

Book Transmission in Sixteenth and Seventeenth-Century North East Scotland: the Evidence of William Guild's Books

CHRISTINE GASCOIGNE

When William Guild died in 1657, at the age of seventy-one, the city of Aberdeen lost a significant benefactor. Throughout his life, he gave property and funds to the city for various charitable purposes such as the foundation of a hospital, repairs to ecclesiastical buildings, and the support and education of the poor. The exception to this generosity to his native city was his library; one manuscript was bequeathed to Edinburgh University¹ and the rest of his books to St Andrews University.

Born in Aberdeen in 1586, the son of Matthew Guild, hammerman and armourer, who was born and educated in Dundee, Guild received his formal education at St Mary's College, St Andrews, where he was a divinity student between 1604 and 1606,² and at the newly founded Marischal College, Aberdeen, entering the ministry and becoming minister of Kinedward in the presbytery of Turriff in 1608.³ In 1617, King James VI and I tried to introduce a liturgy into the Scottish Church and promote Episcopacy over Presbyterianism by sending Lancelot Andrewes, then Bishop of Ely, and John Young, Dean of Winchester, to attend a National Synod in Aberdeen and place the idea before the largely sceptical ministers. The Synod agreed in principle to accept the liturgy although in the event the project was temporarily abandoned. What it did achieve, however, was to bring Guild to the notice of Andrewes and Young. Although it is not at all clear what part he played in the Synod, he was undoubtedly involved in it; indeed he enjoyed Andrewes's and Young's favour to the extent that he was appointed to the position of King's chaplain. He dedicated his *Moses unveiled* to Andrewes, and *The Harmony of all the prophets*, published in 1620, to Young and there makes his indebtedness to the two obvious.⁴ The subsequent attempt by King Charles I to impose the Prayer Book on the Scottish Church, which led to the signing of the National Covenant, had a considerable impact on the clergy of Aberdeen, some of whom were deposed because of their refusal to sign. Guild did not feel able either to side wholeheartedly with the Aberdeen doctors and not sign the Covenant, or to commit himself completely to the document. When the Assembly ordered all ministers to sign as a condition of retaining their charges and other benefits, he, along with Robert Reid, minister of Banchory-Ternan, only reluctantly agreed to do so, and with some caveats:

- 1) We acknowledge not nor yet condemn the Articles of Perth [which

- admitted some parts of the English ritual] to be unlawful, but only promise to forbear the practice thereof for a while;
- 2) We condemn not Episcopal government, secluding the personal abuse thereof;
 - 3) We still retain and shall retain obedience unto the king's majesty.⁵

In 1631, he became minister of the second charge of St Nicholas, Aberdeen, and in November 1638 he was the sole representative from Aberdeen at the Glasgow Assembly at which the Scottish hierarchy was abolished, and in 1639, when Montrose threatened Aberdeen, he fled from the city along with the other Aberdeen doctors. He went into temporary exile in Holland but was back in Aberdeen by 1640, when he was appointed principal of King's College, in place of William Leslie who continued to refuse to sign the covenant. In 1641, Guild received a number of benefits from King Charles I, including a house and garden. After the King's death, however, these marks of royal favour rendered him suspect, and, in 1649, he, along with the sub-principal, Alexander Middleton, and two professors of philosophy, Patrick Gordon and George Middleton, was interrogated by the Parliamentary Commissioners who had been appointed to investigate King's College. The Commissioners demanded that they be deposed, but the College authorities refused to comply. In 1651, however, five other commissioners, colonels from General Monck's army, visited Aberdeen, and this time Guild was forced to stand down. Despite protests from the Synod of Aberdeen, he, Alexander and George Middleton, and Patrick Gordon all resigned and John Row became principal in Guild's place. Guild himself remained in Aberdeen until his death.

One hundred and seventy five titles are known to have survived from Guild's library, of which one hundred and sixty three are in St Andrews University Library, and the remaining twelve elsewhere. Their major interest to a modern scholar lies in the patterns of ownership and book transmission which they reveal, particularly in the north-east of Scotland during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. By far the largest number were acquired second-hand, many of them from friends and acquaintances and others from within the circle of divines and academics, variously based in Kinloss, around Elgin and in or near Aberdeen itself, whom Guild must have known well. Sixty of his books, or 35%, were acquired from this local area. Only forty-four, or 24%, do not bear the names of former owners, and some of these have annotations which indicate a previous owner, now unidentified. Most of the others had been owned by residents of the Edinburgh area. One might have expected him to have bought a selection of recent publications from the Low Countries during his enforced residence in that country, but in fact his library contains only three books published there: the 1615 Antwerp edition of Pighius's *Annales Romanorum*, which had previously belonged to Sir Thomas Henryson; the 1483 Louvain edition of Pius II's letters, owned successively by a canon, the clerk of the consistory court and the master of the choristers at St Machar's

Cathedral, Aberdeen; and the 1633 Leiden edition of Jan de Laet's book on the West Indies, which he may well have bought abroad.

Of the various provenance connections for which Guild's collection provides evidence, one of the most important is with Kinloss Abbey. By the beginning of the sixteenth century, the Cistercian abbey of Kinloss was in a decaying and irreligious state. Called to restore it, Abbot Thomas Crystall presented it with Biblical texts and works of scholastic theology for which his successor as abbot, Robert Reid, built a spacious fireproof library.⁶ Reid was a man of great learning and an accomplished politician who brought the scholar Giovanni Ferrerio from Paris to Kinloss to teach the monks. Ferrerio came to Scotland in 1528, spending three years at the court of James V in Edinburgh, and then moving to Kinloss. He spent seven years there, giving lectures on, among other authors, Cicero, Erasmus, Sacrobosco, Aristotle and Augustine. Ferrerio brought books with him from Paris, and bought more in Edinburgh which he took to Kinloss. John Stuart, in his *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss*, relates an episode which sheds an interesting light on Ferrerio's views on book ownership and must colour our understanding of the significance of some of these inscriptions. One of the monks, Sir Adam Elder, 'refused to hand over a book which Ferrari intended to present to one of his pupils, asserting "that Ferrarius owned no books of his own, but they had all been bought with the abbot's [Robert Reid] money"'. Ferrerio replied that 'before he ever knew the abbot himself, he had many books at Paris, and brought more with him to Scotland than the abbot himself; that he also bought books in Edinburgh with his own money. [...] "That I have frequently put the name of the abbot on the books, arises from the love which I bear to him, as though I wished all things belonging to friends to be held in common"'.⁷ The frequently found addendum to ownership inscriptions 'et amicorum' – 'this book belongs to the owner and his friends' – echoes this idea that books were not simply the property of one person, but were held for the use of a circle of acquaintances and friends.

Guild owned five books with known Kinloss provenance, one with the signature of Thomas Crystall abbot, one with that of Thomas Broun sub-prior and Thomas Hastie monk, and the others with that of William Forsyth, also a monk there. He also had in his library eight of Reid's books, with the latter's armorial crest on the bindings, naming him as bishop of the Orkneys and abbot of Kinloss, and dated 1558, the year of his death.⁸ Thomas Broun owned Ambrogini's *Illustrium virorum epistolae* (Paris, 1526), Forsyth owned Guillaume Budé's *De studio literarum* (Paris, 1532) (**Figure 8**), and Rupert of Deutz's commentaries on the Apocalypse and the minor prophets (Cologne, 1526 and 1527). Pope Gregory IX's *Decretales* (Paris, 1527), also in Guild's library, was presented by Crystall to the monastery. These books were all printed either in Paris or Cologne, between the years 1526 and 1532, and it is plausible that those printed before 1528 were brought from Paris by Ferrerio. Broun and Forsyth were monks at Kinloss from at least 1537 to 1565, since their names appear on three documents signed between those years.⁹ The



Figure 8: Guillaume Budé, *De Studio Literarum* (Paris, 1532). With inscription of William Forsyth and Giovanni Ferrerio.

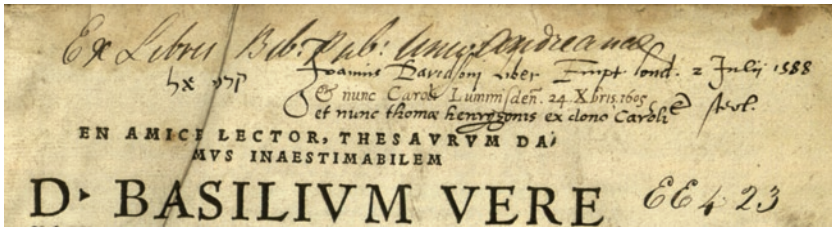


Figure 9: St Basil, [*Opera – Greek*] (Basle, 1532). With inscriptions of John Davidson, Charles Lumsden and Thomas Henryson.

Budé volume is also signed by Giovanni Ferrerio himself, who continued to receive a pension from Kinloss even after he had left the monastery.¹⁰ Five of Reid's books are by Italian authors, Luigi Lippomanno's *Catena in Genesim* (Paris, 1546) and *Catena in Exodum* (Paris, 1550), Calcagnini's *Opera aliquot* (Basle, 1540), Onofrio Panvinio's *Epitome pontificum Romanorum* (Venice, 1557) and Valeriano Bolzani's *Hieroglyphia* (Basle, 1556). He also owned two commentaries on the Gospels and Pauline epistles by Joannes Arboreus (Paris, 1551 and 1553) and Gregory IX's *Decretales* (Paris, 1527), mentioned above. Kinloss itself seems to have survived the Reformation more or less intact. Walter Reid, the last abbot, was dead by 1589, at which point the abbey and its lands came into the hands of his widow, Margaret Collace.

The monastic foundations of Elgin, the Dominicans and the Franciscans, were likewise sources for books and Guild owned four books from them. The Dominicans were already in trouble in 1526, when the guardian of the house petitioned the Pope that he had been deprived and violent hands laid on him by Patrick Dunbar, sub-chanter of Moray.¹¹ A small community was still there at the Reformation. Guild had from them a Latin Bible with the commentary of Nicolas de Lyra (Lyons, 1521), Tommaso de Vio on the Epistles of Paul (Paris, 1532), while from the Dominicans came Thomas Aquinas on the Epistles of Paul (Paris, 1529) and Dionysius the Carthusian on the Gospels (Paris, 1536).

The impact of the Reformation on the libraries of these institutions was of course considerable. Judging from these few examples, some at least of the books from Kinloss and the Elgin monasteries came into the hands of the local ministers in and around Elgin itself, gradually dispersing into the surrounding areas. This becomes clear as the ownership inscriptions of one or two of these books are examined in detail. A good example is Luigi Lippomanno's *Catena in Exodum* (Paris, 1550) which has the armorial crest of Robert Reid on both its boards, indicating a possible connection with Kinloss. The next owner was Alexander Winchester, who was the second post-reformation minister at Elgin, succeeding Robert Pont in 1566, and then minister at St Andrews (Elgin) between 1574 and 1576, and Spynie (1576-1578). He was still in office in 1580, despite a complaint made against him for non-attendance, but the date of his death is unknown. His wife was Margaret Gadderar, possibly a relative of William Gadderar, burgess of Elgin, who was known to have collected many Kinloss books. From Winchester, the book passed into the hands of John Robertson, reader at Llanbryd between 1574 and 1576 and then from Robertson to Alexander Douglas. Born in 1561, the son of the provost of Elgin, Douglas held various charges in the area, notably Spynie, where he preceded Winchester, and Keith, before becoming minister of Elgin in 1581. He was minister of Elgin for about seventeen years and was promoted titular bishop of Moray in 1606, and consecrated in Edinburgh in 1611. He died in Elgin in 1623, at which point the book seems to have passed to Guild. At some point in the ownership chain, someone paid four marks for it. This book, then, had four owners before Guild, all ecclesiastics in and around the Elgin area.

Already we find here names which recur time and time again in Guild's library, notably Alexander Winchester (seven books) and Alexander Douglas (eighteen books).¹² Another name which often occurs is that of Patrick Auchinleck, graduate of St Leonard's College in the University of St Andrews, minister first of Balmerino in Fife, then of Alves and Llanbryd, who died at Elgin in 1581, thus another Elgin minister. Guild owned ten of his books, including two which had previously belonged to Reid. The others include Plato's Latin works, Pliny's history of the world and a Paris 1519 edition of Theodoret's *Sermones contra infideles Graecos*. Most of Auchinleck's books bear the pleasing motto 'Misericordias Domini in aeternam cantabo'.¹³ We can note that the parishes where these book-owners lived and worked are all very close together, Alves, Spynie and Llanbryd being less than four miles from Elgin itself, while Kinloss is about ten miles away, all easy distances.

From these inscriptions a pattern emerges of a close-knit community of ministers whose books remained after their death in the area where they served and were known. These personal libraries seem to have been regarded as a communal resource, and were passed on to the next generation of ministers. The pre-reformation titles are kept and read along with Reformation titles such as the sermons of Calvin,¹⁴ Peter Martyr's *Loci communes* from the library of Alexander Ransom, minister of Spynie from 1581 until his death in 1622, Bishop Jewel's *A replie unto Mr Harding's answer* (London, 1566, owned by Alexander Douglas) and the Puritan William Attersoll's commentary on Philemon (London, 1612), also owned by Alexander Douglas.

The Aberdeen connections are equally interesting, though fewer in number. Alexander Anderson, principal of King's College at the Reformation and strongly anti-reformation, who, it is said, 'privately conveyed away all the ancient ornaments and many of the books belonging to the College',¹⁵ was deprived of his office in 1568. Guild eventually acquired his copy of Jacques Lefèvre's commentaries on the Gospels (Cologne, 1541), previously owned by John Kennedy, town clerk of Aberdeen, and last chaplain of the hospital of St Thomas for decayed persons before the Reformation. Alexander Arbuthnot, who succeeded Anderson in 1568, was pro-reformation. Guild had six of his books, including Raffaele Maffei's *Commentariorum octo et triginta libri* (Paris, 1526), which was previously owned by John Vaus, humanist and grammarian, who taught at Aberdeen between 1531 and 1541. In comparison with the book owners from the Elgin area, those from Aberdeen demonstrate a broader spread of occupations. Those from Elgin are almost all ministers (notable exceptions are Alexander Hepburn, the schoolmaster, though he would probably also have been licensed to preach, and the burgess William Gadderar). In Aberdeen, laity as well as clergy figure amongst the owners, for example Alexander Forbes, described as burgess of Aberdeen, and Alexander Fraser, who signs 'amanuensis', and professors, such as Thomas Nicolson, professor of civil law. Guild also owned a substantial volume from the library of King's College itself, no doubt borrowed and not returned, Conrad Gesner's

Historia animalium in the 1554 Zurich edition which had five other previous owners from Aberdeen, plus John Lesley, later bishop of Ross.

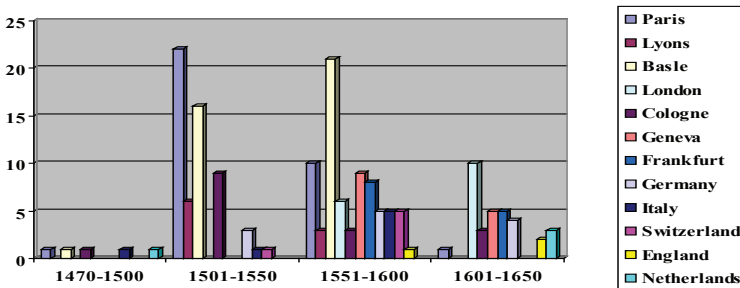
In addition to books from the University and city of Aberdeen, Guild owned others deriving from the libraries of country houses in the Aberdeen area. The Ogilvies of Carnousie and Boyne, the Bairds of Auchmedden and Ordinhnivas, who were all related, Brodie of Brodie and, from further afield, the Montgomeries of Hessilhead all appear in inscriptions and bear witness to the existence of private, non-academic libraries in Scotland in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Cambridge University Library owns a copy of Guild's *Moses unveiled* (London, 1620) which was presented by him to John Viscount Lauderdale with an inscription indicating a desire for patronage and an acquaintance with the Scottish nobility and gentry.¹⁶

How the books were disseminated is an interesting question. The long established, continuing practice of ministers handing on their library to other ministers was clearly in operation in the area around Elgin. Pont, Winchester, Douglas, Rawson, Auchinleck and others passed books on to each other, some of which had come from the pre-Reformation monastic institutions such as the abbey of Kinloss and the Dominican and Franciscan communities in Elgin itself. What proportion of these were given as gifts, and what proportion were bought cannot be determined without more evidence, but the presence in some of the inscriptions either of the phrase 'ex dono' or of prices makes it clear that books were passed on both by gift and by sale. It would be interesting to know how these sales operated: were the books offered to certain specified individuals, auctioned in the house of the deceased, or were they sold to second-hand booksellers as a collection? Informal auctions of the deceased's library for the benefit of his surviving family would certainly have taken place, but unfortunately the testaments of Elgin ministers such as Douglas or Winchester which might have shed light on the process do not survive, though it is noted that 'ane richt venerabill man, Mr Patrick Auchinlek, Chantour of Murray', who died in 1581, had 'in his librell [library] of buikis estimat to fourtie merkis'.¹⁷ Guild would either have attended auctions himself, sent a representative to sales of important collections of books, notably the dispersal of the library of Sir Thomas Henryson, Lord Chesters, who died in 1638, or bought books subsequently from a bookseller who had acquired the stock. Henryson must have had a very substantial library: Guild himself owned forty-one of Henryson's books, and there are many others in collections throughout Scotland (**Figure 9**). Guild also had ten books with the inscriptions 'L.G.F.', 'M.G.F.' or 'G.Forbesius'. The identification of this owner is uncertain - he might be either George or William. If William, then he may have been the first Bishop of Edinburgh, who was born in Aberdeen. His testament values his books at four thousand marks.¹⁸ The dispersal of his books may have also been by auction.

Apart from the acquisition of second-hand books from fellow ministers and friends in the Elgin and Aberdeen area, whether by gift or sale, Guild

must have bought from local bookshops, although, unlike some owners, he does not put information relating to date and place of purchase on his books. Only three books have any notes identifying a place of purchase. Thomas Henryson notes on his copy of Aventinus's *Annales Boiorum* (Basle, 1580) that he bought it at the shop of James Cathkin in Edinburgh in 1613. He also notes that he bought Strabo's *De situ orbis* (Basle, 1549) in Antwerp. One other book bears a note that John Davidson bought it in London in 1588. The note regarding Cathkin is of particular interest. James Cathkin took over his brother Edward's shop in Edinburgh on the latter's death in 1601, so was thus offering older material for sale as well as up-to-date publications. His shop appears to have been well-stocked. The inventory drawn up on his death in 1631 notes the numbers of books in his shop by subject area, listing Latin and English, bound and unbound separately, giving a total of 4408 volumes. The majority were in the field of divinity. His testament shows him as owing money to Robert Allot and Godfray Edmonsone, booksellers and stationers in St Paul's Churchyard, London, from whom he must have bought some of his stock. Another important Edinburgh bookseller was Andro Hart, whose widow Jonet Mitchellhill carried on the business after his death in 1604 until her own death in 1606. Her inventory, organised in the same way as Cathkin's, gives a total of 5975 books, and Charles Lumsden and Thomas Henryson both owed her money, as they did Edward Cathkin on his death. The inventories show these booksellers trading all over Scotland as well as with England and the Continent. Guild is almost certain to have bought books from Edinburgh, as well as from Aberdeen, where the major bookseller of the early seventeenth century was David Melville. Guild added prices to some of his purchases, but without information about a place of purchase, one cannot be sure whether they were bought from individuals or from a shop. He also appears to have had connections with London booksellers. Of his own writings, the first four books were printed in London in 1608, and Johnstone and Robertson, in their *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, speculate that he went to London himself, in order to select the printers and booksellers to whom he would entrust the work, and to oversee the books through the presses.¹⁹ If that is true, then it would suggest that Guild had regular contact with the London book trade, including Robert Allott, who, as we have seen, did business with Edinburgh booksellers. Guild may also have been in London in 1610, when he licensed Robert Snawel's *A lookinge glasse for married folks*.²⁰ What is clear is that Guild obtained his books from a number of different sources, from friends and colleagues whose libraries were being dispersed for whatever reason, and from the booksellers of Aberdeen, Edinburgh and London. It is impossible to tell from their inventories what proportion of the Edinburgh booksellers' stock was continental in origin, or how recently any particular book had been published. Cathkin was clearly stocking older continental material but there is no evidence to tell us how much Guild and his academic and ministerial colleagues may have also bought from continental booksellers.

Aside from the issues of provenance which have been the main focus of these remarks, it is also worth profiling the material in the collection in terms of the places and languages of publication and the subject-matters covered. Unsurprisingly, most of Guild's books were printed in continental Europe, reflecting the normal pattern of the places and languages of publication throughout sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. The graph below shows quite clearly how dominant Paris was as a centre of the book trade during the first half of the sixteenth century. It loses its pre-eminence during the second half of the century, with Basle taking its place as the major centre of printing and Geneva in third place. London only becomes important during the early years of the seventeenth century, no doubt because of the growing use of the vernacular. Of the sixteen books which Guild owned which were printed in London, all are in English. Of the rest, five books are in Greek, seven are polyglot, mostly Greek and Latin though he also owned Biblical texts with some Hebrew, a copy of the Bible in French, and no books in German or Italian. All the rest are in Latin.²¹ He owned no books at all printed in Scotland, despite the fact that a steady stream of publications on theology and Scottish history issued from the Scottish press from the beginning of the seventeenth century.²²



Places of printing of Guild's books

On the evidence of the books in the St Andrews collection, Guild's books were largely the working library of one required to expound the scriptures at length each week. Biblical commentaries form the predominant category, with works on the Epistles, Gospels and Psalms being the most common. Pre-reformation writers such as Dionysius the Carthusian, Joannes Arboreus, Rupert of Deutz, Cardinal Cajetan, Sedulius Scotus and Thomas Aquinas are present, along with post-reformation authors including William Attersoll on Philemon, Martin Bucer, Henricus Mollerus and William Temple on the Psalms, and commentaries by Calvin, John Davenant, Ludwig Lavater, Jacques Lefèvre, Luigo Lippomano, Jean Mercier, Wolfgang Musculus and Richard Ward. Other aids to Biblical study were two concordances to the Scriptures

and Greek, Latin and Hebrew dictionaries. Not surprisingly, he also owned several editions of the Scriptures themselves, including four editions of the Latin Bible, a 1609 Geneva polyglot Bible, two polyglot New Testaments, and a French Bible (Lyons, 1551).

The Early Church Fathers section of his library included the works of Ambrose, Augustine, Basil, Eusebius, Gregory the Great, Irenaeus and Justin Martyr, while late Christian writers were represented by St Antoninus, Gabriel Biel, St Bonaventura, Dionysius the Carthusian and Sedulius Scotus. Notable classical authors which he owned were Cicero, in the only manuscript in the St Andrews collection, Homer, Plato, Pliny the Elder, Statius and Valerius Flaccus. One category notably absent is that of literature, with a Latin edition of Petrarch, printed in Basle in 1554, the sole representative of this genre. It is of course possible that Mrs Guild kept her husband's literature books for her own use after his death.

Guild was also very interested in history and topography, owning Thomas Hariot's beautifully illustrated book on Virginia, Archbishop Joannes Magnus on Norway and Sweden, Martin Kromer on Poland, Carlo Sigonio on Italy and Joannes de Laet on the West Indies as well as the works of Cassius Dio Cocceianus, Pausanias, Pliny, Strabo and Herodotus, several histories of Greece and Rome, and general chronicles such as those by Werner von Rolevinck (**Figure 10**) and Burchard von Ursperg. Natural history also features, including Gesner's *Historia animalium* and Thomas Mouffet's book on insects, as well as medical books doubtless used for day-to-day self-diagnosis and treatment, notably Hart's *The diet of the diseased* (London, 1633) and Estienne's *Medicæ artis principes* (Geneva, 1567), whose previous owner was Simon Henryson, surgeon, and which at some time in its history sold for the substantial sum of £22. Although Guild did not annotate his books very copiously, it is the biblical commentaries which bear the greatest evidence of close reading, with faint underlinings, a few words in the margins, and the occasional delicate pointing finger. The chronicles and other reference works remain largely unannotated.

Guild's library must have arrived in St Andrews shortly after his death in 1657, since his books appear in the 1687 library catalogue,²³ and are scattered throughout it, indicating well established assimilation within the library collections. Whether the books which came to St Andrews represented the whole of Guild's library is unclear.²⁴ Indeed it seems more than likely that other volumes from his collection remain to be discovered. Thomas Netter's treatise against the Wycliffites and the Hussites was purchased by St Andrews in 2006, and there is no reason to assume that this is the last of Guild's books to be discovered. None of Guild's own writings came with the rest of his library, although they are well represented in the University's 1687 catalogue. This lists five copies in unspecified editions of the *Answer to the touchstone* and two of *Moses unveiled*, with single copies of another seven titles. None of these is annotated, and it is impossible to say whether any of them came to St Andrews with Guild's other books or whether they were already part of library stock.

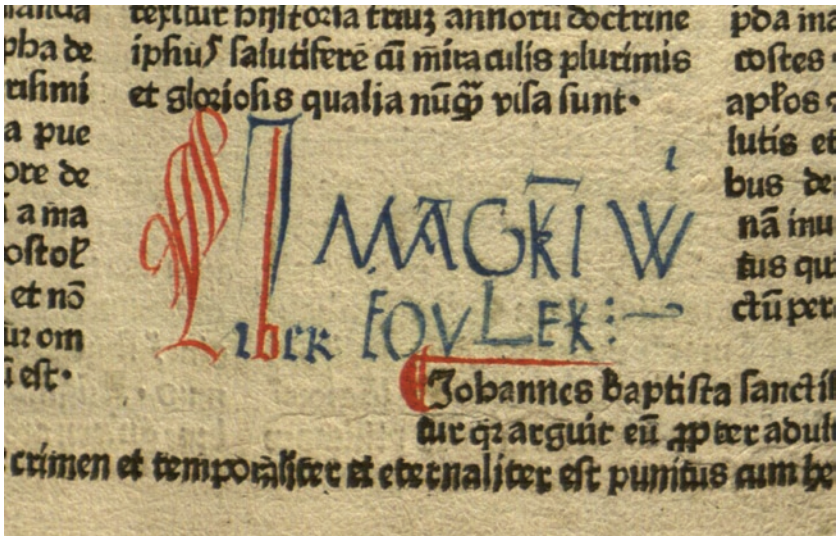


Figure 10: Werner von Rolevinck, *Fasciculus Temporum* (Cologne, 1478). With inscription of William Fowler.

Other surprising omissions are the Bible and the Book of Psalms in English, any editions of the Catechism, and the Solemn League and Covenant. In particular, the lack of an English Bible goes against the whole thrust of church policy in the second half of the sixteenth and the first half of the seventeenth century, when adequate Bible supply in the vernacular for both ministers and parishes was seen as crucial.²⁵ As with literature, these may well have been retained by Mrs Guild, or acquired by other Aberdeen ministers.

Why Guild left his library to St Andrews rather than Aberdeen is also a matter for conjecture, though one can speculate that he was not happy about his treatment by King's College. No trace of his will has been found, although some clauses have survived in later transcriptions.²⁶ He and his wife, Catherine Rolland, were childless, and much of their fortune was devoted to supporting the poor, in Aberdeen, Kinedward and Dundee, particularly to give them education and training. The town council and kirk session of Aberdeen were given money to provide for the education of orphans, Marischal College received bequests for the maintenance of 'six students of philosophy, four scholars at the public school, two students of divinity [...]', while Dundee was to send four students to St Leonard's College.²⁷ King's College Aberdeen appears to have received nothing. Shirrefs notes that 'the University of St Andrews, much indebted, in other respects, to his liberal patronage,²⁸ received a legacy of his library; excepting only one valuable manuscript, [...] which he bequeathed to the University of Edinburgh'.²⁹ The emphasis on education evident from most of his donations and bequests indicates the significance he placed on it.

The catalogue of his books can be found on the Edinburgh Bibliographical Society website at <http://mcs.qmuc.ac.uk/EBS/> along with a list of former owners, in which they are identified as far as possible. The catalogue is arranged by author and title, and includes as separate entries those titles which were published separately but have been bound together. This gives a more accurate picture of the books owned by Guild, since a number of unrelated titles are often bound in the same volume. The evidence of the books indicates that while some of the volumes have been repaired after their arrival in St Andrews, the titles had already been put together by Guild's death. While Guild was not an enthusiastic annotator of his books, and some of the titles which are bound together do not have any physical evidence of his ownership, the balance of probability is that they did indeed figure in his library in the form in which they have come to St Andrews.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

I am grateful to Dr R.N. Smart, Dr N.H. Reid and Mrs E.A. Henderson for their constructive and helpful comments on this paper. Any mistakes are my own.

1. The manuscript in question was the last surviving copy of the protest of the Bohemian nobles to the Council of Constance in September 1415 against the burning at the stake of Jan Hus earlier that year, and the similar fate which

awaited Jerome of Prague. It is usually known as the Bohemian Protest.

2. Dr R.N. Smart generously shared with me his research on St Andrews alumni of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Guild received the degree of doctor of divinity about 1634, and Dr Smart believes that he may have been awarded it from St Andrews although he has not found any firm evidence of this.

3. This brief account of Guild's life uses James Shirrefs's *An Inquiry into the Life, Writings and Character of the Reverend Doctor William Guild*, second edition (Aberdeen, A. Angus and Son, 1799). Shirrefs is by and large favourable to Guild, unsurprisingly so since he was writing for the Incorporated Trades of Aberdeen of which he himself was patron, and to whom Guild was a significant benefactor. Other historians have, however, been less favourable, notably John Spalding, whose attacks on Guild Shirrefs does his best to refute (pp. 91-104). Spalding's work was first published in 1792 in an incomplete edition, under the title *History of the Troubles and Memorable Transactions in Scotland from the Year 1624-1645* (Aberdeen, printed by T. Evans, London, for A. Angus and W. Creech, Edinburgh, 1792). The standard edition was published by the Spalding club in 1850-51 as *Memorials of the Troubles in Scotland and in England A.D. 1624 – A.D. 1645*, 2 vols (Aberdeen, printed for the Spalding Club, 1850-51). [Spalding Club 21, 23]

4. *Moses unveiled* (London: printed by G. Purslowe for J. Budge, 1620) and *The Harmony of all the Prophets* (London, printed by G. Purslowe for J. Budge, 1620), issued together. In the dedication to Young he writes: 'These paines, Sir, that I have taken herein, I have dedicate to your name as a testimony of my [...] duty and affection to you, which I shall

think my selfe ever bound to owe for your manifold courtesies, whereof at your last being in your owne native countrey, I had sufficient prooffe [...]' (Sig. O3).

5. Shirrefs, pp.57-99, Spalding, I, pp.92-94.

6. John Stuart, *Records of the Monastery of Kinloss with illustrative Documents* (Edinburgh, Society of Antiquaries of Scotland, 1872), pp.xlvi-vii.

7. For an account of Ferrerio's connections with Kinloss, see his *Historia Abbatum de Kynloss*, quoted in *Records of Kinloss*, pp.xiii-xxiii.

8. He was sent to France to witness the marriage of Mary Queen of Scots and died in France on his way home.

9. *Records of Kinloss*, pp.146-49, 151-54.

10. A rental of Kinloss dated 1574 includes a note of a yearly pension of 40 pounds Scotch, with a servant and two horses, which Ferrerio was granted under the common seal of Kinloss for his lifetime. *Ibid*, pp.154-63.

11. Ian Cowan and David Easson, *Medieval Religious Houses in Scotland*, second edition (London, Longmans, 1976), pp.118.

12. There is of course some overlap here, since a number of these books were owned by both Douglas and Winchester.

13. I will sing the mercies of God for ever.

14. Calvin's *Sermons on Job*, in the 1584 London edition, was an early Guild acquisition, bought while he was still minister of Kinedward.

15. William Kennedy, *Annals of Aberdeen from the Reign of King William the Lion, to the end of the year 1818*, 2 vols (London, A. Brown and co., 1818), II, p.369.

16. CUL Syn8.62.58. The inscription on the titlepage reads: 'To the trewlie Noble

& Right Honourable my verie singular good Lord most respected My Lord Viscount of Lader-dail as a small token of most indeared affection & humble dewtie, with detbound reme[m]brance sendeth The Author William Guild’.

17. ‘The wills of Thomas Bassadyne and other printers &c. in Edinburgh 1577-1687’, *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, 3 vols (Edinburgh, Bannatyne Club, 1836), II, pp.186-296. [Bannatyne Club 19]

18. National Archives of Scotland, Commissary Court Records, Register of Testaments, CC8/8/57/149.

19. J.F. Kellas Johnstone and Alexander Webster Robertson, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis. Vol. 1. 1472-1640* (Aberdeen, Third Spalding Club, 1929), p.132. [Third Spalding Club 1-2]

20. W.W. Greg, *Licensers for the Press, &c to 1640* (Oxford: Oxford Bibliographical Society, 1962), p.39.

21. See *Aberdeen before 1800*, edited by E. Patricia Dennison, David Ditchburn and Michael Lynch (Phantassie, Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 393, for a breakdown of the places of printing of the library of Bishop William Gordon. It shows a considerable similarity to Guild’s library.

22. For a list of books printed in Scotland see Harry S. Aldis, *A List of Books printed in Scotland before 1700* (Edinburgh, National Library of Scotland, 1970).

23. St Andrews University ms 4017 (msZ921.StAC87). It was transcribed by R.V. Pringle in 1975, in the series Sources for Library History 3 and is only available in typescript.

24. Apart from the handful which have been identified elsewhere.

25. Alastair J. Mann, *The Scottish Book Trade 1500-1720* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2000), pp.37-40.

26. It appears to have been destroyed along with other documents in a fire in Aberdeen Sheriff Court in the nineteenth century.

27. Pringle’s Collection of College Papers [1699-1747], St Andrews University Muniments, UYSL 156, pp.184-85.

28. This presumably refers to the gift of a silver cup to St Mary’s College in 1628.

29. Shirrefs, pp.84-88.

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