Thomas Johnson's and Mary Wellington's Single-Text Editions of *Hamlet* and the Copyright Act of 1710

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Between 1709 and 1733 the Shakespeare canon gradually took on its modern form under the stewardship of a number of textual editors and publishers, all of whom were responding to the new legal environment created by the 1710 Copyright Act and the subsequent end to perpetual copyright scheduled to occur on April 10, 1731. Then as now, *Hamlet* (1603) was a key part of the canon, and, as such, it became the site for some important textual experiments, including Nicholas Rowe's decision to include in his 1709 collected edition the "many Lines . . . and one whole Scene" from the play that he had found in the quartos, but which were "left out together" in the folio edition upon which he based his edition.[1] With this decision, Rowe initiated the approach of wholesale textual conflation that would be a feature of most *Hamlet* editions up to the present day. The play also became the site of an important editorial disagreement that cut to the heart of what it means to be an editor of Shakespeare. Specifically, Alexander Pope's aesthetic approach to editing was pitted against Lewis Theobald's scholarly attempt to present the text as it may have originally been written, as shown by the controversy caused by *Shakespeare Restored,* Theobald's book-length critique of Pope's textual treatment of *Hamlet* in his collected edition of 1725.[2] Despite their differences, these three editors, Rowe, Pope, and Theobald, whom I refer to as the "named editors" due to the inclusion of their names on the title pages of their editions, are united not just by their well-attested influence on the text of Shakespeare's plays, but also due to their successive positions as editors responsible for the expensive collected editions published by Jacob Tonson Sr. and his nephew Jacob Tonson Jr. Their editions

1. Nicholas Rowe, ed., *The Works of Mr. William Shakespear,* 6 vols. (London, 1709), 1:sig. A2v.

2. Alexander Pope, *The Works of Shakespear,* 8 vols. (London, 1725); Lewis Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored* (London, 1726).

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and editorial approaches also underpin our standard accounts of Shakespeare editing in the 1709 to 1733 period, to the exclusion of the other, less well-known editors of the same period.

Although by no means the first to conflate the quarto and folio texts of *Hamlet*, the three named editors are known for gradually introducing textual conflation and combining the previously separate quarto and folio versions into one text.[3] Pope is also well known for his application of aesthetically motivated metric emendations, and Theobald is famous for his innovative conjectural emendations, which attempt to tackle textual cruxes and recover Shakespeare's lost phrasing. However, the editors did not work in isolation, but in collaboration with their publishers, Jacob Tonson Sr. and Jr. While scholars continue to debate the issue, the textual innovations in the collected editions, in addition to the inclusion of new editorial apparatuses and introductory texts, appear to have been designed by the Tonsons as part of a response to the 1710 Copyright Act.[4] The prominent inclusion of new textual and paratextual material is likely to have been an attempt to retain exclusive copyright by periodically publishing ostensibly "new" editions of Shakespeare's works that nonetheless followed the textus receptus model, thereby allowing the publishers to claim what Don-John Dugas calls "dependent textual succession."[5] In theory, this would allow the Tonsons and their partners to indefinitely extend their copyright by publishing new editions every fourteen years, effectively nullifying the legal expiration of copyrights that was scheduled for April 10, 1731. The strategy was successful until it was finally challenged in the courts in 1774 and forms the basis for our modern approach to the copyrights of the Shakespeare canon.[6] While the notion of perpetual copyright fell by the wayside in 1774, publishers still base their copyright claims on the unique textual treatment and paratexts that are included by named editors in periodically updated editions.

As a result of their dominance in our historical accounts and our scholarly editions, it can often appear that Rowe, Pope, and Theobald were the

3. The 1683 quarto (Q8) contains several significant folio readings. See Henry N. Paul, "Players' Quartos and Duodecimos of *Hamlet*," *Modern Language Notes* 49, no. 6 (June 1934): 369–75.

4. See, e.g., Peter Seary, *Lewis Theobald and the Editing of Shakespeare* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1990), 134; Simon Jarvis, *Scholars and Gentlemen: Shakespearean Textual Criticism and Representations of Scholarly Labour, 1725–1765* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1995), 95; Don-John Dugas, *Marketing the Bard: Shakespeare in Performance and Print, 1660–1740* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2006), 190–94; James J. Marino, *Owning William Shakespeare: The King's Men and Their Intellectual Property* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2011), 1–7; Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing*, 2nd ed. (Cambridge University Press, 2021), 103.

5. Dugas, *Marketing the Bard,* 203.

6. William St. Clair, *The Reading Nation in the Romantic Period* (Cambridge University Press, 2004), 111.

only editors of *Hamlet* during the period, or at least that they were the only editors to make a lasting impression on the text of the play. However, this is not the case, since four understudied single-text editions published in the Hague and London during the same period also offer evidence of differing textual responses to the 1710 act on the part of their publishers and the anonymous editors who worked for them. These editions comprise the first single-text octavo (1710), the first single-text duodecimo (1717, but dated "1718" in the title page imprint), the second single-text octavo (1720), and the second single-text duodecimo (1723) editions of *Hamlet*.[7] For ease of reference, I refer to these editions as O1, D1, O2, and D2, respectively. I prefer not to use the standard, yet somewhat misleading, names for D1—namely, "the 1718 edition" and "the Hughs-Wilks edition"—since the archive evidence neither supports this publication date nor H. N. Paul's influential yet unsubstantiated presumption that John Hughes and Robert Wilks collaborated on the edition.[8] By using the naming convention generally applied to seventeenth-century editions, which is based on format and ordinal number, such confusion can be avoided. However, it is important to note that this is not a perfect solution since both Rowe's octavo collected edition of 1709 and his duodecimo edition of 1714 predate O1 and D1. These editions are, however, the first single-text editions of *Hamlet* to be published in these formats.

O1 and O2 were published by Thomas Johnson, a Scottish publisher working in The Hague who did not hold the rights to the plays he published, while D1 and D2 were published by Mary Wellington, a London-based publisher who, with her three sons, had inherited the entirety of the rights to *Hamlet* and many other important works from her husband, the publisher Richard Wellington, after his death in 1715.[9] All four of these editions were much more affordable than the collected editions. Wellington's editions sold for one shilling, as shown both on their title pages and in contemporary newspaper advertisements.[10] Johnson's editions were even more affordable, being listed for just eight pence in the publisher's own catalogue of plays for

7. William Shakespeare, *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* [O1] ("London" [The Hague], 1710); *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* [D1] (London, "1718" [1717]); *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* [O2] ("London" [The Hague], 1720); *Hamlet, Prince of Denmark* [D2] (London, 1723). For evidence related to the dating of D1, see Andy Reilly, "The Correct Publication Date of Mary Wellington's '1718' Edition of *Hamlet*," *Notes and Queries* 266, no. 2 (June 2021): 217–19.

8. Henry N. Paul, "Mr. Hughs' Edition of *Hamlet*," *Modern Language Notes* 49, no. 7 (November 1934): 438–43; Bernice W. Kliman, "John Hughes and Shakespeare: The Eighteenth-Century Poet and the Construction of Knowledge," in *The Shakespearean International Yearbook*, vol. 3, ed. Graham Bradshaw et al. (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2003), 235–36.

9. Terry Belanger, "Tonson, Wellington and the Shakespeare Copyrights," in *Studies in the Book Trade in Honour of Graham Pollard*, ed. R. W. Hunt, I. G. Philip, and R. J. Roberts (Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1975), 197, 203.

10. See "Just publish'd," *Post Boy*, December 5–7, 1717, quoted in Reilly, "Publication Date."

sale.[11] In contrast, the cheapest collected edition sold during the period was the 1714 duodecimo of Rowe's *Works,* which sold for twenty-seven shillings.[12] Despite their low prices, all four of the single-text editions published by Johnson and Wellington include features that we usually associate with the more expensive Tonson collected editions—namely, extensive new textual conflation, novel metric emendations, and conjectural emendations, the majority of which have escaped the attention of *Hamlet* scholars so far.

While a number of scholars, such as Barbara Mowat, have noted the importance of single-text editions of *Hamlet* in general, Johnson's and Wellington's editions have so far been somewhat overlooked.[13] For example, Dugas has specifically noted our "scholarly neglect" of Mary Wellington's editions, while he has also stated that "much work remains to be done on [Thomas] Johnson's Shakespeare editions," none of which has been subject to detailed analysis thus far.[14] Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume concur, stating that Johnson's play collection and the single-text editions of the plays contained within it have "been mostly ignored or sneered at," due to the fact that the publisher was "a noted pirate."[15] However, the editions are, unfortunately, misrepresented even by these scholars, whose stated intention is to show that Johnson's play collection was "extremely important and influential."[16] Milhous and Hume diminish the importance of the edition when they claim that Johnson's "texts of *Macbeth*, *Hamlet*, *Othello*, *1 Henry IV*, and *Merry Wives* are taken straight from Rowe, which is to say they are unadulterated Shakespeare with a bit of editing and added locations and stage directions."[17] Yet, as this article will show, O1 and O2 were not simply "taken straight from Rowe," but are actually highly distinctive editions that contain many unique textual features. In contrast to Johnson's editions, D1 has been studied more frequently, but it has been analyzed almost exclusively in relation to the typographically indicated performance cuts that are one of its distinguishing features, and scholars have overlooked the other textual innovations contained in the edition.[18] D2, however, is almost never analyzed. In comparison

11. Thomas Johnson, "English Plays," in *A Collection of the Best English Plays*, vol. 4 (London, [1720]), n.p.

12. Judith Milhous and Robert D. Hume, *The Publication of Plays in London, 1660–1800* (London: British Library, 2015), 236.

13. Barbara Mowat, "The Form of 'Hamlet''s Fortunes," *Renaissance Drama* 9 (1988): 106.

14. Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, 183, 167.

15. Milhous and Hume, *Publication of Plays*, 245.

16. Ibid.

17. Ibid., 247.

18. See, e.g., George Winchester Stone Jr., "Garrick's Long Lost Alteration of *Hamlet*," *PMLA* 49, no. 3 (September 1934): 895–96; Paul, "Mr. Hughs," 438–43; J. Yoklavich, "Hamlet in Shammy Shoes," *Shakespeare Quarterly* 3, no. 3 (July 1952): 215–16; Elihu Pearlman, "The Hamlet of Robert Wilks," *Theatre Notebook* 24, no. 3 (1970): 125–33; Andrew Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print: A History and Chronology of Shakespeare Publishing* (Cambridge University Press,

to the editions of Rowe, Pope, and Theobald, the single-text editions are undoubtedly neglected.

This article is based on a full collation of Johnson's and Wellington's single-text editions, which were compared with the previous quarto and folio editions, in addition to Rowe's, Pope's, and Theobald's editions. Since this work was completed during the COVID-19 pandemic, in-person access to research libraries was unfortunately not possible. As such, electronic copies accessible via Eighteenth-Century Collections Online and Internet Archive were used for this collation, while electronic access to Q13 (ESTC N69093) was kindly provided by the library at Queen's College, University of Oxford.[19] While it would have been vastly preferable for this collation to have been based on the consultation of material copies, the availability of these digital facsimiles nevertheless allowed the project to go ahead under otherwise difficult circumstances. The data provided by this collation underpins the textual evidence presented later in this article, while also offering new evidence regarding the textual providence of the four single-text editions.

The textual evidence suggests that all four single-text editions draw substantially on Rowe's 1709 edition. Both of Johnson's octavo editions used Rowe as a copy-text, while Wellington's editions use it as a secondary text. As such, all of the editions contain textual and paratextual elements introduced by Rowe, such as act and scene divisions and scene locators. In addition, all four editions combine parts of the text in Rowe's edition with the text from the quartos. In the case of Johnson's editions, these elements are combined with the foundation provided by Rowe, while Wellington's editions use a quarto as a copy-text and incorporate elements from Rowe. My collation suggests that the quarto edition used by both O1 and D1 is likely to be Q11 (ESTC N47407), since both Johnson's and Wellington's editions include the variant "stings" instead of "slings and arrows" in Hamlet's famous soliloquy, and Q11 is the only earlier edition to contain this wording.[20] While O1 provides no further evidence of textual provenance from a specific quarto, three other emendations also suggest that D1 was based on Q11. First, at TLN 3745, D1 includes the stage direction "Shout," which seems to be an attempt to integrate Q10–Q13's misspelled variant of the stage direction "Shot."[21] Second, at TLN 1497, the notoriously inaccurate Q11 and Q12

2003), 34–35; Richard W. Schoch, "'A Supplement to Public Laws': Arthur Murphy, David Garrick, and *Hamlet, with Alterations*," *Theatre Journal* 57, no. 1 (March 2005): 26 nn. 25, 27.

19. Eighteenth Century Collections Online (ECCO), https://www.gale.com/primary-sources/eighteenth-century-collections-online; Internet Archive, https://archive.org; English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC), https://www.bl.uk/projects/english-short-title-catalogue.

20. Shakespeare, Q11, 36; O1, 55; D1, 49.

21. Shakespeare, D1, 103; Q10–Q13, 79. Through line numbers (TLNs) are used to easily compare lines across editions of Shakespeare's plays. The system was first created by Charlton

read "bread" for "dread" in the phrase "his dread and black complection smear'd," giving the nonsensical "his bread and black complection smear'd."[22] D1 skillfully emends "bread" to "beard," giving "his Beard and black Complection smear'd."[23] Additionally, at TLN 2039+2, Q11 and Q12 mistakenly add an *s* to "grow" in the phrase "Where little fears grow great," giving the ungrammatical "Where little fears grows great."[24] D1 follows the Q11 and Q12 form of the verb, but changes the plural noun "fears" to the singular noun "Fear," giving the grammatically correct phrase "Where little Fear grows great."[25] Both O2 and D2 largely follow their direct predecessors, although, as I will explain below, O2 includes additional variants first introduced in Q6 (1676), but neither provides any evidence of textual influence between Johnson's and Wellington's editions.

While questions of textual provenance in early eighteenth-century editions may seem to be a somewhat niche interest, the textual innovations introduced in these editions are much more than simple curiosities. Specifically, the variants in these understudied editions offer evidence of the effects of the 1710 Copyright Act on publishers of *Hamlet* during the period, especially during the uncertain early years after the act had passed into law and before it began to be tested. For more than a hundred years, the publication of *Hamlet* had largely followed the textus receptus model, and large-scale textual innovation was very rare. This approach had been profitable for more than a century, yet within a decade of 1710, we see three radically different and textually innovative approaches to the play in Rowe's, Johnson's, and Wellington's editions. Jacob Tonson Sr. and Jr.'s innovative approach to Rowe's edition has, of course, already been widely discussed. The Tonsons are likely to have seen the considerable investment made into Rowe's edition as worthwhile, due to the insider knowledge Tonson Sr. had gained through his political connections and involvement in debates regarding copyright legislation.[26] As such, the Tonsons' decision to invest considerable time and money in creating a new edition of Shakespeare can be convincingly explained from the perspective of the book trade.

The same discussion has not, however, been applied to Johnson's and Wellington's editions. Like the Tonsons, these two publishers invested

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Hinman and used in *The First Folio of Shakespeare: The Norton Facsimile* (New York: Norton, 1968). I follow Bernice Kliman and Paul Bertram's modified approach in *The Three-Text "Hamlet": Parallel Texts of the First and Second Quartos and First Folio* (New York: AMS Press, 2003), which includes the Q-only lines in addition to the lines from the folio.

22. Shakespeare, Q10–Q13, 31.

23. Shakespeare, D1, 44.

24. Shakespeare, Q11–Q12, 42.

25. Shakespeare, D1, 57.

26. See Belanger, "Shakespeare Copyrights," 196; Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, 132; John Feather, "The Book Trade in Politics: The Making of the Copyright Act of 1710," *Publishing History*, no. 8 (1980): 31.

considerable time and money in their new editions of *Hamlet* rather than following the time-honored and highly economical practice of reprinting directly from the most recently published edition, but these editions have yet to be integrated in our accounts of the period. From a copyright perspective, Johnson and Wellington were diametrically opposed. Johnson was an offshore publisher and had no legal claim whatsoever to the rights of the play, and he was well aware of the illicit nature of his business, being personally involved in the smuggling of his books into Scotland.[27] In contrast, Mary Wellington and her sons were, after Richard's death in 1715, sole owners of the rights to *Hamlet* as well as one-third partners in the collected works, in addition to being sole owners of the rights to *Othello* (1622), and one-third partners with the Tonsons in the ownership of *Julius Caesar* (1623) and *Macbeth* (1623).[28] As such, Johnson was an outsider, not just legally but geographically, while Mary Wellington, whose new bookshop next to St. Clement's Church was no more than five minutes' walk from Tonson's shop and both London theaters, was at the legal and geographical heart of the London-based Shakespeare publishing industry. Despite their clear differences, however, Johnson and Wellington followed very similar approaches in their editions of *Hamlet*, commissioning an anonymous editor or editors to prepare textually innovative editions of the play that, like the more famous collected editions, introduced new textual conflation, metric emendations, and conjectural emendations. This approach diverges from the strategies of most *Hamlet* publishers, the majority of whom followed the standard approach of attempting to reproduce the text from the most recently published editions of the play. Johnson's and Wellington's respective decisions to invest valuable resources in diverging from this age-old approach are highly significant, even though, from a twenty-first-century perspective, such decisions may seem unexceptional.

The evidence suggests that both publishers made these decisions as separate responses to the then untested Copyright Act of 1710. It is unlikely to be a coincidence that Johnson's first octavo edition was published in 1710, the year that the act was passed, and that Wellington's first duodecimo edition was published in 1717, equipped with a false title page date of 1718, exactly seven years after the act passed and fourteen years before the rights to the play were due to expire. By offering textually distinct editions of the play, the two publishers may have sought to hedge their bets as they navigated the as-yet unclear legal environment created by the act. Johnson's decision to publish two new editions of the play—each of which include sections that differ substantively from their copytext, Rowe's 1709 edition, and also contain misleading "London" imprints—may have been part of a

27. See Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 2nd ed., 136.
28. Belanger, "Shakespeare Copyrights," 205.

broader attempt to avoid potential legal trouble under the newly introduced act. As such, Johnson's editions appear to be an entrepreneur's immediate response to a new legislative environment, while the nature of his textual innovations suggests that he may have marketed his editions as being both more complete and of a higher quality than the other editions on the market. In contrast, Mary Wellington's forward-thinking approach appears to be part of a broader, and well-documented, concern for the future financial welfare of her three underage sons, which included a prenuptial agreement intended to protect their rights prior to her second marriage to John Poulson in 1721.[29] As William St. Clair explains, in the years immediately following the passage of the act, prior to the challenges made in the early 1730s, the legislation was taken at face value.[30] As such, for Mary Wellington and her sons, the legal situation in 1717 would have appeared clear: they had fourteen years left until their perpetual copyright to the play expired. By publishing a conspicuously new edition of *Hamlet* in 1717 that combined the texts of the folio and quarto editions more completely than any previous edition, Wellington seems to have intended to preemptively stake her sons' claims to *Hamlet* in advance of the scheduled expiration of the copyright precisely fourteen years later, in 1731. These claims are likely to have been bolstered by the decision to publicize the edition and specifically note its textual novelty in an advertisement in a major newspaper, the *Post Boy* (1695–1728).[31] The inclusion of a false "1718" imprint on the title page of D1 may also have been an attempt to further extend the family's copyright in the event that the act was enforced. While the publication of D2 in 1723 may suggest simply that D1 had sold well, it may also represent a further claim to the play by Wellington. This strategy is strikingly similar to the Tonson approach and suggests that the Wellingtons were also involved in the attempt to secure perpetual copyright to Shakespeare's works from an early date. Despite their diametrically opposed legal situations, both Johnson and Wellington had a vested interest in differentiating their editions of *Hamlet* from the previous editions in response to the new copyright laws.

As a result of their responses to the new copyright regime, both Johnson's and Wellington's editions include a number of textual innovations, many of which are related to textual conflation, metric emendation, and conjectural emendation—areas traditionally associated only with the named editors of the collected editions. These innovations suggest we need to rethink our understanding of the textual development of *Hamlet* during this period, particularly in relation to our narrative regarding the emendations introduced by Pope and Theobald. With the exception of the Hamlet Works

29. Ibid., 197.
30. St. Clair, *Reading Nation*, 92.
31. Reilly, "Publication Date," 217.

internet variorum edition prepared by Bernice Kliman and others, which includes D1 and D2 but neither O1 nor O2, no modern scholarly edition, to my knowledge, collates these four single-text editions.[32] However, textual evidence in these editions suggests that they have a great deal to teach us about *Hamlet*'s textual development in this period, including the important topic of textual conflation.

CONFLATION

Our understanding of textual conflation has long been based on the accounts given by the named editors themselves, specifically Nicholas Rowe and Lewis Theobald. Just four pages into his landmark six-volume collection, Rowe claimed that he had "compare[d] the several Editions" and saw that "there were many Lines, (and in *Hamlet* one whole Scene) left out together," before stating that "these are now all supply'd."[33] Rowe had correctly surmised that, in the largely separate quarto and folio texts of the seventeenth century, the quarto editions contain a number of lines (around 225) that are not included in the folios. He may also have noticed, given that F4 (1685) was his copy-text, that there are about 108 lines that are only present in the folios. While calculations of the number of Q-only lines vary, most scholars agree that they are in the region of 220 to 230. I base my calculation on the number of lines assigned a "+" through line number by Bernice Kliman and Paul Bertram.[34] For the F-only lines, I began with the useful annotations in Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine's Folger edition, which I then checked against the early editions to discount any that referred to variant readings rather than true F-only lines.[35] Despite the impression given by Rowe's claim, his was not the first conflated text of *Hamlet*. As Henry N. Paul has shown, this honor belongs to Q8 (1683), since this edition incorporates a number of individual readings from the folio text.[36] For example, in the famous "inky cloak" line (TLN 258), Q8 replaces Q3–Q7's "could smother" with the folio reading, "(good Mother)," creating a hybrid line that combines the two versions.[37] The two types of conflation represented by Rowe and Q8 have been distinguished by Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor. These editors refer to the type of conflation employed by Rowe as "incorporating" Q-only and F-only passages, while the type exemplified by Q8 involves "any individual act of emendation in which the editor who is faced

32. Bernice Kliman et al., "Works Collated," Hamlet Works, http://triggs.djvu.org/global-language.com/ENFOLDED/index.php?page=bibs.html.

33. Rowe, *Works*, 1:sig. A2v.

34. Kliman and Bertram, *Three-Text "Hamlet."*

35. Barbara Mowat and Paul Werstine, *Hamlet* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 2012).

36. Paul, "Players' Quartos."

37. William Shakespeare, *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark* (London, 1683), 7.

with an unsatisfactory reading in the copy-text turns automatically to the other text as a possible source for a better reading."[38] These two basic types of conflation, which I refer to as section-by-section conflation and word-by-word conflation, since, respectively, they apply to sections of either one line or longer or sections shorter than one line, have been a constant feature of *Hamlet* editing since the turn of the eighteenth century.

While both types of conflation continue to be frequently discussed by editors and scholars of *Hamlet*, the increasing use of section-by-section conflation by the three named editors has underpinned many accounts of the 1709–1733 period. This critical focus on section-by-section conflation and the contributions of the three named editors appears to originate with Lewis Theobald's polemical preface to his 1733 collected edition, in which he describes himself as the first "diligent" editor, since he collated and conflated elements from both the folio and quarto texts.[39] According to Theobald, Rowe "neither corrected [Shakespeare's] Text, nor collated the old Copies," while Pope "pretended to have collated the old Copies, and yet seldom has corrected the Text but to its Injury."[40] According to Theobald, however, he was a "diligent" editor who did both. He frequently foregrounds the importance of textual conflation with his scathing comments about Pope's omission of Q-only passages in *Hamlet*, as when he vividly describes his predecessor as "mutilating his Author" by choosing not to include such passages in his edition.[41] In Theobald's version of events, there is a clear progression in collation and conflation from one Tonson editor to the next, culminating in his own "diligent" approach.

This version of events created a pattern for subsequent literary and historical accounts of textual conflation up to the present day by placing a focus on the three named editors and the increase in section-by-section conflation. The standard account has been so frequently repeated that it would be impossible to provide a list of all those who have referred to it. An overview of some of the most important accounts includes many prominent Shakespeareans, such as Samuel Johnson, Edmond Malone, Thomas Lounsbury, David Nichol Smith, R. B. McKerrow, John Dover Wilson, Brian Vickers, G. R. Hibbard, Barbara Mowat, Peter Seary, Simon Jarvis, Marcus Walsh, Eric Rasmussen, Andrew Murphy, and Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor.[42] Eric

38. Ann Thompson and Neil Taylor, eds., *Hamlet*, rev. ed. (London: Bloomsbury Arden, 2016), 93–94.

39. Lewis Theobald, ed., *The Works of Shakespeare*, 7 vols. (London, 1733), 1:xlii.

40. Ibid., 1:xxxiv–v.

41. Ibid., 7:313 n. 50.

42. Samuel Johnson, ed., *The Plays of William Shakespeare*, 2nd ed., vol. 1 (London, 1765), xlvii–l; Edmond Malone, ed., *The Plays and Poems of William Shakespeare*, vol. 1 (London, 1790), lxvi–lxvii; Thomas Lounsbury, *The First Editors of Shakespeare* (London: Nutt, 1906), 74–77, 87, 101–2, 490, 544; David Nichol Smith, *Shakespeare in the Eighteenth Century* (Oxford: Clarendon,

Rasmussen's concise, factual, and nonpartisan account is a useful example and charts the progression from Rowe, who "restored about 131" lines, to Pope, who "continued to combine the Quarto/Folio texts," and ends in 1733, when, with the publication of Theobald's edition, "the conflation of *Hamlet* was complete."[43] Rasmussen and Theobald are separated by 270 years, but the account remains much the same: Rowe conflated a little (or not at all, according to Theobald's erroneous claim), Pope continued the process, and Theobald completed it. It is a narrative of clear, measurable progression, one that has underpinned numerous discussions relating to the three named editors since its first appearance in 1733.

On the surface, the account appears to hold water, and this may explain why it has been repeated so frequently. As table 1 shows, Pope did indeed conflate more than Rowe, while Theobald conflated more than both of the earlier editors.

Table 1. Conflated lines in Rowe's, Pope's, and Theobald's editions.[44]

	F-only (108)	Q-only (225)	Total (333)	Percentage of Total
Rowe (1709)	107	128	235	70
Pope (1725)	96	164	260	78
Theobald (1733)	101	219	320	96

As the right-hand column indicates, while Rowe includes 70 percent of the potential number of conflated lines, Pope includes 78 percent, and Theobald includes almost all of the Q-only and F-only lines. For all three named editors, the majority of the newly conflated lines come from the quartos,

1928), 31–38, 41; R. B. McKerrow, "The Treatment of Shakespeare's Text by His Earlier Editors, 1709–1768," in *Studies in Shakespeare,* ed. Peter Alexander (1933; repr., Oxford University Press, 1964), 107–9, 119–25; John Dover Wilson, *The Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet" and the Problems of Its Transmission: An Essay in Critical Bibliography,* 2 vols. (Cambridge University Press, 1934), 1:1–6; Brian Vickers, *William Shakespeare: The Critical Heritage,* vol. 2 (1974; repr., London: Routledge, 2005), 10–11; G. R. Hibbard, ed., *Hamlet* (1987; repr., Oxford University Press, 2008), 20–23; Mowat, "Fortunes," 97–126; Seary, *Theobald,* 59–60; Jarvis, *Scholars,* 57–61, 66–67, 95–101; Marcus Walsh, *Shakespeare, Milton and Eighteenth-Century Literary Editing* (Cambridge University Press, 1997), 118, 130; Eric Rasmussen, "Introduction: The Texts of Shakespeare's *Hamlet* and Their Origins," in Kliman and Bertram, *Three-Text "Hamlet,"* xx–xxi; Andrew Murphy, "The Birth of the Editor," in *A Concise Companion to Shakespeare and the Text,* ed. Andrew Murphy (Oxford: Blackwell, 2007), 94–97; Thompson and Taylor, *Hamlet,* 516.

43. Rasmussen, "Introduction," xx–xxi.

44. Neither Rowe's second or third editions of 1710 and 1714 nor Pope's second edition of 1728 exhibit any differences regarding amount or type of conflation.

although the evidence suggests that the editors used different quarto editions as their copytexts. Rowe's edition, based directly on F4, contains almost all 108 F-only lines, as well as 128 lines deriving from one of the quartos published after 1676, Q6–Q14. These quartos contain distinctive emendations to at least 332 lines that were first introduced in Q6 and include omissions of religious references, simplification of language, and changes to syntax, among others.[45] As Claire Bourne has recently shown in an analysis of Q6 (1676) and Q8 (1683), these quartos also contain a number of important, reader-focused typographical variants.[46] As such, while they are derived from the pre-war quartos, these large-scale textual changes mark Q6–Q14 out as belonging to a separate subgenealogy. While we have no conclusive evidence regarding the exact edition Rowe used, my collation suggests that he may have used one of the "1703" quartos, Q10–Q14.[47] The inclusion of the misspelled "eminent" for "imminent" at TLN 2743+54 matches the spelling of this word in Q10–Q14, while the misspelling of "distrust" as "disturst" in TLN 2034 matches the spelling in Q10 and Q11. While this evidence is not conclusive and these similarities may be coincidental, the textus receptus model was standard practice for publishers in this period, and it is reasonable to assume that Rowe would have used a quarto provided by the rights holder to *Hamlet* and publisher of at least some of the "1703" quartos, Richard Wellington. Pope included 36 more Q-only lines, although, as Barbara Mowat has noted, he also silently dropped some F-only lines, phrases, and individual words. As Mowat has shown, Pope seems to have referred to one of the pre-1642 quartos while preparing his text of *Hamlet*.[48] Theobald restored half of the F-only lines removed by Pope, while also adding 55 more Q-only lines, bringing the total number of conflated lines to 320. Theobald's claim that he "[took] in the Assistances of all the older Copies" is supported by a collation of these 55 Q-only lines, none of which include any emendations originating with Q6.[49] It is therefore clear that they came from one of the pre-1642 quartos. Overall, the data shows that when we chart conflation in the collected editions, without examining any single-text editions from the same period, there is a progressive increase.

45. I base my figure of 332 lines on my own collation. For an important early twentieth-century commentary on the textual changes introduced in Q6, see Hazelton Spencer, *Shakespeare Improved: The Restoration Versions in Quarto and on the Stage* (1927; repr., New York: Ungar, 1963), 174–91.

46. Claire M. L. Bourne, "Dramatic Typography and the Restoration Quartos of *Hamlet*," in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1740*, ed. Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge University Press, 2017), 153–70.

47. There are several editions of *Hamlet* issued with a 1703 imprint, each of which contains typographical changes. It is unclear which of these editions were actually printed in 1703, but it is likely that some were printed at a later date. See Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 2nd ed., 404.

48. Mowat, "Fortunes," 107–8.

49. Theobald, *Works*, 1:xlii.

This is, of course, completely in line with the standard account, which began with Theobald.

However, this account should not necessarily be taken at face value. Despite forming the basis for our subsequent understanding of textual conflation during this period, Theobald's insistence on his own diligence in comparison with Rowe and Pope appears to have been part of a marketing ploy that benefited both the Tonson publishing house and, on a personal level, the editor himself. As Dugas points out, an initial challenge to the publishers' control of the rights to Shakespeare was made in summer 1731, just after the rights were supposed to have legally expired, and it was in response to this challenge that the group of publishers—led by Jacob Tonson Jr. and including the three Wellington boys—commissioned Theobald's edition.[50] The Tonsons and their associates decided to push ahead with their attempt to claim perpetual copyright to Shakespeare's plays, and despite Theobald's criticism of Pope's edition, they insisted that he follow the textus receptus model and base his edition on Pope's, while also including a new introductory text that stressed the "new" aspects of the publication. The intention was to stave off any copyright challenges for a further fourteen years. By loudly announcing the shortcomings of the previous editions, Theobald's preface supported this strategy. However, Theobald also had a personal financial motive to clearly distinguish between his edition and Pope's, as he hoped to sell the five hundred copies that he had received in lieu of cash payment for his work.[51] It is likely that his self-depiction as the first "diligent" editor was part of his strategy to attract subscribers for his own edition, many of whom had probably purchased Pope's edition less than a decade ago. Like the publishers, Theobald saw the need to remind the reader of both the edition's textual genealogy and the novelty of his own approach. Despite being fully aware of the existence of at least some of the single-text editions, as shown by his frequent references to D2 in *Shakespeare Restored*, Theobald's preface does not mention them, presumably since they could not bolster the Tonsons' claims to textual continuity of the collected works.[52] This financially motivated editorial decision may be at the heart of our continued neglect of the single-text editions in our historical narratives of textual conflation.

However, as table 2 indicates, Theobald's narrative of a neat, progressive increase in conflation from editor to editor is shown to be untenable when we include Thomas Johnson's and Mary Wellington's editions. All four of these single-text editions contain substantially more textual conflation than both Rowe's and Pope's editions, while O2 is almost as fully conflated as Theobald's edition.

50. Dugas, *Marketing the Bard*, 204–5.

51. Ibid., 205.

52. Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, 15, 25, 48, 50, 67–69, 92, 106, 114, 117, 126–28.

Table 2. Conflated lines in all seven editions.

	F-only (108)	Q-only (225)	Total (333)	Percentage of Total
Rowe (1709)	107	128	235	70
First Octavo (1710)	107	174	281	84
First Duodecimo (1717)	70	225	295	89
Second Octavo (1720)	107	211	318	95
Second Duodecimo (1723)	70	225	295	89
Pope (1725)	96	164	260	78
Theobald (1733)	101	219	320	96

As figures 1 and 2 show, the increase in section-by-section conflation between 1709 and 1733 was a much messier historical process than it has previously seemed, and some of the biggest increases in the number of lines conflated were actually achieved by the single-text editions. The peak of conflation we have often associated with Theobald had, in fact, been reached thirteen years earlier, by O2. This evidence suggests that both Johnson and Wellington were seeking to differentiate their editions from previous editions by increases in section-by-section conflation.

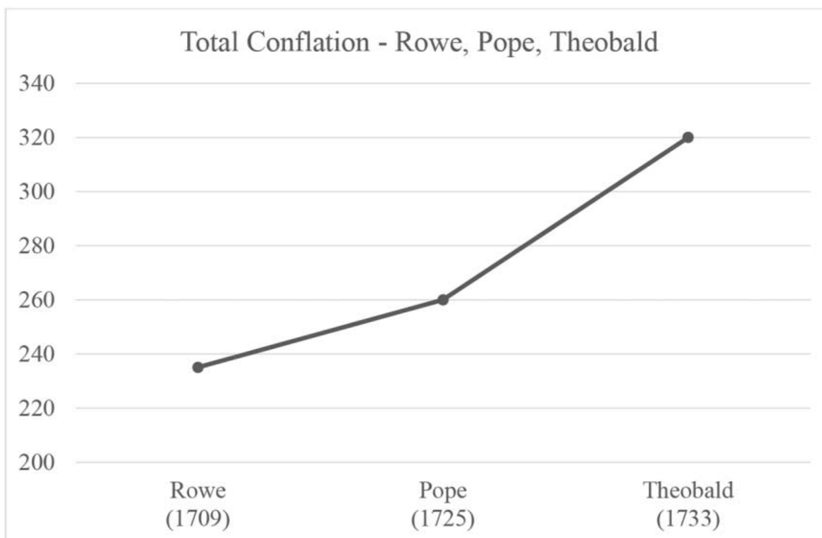

Figure 1. Total conflated lines in editions by Rowe, Pope, and Theobald. Color version available as an online enhancement.

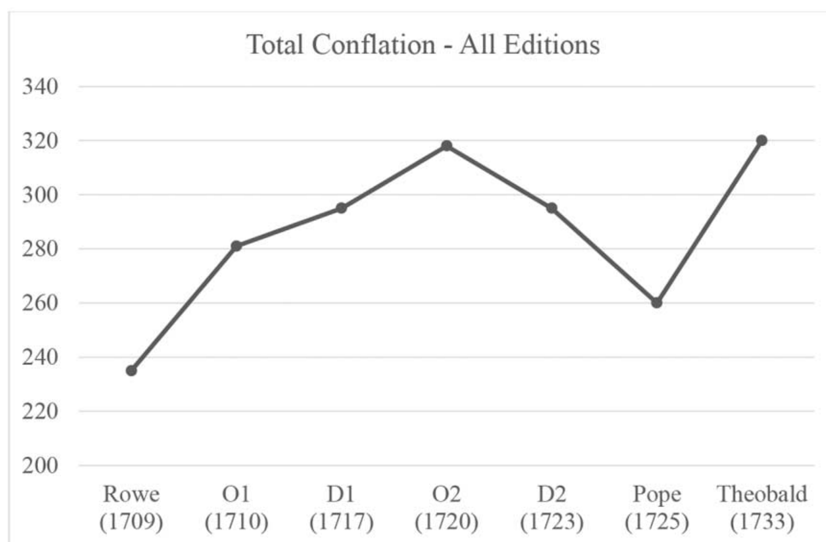

Figure 2. Total conflated lines in all seven editions. Color version available as an online enhancement.

These textual changes would be useful from a marketing perspective, since a cheaper edition of the play that was more comprehensively conflated could be marketed as a more "complete" edition of the play than even other more expensive editions. It is tempting to speculate that Johnson, in particular, chose to increase the number of conflated lines in O1 to aid him in differentiating his version from Rowe's, and then revisited the text of the play in 1720 to create an even longer and more complete version in response to Wellington's 1717 edition. A text that was demonstrably longer could have been marketed as an improvement on previous editions. Unfortunately, we have no direct evidence of Johnson's marketing tactics, with the exception of the play catalogues that he included in his collected editions since, as a pirate publisher, he was naturally excluded from advertising in the London newspapers, which were printed by members of the Stationers' Company. However, Mary Wellington did make use of newspaper advertising to promote her editions, and such advertisements give an insight into the differentiating rhetoric used when advertising these editions. The *Post Boy* advertisement announcing the edition's publication makes a specific comparison between D1 and its predecessors, stating, "In this Edition Care has been taken to correct the many Errors which escaped [?] in former Editions."[53] The general term "Errors" is somewhat of a catchall: it could be applied not only to

53. "Just publish'd," *Post Boy,* December 5–7, 1717.

misreadings or typographical errors, but also to the editorial error of omitting sections of the play's text. It is reasonable to assume that, when promoting their editions to potential customers, both Johnson and Wellington would have stressed the fact that their editions contained more of *Hamlet* than previous versions.

The textual differentiation gained through section-by-section conflation might also have been important for Mary Wellington as a means of presenting the 1717 edition as a new publication in the event of a legal challenge. By combining sections from the quarto and folio texts, D1 demonstrably contains text that distinguishes it from both the quarto editions published by Wellington's late husband, and the folio-based version included in the collected edition that she also partially owned the rights to. The newspaper advertisement prominently proclaims the distinction between this edition and the "former Editions" and, in the event of a subsequent legal challenge, a quick comparison between the editions would have shown the textual differences between the editions. As the family's rights were not actually tested in court, we will never know whether her strategy would have stood up to legal scrutiny, but the evidence suggests an intentional attempt to present the edition as being new and textually distinct.

While Wellington's use of section-by-section conflation suggests that she was following a similar textual approach to her business partners, the Tonsons, her edition's highly innovative use of word-by-word conflation shows how she adapted and extended the strategy due to her unique position as holder of the rights to both the single-text and collected-edition versions of *Hamlet*. As noted above, scholarly discussions related to conflation are usually focused on section-by-section conflation rather than the choices made by editors on a word-by-word basis. However, word-by-word conflation in *Hamlet* is very important, since, as John Dover Wilson states, there are "over 1300" substantive differences between Q2 and F1, not including "variants in spelling, punctuation, stage-direction, speech-heading, and line-division."[54] True to the standards of the New Bibliographic era, Wilson only considers variants from three early editions, Q1 (1603), Q2 (1604), and F1 (1623).[55] However, in contrast with Wilson and the other New Bibliographers, early eighteenth-century editors did not systematically valorize the earliest editions at the expense of later editions, and they also had to contend with variant substantive readings in a further 332 lines introduced by Q6 in 1676. By 1709, almost half of the play featured alternative substantive readings, not counting accidental misspellings and misreadings, originating from three textual genealogies: the folio editions, the pre-war quarto editions, and the textually distinct Restoration quarto editions. In the 192 lines of act 1, scene 1 alone, there are twenty-eight matching Q2/F1-variants (i.e., fifty-six alternatives) and nineteen Q6-variants, in addition to seven other

54. Wilson, *Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet,"* 1:7.

55. Ibid., 2:370–426. See also Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, 137–38.

Table 3. Word-by-word conflation in act 1, scene 1. Total variants introduced per edition in parentheses.

Editions \ Variants	Q2 (28)	F1 (28)	Q3–5 (1)	F2–4 (2)	Q6 (19)	Q10 (2)	Rowe (2)	D1 (5)	Pope (8)	Theo. (1)
Q2	28									
F1		28								
Q6	22	2	1	1	19					
Rowe 1	4	24	0	2	2	0	2			
O1	4	24	0	2	2	0	2			
D1	17	10	0	1	16	2	2	5		
O2	5	23	0	2	2	0	2	0		
D2	16	11	0	1	16	2	2	5		
Pope 1	9	17	1	2	0	0	2	0	8	
Theo. 1	10	16	1	2	0	0	2	0	8	1

variants introduced by other quarto and folio editions. These range from small differences such as Q2's "WHose there?" and F1's "WHo's there?" (TLN 1), to larger differences such as Q2's assignation of TLN 30, "What, ha's this thing appeard againe to night?" to Horatio, a line assigned to Marcellus in F1. Q6 emends lines such as Horatio's "Most like, it horrowes/harrowes [Q2/F1] me with fear and wonder" (TLN 56) to "Most like, it startles me with fear and wonder," while even the lesser-studied "1703" quartos introduce substantive changes, with Q10–14 changing Marcellus's description of the Ghost from a "dreaded sight" (TLN 34) to a "dreadful sight."[56] On practically every page of the play, the editor is confronted with a series of variants to consider.

Word-by-word conflation, then, is an essential element of analysis for any edition of *Hamlet*. However, it offers evidence not just of textual transmission, but also, in this case, of Mary Wellington's highly innovative attempt to lay a claim on behalf of her sons to the rights to the versions of *Hamlet* included in both single-text and collected editions. An analysis of the variants included in act 1, scene 1 reveals the stark difference between Wellington's approach and that of the other publishers, as shown in table 3.

56. Shakespeare, Q6, 2, and *The Tragedy of Hamlet Prince of Denmark* (London, "1703"), 2.

The Tonsons' commitment to the textus receptus model, combined with moderate textual innovation, is clearly shown. Rowe's edition is heavily indebted to the folios, containing twenty-four of the twenty-eight F1 variants, both of the F2–4 variants, and introducing two new variants of its own, while including just six variants from the quartos (four from Q2 and two from Q6). Both Pope's and Theobald's editions follow a similar pattern, although Pope expunges the Q6 variants while introducing a number of variants of his own, all of which Theobald follows. The textual evidence supports the Tonsons' well-attested copyright strategy. Johnson's approach is very similar, since, with the exception of one variant in O2, his editions follow Rowe exactly. There is no attempt to diverge significantly, on a word-by-word level, from the newly modernized text included in Rowe's edition.

In contrast, D1 includes seventeen of the twenty-eight Q-variants, ten of the F-variants, sixteen of the Q6-variants, both variants introduced by the "1703" quartos, both of Rowe's variants, and five new variants of its own. In the opening scene and throughout the play, D1 is a patchwork of variant readings, as the following eight-line section from the beginning of the play shows. In this example, the Q2-variant is underlined, F1-variants are italicized, Q6-variants are in bold, and the D1-variant is in block capitals.

> Enter Horatio and Marcellus.
> FRAN. I think I hear them. Stand ho, *who's* there?
> HOR. Friends to this Ground.
> MAR. And Liege-men to the Dane.
> FRAN. **Good night**.
> MAR. FAREWEL, honest *Soldier;* who hath reliev'd you?
> FRAN. Bernardo has my place: **good night**.
> [Exit Francisco.
> (TLN 18–25)[57]

In comparison, Rowe's, Johnson's and Pope's versions are almost identical to F1, since they include only the F1-variants, as this extract from Rowe's edition makes clear:

> Enter Horatio and Marcellus.
> FRAN. I think I hear them. Stand; *who's* there?
> HOR. Friends to this Ground.
> MAR. And Liege-men to the Dane.
> FRAN. Give you good Night.
> MAR. O, farewel, honest *Soldier;* who hath reliev'd you?
> FRAN. Bernardo has my place: give you good Night.
> [Exit Francisco.
> (TLN 18–25)[58]

57. Shakespeare, D1, 6. Following W. W. Greg, I do not consider Rowe's modification of "Barnardo" to "Bernardo," which is also followed by D1, to be a substantive change, but rather an accidental one. See W. W. Greg, "The Rationale of Copy-Text," *Studies in Bibliography* 3 (1950–51): 21.

58. Rowe, *Works*, 5:2367–68.

While Theobald's edition introduces two Q2-variants, rendering the end of the first line as "Stand, ho! who is there?" neither Theobald's nor the other editions match D1 or D2 in the amount of word-by-word conflation they employ. This approach is not only employed at the beginning of the play, but throughout, making Wellington's duodecimo single-text editions the most highly conflated texts of the period and, indeed, beyond.

This textual strategy is complex, highly detailed, labor intensive, and without precedent in this period. Since the use of this strategy is likely to have dramatically increased the time taken to prepare the text and the cost of doing so, it cannot plausibly be attributed solely to the editor. Additionally, it is difficult to attribute such a major textual revision to the Drury Lane company or their predecessors, since, depending on when this change was implemented, it would have required the actors to relearn parts that they had played for years or even decades. Despite D1's inclusion of the standard title page claim that the edition represents the play "As it is now Acted by his MAJESTY'S Servants," it is much more likely that the edition represents a newly conflated version of the text that was specifically commissioned by Mary Wellington in response to the new copyright regime. As the only publisher with an interest in both the versions of the play published in single-text and collected editions, Wellington was in a uniquely difficult position with regard to the upcoming expiration of rights. While the Tonsons only needed to stake their claim to the text in the collected editions, and Johnson had no need to stake any kind of claim to rights he did not hold, Wellington's textual approach in D1 suggests an attempt to proactively lay claim to both the versions included in the single-text and collected editions by combining them into one new text on a word-by-word level. When the edition was commissioned in 1716 or 1717, the future implementation of the Copyright Act was very unclear. Faced with an uncertain legal situation, Mary Wellington appears to have commissioned her editor to weave the two versions of *Hamlet* together as tightly as possible through the means of word-by-word conflation. In effect, Mary Wellington's approach was to create an entirely new textus receptus, one whose periodic reprinting would cement her family's claim to both the quarto and folio texts in the years to come.

EMENDATION

However, conflation is not the only method used by the publishers to distinguish their editions from their predecessors and competitors, and emendation was another valuable tool for making such distinctions. When we think of metric emendation and conjectural emendation in early eighteenth-century editions of Shakespeare, we tend to think of Alexander Pope and Lewis Theobald. Pope is famous for trying, as Thomas Lounsbury stated, "to remove . . . irregularities [from Shakespeare's text], to reduce everything

to the measured monotony of eighteenth-century versification" and, to "bring about this result, words were inserted in the verse, words were thrown out, or the order of words was changed."[59] The result, as Lounsbury vividly puts it, is that Pope "represented Shakespeare berouged, periwigged, and attired generally according to the fashionable literary mode of the eighteenth century."[60] More recently, scholars such as Peter Seary and Andrew Murphy have concurred.[61] In contrast, one of Theobald's biggest claims to fame is his application of conjectural emendation to the problems offered by textual cruxes, presenting his solutions in both *Shakespeare Restored* and his 1733 collected edition of Shakespeare. R. B. McKerrow describes him as having "the reputation of a brilliant emender," and Andrew Murphy agrees.[62] His most famous conjectural emendation is "'a babled of green fields" from *Henry V* (1600), which was first suggested in *Shakespeare Restored* and has since been widely discussed, but he also applied himself to *Hamlet* by providing solutions to some of the thirty-two cruxes since enumerated by John Dover Wilson.[63] While our interest in Pope's and Theobald's emendations is valid, our focus on these two editors has unfortunately served to overshadow similar emendations in the single-text editions commissioned by Thomas Johnson and Mary Wellington, many of which offer further evidence that these two publishers worked to conspicuously differentiate their editions in much the same way as the more famous collected editions published by the Tonsons.

In a similar manner to Pope's and Theobald's editions, Johnson's and Wellington's editions contain a number of metric and conjectural emendations. Like textual conflation, editorial interventions of this kind are likely to have required skill, time, and effort, all of which would have translated into higher costs for the publishers. Since Thomas Johnson never publicly described the editorial process behind his editions, it seems fair to speculate that, as with his approach to section-by-section conflation, he hoped to be able to distinguish his edition from his competitors' editions and, perhaps, avoid any potential legal trouble caused by the recently passed Copyright Act. In the case of Mary Wellington, as we have seen, there is more concrete evidence provided by the *Post Boy* advertisement, which suggests that the publisher and her editor(s) were concerned not only with emending the text but also conspicuously noting these emendations in their advertising so that they could be used as evidence that this was a "new" edition.

D1 contains many textual modernizations and alterations, both to the text and to the paratext, but two metric emendations in particular offer

59. Lounsbury, *First Editors*, 108, 110.

60. Ibid., 110.

61. Seary, *Lewis Theobald*, 89; Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 2nd ed., 93.

62. McKerrow, "Treatment," 123; Murphy, *Shakespeare in Print*, 2nd ed., 105.

63. Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, 137–38; Wilson, *Manuscript of Shakespeare's "Hamlet,"* 2:296–97.

evidence of a concerted attempt to mark the edition as being distinctively new.[64] As well known in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as it is now, the section of the play in which Hamlet lies dying offered Wellington and her editor(s) the opportunity to differentiate her edition from every other version of the play. The first of these metric emendations is added in response to the habitual deletion of references to "God" in Q6–Q14, one of which deregularized the meter of Hamlet's plaintive "O god *Horatio*, what a wounded name" (TLN 3830), rendering it as the nine-syllable line "O *Horatio* what a wounded name."[65] Rather than reinstating "God" or using the folio variant, "good," D1 instead stresses Hamlet's intellectualism at the moment of death, adding the single-syllable word "think" and presenting the line as the somewhat awkward "O *Horatio*, think what a wounded Name."[66] Through the addition of a new word to the text, D1 offers a new reading that is distinct from those in any of the earlier editions. Shortly afterward, another emendation is applied to Horatio's famous lament, "Now cracks a noble hart, good night sweete Prince" (TLN 3848).[67] This line, which scans regularly in the quartos, is split across two lines in the folio text, leaving what appear to be two incomplete lines. Once again, rather than following an existing textual approach, D1 introduces an innovation, rendering the line as "Now cracks the Cordage of a noble Heart;" and regularizes the meter while adding to the anatomical imagery of broken heart strings.[68] The regular metric effect of this elegant solution is, however, undermined by the haphazard lineation used in the edition, since the word "good" is jammed on to the end of the line after a semicolon:

> HOR. Now cracks the Cordage of a noble Heart; good
> night, sweet Prince,[69]

D1's metric emendation would certainly have been more effective had the lineation matched the meter, but the textual presentation of the line may actually have been a secondary consideration.

The addition of "the Cordage" may offer further evidence of Mary Wellington's broader strategy of differentiating D1 from the former editions, especially in the famous last moments of the play. Horatio's lament, in particular, is likely to have been as well known and as closely associated with *Hamlet* as it is today. An EEBO search for the term "sweet prince" reveals that,

64. For an example of a paratextual emendation in D1, see Andy Reilly, "The Origins of the Player King and Player Queen Speech Prefixes in *Hamlet*," *Notes and Queries* 266, no. 1 (March 2021): 104–6.

65. Shakespeare, Q2, sig. O1v; Q6, 86.

66. Shakespeare, D1, 105.

67. Shakespeare, Q2, sig. O1v.

68. Shakespeare, D1, 106.

69. Ibid.

while the phrase is first recorded in print in Thomas Lodge's *A Margarite of America* (1596) and used in five other publications in the subsequent six years, it explodes in popularity between 1603 and 1606, with nine separate publications (excluding editions of *Hamlet*) containing the phrase in just three years.[70] This suggests that the phrase entered the popular lexicon via Shakespeare's version of *Hamlet,* either in performance or in the published editions from Q2 (1604) onward, Q2 being the first edition to contain the line. Eighteenth-century readers are also likely to have been familiar with the line, with the phrase "sweet prince" being reused by Dryden, Tate, and others, and the line itself being quoted directly later in the century by William Richardson and, in conjunction with Hamlet's line about his "wounded name," in Charles Taylor's *Pictureseque Beauties of Shakespeare* (1785?) and Thomas Robertson's "Essay on the Character of *Hamlet*" (1790).[71] D1's prominent metric emendations to such well-known utterances at a crucial moment in the play would have differentiated the edition from earlier versions and could have been valuable evidence in the event that Wellington, or her sons, needed to claim that the edition was a "new" work.

The inclusion of new metric emendations is also a prominent feature of Thomas Johnson's second octavo and suggests that he was also concerned with textual distinctiveness when preparing the new edition for the press in 1720. Not only is O2 a longer publication than O1, due to the higher level of section-by-section conflation, but it also contains a number of novel emendations, six of which would, in fact, later be tackled by Pope and Theobald, as well as by later editors.[72] One line in particular has attracted the attention of a number of scholars, including Pope, Theobald, Malone, and Coleridge: Polonius's metrically deficient line, "Lends the tongue vowes, these blazes daughter" (TLN 583).[73] Horace Howard Furness provides an overview of the various attempts made to regularize this line, including Malone's statement that "some epithet to 'blazes' has been omitted," Coleridge's suggestion that there is a missing spondee, and W. S. Walker's assertion that "daughter" could be pronounced trisyllabically.[74] In his textual notes, Furness also

70. Thomas Lodge, *A Margarite of America* (London, 1596), sig. J1v.

71. John Dryden, *Marriage a-la-Mode* (London, 1673), 22; Nahum Tate, *Injur'd Love* (London, 1707), 61; William Richardson, "Additional Observations on Hamlet," in *Essays on Shakespeare's Dramatic Characters* (London, 1784), 169; Charles Taylor, "'Hamlet' Plate IV," in *The Picturesque Beauties of Shakespeare* (London, 1785[?]), n.p.; Thomas Robertson, "An Essay on the Character of Hamlet," in *Transactions of the Royal Society of Edinburgh*, vol. 2 (Edinburgh, 1790), 251–52.

72. These six metric emendations are at TLN 236, 583, 778, 988, 2071, and 2890–92. O2 also introduces novel metric emendations at TLN 3159 and 3255. See Shakespeare, O2, 11, 20, 27, 33, 63, 89, 97, 101.

73. Shakespeare, Q2, sig. C4v.

74. Horace Howard Furness, ed., *Hamlet: A New Variorum Edition*, vol. 1 (1877; repr., New York: Dover, 1963), 73.

remarks that Pope, followed by Theobald, addresses the issue by adding an extra metric foot to the second half of the line, presenting it as "Lends the tongue vows. These blazes, oh my daughter."[75] However, the first edition to address this metric deficiency was O2, which, following the folio text's choice of initial verb, renders the line as "Gives the tongue words & vows. These blazes, Daughter."[76] This emendation has not, to my knowledge, been credited in modern scholarly editions. However, the introduction of hendiadys, which George T. Wright has noted as an important aspect of Shakespeare's style, makes O2's emendation not only the first attempt to address the metric deficiency of the line, but perhaps also one of the most stylistically appropriate.[77] Like Mary Wellington's edition, Johnson's second octavo introduces a new metric reading here and in seven other locations, all of which mark his edition as being distinctive. While this may simply be further evidence of his conscientiousness as a publisher, it also suggests a desire to offer a product that could be differentiated both from his competitors' editions and, similarly to his inclusion of increased textual conflation, from his own earlier edition.

While the metric emendations in Johnson's second octavo are important, it is in relation to conjectural emendation that both of his editions not only provide evidence of a distinctive approach to the text but should also guarantee them a small place in the textual notes of future scholarly editions of *Hamlet*. While Lewis Theobald is unanimously credited with a number of conjectural emendations, originating either in *Shakespeare Restored* or his 1733 collected edition, my collation shows that three of these conjectural emendations actually originate with Johnson's octavos. The first of these three emendations is applied to the famously corrupt Q-only line in which Hamlet refers obliquely to "the dram of eale" (TLN 621+20).[78] Various solutions have been proposed over the years, but Theobald is always credited in modern editions with suggesting "the dram of base" as a possibility. Theobald himself justifies this reading in *Shakespeare Restored* and in the footnotes to his 1733 edition, in which the line is rendered as follows: "From that particular fault. - The dram of Base."[79] In *Shakespeare Restored*, Theobald rather smugly states, "I am the more inclin'd to flatter my self that my Emendation may have retriev'd the Poet's very Words, because I find him using something like the same Thought and Metaphors in another of his Plays." However, despite Theobald claiming it as "my Emendation," the emendation really belongs to the first octavo, which rendered the line as "From that particular fault: the dram of base" in 1710, sixteen years before

75. Pope, *Works*, 6:364.
76. Shakespeare, O2, 20.
77. George T. Wright, "Hendiadys and *Hamlet*," *PMLA* 96, no. 2 (March 1981): 168–93.
78. Shakespeare, Q2, sig. D1v.
79. Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored*, 35–36; Theobald, *Works*, 7:248.

the publication of *Shakespeare Restored*.[80] While we have long accepted Theobald's claim to the emendation, it had actually already been suggested by the anonymous editor in charge of O1.

In addition to the "dram of base," Theobald follows Thomas Johnson's editions in his emendations of two other important lines. In *Shakespeare Restored*, Theobald suggests that the king's line "Coleagued with this dreame of his aduantage" (TLN 199) could be emended to "*COLLOGUED with this Dream of his Advantage*."[81] While he claims that "all the printed Copies, that ever I have seen, concur in reading *Colleagued* in this Place," in fact both of Thomas Johnson's editions had already offered "Collogued" years beforehand.[82] By the publication of his collected edition in 1733, Theobald had reverted to the more usual "Colleagued," but his inclusion of "Collogued" in his earlier publication is, once again, striking in its similarity to Thomas Johnson's readings, both of which had preempted his proposed emendation. However, this is not all, since another of Theobald's emendations had also been preempted by Thomas Johnson's two octavo editions: his suggestion of "evil" instead of "devil" in Hamlet's line "Of habits deuill, is angell yet in this" (TLN 2544+2).[83] This line is not included in *Shakespeare Restored*, but in a footnote to his 1733 edition, which contains the emendation, Theobald attributes this emendation "to the Sagacity of Dr. *Thirlby*."[84] It is unclear whether Styan Thirlby was acquainted with either of Thomas Johnson's editions, although, as he was an avid collector of Shakespeare editions, this is certainly a possibility.[85] Setting aside speculation, however, it is, once again, striking that both of Thomas Johnson's single-text octavo editions had already emended "devil" to "evil" twenty-three and thirteen years before the publication of Theobald's edition, respectively. Like Mary Wellington, while Johnson or his editor(s) chose to spend the time and effort necessary to correct these textual problems and offer a distinctive version of the text, their innovations have been overshadowed so far due to our focus on the editions prepared by Rowe, Pope, and Theobald.

CONCLUSION

Even though their editions sold for just eight pence and one shilling, respectively, Thomas Johnson and Mary Wellington did not opt for the cheapest textual approach when preparing their editions for publication. Choosing

80. Shakespeare, O1, 22.
81. Theobald, *Shakespeare Restored,* 5.
82. Shakespeare, O1, 10; O2, 10.
83. Shakespeare, Q2, sig. I4r.
84. Theobald, *Works,* 7:318.
85. Christopher Spencer and John W. Velz, "Styan Thirlby: A Forgotten 'Editor' of Shakespeare," *Shakespeare Studies* 6 (1970): 327–33.

not to simply reprint the same text as their predecessors, both publishers instead commissioned radically new editions of *Hamlet* that combined the quarto and folio texts in new ways and introduced distinctive new emendations, some of which were adopted by later, more famous editors. Their approaches to the text of *Hamlet* show how the unstable new legal environment following the passage of the 1710 Copyright Act may have incentivized lesser-known publishers to break from tradition and create conspicuously new versions of the play. In Thomas Johnson's case, these new editions were likely to be easier to market, while providing a handy legal loophole in case of prosecution, and in Mary Wellington's case, the new editions may have been part of a broader strategy of preemptively laying claim to her family's rights to the play through the creation of an entirely new textus receptus. The evidence suggests that our usual assumption—that these editions offer little of importance to scholars interested in editing and publishing—has been misguided and that our understanding of the textual development of *Hamlet* during this period, and potentially other plays by Shakespeare, would benefit from the inclusion of data from the single-text editions.

However, Shakespeare was neither edited nor published in isolation during this period, and it is highly likely that the analysis of other neglected editions by other authors published during the early eighteenth century will add to our understanding of both editing and publishing following the 1710 Copyright Act. Such an analysis has the potential to complement, and perhaps complicate, our perception of where, when, and why the modern approach to textual editing began, while broadening our knowledge of the historical figures involved in this important process and allowing us to better understand their impact on the texts we continue to read and study today.