 1; and Hammond, *Professional Imaginative Writing*, Chapter 2.

59 Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 5.

60 'You are doing better in spinning into acts a song of Troy than if, for the first time, you were giving the world a theme unknown and unsung.' Horace, *Satires, Epistles, 'Ars poetica'*, trans. H. Rushton Fairclough (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1929), II, 460–1, lines 129–30. On epigraphs to Shakespeare alterations, see Murray, 'Performance and Publication of Shakespeare', 445–9.

61 Dobson suspects that Ravenscroft omitted the original theatrical paratexts for the sake of political consistency; *The Making of the National Poet*, 73.

62 *Ibid.*

63 *Authorship and Appropriation*, 5.

64 *Ibid.*, 75.

65 John Dryden, *Don Sebastian, King of Portugal* (London, 1690), A2v.

66 John Locke, *Two Treatises of Government* (London: printed for Awnsham Churchill, at the Black Swan in Ave-Mary-Lane, by Amen-Corner, 1690), R3r–v.

67 Kewes, *Authorship and Appropriation*, 126n. Rosenthal and Dobson also discuss Lockean rhetoric but, while Dobson links it more exclusively to alterations of Shakespeare, Rosenthal links it to the wider practice of alteration. See Dobson, *The Making of the National Poet*, 31–2; and Rosenthal, *Playwrights and Plagiarists in Early Modern England*, 43.

68 Margaret Jane Kidnie, *Shakespeare and the Problem of Adaptation* (London: Routledge, 2009), 10.

69 *Ibid.*, 1.

6 Shakespeare in the Wake of the Exclusion Crisis, 1683–1700

1 The low number of new Shakespeare alterations is probably a consequence of the new theatrical climate ushered in following the collapse of the King's Company and the establishment of the United Company in 1682. The theatre monopoly virtually obliterated competition, and with it the perceived need for new plays.

2 This was a related plot in 1683 against the lives of Charles II and the duke of York. The so-called Glorious Revolution of 1688, when James II was ousted from power and replaced by his Protestant daughter, Mary, and her husband, William, may also have inspired reprints and revivals.

3 QU stands for undated quartos. Three of these pirate editions were printed during the Restoration. A fourth undated, pirate quarto dates from the eighteenth century. I am here adopting the labels used by John W. Velz, '"Pirate Hills" and the Quartos of *Julius Caesar*', *PBSA* 63 (1969), 177–93.

4 The two editions can be distinguished by their imprints. The genuine 1676 edition (Wing S2950) has a four-line imprint, but the edition with the false date of 1676 (Wing S2951) has an imprint that, although matching S2950's imprint verbatim, goes on to a fifth line.

5 See Emma Depledge, 'False Dating: The Case of the "1676" *Hamlet* Quartos', *PBSA*, forthcoming.

6 Tonson's collaboration with Bentley on the falsely dated *Hamlet* edition offers a corrective to current scholarly thinking that sees Tonson's involvement with Shakespeare publishing as dating from the 1690s onwards.

7 *The Tragedy of Hamlet, Prince of Denmarke* was entered to the printer, Robert Everingham, on 19 May 1683, with a note stating that Everingham was acting on behalf of Bentley because Bentley was not yet 'free of the Company'. This is a curious entry because the rights to Shakespeare's plays, including *Hamlet*, had been purchased by Herringman and Martyn back in 1674 (see SR, 6 August 1674, Vol. III, 156).

8 See the watermark evidence included in Depledge, 'False Dating'.

9 I am here indebted to Henrietta Bartlett and John Velz's collation of the different quartos, which shows that Q1684 was the copy text used for QU1 and that it functions as a parent text for QU2, as QU2 does for QU3. See Velz, 'Pirate Hills'; and Henrietta C. Bartlett, 'Quarto Editions of *Julius Caesar*', *Library*, 3rd series, 4 (1913), 122–32.

10 Velz considers Henry Hills a possible candidate ('Pirate Hills', 189).

11 As noted in Table 6.1, an edition of Dryden's *Troilus and Cressida* bearing the date 1679 probably dates from *c.* 1692 and, as Milhous and Hume have stated, further work will probably reveal more examples of pirate publication ventures. See Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Publication of Plays in London, 1660–1800: Playwrights, Publishers and the Market* (London: British Library, 2015), 70–4.

12 The figures would also increase if we considered editions of the operatic *Tempest*, which I have omitted on the grounds that it is at least two removes from a Shakespeare source play. Herringman published *The Tempest* in 1690 and 1695, and Tonson published it in 1701. A new, operatic version of *A Midsummer Night's Dream*, entitled *The Fairy-Queen*, appeared in 1692. I have also omitted this work to keep my parameters consistent. The opera was published by Tonson in 1692 and 1693 and, like those of *The Tempest*, these publications would further inflate my findings.

13 In addition to F2 (1632), the years 1624–41 witnessed the publication of fifteen Shakespeare quartos. See the *ESTC* and Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 20013), 302–6. For more on the publication and popularity of Shakespeare's plays during his lifetime, see especially Lukas Erne, *Shakespeare and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Peter Blayney, 'The Publication of Playbooks', in John D. Cox and David Scott Kastan, eds., *A New History of Early English Drama* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1997), 383–422, and 'The Alleged Popularity of Playbooks', *SQ* 56 (2005), 33–50; Adam Hooks, *Selling Shakespeare: Biography, Bibliography, and the Book Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2016); Alan Farmer and Zachary Lesser, 'The Popularity of Playbooks Revisited', *SQ* 56 (2005), 1–32, and 'Structures of Popularity in the Early Modern Book Trade', *SQ* 56 (2005), 206–13.

14 Note that Ravenscroft's *Titus* was not printed until 1687 just as, for the earlier period, Lacy's *Sauny the Scott* was not printed until 1698.

15 Joad Raymond, *Pamphlets and Pamphleteering in Early Modern Britain* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 165. Matthew Yeo agrees that the fire was '[m]ore traumatic than any other event to befall the London book trade in the seventeenth century', with much existing printed stock destroyed, but adds that 'booksellers bounced back remarkably quickly'. See *The Acquisition of Books by Chetham's Library, 1655–1700* (Leiden: Brill, 2011), 114–15.

16 In 1680 Martyn died, and his widow requested that her late husband's stock and copies go to Robert Scott and George Wells; SR, Vol. III, 181–91. Scott went into business with his brother-in-law, William Wells. Their copy passed down to Wells' children, from whom Tonson bought the copy to a number of Shakespeare plays in 1709, having already acquired Herringman's share two years earlier. See Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 58; and David McKitterick, *Print, Manuscript, and the Search for Order, 1450–1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003), 148–9.

17 Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, *Fifty Comedies and Tragedies: Written by Francis Beaumont and John Fletcher, Gentlemen* (London, 1679), A1v.

18 Herringman published Dryden's *All for Love* in 1678, and again in 1692 and 1696. This is not a play I class as an alteration but, as far as Herringman was concerned, it was also based on a Shakespeare play and makes reference to Shakespeare's authorship.

19 As Giles Mandelbrote notes, following Magnes' death in 1678, Bentley continued to work with his widow, Mary, until her death in 1682. He then worked with their daughter, Susanna, until *c.* 1688–9, after which Bentley begins to appear alone in imprints. Bentley was the sole owner of the rights to publish *Othello* individually. See Giles Mandelbrote, 'Richard Bentley's Copies: The Ownership of Copyright in the Late 17th Century', in Arnold Hunt, Giles Mandelbrote and Alison Shell, eds., *The Book Trade and Its Customers 1450–1900* (Newcastle: Oak Knoll Press, 1998), 55–94. For more on the copyrights to Shakespeare's plays in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Terry Belanger, 'Tonson, Wellington and the Shakespeare Copyrights', in R. W. Hunt, I. G. Phillip and R. J. Roberts, eds., *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), 195–209; and Giles E. Dawson, 'The Copyright of Shakespeare's Dramatic Works', in Charles T. Prouty, ed., *Studies in Honor of A. H. R. Fairchild* (Columbia: University of Missouri Studies, 1946), 11–35.

20 Henry Paul suggested Dryden, based on Lewis Theobald's reference to Dryden's version of the play in his own 1743 duodecimo edition of *Hamlet*. See Henry Paul, 'Players' Quartos and Duodecimos of *Hamlet*', *Modern Language Notes* 49 (1934), 369–75; and Ann Thompson, '"I'll have grounds More relative than this": The Puzzle of John Ward's *Hamlet* Promptbooks', *Yearbook of English Studies* 29 (1999), 138–50.

21 For example, see Halzelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1927), 175; and Barabara Mowatt 'The Form of *Hamlet*'s Fortunes', *Renaissance Drama* 19 (1988), 97–126.

22 The most significant Folio readings found in Q1683 include the addition of a new line in v.i: 'Is this the Fine of his Fines, the Recovery of his Recoveries' (L2r). In II.ii Hecuba is described not as a 'mobled' queen, as in the quarto tradition, but rather as an 'innobled' queen (F1v) from the folio tradition, and in I.v Q1683 has 'so Lust, though to a radiant Angel link't' (D2r) where the quarto tradition has 'but' for 'lust' and 'angle' for 'angel' (for more, see Paul, 'Players' Quartos and Duodecimos of *Hamlet*').

23 Sonia Massai, *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007), esp. 188–9. Note that *Coriolanus*, like *Cymbeline* and *Timon of Athens*, had only appeared in folio format, so Tate (like Durfey and Shadwell) will have been obliged to consult a Shakespeare folio when preparing his alteration.

24 It would thus appear that Herringman had a half share in F4 and that Bentley had a one-third share, with the remaining one-sixth share probably owned by Chiswell and Brewster. See Mandelbrote, 'Richard Bentley's Copies', esp. 63, and entry 377 (94).

25 Francis X. Connor, 'Richard Bentley, Henry Herringman and the Fourth Folio (1685)', in Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan, eds., *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1740* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2017), 38–54 (39).

26 Comparing F4 to Herringman's Beaumont and Fletcher and Johnson folios, Connor notes that 'the fourth folio was the least innovative of the "Triumvirate" folio publications – it neither completed nor added to the Shakespeare canon in the way that the 1679 folio added to the Beaumont and Fletcher canon, nor did it typographically reimagine its author like the Jonson folio'; see *ibid.*, 51. See also Francis X. Connor, *Literary Folios and Ideas of the Book in Early Modern England* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2014), esp. Chapter 4. Conversely, Sonia Massai has shown that careful, editorial attention was paid to the text of the plays; see *Shakespeare and the Rise of the Editor*.

27 William Shakespeare, *Mr. William Shakespear's Comedies, Histories, and Tragedies. Published According to the True Original Copies* (London: printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley, 1685). A1r.

28 In the prologue to Thomas Otway's *The History and Fall of Caius Marius* (London, 1680), Otway is compared to 'greedy Beggars that steal Sheaves away' for having 'glean[ed]' from 'the crop of [Shakespeare's] luxuriant Pen' (A3r).

29 Thomas Shadwell, *The History of Timon of Athens, the Man-Hater* (London: printed by J. M. for Henry Herringman, 1678), M4r.

30 See Lara Hansen and Eric Rasmussen, 'Shakespeare without Rules: The Fifth Shakespeare Folio and Market Demand in the Early 1700s', in Depledge and Kirwan, *Canonising Shakespeare*, 55–62 (58); and Anthony James West, *The Shakespeare First Folio: The History of the Book*: Vol. I: *An Account of the First Folio Based on Its Sales and Prices, 1623–2000* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2000).

31 Exceptions are Thomas Durfey's *The Injured Princess* (*Cymbeline*), which was printed only once, for Bentley and Magnes in 1682, as was the case with Edward Ravenscroft's *Titus Andronicus* (for Hindmarsh, 1687); Nahum Tate's *Coriolanus* (for Hindmarsh, 1682); and Crowne's *The Misery of Civil-War* (for Bentley and Magnes, 1680; reissued in 1681 with cancelled title page), and his *Henry IV: The First Part* (Bentley and Magnes, 1681).

32 Two issues of Q1 were released in 1679 (one for Tonson and one for Swall), albeit with varying imprints and some copies printed with 'a disjunct leaf of commendatory verse' addressed to Dryden. In his *A Supplement to the Woodward and McMannaway Check List of English Plays, 1641–1700* (Charlottesville: Bibliographical Society of the University of Virginia, 1949), Fredson Bowers notes that the edition dated 1695 is another issue and not a new edition. See also Fredson Bowers, 'Variants in Early Editions of Dryden's Plays', *HLB* 3 (1949), 278–88 (283); and Maximillian Novak, 'Textual Notes' to John Dryden, *The Works of John Dryden*, eds. E. N. Hooker and H. T. Swedenberg, 20 vols. (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1956–89), Vol. XIII, 599–600.

33 Michael D. Bristol, for example, credits Tonson with returning Shakespeare's works to print after a twenty-four-year gap, despite the fact that he did not have 'any reliable information to the effect that there was a large potential readership for Shakespeare's plays in a modern edition'. See Michael D. Bristol, *Big-Time Shakespeare* (London: Routledge, 1996), 59.

34 Hansen and Rasmussen managed to identify the same watermarks in the reprinted F4 sheets within Wellington's other publications from 1700. See 'Shakespeare without Rules'. Also see Eric Rasmussen, 'Anonymity and the Erasure of Shakespeare's First Eighteenth-Century Editor', in Joanna Gondris, ed., *Reading Readings: Essays on Shakespeare Editing in the Eighteenth Century* (Madison and London: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press and Associated University Presses, 1998), 318–23.

35 Hansen and Rasmussen, 'Shakespeare without Rules', 56.

36 Giles Dawson, 'Some Bibliographical Irregularities in the Shakespeare Fourth Folio', *Studies in Bibliography* 4 (1951), 93–103 (100–1).

37 John Downes, *Roscius Anglicanus* (1708), eds. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume (London: Society for Theatre Research, 1987), 82–3.

38 *LS*, 316. If a playbill from 1721 is to be believed, then *Much Ado about Nothing* may also have been performed during this period; the bill announced that the play had not been 'Acted these Thirty Years' (*ibid.*, 387).

39 *Ibid.*, 318; Allardyce Nicoll, *A History of English Drama 1660–1900*, Vol. I: *Restoration Drama 1660–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1923), 349.

40 See *LS*, 337; and Nicoll *Restoration Drama*, 350.

41 See Eleonore Boswell, *The Restoration Court Stage, 1660–1702* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1932), 293.

42 *Ibid.*, 55. In terms of modern playwrights whose work was performed at Court in these years, the Poet Laureate, John Dryden, Aphra Behn, and John Crowne all proved popular. These playwrights also wrote in support of James' birthright during the Exclusion Crisis.

43 Nahum Tate, *The History of King Lear* (London: printed for E. Flesher, 1681), J3r.

44 Edward Ravenscroft, *Titus Andronicus; or, The Rape of Lavinia* (London: printed by J. B. for J Hindmarsh, 1687), C4v. See Chapter 4 for more detailed discussion of the pro-York and anti-Exclusion politics found in the Shakespeare alterations.

45 We know that Charles I owned a copy of F2, along with an apocryphal collection entitled 'Shakespeare. Vol. I'; he is said to have read Shakespeare in the days leading to his death. We also know that Charles II owned a separate copy of F2, but there were no Shakespeare performances at Court during his reign and there is, to my knowledge, no evidence to suggest that Charles II inherited his father's appreciation for Shakespeare. On Charles I's Shakespeare volume see Peter Kirwan, 'The First Collected "Shakespeare Apocrypha"', *SQ* 62 (2011), 266–75. Charles II's copy of F2 is now at the British Library, while Charles I's copy is held in the Royal Collection at Windsor Castle.

46 For a detailed account of the split, see Judith Milhous, *Thomas Betterton and the Management of Lincoln's Inn Fields, 1695–1708* (Carbondale: Southern Illinois University Press, 1979), 51–151.

47 On both see Katherine West Scheil, *The Taste of the Town: Shakespearian Comedy and the Early Eighteenth-Century Theater* (Lewisburg: Bucknell University Press, 2003), Chapter 2; and Kristine Johanson, ed., *Shakespeare Adaptations from the Early Eighteenth Century: Five Plays* (Lanham: Fairleigh Dickinson University Press, 2014).

48 Charles Gildon, *Measure for Measure; or, Beauty's Best Advocate* (London: for D. Brown and R. Parker, 1700), title page.

49 Gildon went on to write critical essays on Shakespeare that were published as part of *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear: Volume the Seventh*, ed. Charles Gildon (London, 1710). This publication, which was issued by Edmund Curll and Egbert Sanger as a spurious supplement to Nicholas Rowe and Jacob Tonson's six-volume *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear*, shows yet another link between the agents responsible for Shakespeare alterations and those who subsequently issued unaltered Shakespeare publications. For more on Gildon's criticism and Vol. VII see Paul Cannan, 'Shakespeare Criticism, Charles Gildon, and the Making of Shakespeare the Playwright-Poet', *Modern Philology* 102 (2004), 35–55. For more on Gildon's Shakespeare alteration see Scheil, *The Taste of the Town*, 100–12.

50 The actors mentioned are Betterton and Elizabeth Barry, and the authors are Otway, William Congreve and William Wycherley. Betterton embodied all of the roles the ghost names, with the exception of Desdemona and Caesar.

51 Colley Cibber, *The Tragical History of King Richard III* (London: for B Lintott and A. Bettesworth, 1700). The title page refers to 'Richard III' as 'acted at the Theatre Royal / by C. Cibber'. It is therefore not crystal clear whether the title page advertises Cibber's acting of the part or his authorship of the alteration. On this alteration see Michael Caines, *Shakespeare and the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2013) Chapter 1.

52 Jean I. Marsden, *The Re-Imagined Text: Shakespeare, Adaptation, and Eighteenth-Century Literary Theory* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995), esp. 21–2.

53 See the prologue to George Granville's *The Jew of Venice* (London, 1701).