


Who Rprinted Shakespeare's Fourth Folio?

CHRISTOPHER N. WARREN , SAMUEL V. LEMLEY,
D. J. SCHULDT, ELIZABETH DIETERICH, LAURA S. DELUCA,
MAX G'SELL, TAYLOR BERG-KIRKPATRICK, KARI THOMAS,
KARTIK GOYAL, AND NIKOLAI VOGLER

“R PINCE OF DENMARK.” WHO IS RESPONSIBLE FOR THIS INFAMOUS LARGE-LETTER BLUNDER IN SHAKESPEARE’S FOURTH FOLIO (1685, hereafter F4)—one of the most “embarrassing, excruciating, and egregious errors in English”?¹ The “HAMLET / RPINCE of DENMARK” internal title page appeared on signature 3E6r, page 59, in the “Tragedies” section ([figure 1](#)). According to Fredson Bowers, writing in *Shakespeare Quarterly* in 1951, we will never know the printer of that section “until we know everything there is to be learned about seventeenth-century types.”² Bowers doubted we could ever list the full set of F4’s printers because F4 was printed anonymously, and the volume left few clues about its printers. While George Watson Cole’s 1909 “examination of the letterpress show[ed] that a copy of the Third Folio was apparently broken into three portions and sent to three different printers,” Bowers himself only got as far as attributing the first of F4’s three separately paginated parts.³ The purpose of this note is to identify the other two printers involved in F4, one of whom, John Macock, was the printer whose shop was responsible for F4’s *Hamlet*. Regrettably, this short note does not include everything there is to be learned about seventeenth-century types.⁴

¹ Richard Lederer, *More Anguished English: An Exposé of Embarrassing, Excruciating, and Egregious Errors in English* (New York: Dell Publishing, 1993), 174.

² Fredson Bowers, “Robert Roberts: A Printer of Shakespeare’s Fourth Folio,” *Shakespeare Quarterly* 2.3 (1951): 241–46, 241.

³ George Watson Cole, *A Catalogue of Books Consisting of English Literature and Miscellanea: Including Many Original Editions of Shakespeare, Forming a Part of the Library of E. D. Church*, vol. 2 (New York: Dodd, Mead and Co., 1909), 910. Bowers’s identification of Roberts revised C. William Miller’s earlier, seemingly incorrect claim attributing the same section to Thomas Newcomb, Jr. See Miller, “Henry Herringman, Restoration Bookseller-Publisher,” *The Papers of the Bibliographical Society of America* 42.4 (1948): 292–306.

⁴ Further analysis and discussion of F4 will, however, appear in Samuel V. Lemley et al., “Everything There is to be Learned about Seventeenth-Century Types: Computational Bibliography and the Printers of Shakespeare’s Fourth Folio,” in *The Four Shakespeare Folios: 1623–2023*, ed. Samuel V. Lemley (University Park: Pennsylvania State UP, forthcoming 2023).

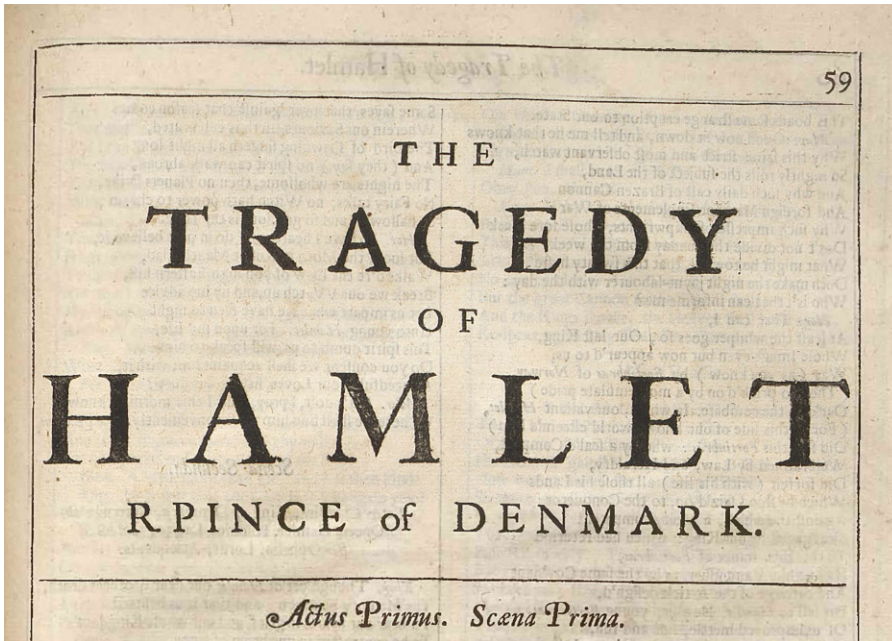


Figure 1. F4 Part III sig. 3E6r. Call no. PR2751.A4 1685. By permission of Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Special Collections.

Assisted by computational analysis of damaged and distinctive type, we attribute pages 1–328 signatures BBBr–EEE8v (hereafter, Part II) to the London printer Robert Everingham, and the separately paginated 1–304 signatures AAAR–BBBB8v (Part III) to Everingham’s former master printer, Macock.⁵ We also add evidence to confirm Bowers’s attribution of signatures

⁵ Our approach uses Optical Character Recognition (OCR) on digital facsimiles to identify and categorize all majuscule Roman-type pieces. We then use a combination of computer-aided damage detection, visual inspection, and computational matching to identify and validate matching damaged type. For further details on our methods, see Christopher N. Warren et al., “Damaged Type and *Areopagitica*’s Clandestine Printers,” *Milton Studies* 62.1 (2020) 1–47, <https://doi.org/10.5325/miltonstudies.62.1.0001>; Christopher N. Warren et al., “Canst Thou Draw Out Leviathan with Computational Bibliography? New Angles on Printing Thomas Hobbes’ ‘Ornaments’ Edition,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 54.4 (2021): 827–59; Nikolai Vogler et al., “Contrastive Attention Networks for Attribution of Early Modern Print,” in *Association for the Advancement of Artificial Intelligence (AAAI)*, 2023; Kartik Goyal et al., “A Probabilistic Generative Model for Typographical Analysis of Early Modern Printing,” *ArXiv:2005.01646 [Cs]*, May 4, 2020, <http://arxiv.org/abs/2005.01646>. As noted in several of the articles above, the analysis of damaged type is most frequently associated with the mid-twentieth century work of Shakespeare scholar Charlton Hinman. Although Hinman felt compelled to consult three physical copies of the First Folio to validate instances of damaged type, he did so because he was matching damages within a volume to determine the sequence in which the sheets were printed. In Hinman’s methodology, a lot turned on the presence or absence of a given piece of type on a

A1–Z4 (Part I) to London printer Robert Roberts. The evidence for the new attributions is included in the distinctive pica body type matches in [figure 2](#). One of the title page's two settings was printed by Macock, the other was printed by Roberts. Evidence for these title page attributions is included in the distinctive titling type matches in [figures 3](#) and [4](#). Although Macock's and Everingham's roles were previously unknown, each of those printers was in some way likelier than Roberts, the one printer who had previously been identified.

F4's title page exists in three states, each with a slightly different imprint. The imprint of the first state (ESTC R245240) says the volumes are "printed for H. Herringman, and are to be sold by Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, at the Anchor in the Lower Walk of the New Exchange, 1685." This is the title page printed by Macock. The second state's imprint (ESTC R202288) adds further names of publishers—"printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, R. Chiswell, and R. Bentley"—and two additional locations "at the Anchor in the New Exchange; and at the Crane, and Rose and Crown in St. Pauls Church-Yard, and in Russel-Street, Covent-Garden." The third state (ESTC R25621) names just three publishers but the same three locations: "printed for H. Herringman, E. Brewster, and R. Bentley, at the Anchor in the New Exchange, the Crane in St. Pauls Church-Yard, and in Russel-Street Covent-Garden." These last two states derive from a single type setting and were printed by Roberts. According to Francis X. Connor, Herringman was the "senior partner" in F4 and "the dominant force behind its publication."⁶ F4 was evidently part of Herringman's larger project of publishing pre-Restoration playwrights in folio, and the Shakespeare volume was meant to form the centerpiece of a trio of folios that would ultimately include the Beaumont and Fletcher folio of 1679 and the Ben Jonson folio of 1692.⁷

Everingham had printed for Bentley prior to 1685 and would go on to print several more books for Bentley after F4. Everingham had apprenticed with Macock in the 1660s, having been freed by him in 1668.⁸ Macock, meanwhile, was one of London's most prominent and prolific printers. The 1668 press

given sheet. Our goal of printer identification, by contrast, requires consulting fewer copies because we rely on multiple, highly likely damage matches, for which any single one could conceivably be a phantom but which *in toto* represent a body of evidence in favor of a given printer.

⁶ Francis X. Connor, "Henry Herringman, Richard Bentley and Shakespeare's Fourth Folio (1685)," in *Canonising Shakespeare: Stationers and the Book Trade, 1640–1740*, ed. Emma Depledge and Peter Kirwan (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2017), 38–54, 39, 38.

⁷ See Emma Depledge, *Shakespeare's Rise to Cultural Prominence: Politics, Print and Alteration, 1642–1700* (Cambridge: Cambridge UP, 2018), esp. chapter 6, "Shakespeare in the Wake of the Exclusion Crisis, 1683–1700," 150–70.

⁸ Donald Francis McKenzie, *Stationers' Company Apprentices 1641–1700* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1974), 104.






































































Matching Everingham to Fourth Folio, Part Two			Matching Macock to Fourth Folio, Part Three		
Undamaged from F4, part 2	Damaged from F4, part 2	Damaged from <i>A Fond Husband</i> (Everingham, 1685)	Undamaged from F4, part 3	Damaged from F4, part 3	Damaged from acknowledged books by Macock
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					
					

Figure 2. Left column: Matching type from F4 Part II, Call number PR2751.A4 1685; and acknowledged output from Robert Everingham: Thomas D'Urfey's *A fond husband: or, The plotting sisters, a comedy*. London: R[obert] E[veringham] for Rich[ard]. Bentley, 1685 (ESTC R15791) Shelfmark 644.h.16. Fourth Folio images used by permission of Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Special Collections. Everingham images used by permission of the British Library.

Right column: Matching type from F4 Part III, Call number PR2751.A4 1685, and acknowledged output from John Macock: George Etherege's *The man of mode, or, Sr Fopling Flutter* (ESTC R25438) Call no. PR3432.A67 1684, and Part 2 (ESTC R2140), Part 4, Book 2 (ESTC R25438) and Part 4, Book 3 (ESTC R16919) of Theophilus Gale's *The Court of the Gentiles*, Call nos. SCC 9014 and SCC 9015. Fourth Folio images used by permission of Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Special Collections. Macock images used by permission of by permission of Woodson Research Center, Fondren Library, Rice University (Etherege) and Special Collections, Wright Library, Princeton Theological Seminary Library (Gale).





Matching Roberts to Fourth Folio, Part One	
Title page F4, state 2 & 3 (ESTC R25621, R202288)	Title page William Poole, <i>Annotations Upon the Holy Bible</i> (London: Robert Roberts, 1688) (ESTC R33978)
	
	

Figure 3. Matching multiline letters from F4 (ESTC R25621 and R202288) and the acknowledged output of Robert Roberts. Call number PR2751.A4 1685. Used by permission of Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Special Collections.

survey noted Macock's three presses, three apprentices, and ten workmen. After an early career printing religious radicals like Gerard Winstanley and William Walwyn, Macock in the Restoration settled into a comfortable trade that included a heavy portion of literary editions, including Milton's *Paradise regain'd: a poem in IV books: to which is added Samson Agonistes* of 1671 (R299).⁹ Macock had printed for Herringman many times, perhaps most recently the 1684 quarto of Etheridge's *Man of Mode* (R10405), which was sold by booksellers Joseph Knight and Francis Saunders, the same booksellers listed in the F4 imprint.

⁹ Laura Lunger Knoppers, ed., *The Complete Works of John Milton: Volume II: The 1671 Poems: Paradise Regain'd and Samson Agonistes* (Oxford: Oxford UP, 2008), xlii–xliii.




Matching Macock to Fourth Folio, Part Three		
Title page F4, state 1 (ESTC R245240)	<i>The History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus, Part 2</i> (London: J[ohn]. Macock for R[ichard]. Royston, 1683) (ESTC R217592)	Title page F4, <i>Pericles</i> (3R recto, p. 193)
		

Figure 4. Left: A distinctively damaged titling Y that appears on the Knight-Saunders setting of the F4 title page (ESTC R245240) Call no. G.176.4 FOLIO. By permission of Boston Public Library, Special Collections. Middle: Part 2 of *The History of the Life and Death of the Holy Jesus*. London: J[ohn]. Macock for R[ichard]. Royston, 1683 (ESTC R217592) Call no. IUQ04156. Used by permission of The Rare Book & Manuscript Library, University of Illinois at Urbana-Champaign. Right: the title of *Pericles* in F4. Call no. PR2751.A4 1685. Used by permission of Carnegie Mellon University Libraries, Special Collections.

Again, it was Robert Roberts, who was responsible for F4's first section, who was in many ways the least likely participant. His involvement probably stems from his longtime partnership with Anne Maxwell, one of the period's most respected printers, who had frequently printed for F4 publisher Edward Brewster.¹⁰ Anne Maxwell's name appears on imprints into 1684, but no later.¹¹ It thus seems altogether plausible that the publishers struck original agreements with Maxwell, but that Roberts completed the job upon Maxwell's death.

¹⁰ On Maxwell's reputation, see Fredric T. Dolezal and Ward J. Risvold, "Did Anne Maxwell Print John Wilkins's *An Essay towards a Real Character and a Philosophical Language* (1668)?," in *Historical Dictionaries in Their Paratextual Context*, ed. Roderick McConchie and Jukka Tyrkkö (Berlin: De Gruyter, 2018), 23–56; and D. F. McKenzie, "The London Book Trade in 1668," *Words* 4 (1974): 75–92, 83.

¹¹ See Lemley et al., "Everything There is to be Learned about Seventeenth-Century Types," forthcoming in *The Four Shakespeare Folios: 1623–2023*.

Appendix — Locations of Damaged Characters

Abbreviations

- FH – *A Fond Husband* (Everingham, 1685; ESTC R15791)
 CG – *Court of the Gentiles*, Part 4 (Maccock, 1677; ESTC R25438)
 CG3 – *Court of the Gentiles*, Part 4, Book 3 ([Maccock] for John Hill, 1678; ESTC R16919)
 CG2 – *Court of the Gentiles*, Part 2 (Maccock for Thomas Gilbert, 1676; ESTC R2140)
 MM – *Man of Mode* (Maccock, 1684; ESTC R25438)
 F4 – Fourth Folio (ESTC R25621)

Locations of damaged characters in Figure 2, left column:

- Row 1: “E” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 1, line 1; “E” / F4 / sig. *Ddd6r, page 311, col. 1, line 36; “E” / FH / sig. D2v, page 22, line 23
 Row 2: “W” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 5; “W” / F4 / sig. Xx4v, page 236, col. 2, line 37; “W” / FH / sig. F4r, page 41, line 40
 Row 3: “T” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 1, line 14; “T” / F4 / sig. Tt4v, page 212, col. 2, line 26; “T” / FH / sig. H1r, page [51], line 7
 Row 4: “B” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2 line 32; “B” / F4 / sig. Ss2v, page 196, col. 1, line 34; “B” / FH / sig. H2v, page 54, line 15
 Row 5: “W” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 5; “W” / F4 / sig. Nn1v, page 134, col. 1, line 50; “W” / FH / sig. B3r, page 7, line 21
 Row 6: “N” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 23; “N” / F4 / sig. Cc6v, page 24, col. 1, line 17; “N” / FH / sig. H2r, page 53, line 3
 Row 7: “M” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 16; “M” / F4 / sig. Zz5v, page 262, col. 2, line 49; “M” / FH / sig. G3v, page 48, line 9
 Row 8: “A” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 26; “A” / F4 / sig. Ff6r, page 59, col. 2, line 54; “A” / FH / sig. H3r, page 55, line 14
 Row 9: “G” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 7; “G” / F4 / sig. Rr1r, page 181, col. 1, line 25; “G” / FH / sig. G3r, page 49, line 1
 Row 10: “M” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 1, line 7; “M” / F4 / sig. Aaa2r, page 267, col. 1, line 1; “M” / FH / sig. C3r, page 15, line 22
 Row 11: “B” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 2, line 32; “B” / F4 / sig. Dd3r, page 29, col. 2, line 56; “B” / FH / sig. H3r, page 55, line 30
 Row 12: “R” / F4 / sig. Bb1r, page 1, col. 1, line 19; “R” / F4 / sig. Xx2r, page 231, col. 1, line 27; “R” / FH / sig. D2v, page 22, line 20

Locations of damaged characters in Figure 2, right column:

- Row 1: “B” / F4 / Eee6r, page 59, col. 2, line 20; “B” / F4 / Nnn5v, page 154, col. 1, line 5; “B” / CG2 / Ddd2v, page 388, line 19
 Row 2: “H” / F4 / Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 16; “H” / F4 / Kkk6v, page 120, col. 2, line 67; “H” / CG2 / Xx4v, page 336, line 4
 Row 3: “W” / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 2, line 1; “W” / F4 / sig. Lll3v, page 126, col. 1, line 17; “W” / CG3 / sig. E3r, page 37, line 16
 Row 4: “M” / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 2, line 14; “M” / F4 / sig. Qqq5v, page 190, col. 1, line 37; “M” / CG / sig. K2r, page 75, line 40

- Row 5: "N" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 3; "N" / F4 / sig. Fff3v, page 66, col. 1, line 61; "N" / MM / sig. B1r, page 3, line 26
- Row 6: "L" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 19; "L" / F4 / sig. Lll4r, page 127, col. 2, line 44; "L" / CG3 / sig. X1v, page 156, line 8
- Row 7: "C" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 1; "C" / F4 / sig. Hhh4v, page 92, col. 2, line 54; "C" / MM / sig. F4r, page 41, line 29
- Row 8: "A" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 35; "A" / F4 / sig. Kkk5v, page 118, col. 1, line 32; "A" / CG / sig. Y3v, page 174, line 36
- Row 9: "W" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 2, line 1; "W" / F4 / sig. Fff6v, page 72, col. 1, line 16; "W" / CG / sig. Rr2v, page 316, line 24
- Row 10: "T" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 1, line 35; "T" / F4 / sig. Iii5r, page 105, col. 1, line 18; "T" / MM / sig. D3r, page 23, line 26
- Row 11: "K" / F4 / sig. Eee6r, page 59, col. 2, line 32; "K" / F4 / sig. Mmm1v, page 134, col. 1, line 3; "K" / CG3 / sig. L4r, page 79, line 25