Sir William Dawes's *Sermons* of 1707
and Henry Hills the Pirate

*A footnote to McKenzie's* Cambridge University Press 1698-1712

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When Don McKenzie submitted his PhD thesis to Cambridge University in 1961, not long before his return to New Zealand, he was unable to locate copies of all the works printed by the Press so that he could complete the Bibliography in the Appendix to volume I. Among the works he could not locate was the 1707 printing of Sir William Dawes's *Sermons*, which was advertised by Thomas Speed in London.¹

Returning to Wellington to take up a position as senior lecturer in English at Victoria University, he was very busy with all the tasks of preparing and teaching courses, and setting up the Wai-te-Ata Press, as well as the household demands of any man with a young family in a house which is cheap because it needs a lot of maintenance and redecoration. When Cambridge University Press agreed to publish his thesis, he had first to revise it and then deal with the proofreading. This was an enormous task (particularly the proofreading), because of the complexity of the work, and he had no time to search out and examine previously unseen copies of the Cambridge printings, let alone prepare bibliographical descriptions for them. He was assisted in the proofreading by his colleague and old friend, Stuart Johnston, but new text was something only he could contribute. Thus he made no attempt to look for Wellington copies of books printed at Cambridge; by the time he had the leisure to do so the Cambridge book was in print, and he had moved on to other research work.

When he returned to Wellington in 1961 the Victoria University library was in the early stages of coping with a great increase in new acquisitions, as well as a substantial accumulated backlog from gifts in earlier years, all in cramped conditions, with minimal staff workspace. It was only in 1965 that the new library building allowed space for uncatalogued material to be set out for interested teaching staff to select what they would like to have dealt with rapidly. Among the books accessioned in early 1966 was a copy of the 1707 *Sermons* of Sir William Dawes. Where it came from, how it was acquired, is not recorded; it seems to have been bought, because it is not identified as a gift, but that is all that can be said. This publication by the Master of St Catherine's College, a baronet and chaplain to the Queen, who became Bishop of Chester in 1707 (consecrated in February 1707/08) and Archbishop of York in 1714, was one of the works that McKenzie could find no copy of when he prepared his thesis.

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A formal description based upon this Wellington copy follows, using the same conventions as McKenzie used in his original Bibliography (though I give metric as well as imperial measurements).

[within double rules] SERMONS | PREACH'D upon | Several Occasions, | None of them before Printed. | [rule] | By Sir WILLIAM DAWES, Bar'. | D. D. and Chaplain in Ordinary to | Her MAJESTY. | [rule] | CAMBRIDGE: | Printed at the UNIVERSITY-PRESS: | And are to be Sold by Thomas Speed, over- | against Jonathan's Coffee-House, in Exchange- | Alley, in Cornhill, LONDON, 1707.

Formula. 8°: π2 2r A - 2G4 2H4 2I1; {$4$ (+ 22, A-B5, 212) signed}; 252 leaves, pp. [2] 1 - 488 [4] (misprinting 97 as 96, 126 127 as 116 126, 142 143 as 143 142, 283 as 683, 322 323 as 320 321, 326 327 as 324 325, 330 331 as 328 329, 334 335 as 332 333, 398 as 388, 415 as 413).

Paper. No w/m found; leaf, 8¼ x 5¼ in. [i.e. 213 x 130 mm; chainlines, 23 mm]

Types. Text: English roman and italic (15 ems x 30 lines, with 4 ems marginal notes in Long primer roman and italic)

Contents. π1, Half-title (verso blank) ; π2, Title (verso blank) ; π3, Dedication to the Queen; 2r1, The Contents; on 22v, 'ADDEND.' (2 lines); A1, Text; on 2H4v, 'FINIS'; 211, books sold by Thomas Speed.

Copies. Victoria University of Wellington BX5133.D269.1707 (copy no.180,769; 6209736); Harvard University reports what may be a dedication copy for presentation to Queen Anne (Houghton: WKR 15.2.21).

Production. Not recorded.

Notes. A portrait of Dawes, 'Guilelmus Dawes Baronettus S T P', J. Closterman Pinx., S. Gribelin Sculp., is bound between π1 and π2, facing the title-page. Simon Gribelin engraved most of the devices used by the Press in its early years.

The Harvard copy (apparently like other copies reported to WorldCat, the bibliographic database of OCLC) is 20 cm in height; the text block is 32mm thick, as in the VUW copy. This suggests that the VUW copy has been trimmed significantly less than usual. The VUW copy was accessioned in 1966, probably about April or May; its provenance is not recorded. It has a worn, but otherwise standard early 18th-century binding with some gilt-tooling on spine and covers. There are no ownership marks apart from the library's own.

McKenzie records two advertisements in the London Gazette, one in 21-24 April 1707, and the other in the issue of 13-17 November 1707, as well as one in Dawes's Times of War, Times for National Humiliation and Repentance (1707), and a notice in the Term Catalogues of November 1707. It was from these advertisements that he learnt of the existence of the work. He thought that the reference in November suggested that there had been a second edition, also dated 1707.
The four-page catalogue in sheet I of the *Sermons* begins with *Scripture Religion* 'By a Divine of the Church of England', to be followed in the rest of the first two pages by twelve devotional works and sermons 'by the Reverend Sir William Dawes', and then two pages of sermons by other authors. At least one of these (George Stanhope's *Christianity the only true Comfort*) was preached in November 1706 and printed in 1707. The separately printed sermon by Dawes, *Times of War*, was preached on the Wednesday in Passion week, during 'the present war'; it is not among the sermons advertised in the catalogue.

Bibliographical resources available today suggest that the November advertisements may not have been for a second edition, but rather a renewed advertisement by Speed to counteract a piracy, or rather a series of piracies, by Henry Hills junior. As demonstrated by several writers, including the late Bill Cameron and Richmond P. Bond, Hills was active throughout the years from 1707 to his death in 1713 in the unauthorised reprinting of sermons, and Thomas Speed's publications were common targets of his work.

The first work in the catalogue in the *Sermons* is commonly attributed to 'Milner', possibly the William Milner who edited the collected works of Dawes published posthumously in 1733. Of the twelve works by Dawes in the advertisement, three are devotional works, and the rest are sermons. Of these nine sermons, seven are also found in editions by Henry Hills, and Hills also published in 1707 a collection with the title *Sermons Preach'd upon Several Occasions before King William and Queen Anne*, and another thirteen sermons also by Dawes. When the records for these editions are analysed it seems that Hills reprinted all the sermons by Dawes he could locate, including the individual sermons in the collection. His collected edition was probably a 'made-up' volume, with the separate printings brought together with a supplied title-page, since it is usually catalogued as '1 v. (various pagings)', and a number of libraries have separately catalogued copies of most or all of the individual sermons.

With this quantity of unauthorised reprints on the market, it is not surprising that in November Thomas Speed should have advertised his collection of Sir William's *Sermons* again, in the *London Gazette*, and also in the *Term Catalogues*, this time adding a note 'All the Author's Books are sold at the same place'. Speed advertised his publications more than once in a number of cases, e.g., John King's *Animadversions on a Pamphlet entituled A Letter of Advice*, was advertised in the Michaelmas 1701, Hilary 1702 and Trinity 1702 *Term*.


Catalogues, in all three appearances as the second edition. It was in 1707 that Dawes was appointed to the see of Chester (he was consecrated in February 1707/08), and Speed would surely have desired to take advantage of this new prominence.

Resolving thus McKenzie's problem with the apparent reprint of the 1707 Sermons, the three sheets of Sir William Dawes's 'Sermon' composed at the Press in early 1704, and 1,000 copies of two sheets printed in the same period (McKenzie no.110) are still not identified. None of the published sermons by Dawes seem to correspond with this, except that the first sermon in the 1707 volume, 'The Pains and Terrors of a wounded Conscience insupportable', does occupy exactly two sheets, A and B. The second sermon in the volume, 'The Certainty of Hell-Torments' begins at C1, and is the first of a series of six sermons on the subject. We may hazard a guess that the Press began work on Dawes's Sermons in 1704, and then delayed its completion because of other more urgent work, Dawes himself not pressing for its completion because of other commitments. There are gaps in the Vouchers and other printing records, so that it is quite possible that the completed printing of the Sermons was not preserved in the Press records, a situation matched by several other works from the Press. Although most of the fourteen sermons in the volume were preached before 1704, the last three date from Lent 1704, Lent 1705 and November 1706, and it may be that it was only in 1706 that Speed was convinced that Dawes was sufficiently important for a collection of his sermons to be worth publishing.