

Richard Chiswell and his Publications in the Late 17th Century

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Abstract

Richard Chiswell (1640-1711) was one of the leading London publishers of the latter half of the seventeenth century. Although he was an important figure in the book trade, not much is known about him. This paper attempts to discover more about Chiswell through his publications and booklists. The booklists are the pages of book advertisements usually found at the end of books. In England the practice of using booklists to advertise books started in the mid 17th century. Chiswell made some 120 booklists and used them to sell his stock. His publications count over a thousand, but he did not advertise every single title in his booklists. Therefore, those advertised were selected with some intention.

Chiswell started this practice in the 1670's, and later on, from the 1680's, he more regularly inserted his booklists at the end of his publications. His booklists were varied in style and in contents. In this paper we look at Chiswell's booklists produced between 1680 and 1700, and examine the changes in them. These changes and what they reflect will be the key to understanding more about Chiswell the man and the bookseller.

Key words: Richard Chiswell, booklists, book history

Richard Chiswell was one of the leading London publishers of the latter half of the 17th century. The English Short Title Catalogue (ESTC) lists over 1,000 books published by Chiswell, and this number indicates the scale of his business. He was printer to the Royal Society in 1681, and he was one of the booksellers who published Shakespeare's fourth folio. Chiswell was also important in the Stationer's Company, so he was apparently a very significant bookseller and publisher of the period. However, little has been studied about him neither as a person nor as a bookseller. Chiswell was born in London in 1640. He was the son of a haberdasher, and we do not know what school he attended or what kind of religious education he might have had as a boy. He was apprentice to the stationer John Shirley until 1662, when he established himself and had his first bookshop called Two Angels and a Crown in Little

Britain. After the Great Fire of London he started his business in St. Paul's Churchyard, which was indeed the centre of book trade in the 17th century. His master John Shirley was not an especially important publisher of his day. Shirley had a shop called Pelican in Little Britain in 1644-1660, and he was not among the major booksellers -- both ESTC and Wing's Short Title Catalogue list only 4 books published by him. So, we are tempted to say that Chiswell's success would not have owed much to his master.¹⁾ Chiswell published his first book during his apprenticeship in 1661, and the author of the book was Simon Patrick, an Anglican priest, who remained very important to Chiswell all his life.

Because not much is known about Chiswell as a person, one wonders how we could discover more of his life -- could the books he published or sold tell something about him? Of course it is not always

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true that people publish what they believe in or what they like since book publishing is a business. However, if we look at Chiswell's contemporary booksellers such as Richard Royston and Henry Herringman, we are able to trace something of their belief in their publications. Royston had a strong faith in the Anglican high church, and Herringman advocated the preservation of classic English literature. Therefore, it seems worthwhile to try and discover something about Chiswell through what he published and sold. As mentioned above, Chiswell published a great number of books, and additionally he dealt in so many books which were originally published by his father-in-law Richard Royston who died in 1686. In order to grasp the transitions in Chiswell's books, we should examine booklists which Chiswell used to advertise his stock to his customers. Of course he did not advertise all the books he had in the booklists. Certain books were selected for each list. More than 100 kinds of booklists were made by Chiswell, and if we examine them and find out their tendencies, we might be able to learn something about his situation, his religious persuasion and political stance, and his sales tactics at different phases of his life. This paper attempts to discover more about Chiswell by his publications and booklists.

Chiswell's early booklists

Booklists are the pages of book advertisements we usually find at the end of books. In England the practice of using booklists to advertise the books started in the mid 17th century. The late Professor Peter Lindenbaum pointed out that it coincided with the Interregnum which would indicate that the booksellers were making clear their religious and political stances through their booklists to their prospective customers during this sensitive period of time.²⁾ But once the practice was common, and especially after the Restoration, booklists were naturally compiled to advertise the booksellers'

stocks as a marketing device.

According to the ESTC and the Early English Books Online, Chiswell made over 100 kinds of list and inserted them in his books. Still, it is difficult to determine exactly how many booklists were produced for several reasons. First, to some people booklists were merely advertisements – those who found it unnecessary would just tear them away from their own copy. Therefore, we cannot expect that the booklists always remained in their original place. Second, the 17th-century books we see now have been rebound in most cases. It would be only natural that some booklists were lost in the course of rebinding. Therefore, you cannot expect to find all the booklists even though databases say that they are there. In other words, we do not always find the booklists where they should be and, vice versa, we find some booklists where they are not expected. Also, some booklists were printed in the blank space on a page, and others were made individually and inserted in the books. So those made individually may have been used more than once and inserted in different books. This makes it harder to find out exactly how many kinds of booklist were compiled. In this study, therefore, I attempt to analyse the 78 booklists from the 1680's and 90's which are actually in my hands.

It was in the 1670's when Chiswell started his practice of producing booklists and later from the 1680's he more often included his booklists at the end of his publications. At first his lists tended to be long, and some would show the price of books as well.³⁾ The books were grouped mostly by their size, from folios to duodecimos, and the lists would deal with books of various fields and interests. Besides his regular lists which would show his stock, there were lists which only introduced newly published books. Some other of his lists deal exclusively with particular authors, and this type of booklist became dominant from the early 1690's onwards.

Let us take an example of Chiswell's booklist and

look at it in detail in order to discover the tendency of his publications as well as his business tactics. One of Chiswell's favourite authors, Gilbert Burnett, an Anglican churchman, wrote a book titled *Some Passages of the Life and Death of the Earl of Rochester who Died the 26th of July, 1680* and it was published in the same year. This book was a big success for Chiswell since it sold well and there were several editions after 1680. Of course, the Earl of Rochester was a very famous Restoration libertine figure and the book attracted people's attention because Rochester repented his sins and converted to Anglicanism on his deathbed. Burnet's account of Rochester's conversion is fascinating, so the book attained great popularity. Chiswell inserted a long booklist in this first edition of *Rochester*. Perhaps Chiswell believed that the book would be successful, and that's why he was ready to use 8 octavo pages for the booklist. The list reads as follows:

Books printed for and sold by Richard Chiswel.
 FOLIO.n
 Speed's Maps and Geography of Great Britain and Ireland, and of Foreign Parts.
 Dr. Cave's Lives of the Primitive Fathers.
 Dr. Cary's Chronological Account of Ancient time.
 Wanly's Wonders of the little World, or History of Man.
 Sir Tho. Herbert's Travels into Persia, &c.
 Sir Rich. Baker's Chronicle of England.
 Causin's Holy Court.
 Wilson's Compleat Christian Dictionary.
 Bishop Wilkin's Real Character, or Philosophical Language.
 Pharmacopoeia Regalis Collegii Medicorum Londineisis reformata.
 Judge Jone's Reports in Common Law.
 Judge Vaughn's Reports in Common Law.
 Cave Tabula Ecclesiasticorum Scriptorum.
 Hobbe's Leviathan.
 Lord Bacon's Advancement of Learning.
 Bishop Taylor's Sermons.
 Sir Will. Dugdale's Baronage of England, in two Vol.

Ravanelli Bibliotheca Theologica in three Vol.

QUARTO.

The Several Informations exhibited to the Committee, appointed by Parliament, to enquire into the burning of London. 1667.
 Godwin's Roman Antiquities.
 Dr. Littleton's Dictionary.
 Bishop Nicholson on the Church Catechism.
 The Compleat Clerk.
 Dr. Pierce on Gods Decrees.
 History of the late Wars of New England.
 Dr. Outram de Sacrificiis.
 Bishop Taylor's Disswasive from Popery.
 Garissolius de Chr. Mediatore.
 Corpus Confessionum Fidei.
 Spanhemi Dubia Evangelica 2 Vol.
 Dr. Gibb's Sermons.
 Parkeri Disputationes de Deo.
 Caryl on Job compleat, 12 Parts.
 Description and History of the future State of Europe, I s.
 Fowler's Defence of the Design of Christianity, against John Bunyan, I s.
 Lyford's discovery of Errors and Heresies of the Times, 4 s.
 Dr. Sherlock's Visitation-Sermon at Warrington, 1659. 6 d.
 Dr. West's Assize-Serm. at Dorchester, 1671. 6d.
 Mr. Dobson's Sermon at Lady Farmers Funeral, 1670. 8 d.
 Directions for Improvement of Barren Land, 6 d.
 Culverwel's Discourse of the Light of Nature, 3 s. 6 d.
 Dr. Meric Casaubon's Letter to Dr. Du Moulin, about Experimental Philosophy, 6 d.
 Lord Hollis's Relation of the Unjust Accusation of certain French Gentlemen charged with a Robbery, 1671. 6 d.
 The Magistrates Authority asserted, in a Sermon by James Paston.

OCTAVO.

Conold's Notion of Schism according to the Ancients, with Reflections on Mr. Hales.
 The Posing of the Parts.
 Elborow's Rationale upon the English Service-Book.
 Burnet's Vindication of the Ordination of the

- Church of England.
 Winchester Phrases.
 Wilkin's Natural Religion.
 Hardcastle's Christian Geography and Arithmetick.
 Ashton's Apology for the Honours and Revenues of the Clergy.
 Lord Hollis's Vindication of the Judicature of the House of Peers, in the case of Skinner.
 ---Jurisdiction of the House of Peers in case of Appeals.
 ---Jurisdiction of the House of Peers in case of Impositions.
 ---Letter about the Bishops Vote in Capital Cases.
 Xenophont. Cyropaedia. Gr. Lat.
 Duporti Versio Psalmorum Graeca.
 Grew's Idea of Philological Hist. continued on Roots.
 Spaniards Conspiracy against the State of Venice.
 Batei Elenchus motuum nuperorum in Anglia.
 Brown's Religio Medici.
 Several Tracts of Mr. Hales of Eton.
 Bishop Sanderson's Life.
 Dr. Tillotson's Rule of Faith.
 Gregorii Etymologicon Parvum.
 Pasoris Grammatica Grae. Novi Testamenti, 4 s.
 Rossei Gnomologicon Poeticum.
 Gouge's word to Saints and Sinners.
 Dr. Simpson's Chymical Anatomy of the Yorkshire Spaws; with a
 Discourse of the Original of Hot Springs and other Fountains, and a Vindication of Chymical Physick, 3s.
 ---His Hydrological Essays, with an Account of the Allum-works at Whitby, and some Observations about the Jaundice, 1s. 6d.
 Dr. Cox's Discourse of the Interest of the Patient in reference to Physick and Physicians, and Detection of the Abuses practiced by the Apothecaries, 1s. 6d.
 Organon Salutis: Or an Instrument to cleanse the Stomach: with divers New Experiments of Tobacco and Cofee: with a Preface of Sir H. Blunt, 1 s.
 Aristotle's Problems.
 Dr. Cave's Primitive Christianity, in three Parts.
 Allen's Discourse of two Covenants, 1672. 2s.
 Ignatius Fuller's Sermons of Peace and Holiness, 1672. 1s. 6d.
 Lipsiu's Discourse of Constancy, 2s. 6s.
 Willis Anglicisms Latiniz'd, 3s. 6d.
 Buckler of State and Justice against France's Design of Universal Monarchy, 1673.
 A free Conference touching the Present State of England at home and abroad, in order to the Designs of France, 1673. 1s.
 Bishop Taylor of Confirmation, 1s. 6d.
 Mystery of Jesuitism, third and fourth Parts. 2s. 6d.
 Sanderson Judicium Academ. Oxoniens. de Solenni Liga, 6d.
 Dr. Samway's Unreasonableness of the Romanists, 1s. 6d.
 Record of Urines, 1s.
 Dr. Ashton's Cases of Scandal and Persecution, 1674. 1s.
- DUODECIMO.
 Farnabii Index Rhetoricus.
 Cineronis Orationes Selectae.
 Hodder's Arithmetick.
 Horatius Minelli.
 Sands Ovids Metamorphoses.
 Grotius de Veritate Religionis Christianæ.
 Bishop Hacket's Christian Consolations.
- VICESIMO QUARTO.
 Lucius Florus. Lat.---Id. Truth. 16°
 Crums of Comfort.
 Valentine's Devotions.
 Guide to Heaven.
- Books lately Printed.
 Guillim's Display of Heraldry, with large Additions.
 Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England, Folio.
 Dr. Burlace's History of the Irish Rebellion, folio.
 Herodoti Historia, Græ. Lat. Fol.
 Mr. John Jenison's Additional Narrative about the Plot.
 Cole's Latin and English Dictionary, with large Additions.
 William's Sermon before the Lord Mayor, Octob. 12. 1679.
 ---History of the Gunpowder Treason.
 ---Impartial Consideration of the Speeches of

the Five Jesuits Executed for Treason, Fol.
Relation of the Massacre of the Protestants in France.
Tryals of the Regicides, 8°.
Dangerfield's Narrative of the Pretende Presbyterian Plot.
Mr. James Brome's Two Fast Sermons. The Famine of the Word threatned to Israel, and Gods Call to Weeping and Mourning.
Account of the Publick Affairs in Ireland since the discovery of the late Plot.
Dr. Jane's Fast Sermon before the House of Commons, April 11. 1679.
Dr. Burnet's Two Letters written upon the Discovery of the late Plot, 4to.
Decree made at Rome, March 2d March, 1679. condemning some Opinions of the Jesuits and other Casuists, 4to.
Mr. John James's Visitation Sermon, April 9. 1671. 4to.
Mr. John Cave's Fast Sermon on Jan. 30. 1679. 4to.
----His Assize Sermon at Leicester, July 31. 1679. 4to.
Certain Genuine Remains of the Lord Bacon, in Arguments Civil, Moral, Natural, &c. with a large Account of all his Works, by Dr. Tho. Tenison, 8°.
Dr. Puller's Discourse of the Moderation of the Church of England, 8°.
The Original of all the Plots in Christendom; with the Danger and Remedy of Schism: By Dr. William Sawel, Master of Jesus College Cambridge, 8°.
A Discourse of Supream Power and Common Right: By a Person of Quality, 8°.

Dr. Edw. Bagshaw's Discourse upon Select Texts against the Papist and Socinian, 8°.
Mr. Rushworth's Historical Collections: The Second Volume, Fol.
----His large and exact Account of the Trial of the Earl of Strafford, with all the Circumstances preliminary to, concomitant with, and subsequent upon the same, to his Death. Fol.
Remarques relating to the state of the Church of the three first Centuries, wherein are interspersed Animadversions on a Book, called A View of Antiquity: By J. H. Written by A. S.
Speculum Baxterianum, or Baxter against

Baxter. 4to.
The Countrey-man's Physician. For the use of such as live far from Cities, or Market-Towns, 8°.
Dr. Burnet's Sermon before the Lord Mayor upon the Fast for the Fire, 1680. 4°.
Conversion and Persecutions of Eve Cohan, a Person of Quality of the Jewish Religion, lately Baptized a Christian, 4to.
New England Psalms, 12°.
An Apology for a Treatise of Humane Reason. Written by Mr. Clifford Esq; 12°.
The Laws of this Realm concerning Jesuits, Seminary Priests, &c. explained by divers Judgments and Resolutions of the Judges; with other Observations thereupon, by William Cawley Esq; Fol.

In the Press.
Dr. Burnet's History of the Reformation of the Church of England. The second and last Part, Fol.
Bishop Sanderson's Sermons.
Fowlis his History of Romish Conspiracies, Treasons, and Usurpations. Fol.
The Tything-Table, 4to.
Markman's Perfect Horseman, 8°.
Robinson's Phrases for Winchester-School, 8°.
The History of the Powder-Treason, with a Vindication of the Proceedings and Matters relating thereunto, from the Exceptions made against it, and more particularly of late years by the Author of the Catholick Apology, and Others; to which is added a Parallel betwixt That and the Present Plot, in 4to.
FINIS.

The list above consists of two parts: the regular part which shows Chiswell's stock grouped by their format, and the particular part which introduces newly published books. In the regular part there are around 140 books, mostly published (or reprinted) in the late 1670's. They cover a wide range of fields including religion, history, mathematics, law, etc; 20% of them were folios, 30% quartos, and 40% octavos. The folios were naturally the most expensive, and they include such famous, learned

works as John Speed's *Maps and Geography of Great Britain and Ireland*, William Cave's *Lives of the Primitive Fathers*, Thomas Holyoake's *A Large Dictionary, Latin and English*, Sir Richard Baker's *A Chronicle of the Kings of England*, and even Hobbes' *Leviathan* and Bacon's *Advancement of Learning*. The quartos include Jeremy Taylor's *A Dissuasive from Popery*, Increase Mather's *History of the Late Wars of New England*, and John Dobson's *Sermon*. We notice that the quartos are mostly religious works. The octavos include sermons and medical works. Although the octavos are large in number, most authors are relatively unknown today. The duodecimos include classical authors such as Cicero, Horace, and Ovid. The vicecimos are mostly devotional works.

What information does this booklist provide us? First, this list implies that Chiswell was already a successful bookseller by 1680. The sheer number of books, especially the number of famous folios indicates this. Second, among the religious books, the books by Anglican priests are dominant, but there are also authors of other persuasions including Increase Mather, a famous puritan writer. Among the books newly printed or in the press, several titles are related to the Popish Plot of 1678. It was a topical subject, and it seems that people reacted very quickly to this historical event. Some books are controversial religious literature. It seems that Chiswell was inclined to publish anti-Catholic books throughout his career. About one-third of his religious books were sermons by Anglican priests such as John Cave and Robert Sanderson. We learn from the diary of John Evelyn or Samuel Pepys that people of those days very much enjoyed the speeches or sermons of famous clergymen. Sermons were therefore very popular books, and naturally they were printed mostly in handy formats.

We also notice that there are books about contemporary history. For example, John Rushworth's two books deal with early Stuart

history. *Historical Collections* was written based on historical documents from the early 17th century. If historical books had been more like tales, this history book was novel and different in that the author Rushworth depended on first-hand documents such as parliamentary speeches and public papers to write his books. The main concern of this book was the revolution and regicide, but the author remained neutral and left his readers to judge the events of the past. Also, Rushworth's book on the trial of Thomas Wentworth, the earl of Strafford, was written in the same way. These books would have been the outcome of the contemporary interest in the revolution of the 1640's. Thus, the main subjects of Chiswell's books in this list are religion and history. It is interesting to note that we do not see any kind of unity in the authors' religious persuasions or political stances. Mostly the authors are Anglican, but some are more supportive of the king and others are not. This point suggests Chiswell's eclecticism and also his good skills in business.

The list of 1680 is fairly long, and contains books of various interests. It indicates that Chiswell expected the readership to be large and unspecified. We do not see any particular deviation from the norm in Chiswell's publications as far as this list is concerned. However, we do see the extensive scale of his business. His publications were varied – they fall into such categories as biography, history, religious literature, travel literature, science, and so on. Therefore, this list probably encompasses the whole range of Restoration books.

Chiswell prepared more booklists in the 1680's. For example, let us have a look at a booklist from 1681. Gilbert Burnet's famous work *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England* was published in two volumes in 1679 and 1681. The first volume (1679) was a success, because the publication coincided with the Popish Plot. Therefore, Chiswell must have had a great

expectation toward, or confidence in, the sales of the second volume too. The second volume (1681) recounts the history of the Reformation during the Elizabethan period. The booklist we find in this book is almost identical in content to the one we have just looked at – the ample 1680 list at the end of the Rochester book. The books are arranged by their format, and this time a couple of new titles are added. One thing to note is that this very book, *The History of the Reformation of the Church of England*, is introduced in the booklist. This suggests that most probably this list was made separately and inserted later at the end of the book. Besides, there are some books which are priced. This seems to reflect his older practice, and also makes the list inconsistent. The sheer size of this list – 3 folio pages – illustrates the scope of Chiswell's business activities.

During the late 1680's we observe a change in Chiswell's booklists. Richard Royston, Chiswell's father-in-law, died in 1686, leaving a great number of books to his granddaughter Elizabeth, who was also Chiswell's step-daughter. We can see the list of Richard Royston's copies inserted in *Antiquitates Christianae* (1703) by Jeremy Taylor and William Cave.⁴⁾ This list is four, two-column folio pages long, and shows Royston's titles which were entered in the register of the Stationer's Company in chronological order. Royston started his publishing career in 1629 with a broadside sheet, and during his lifetime he published over 800 books. He was a strong advocate of the royalist cause, and he is known as the publisher of Charles I's *Eikon basilike* (1649). He was printer to Charles I, Charles II, and James I. He did have hard times during the Interregnum, but after the Restoration he was favoured by the royals and acquired power in the stationer's company. Royston's shop was badly damaged by the Great Fire of London in 1666, and after the 1670's he published very few new titles. We are still not sure how influential Royston was to

Chiswell, but we can at least say that Chiswell did not obediently follow his father-in-law in terms of business.

After the death of Royston the number of publications by Chiswell rose up. We can confirm this in the *Term Catalogues*. The *Term Catalogues* were quarterly pamphlets issued in London for booksellers from 1668-1706. They provide us a great deal of information about books printed and sold in that period.⁵⁾ As an executor of Royston's will, Chiswell most probably took care of his customers as well. Therefore, the scale of his business expanded and so in the late 1680's the number of Chiswell's booklists increased. However, the size of the booklists was smaller. Usually the lists were no longer than 2 pages, and they would only introduce the books newly printed. This may mean that Chiswell had somehow managed to dispose of his old stock as he seems to have been concentrating on his new publications in the late 1680's.

Booklists in the 1690's

After 1690 we see a change in Chiswell's booklists. He started to add an advertisement about subscription publications to the regular booklists. Subscription publication was a publishing method which supposedly developed in seventeenth-century England, and it enabled authors and publishers to publish more specialised, and expensive academic books. Chiswell used this method to publish such books as Sir Thomas Pope Blount's *Censura Celebriorum Authorum* (1690) and Henry Wharton's *Anglia Sacra* (1691). The former book is a biographical dictionary of the distinguished writers including historians, philosophers, and theologians. The latter is an important history of the medieval church. Both books were frequently advertised in Chiswell's later booklists. The print run would have been around 500, and it would seem that they probably did not earn a good number of subscriptions

even though these books were of great significance, since Chiswell kept listing the titles in his later booklists in order to advertise that they were still available.

Let us now take an example from Chiswell's booklist of 1696.

Books printed for Richard Chiswell.

Dr. Thomas Tenison, now Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, his Sermon concerning Discretion in giving Alms. 1668.

---His Sermon against Self-love, before the House of Commons. 1689.

---His Sermon of doing Good to Posterity, before Their Majesties. 1690.

---His Sermon concerning the Wandring of the Mind in God's Service, before the Queen: Feb. 15. 1690.

---His Sermon of the Folly of Atheism, before the Queen: Feb. 22. 1690.

---His Sermon preached at the Anniversary Meeting of the Clergy-mens Sons: Decem. 3. 1691.

---His Sermon concerning the Celestial Body of a Christian, before the Queen on Easter-Day. 1694.

---His Sermon concerning Holy Resolution, before the King at Kensington: Decemb. 30. 1694. on Psal. 119. 106.

---His Sermon at the Funeral of the Queen, in the Abby-Church in Westminster: March 5. 1694/5.

Dr. Burnet, Lord Bishop of Sarum, his Discourse of the Pastoral Care. 8vo.

---His Four Discourses delivered to the f the Diocess of Sarum: Concerning, I. The Truth of the Christian Religion. II. The Divinity and Death of Christ. III. The Infallibility and Authority of the Church. IV. The Obligations to continue in the Communion of the Church. 8vo. 1694.

---His Sermon at the Funeral of Archbishop Tillotson. 1694.

---His Sermon Preach'd before the King at St. James's Chapel, on the 10th. of February 1694/5, being the first Sunday in Lent, on 2 Cor. 6. 1.

Dr. Patrick (now Lord Bishop of Ely) his Heart's-Ease; or, a Remedy against all Troubles: With a consolatory Discourse, particularly direted to those who have lost their Friends and Relations. To which are added Two Papers, printed in the time of the late Plague. The Sixth Edition corrected. 12mo. 1695.

---His Answer to a Book spread abroad by the Romish Priests, intituled, [The Touchstone of the Reformed Gospel] wherein the true Doctrine of the Church of England, and many Texts of the Holy Scripture, are faithfully explained. 8vo. 1692.

---His Eight several occasional Sermons since the Revolution. 4to.

---His Exposition of the Ten Commandments. 8vo.

A Vindication of their Majesties Authority to fill the Sees of the deprived Bishops: In a Letter occasioned by Dr. B---'s Refusal of the Bishoprick of Bath and Wells. 4to.

A Discourse concerning the Unreasonableness of a new Separation, on Account of the Oaths to the present Government. With an Answer to the History of the Passive Obedience, so far as relates to them. 4to.

A Vindication of the said Discourse, concerning the Unreasonableness of a new Separation, from the Exceptions made against it in a Tract called, [A brief Answer to the said Discourse, &c.] 4to.

Rushworth's Historical Collections. The Third Part, in Two Volumes. Containing the principal Matters which happened from the meeting of the Parliament, Nov. 3. 1640 to the end of the Year 1644. Where in is a particular account of the Rise and Progress of the Civil War, to that Period. Fol. 1692.

The Letters of the Reverend Father Paul, Counsellor of State to the most Serene Republic of Venice, and Author of the Excellent History of the Council of Trent. 1693.

An Impartial History of the Wars of Ireland. In Two Parts. From the Time that Duke Schomberg landed with an Army in that Kingdom, to the 23d. of March 1692. when their Majesties Proclamation was published, declaring the War to be ended. Illustrated with Copper Sculpture, describing the most important Places of Action. By George Story,

an Eye-Witness of the most remarkable Passages. 4to. 1693.

Dr. John Conant's Sermons, Publish'd by Dr. Williams, 1693. 8vo.

Of the Government of the Thoughts. The 2d. Edition, By Geo. Tully, Sub-Dean of York. 8vo. 1694.

Origo Legum: Or, a Treatise of the Origine of Laws, and their Obliging Power; as also of their great Variety; and why some Laws are immutable, and some not, but may suffer change, or cease to be, or be suspended, or abrogated. In seven Books. By George Dawson, Fol. 1694.

A brief Discourse concerning the Lawfulness of Worshipping God by the Common-Prayer: In answer to a Book intituled, [A Brief Discourse of the Unlawfulness of Common Prayer-Worship.] By John Williams, D.D. 4to. 1694.

A true Representation of the absurd and mischievous Principles of the Sect commonly known by the Name of Muggletonians. 4to. 1694.

Memoirs of the most Reverend Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury: Wherein the History of the Church and the Reformation of it during the Primacy of the said Archbishop, are greatly illustrated, and many singular Matters relating thereunto, now first published. In Three Books. Collected chiefly from Records, Registers, Authentick Letters, and other Original Manuscripts. By John Strype. M.A. Fol. 1694.

A Commentary on the First Book of Moses called Genesis. By the Right Reverend Father in God Simon Lord Bishop of Ely. 4to. 1695.

The History of the Troubles and Trial of the most Reverend William Laud Lord Archbishop of Canterbury; wrote by himself during his Imprisonment in the Tower. To which is prefix'd the Diary of his own Life faithfully and entirely published from the Original Copy; and subjoined a Supplement to the preceding History; The Archbishop's last Will; His large Answer to the Lord Say's Speech concerning Liturgies; His Annual Accounts of his Province delivered to the King, and some other things relating to the History. Publish'd by Henry Wharton, Chaplain to Arch-bish. Sancroft, and by his Grace's Command Fol.

The possibility and Expediency and Necessity of Divine Revelation. A Sermon preach'd at St. Martin's in the Fields, January 7 1694/5, at the beginning of the Lecture for the ensuing Year, Founded by the Honourable Rob. Boyle, Esq; by John Williams, D.D.

---The Certainty of Divine Revelation, being his Second Sermon preach'd at the said Lecture, Feb. 4 1693.

---His Vindication of the Sermons of his Grace John Archbishop of Canterbury, concerning the Divinity and Incarnation of our Blessed Saviour, and of the Lord Bishop of Worcester's Sermon on the Mysteries, of the Christian Faith, from the Exceptions of a late Socinian Book Intituled [Considerations on the Explications of the Doctrine of the Trinity]. To which is annexed a Letter from the Lord Bishop of Sarum, to the Author of the said Vindication on the same Subject. 1695.

Historia Episcopis & Decanis Londinensibus necnon de Episcopis & Decanis Assavensibus a prima utriusq; fundatione ad Annum MDXL. Accessit Appendix instrumentorum quorundam insignium duplex Autore Henrico Whartono, A.M. 1695.

Advertisement.

There will be published Several Sermons and Discourses of the Most Reverend Dr. John Tillotson late Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, by order of his Administratrix, faithfully transcribed from his own Papers, by Dr. John Barker Chaplain to his Grace. Which are disposed of to Richard Chiswell and his Assigns. If Any pretend to publish any other, (except those already Printed,) they are to be look'd upon as Spurious and False. And the Publishers will be proceeded against according to the Law. The first that will be published, are his Sermons of Sincerity and Constancy in the Faith and Profession of the True Religion, which are in the Press, and will be finish'd this Easter Term 1695.

This list was inserted in a book, again, written by Gilbert Burnet. Above we looked at the list in his Rochester book of 1680. This time the book is on the much lamented death of Queen Mary. Mary was

a very popular queen, so this book was also expected to sell well. In fact, this book, *An Essay on the Memory of the late Queen*, was quickly reprinted after its first publication in 1695. The readership would have been varied, since Queen Mary was broadly supported by the public. Yet the subject matters of the books in the list are mostly religion. The books are not grouped by their format but by their authors or by the year of publication.

We notice here that the authors in this booklist are among the most influential figures of the Church of England of that period. Nine books by Thomas Tenison, the Archbishop of Canterbury, are introduced first. This may be because it was only proper to list the works by Tenison, who had been very close to the queen and gave a sermon at her funeral. The other books advertised in the list are mostly new, but there are some which we have seen in the other list of 1680. For example, Rushworth's *Historical Collections* are in both lists. Actually it was the second volume which appeared in the list of 1680, and this time it was *Historical Collections*, the third part, in 2 vols. It was published in 1691/2, after Rushworth died in 1690. The third part had been ready for the press by 1681, but it had to wait for the right time to be published. Among the new books of note, we find a book about Archbishop Laud. This book was mentioned in the correspondence between Samuel Pepys and John Evelyn in May 1694. Both diarists seem to have been looking forward to the publication of this book by Henry Wharton.

In addition, there is an advertisement at the end, which includes a warning of piracy. The word "assigns" would indicate the congers,⁶⁾ and 3 volumes were published from 1695 to 1696. Tillotson was Archbishop of Canterbury and he was indeed an important author of the day.

After the early 1690's, Chiswell produced fewer booklists. In this decade, there are perhaps only a few examples of lengthy booklists, and the rest tended to be short. We also notice that quite a few

of the lists were restricted to particular authors, such as Burnet and Patrick. The lists which exclusively feature Patrick's books especially stand out. Patrick wrote about 260 books and Chiswell published 48 of them. Royston published 67 books by Patrick, so he was important to Royston as well. This is partly because Patrick was born in 1626 and started writing in the 1650's – he was a contemporary of Royston, rather than Chiswell. Patrick's most famous work was *The Parable of the Pilgrim*, which was quite similar to John Bunyan's *Pilgrim's Progress* but written from the Anglican point of view. Nevertheless, Patrick's controversial anti-Catholic works or his interpretations of the bibles are now considered more important from a historical perspective. Besides Patrick and Burnet, William Cave was also a noteworthy author for Chiswell. Cave was an Anglican high churchman, and wrote about early church history, saints, and church fathers. Chiswell published those folio books by him embellished with engravings.

Conclusion

Chiswell began to deal in the books which his father-in-law Richard Royston left in the late 1680's. In his will, Royston named his granddaughter Elizabeth as the inheritor. Elizabeth was a daughter of Chiswell's wife by her previous marriage, and Luke Meredith, the bookseller, who had been apprenticed to Royston, was Elizabeth's husband. Chiswell was an executor of Royston's will and he successfully exercised his abilities in dealing with his books.

To Royston, the Tory publisher, Jeremy Taylor was one of his most important authors. They knew each other by the 1640's, and during the Interregnum Royston published Taylor's major works including *Holy Dying and Holy Living* (1651). Royston was arrested and imprisoned for publishing royalist books in 1645, and he also was in trouble when he published Charles I's *Eikon basilike*. After the

Restoration he continued to publish Taylor's other works, and in practice, he was the only publisher of Taylor's works. Taylor was a strong high church Anglican priest, and it is observable from his publications that Royston shared the same view toward the church. Taylor's books were advertised in Chiswell's booklists, but not as often or as extensively as Burnet's or Patrick's. Burnet and Patrick were very different clergymen. Yet Chiswell published so many books by these two authors. We note the lack of consistency in Chiswell's books, unlike Royston's, and he published books by the authors of different disciplines for the sake of business.

Chiswell was the person who established the modern book trade – he started the conger system and he sold books published by other booksellers besides his own publications. In addition, Chiswell's booklists reflect the changes in the publishing trade in the later seventeenth century, including the publication by the subscription system. It might seem unsafe to decide his political allegiance and religious beliefs by his publications, but as seen above his booklists do explain some details of Chiswell's life and career.

Notes

- 1) One thing which might be worth noting here is that Shirley and Chiswell published books by the same author Meric Casaubon.
- 2) Professor Lindenbaum discussed this in his paper "Publishers' Booklists and the Construction of Communities in Milton's London" which was given at 9th International Milton Symposium, University of London, July 10, 2008.
- 3) Chiswell's later lists do not indicate the prices. It is possible that book prices were changing so Chiswell deliberately tried to avoid showing it. There were still other booksellers' lists with price after the 1680's.
- 4) The new Dictionary of National Biography wrongly indicates that the list was inserted in Edward Cave's *Antiquitates ecclesasticae* [1703].
- 5) Edward Arber, who collected and published them in 3 volumes in early 20th century, refers to Chiswell in his introduction as a "man to watch".
- 6) The term "conger" is explained in John Feather, *A Dictionary of Book History* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986), p.76, as follows: The conger was an informal group of members of the trade who worked together for their common commercial benefit. Congers dealt with three matters—wholesaling, copyrights and printing—although the activities were not always mutually exclusive in any particular conger. The congiers evolved in 1680s as a means of protecting copyrights against piracy when the temporary lapse of the Printing Act, from 1679 to 1685, left the trade without copyright owner produced an edition, and then sold the copies in bulk at a generous trade price to other leading members of the trade. They then sold them at a profit to the retail booksellers both in London and the country. Hence, if the title were pirated, all the members of the conger would be affected, not just the copyright owner. Since the members of the conger substantially controlled the trade's market outlets, it became almost impossible to sell a pirated edition through conventional book trade channels. From this self-protection there emerged a regular system of wholesaling along these lines, within a group of perhaps 15 or 20 leading London bookseller/publishers, and it continued to function until c.1720.

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