

The Library of Captain John Anderson, a seventeenth-century Glasgow Mariner

ROBERT MACLEAN

INTRODUCTION

Books have long been central to life aboard ship. Practical texts aided navigation, helped regulate life at sea, and explained shipboard ordnance and gunnery. Other less nautically specialised books were stowed too, for recreation, entertainment, and for physical, mental, and spiritual welfare.¹ Book ownership became increasingly widespread during the seventeenth century when, '[t]o read and to write — as a merchant, skipper, or artisan — was to prosper.'² Yet, the history of early modern mariners' reading, and book ownership remains relatively understudied.

Early modern mariners have often been dismissed as illiterate or poorly educated, with shipboard life assumed to have required just oral communication, intuition, and memory.³ New research is challenging these long-held assumptions.⁴ Margaret E. Schotte has recently written on the practical maritime navigational texts which proliferated from the sixteenth century onwards, a category not previously critically analysed.⁵ Her study demonstrates the quantity, variety, complexity, and geographical spread of such literature. She has examined evidence for navigation education and has considered the different ways in which these texts were used. She concludes that sailors were 'better educated and more technically adroit than their reputation leads us to expect'.⁶ Studies by Vincent Patarino and by Richard Blakemore evidence considerable and increasing literacy rates of seventeenth-century English mariners. Patarino found that in the period 1603–1638, 37% of mariners and 63% of officers were capable of signing their names in High Court of the Admiralty documents, increasing to 76% and 94% respectively in the period 1650–1676.⁷ In a separate study of similar documents from the 1640s, Blakemore showed that 90% of masters and mates, and 72% of other officers and mariners could sign their names.⁸ The ability to sign one's name is only a rough index, yet these surprisingly high rates may even underestimate reading literacy, given some people unable to sign their name were likely to have been able to read.⁹

Many seventeenth-century mariners were literate, and many would have owned books but locating evidence of which texts they owned and how they were used or read can be difficult.¹⁰ Identifying surviving copies of these books is even rarer.¹¹ David Pearson's ongoing project, *Book Owners Online*, now offers biographical entries for more than 2600 British sixteenth- to eighteenth-century book owners. While entries are unsurprisingly dominated by clerics, lawyers,

gentry, and physicians, there are also a small number of entries for mariners. Most are very senior naval officers, identified as book owners from armorial bookplates attributed to them. The extent or contents of their libraries is seldom known, and examples of surviving books are scarce.¹²

The recent discovery that more than a hundred volumes purchased by the University of Glasgow Library in 1693 once belonged to John Anderson, a seventeenth-century Glasgow ship master, therefore offers us a rare opportunity to examine an early modern mariner's library.¹³ This article will show that far from just the practical navigational texts one might expect, Anderson also owned a rich collection of literature, history, politics, and theology in multiple languages, suggesting a well-educated and sophisticated reader. Annotations and provenance evidence within many of the books attest to their having circulated within maritime communities.

DISCOVERY

Captain Anderson's books are listed in two corresponding documents: the first, a creased, folded and closely-written invoice of 'Books bought of Capt. Anderson 1693', which includes titles, authors, places and dates of publication, format, and price paid.¹⁴ The second — a fair copy of the invoice — lists the same books (author, title and format only) copied neatly into a ledger of library acquisitions with the given title, 'Books bought that belonged to Captain Anderson 1693'.¹⁵ Encountering these documents for the first time several years ago, I was struck by the richness of the list.¹⁶ In literature, it includes, Gower's *Confessio amantis* (52), Spenser's *Faerie queene* (100), More's *Utopia* (74), Burton's *Anatomy of melancholy* (14), Coryat's *Crudities* (26), Harrington's English translation of *Orlando furioso* (3), Spanish language editions of Cervantes and Quevedo (21 and 88), and the popular Latin romance *Argenis* by John Barclay (6).¹⁷ The list contains medical works, dictionaries, grammars, sermons, travel guides, histories, and a range of practical works of navigation and applied mathematics. Anderson even owned an incunable (15). In nearly two decades of working with the University of Glasgow Library collections, I had never encountered Captain Anderson as a known provenance. Who was he to have owned such a rich and diverse collection of books? What sort of 'captain' might he have been? Answering this would take several years, the assistance of many colleagues, and luck.¹⁸

The first step in identifying the mysterious Captain Anderson was to identify his books within the Archives and Special Collections (ASC) 'Old Library collection'.¹⁹ Luckily the invoice's comprehensive bibliographical detail permitted the specific copy to be located for many titles. Even more luckily some fifteen books were found to contain the name 'John Anderson', signed in a clear hand with a distinctive flourish, providing a likely first name.²⁰ A few Captain John Andersons emerged as possibilities. His identity as the Glasgow ship master and merchant John Anderson (active 1662-ca. 1695), was confirmed by matching the autograph

in the books with signed Court of Session documents located at National Records of Scotland.²¹

CAPTAIN JOHN ANDERSON

Anderson appears prominently in the earliest published history of Glasgow, John McUre's 1736, *A View of Glasgow*. He is listed among a distinguished group of merchants who formed a joint-stock company to build a soap works, acquiring several ships '[to] carry on a great trade towards the straits, and the Greenland fishing'.²² Some historians have concluded that these activities — fishing and mercantile — were directed northwards, perhaps understanding that the 'straits' were those between Greenland and Iceland (the Denmark Strait).²³ However, the 'straits' was a common early modern term for the Mediterranean passage, and McUre was certainly referring to the Straits of Gibraltar.²⁴ The ships Anderson mastered were not whalers but armed merchantmen involved in the southern European trade. Indeed, McUre elsewhere describes Anderson as commander and co-owner of the *Providence of Glasgow*, the first ship to import the sweet Spanish wine 'sack' to the city.²⁵

Scotland enjoyed a regular trade with Iberia during the second half of the seventeenth century, with Glasgow the key Scottish port. What it lacked in volume — there being only a small number of ships involved — it made up for in luxury: the key Iberian imports were high-end household goods like wine, citrus fruits, figs, raisins, and olive oil.²⁶ Claire McLoughlin has recently conducted the first major study of early modern commercial links between Scotland and Iberia. She identified forty-five vessels which left Glasgow for Iberian ports between 1666 and 1696, with forty-seven arrivals during the same period.²⁷ John Anderson was one of a small number of veteran and popular masters McLoughlin connected with the Iberian trade.²⁸

The Glasgow port books, which recorded duty paid on goods passing through, are very useful sources in tracing some of Anderson's activities. He first appears in August of 1667, listed as the master of the *Providence of Glasgow* sailing for Spain carrying barrels of salmon, candles, casks of butter and packs of Yorkshire cloth for the merchant Ninian Anderson.²⁹ In May of 1670 he is recorded again, returning from Cadiz with fifty-five butts of sack for John Anderson of Dowhill, the elder. Three months later he and the *Providence* embarked for Spain once more, with candles and cloth for the same merchant. And then in October 1672 he sailed for Cadiz with Irish beef and butter, cloth, candles, salmon, and Polish timber planks.³⁰

Anderson and his partners were not solely interested in the southern European trade. The port books record him mastering the *Providence* to the Caribbean islands in January 1672, carrying barrels of Irish beef, candles, Spanish wine, packs of cloth, gloves, shoes, knives, and other household goods.³¹ He returned from Antigua that September with loaves of tobacco (partly damaged in transit), muscovado sugar and indigo.³² If not the first transatlantic voyage by a ship 'of

Glasgow', it was one of the earliest recorded.³³ Notably, he and his partners were even more ambitious: court documents indicate £200 sterling was laid out to a 'Mr Foulis in London' (possibly James Foulis, Treasurer of the Royal Scottish Corporation), to outfit a proposed voyage by the co-partnership to Guinea in West Africa.³⁴ While the documents tell us the Guinean voyage never took place, and we do not know the proposed details, the Caribbean voyage certainly did with the imported tobacco and sugar likely produced by enslaved people. With Glasgow's recent examination of civic and institutional connections to — and legacies of — chattel slavery, Anderson and his partners are worthy of attention as key players in what Stephen Mullen has termed, 'Glasgow's embryonic Atlantic domestic economy'.³⁵

Captain Anderson's mercantile ventures would ultimately end in failure and an acrimonious dispute with his co-partners in the Court of Session (cf. endnote 25). His written testimony to the court is fascinating. In a dispute over unpaid wages, he submitted a 'Condisendance [...] of his voyages and lyfe paines and his travel in the service of the Soaperie companie of Glasgow'.³⁶ In it he carefully outlined his itinerary and his 'continuall hazard' for a forty-two-month period between April 1676 (the month after he became a partner) and September 1679. Most of this time was spent at sea or abroad:

April to May 1676: in the ship *Beattie* from Glasgow to Holland importing Dutch goods.³⁷

June to September 1676: in the *Providence* [destination unstated].³⁸

October 1676 to April 1677: in Ireland overseeing collection of timber to be used in soap boiling.

May to August 1677: in Ireland dressing and loading the ship the *George of Glasgow* (including with Dutch imports) and sourcing timber for the ship the company was then building, placing Anderson 'in hazard of being killed or robbed by the tories [i.e., bandits/woodkern] in [the] woods.'

September 1677: in the *George* from Waterford to Cadiz (selling Dutch goods), where he was involved in a trade dispute with the buyer, resolved by the Governor.

Late 1677 to early 1678: from Cadiz to Tangier (selling wine), to Malaga (selling beef), Alicante, and Genoa (selling Dutch and Spanish goods), where he was involved in another trade dispute resolved after a lawsuit. To avoid pirates the *George* travelled in convoy with other vessels. To keep pace, they worked night and day loading and unloading, placing Anderson at risk of mutiny from an overworked crew.

February to July 1678: from Genoa to Livorno (selling Dutch goods), to Naples and to Taranto and back. This was all done without the safety of convoy, again angering the crew, and placing Anderson at risk of mutiny.

Late 1678 and early 1679: goods were purchased in Genoa for the Iberian market and the *George* returned, without convoy, via Alicante, Malaga, Cadiz, and Lisbon.

Early 1679: Italian goods were landed in Lisbon but achieved a poor price. With the proceeds the hold was half loaded with corn, the remaining space used for freighting other merchants' goods, and the *George* set out for St. Michael's Island in the 'Western Islands' (presumably São Miguel in the Azores). Anderson tells us it was 'a most dangerous voyadge sailing without convoy wee were above 16 tymes putt to sea from our anchors on life and death and at last being leaded having lost all our cables and anchors except one wee arrived in Cadiz'.³⁹

April 1679: the *George* arrived back in Waterford, Ireland. The cannons were removed, loaded onto the *Lyon*, newly built, with the former then sailing on to Danzig laden with salt, while Anderson sailed the new ship back to Glasgow.⁴⁰

This lengthy voyage was a financial disaster for the company, compounding losses incurred by the *Providence* in an earlier voyage to Spain.⁴¹ Anderson's partners blamed him for mismanaging the voyage and in 1680 the co-partnership was dissolved, with Sir George Maxwell of Newark replacing him as partner.⁴² In 1684 Anderson raised a process in the Court of Session on money he claimed was owed to him by the 'Soaperie' company, and then in 1685 a further process on money owed to him by the *Providence* company. His erstwhile partners counter-sued for money they claimed he owed. The competing bills were heard together by Lord Saline, who appointed two Glasgow baillies to examine and audit the accounts. The case was resolved in early 1687 with mixed results for Captain Anderson, who was judged liable for an eighth part of £29,653.12.6 Scots debt on the *Providence* but eligible for an eighth part of the value of 153 butts of wine.⁴³

Anderson's footprints in the historical record then become fainter. He continued as ship master in the years immediately following his departure from the 'Soaperie' company, but the losses incurred and ongoing dispute with his ex-partners seems to have taken a toll.⁴⁴ In 1686, in one of his submissions during the court case, he complained of delays caused by the main defendant John Anderson of Dowhill, the younger, and pleaded with the Lords of Session to appoint auditors to allow the case to proceed:

Otherways I will still more & more be postponed and at last forced to quyte & overgive my just interest rather than to be still attending & losing both my tyme & trade & at last wasting by vast expenss at court any small stock I have yet to the fair. And in the end ruined, which is Dowhills only designe & which in all companies he comes in he vouws & brags of he shall bring me to.⁴⁵

It is difficult to be certain quite how financially damaging the affair was for Captain Anderson. However, it is notable that in the years immediately following 1680, he was elected to the Glasgow Town Council as Master of Works, a salaried role for a 'respectable, though [financially] decayed merchant'.⁴⁶

The date and circumstances of Captain Anderson's death (as with his birth and early years), remain uncertain.⁴⁷ A 1727 document detailing the passage of the

‘Soaperie’ company’s stock offers the last traced mention, stating he passed his shares in the company to his brother, William, in 1695.⁴⁸ In the years before the transfer, the same document shows various decreets of adjudication raised against the shares by creditors including, in 1693, John Anderson of Dowhill, the younger, and John Leckie, for a sum exceeding £12,000 Scots.⁴⁹ This is the same year Anderson’s books were sold to the University Library, which might imply he was in financial difficulty and needed to sell the books to raise funds.⁵⁰

ANDERSON’S LIBRARY: OVERVIEW

The Court of Session documents — particularly Anderson’s detailed three-and-a-half-year ‘Condiscendance’ — offer valuable biographical context for assessing his book collection. We can see where he travelled, the sorts of challenges he confronted, and we can infer the types of texts which might have proved useful. With that insight much of his collection looks practical in nature, either attending to the specifics of navigation and defence of the ship, or supplying the language tools and the geographical, historical, legal, and political information to allow him to live and operate far from home. It is clear from internal copy-specific evidence that he acquired many of his books on his travels and from within mercantile and maritime communities. Some of these copies would likely have accompanied him aboard ship, though perhaps not all simultaneously.

In 1693, University of Glasgow Library purchased 109 titles which had belonged to Captain Anderson. It is not known whether this comprised his entire library, or just a selection; a closer study of these survivors as a collection is nevertheless instructive.⁵¹ Most of Anderson’s books are in English or partially in English (67%), most were published in England (61%), and while he owned books published over a long period of time, the single largest group were new — published in the second half of the seventeenth century (37%). Yet, we also see a significant minority in Latin or partly in Latin (31%), implying Anderson had at least some Latin literacy, with a small number (of usually grammars or dictionaries) in other vernaculars. We also see a minority of older books in Anderson’s collection: a single incunable and several sixteenth-century editions (23%). The quantity of English language books in the collection is remarkable at a time where many libraries were still dominated by Latin books. By point of contrast, some 75% of the library of Anderson’s near contemporary, physician Sir Robert Sibbald (1641-1723), was in Latin, while just a combined 7% of the books of surgeon, Thomas Kincaid (1620-1691), were published in anglophone countries.⁵² 59% of the books previously owned by University of Glasgow regent, John Tran (d. 1704), purchased by the University after Tran’s death, were in Latin.⁵³ And of the 143 titles other than Anderson’s purchased by the University Library in 1693, 62% were Latin.⁵⁴

Anderson’s collection is varied — the largest groupings are religious books (17 titles), literature (17 titles), mathematics and navigation (13 titles), politics and government (12 titles) and languages (11 titles). The long tail of other genres

includes history and anthropology (9 titles), astronomy and astrology (6 titles), philosophy (5 titles), description and travel (5 titles), medicine (4 titles), military (3 titles), practical manuals (3 titles), law (2 titles) and witchcraft and demonology (2 titles).

A MARINER'S LIBRARY

The collection is, unsurprisingly, well represented by navigation texts. Notable titles include Bourne's *A regiment for the sea* (13), Collins's *Navigation by the mariners plain scale* (23) and Phillippes's *The geometrical sea-man* (79). He also owned works of geometry and applied mathematics including texts Adams and Waters specifically identify as sought by mariners, like Blundeville's *Exercises* (11), Gunter's *Works* (54), and Pitiscus's *Trigonometriae* (80).⁵⁵ With celestial navigation key to seamanship it is also unsurprising to find astronomical works by Ptolemy and others (64, 85, 86). Maps are represented by a copy of Blaeu's work on the use of globes (9) and a very interesting copy of Blome's *A geographical description of the four parts of the world* with fold-out maps (10). The maps are well worn — the failing folds of some repaired with offcuts from Anderson's invoices pasted to the rear. One repair-fragment mentions hops and prunes, another mentions barrels of wine and payments to 'old Dowhill', i.e., Anderson's one-time partner, John Anderson of Dowhill, the elder. A final invoice fragment mentions raisins, hilts for dirks, and strop leathers and has the date 1692, implying at least some of these repairs were made shortly before the book was sold.⁵⁶

Anderson's copy of Speidell's *A geometricall extraction* (99) is worth discussing in more detail. Firstly, the text is followed by several pages of handwritten mathematical notes and calculations in what appears to be Anderson's handwriting indicating use of the text in navigation, or use of the text in learning.⁵⁷ Secondly, it is the third item bound into a curious Sammelband. The first item is James VI and I's *Daemonologie* (61) and the second is Roberts's *Compleat Canonier or Gunners Guide* (92). Life at sea in the seventeenth century was dangerous with storms and piracy a recurrent threat.⁵⁸ The ships Anderson mastered were armed with cannon, so the inclusion of Roberts's work makes perfect sense. Indeed, Anderson also owned a copy of Eldred's *The gunners glasse* (37) and Du Praissac's *Art of warre, or Militarie discourses* (35). While the binding of the *Daemonologie* alongside these two — more immediately practical — nautical texts might not make sense at first, it perhaps does when we factor in the long association of witches with storm-raising and sinking ships.⁵⁹ Incidentally, James's *Daemonologie* was not the only book on witchcraft owned by Anderson — he also had a copy of Scot's *The discoverie of witchcraft* (95). It is also notable that several of Anderson's books have markings made with a compass carved onto the bindings. In the case of *The gunners glasse* (37), they take the form of a hexafoil, a six-petalled star within a circle; in the case of Blaeu's *Institutio astronomica de usu globorum* (9) the form of concentric circles, and in a few other cases, more straightforward circles (see 23, 54, and 79). It is likely that some, if

not all, of these markings were apotropaic in function, added to ward off evil and offer the book and perhaps the user some spiritual protection.⁶⁰ The inclusion of several astrological works in Anderson's collection, including Ramesey's *Astrologia restaurata* (89) and Lilly's *Christian astrology* (69) are further reminders that practical texts for seventeenth-century mariners should be defined broadly.

Anderson was both master and supercargo on his voyages. The supercargo was responsible for buying and selling goods, meaning that they had to understand the mercantile culture of the ports they visited, and be able to communicate.⁶¹ We can see a whole range of texts which were likely used by Anderson to support these activities.

He owned several encyclopaedic works providing mariners with useful advice and background context, for example Roberts's *The merchants mappe of commerce* (93) and Heylyn's *Cosmographie in four books* (56). Narrative works giving accounts of historical voyages and travels were also useful, and Anderson owned a copy of Purchas's *Pilgrimes* (87) and Coryate's *Crudities* (26).⁶² He also owned books on specific locations including: Poland — Gwagnin's *Polonorum regem rerum Polonicarum* (55); Germany — Lazius's *De gentium aliquot migrationibus* (65); Rome — Ferrare du Tot's *Rome exactly describ'd* (43); Venice — Fougasses' *Generall historie of the magnificent State of Venice* (45); Portugal — Correia's *Lusitaniae captivitas ...* (25); the Ottoman Empire — Rycaut's *The present state of the Ottoman Empire* (94); the West Indies — Acosta's *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies* (1); and America — Morton's *New-Englands memoriall* (75). Material clues within some of these works offer extra insights. Anderson's copy of Coryate's *Crudities* (26) contains a range of early marginal notes in Spanish, including an ownership inscription of English sea captain Giles Penn (d. 1656): 'este libros es da Giles Penn que dios guarde'. Penn contributed to the development of English trade with the Mediterranean and North Africa during the 1630s.⁶³ While he almost certainly died too early for the book to have passed directly from him to Anderson, it is notable that the work continued to circulate within the Anglo-Scoto-Iberian maritime community. Anderson's copy of *The merchants mappe of commerce* (93) contains marginalia discussing Rhodes and Crete and has a gift inscription to Anderson from a 'Conventus S. Georgij'. Quite where this religious house might have been or why they gave the book to him is open to question. And does Anderson's ownership of *New-Englands memoriall* (75) imply he sailed to America? It is certainly possible; however, the copy contains an inscription confirming it was bought in Boston in 1669 for a Captain John Hughes of Nevis, so it is plausible Anderson acquired it during his Caribbean voyage.⁶⁴

Communicating while overseas was vital and to that end Anderson owned a range of dictionaries and grammars in languages including: French — Delbrun's *Les liaisons de la Langue françoise avec la latine* (31); Italian — Florio's *Queen Anna's nev vworld of words, or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues* (44) and Le Doux's *Schola Italica* (66); Greek — Viger's *De praecipuis Graecae dic-*

tionis idiotismis (109) and Spanish and Portuguese: Howell's *A new English grammar, prescribing as certain rules as the languages will bear for forreners to learn English* (58) and Perceval and Minsheu's *A dictionary in Spanish and English* (78). The Iberian dictionaries are particularly interesting since both are filled with additional provenance and signs of use indicating circulation within the Anglo-Scoto-Iberian maritime and mercantile community. Perceval and Minsheu's dictionary bears autographs of a 'George Pley', 'George Seymon' and the possibly related 'Mary' and 'Sara Deane'. Yet it also includes a range of Spanish names including 'Don Deago Cammearo', 'Pedro Pusman' and 'Juan Pendarues'. The name 'Malaga' appears scribbled in various places and, charmingly, the hull of a ship has been penned on a blank leaf. The last of the Spanish names 'Juan Pendarues', dated to 1655, is of interest since Claire McLoughlin reports a 'James Pendarues' acting as consul for British merchants in Malaga in 1681, raising the possibility that they are the same person, or at least may have been related.⁶⁵ Howell's *A new English grammar* (58), which includes Spanish and Portuguese glossaries, is similarly marked. It contains autographs of 'Thomas Whitmoor', 'John Willeby', 'Thomas Crispe' and, intriguingly, a 'William Anderson', though whether this is Captain Anderson's brother/first mate, William, it is not possible to say.⁶⁶ Captain John Anderson, himself, notes that the book was given to him in Lisbon in February 1675 by an 'Elizabeth Wattling' providing us evidence of another of his Iberian voyages unrecorded elsewhere (cf. endnote 27).

The many Latin books in Anderson's collection suggests he was proficient in the language, yet he possessed several grammars and textbooks pointing to efforts at improvement including Bartelon's *Prosodia* (7), Carpentier's *Elegantiorum Latinae linguae orationum* (18), and the *Prima pars grammaticae* of Linlithgow schoolmaster, James Kirkwood (63). Of note is his copy of Alvari's *De institutione grammatica* (2), published in Genoa in 1674. Examples of this edition are scarce, and it seems likely that he acquired it when visiting Genoa in 1677–1678, if not on an earlier voyage.⁶⁷ Anderson's periodic trade disputes and encounters with the law at home and abroad (including in Genoa) would certainly have benefitted from a sound knowledge of Latin. And in Lorient's *In titulum illum, de Gradibus affinitatis* (71) and Cucchi's *Institutionum juris canonici* (28), Anderson owned law texts to aid him in navigating troubled legal waters.

By the early seventeenth century texts offering specifically maritime medical advice were available, and the largest merchant vessels increasingly had their own medic aboard.⁶⁸ However, many mid seventeenth-century merchant ships had no surgeon. Whether any of Anderson's voyages employed a ship's doctor or surgeon is not known but he owned a few general medical texts which could have proved useful aboard ship. He had a copy of Crooke's anatomical atlas *Mikrokosmographia* (27), *The art of distillation* by physician and iatrochemist, John French (46), the medical compilation *Hidden treasures of the art of physick* (103), and the more surgical *Mellificium chirurgiae*, by James Cooke (24). And while Burton's *The anatomy of melancholy* (14) is perhaps as much a literary work as a

medical one, it may have been seen by Anderson as another practical tool in maintaining his and his crew's health and equilibrium at sea.

Anderson owned many literary works in English, Latin and Spanish. The chivalric tradition is well represented, with, in verse, Spenser's epic *The faerie queene* (100) and Harrington's translation of Ariosto's *Orlando furioso* (3); and in prose, Duverdier's *The love and armes of the Greeke princes* (36), Barclay's *Argenis* in the original Latin (6) and — albeit more satirically — the English translation of Sorel's *The comical history of Francion* (98) and Cervantes' *Don Quixote* (21). He seems to have had an interest in poetry which explored historical themes, with copies of Gower's *Confessio amantis* (52), Drayton's *Englands heroicall epistles* (33) and Heywood's *The hierarchie of the blessed angels* (57). An interest in classical literature can be seen with Henri Estienne's *Annotationes in Sophoclem et Euripidem* (40) and Calderini's commentary on Martial's epigrams (15). Anderson's ownership of More's *Utopia* (74) perhaps indicates an interest in broader questions of politics, governance, and philosophy, and it is notable that he also owned Rapin's *The comparison of Plato and Aristotle* (90), Epicurus (38), and various mirrors for princes (17, 53 and 97).

While most of Anderson's literature is in English, he owned Spanish language copies of *Don Quixote* (21) and Quevedo's *Obras* (88), both likely acquired overseas. He signed his name in both works, a sense of his personality and perhaps his affinity with Spain coming through in the case of the latter, where he rendered himself 'Juan Anderson', rather than the usual 'John'. Anderson was clearly sufficiently versed in Spanish to read and enjoy these works, and an inscription in another of his books may point to a culture of lending and borrowing books between merchants or seamen. On the rear endleaf of Anderson's copy of *Thomas Campanella an Italian friar and second Machiavel. His advice to the King of Spain ...* (17) is the note, 'This is a pladg for don Quikshot from Ra pilkington'. Ralph Pilkington, who signed his name again elsewhere in the volume, may have offered this work as a pledge — collateral — in borrowing Anderson's *Don Quixote* (21).

While many of Anderson's books were acquired on his travels, others clearly circulated in Scotland for many years before he owned them, and his copy of Gower's *Confessio amantis* (52) is a good example.⁶⁹ The volume is full of early Scottish provenance including the names 'William Wood', 'John Burdin', 'George Drummond', 'James Mowatt' and 'John Maxwell', with some early Scots song lyrics or verse penned in the margins. Two further early owners associated with the copy can be identified: Thomas Buchanan (active 1575), a Stirling schoolmaster who signed his name on the titlepage; and James Dougall (active 1640-1661) who identified himself as Deacon of the Incorporation of Gardeners of Glasgow when signing his ownership inscription.⁷⁰

Claire McLoughlin has noted that Scots involved in the Iberian trade have historically been thought 'run-away Catholics'. She is keen to challenge this idea, insisting that the evidence instead indicates Scottish merchants 'cared far more about maintaining a good profit margin than unrealistic ideals regarding re-

ligion.⁷¹ Pinning down Anderson's confessional leanings from his book collection is not straightforward. He owned several books by Catholic authors or presenting Catholic viewpoints: for example, the Jesuit Robert Parsons' *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of Inghland* (77), Gaultier's history of the Catholic Church (49) and Dominican Bernabé Gallego de Vera's *Controversiae artium in defensionem doctrinae Angelici* (48). Yet, most of Anderson's expressly religious books are Protestant texts by Protestant authors. Some are by Anglican writers, like Babington (4), Jewel (62), Downname (32) and Casaubon (20); however, many others are by more Calvinist, or 'Godly', writers including de Bèze (8), Calvin (16), Stockton (101), Baillie (5) and McWard (73). It is notable that some of Anderson's 'Soaperie' company partners, including the merchant John Anderson of Dowhill, the younger, and Sirs George and John Maxwell of Pollock, exercised the Scottish Privy Council for their covenanter leanings, all being summoned for conventielling.⁷² Yet other 'Soaperie' partners, like John Bell, were confirmed Episcopalians and supporters of the Restoration establishment. As William Scott Shepherd notes, 'Glasgow men of all parties seemed to be able to abandon deep-seated differences in politics and religion to cooperate joyfully in making profit.'⁷³

CONCLUSION

Anderson's collection offers a glimpse into the interests and concerns of a seventeenth-century Scottish mariner. It is perhaps unsurprisingly practical in nature yet also surprisingly broad. The richness and range of literature, philosophy, and politics in particular — in multiple languages — implies Anderson was an educated and enquiring person. When considered together with his Court of Session evidence, a picture emerges of a capable man nearly as comfortable in the streets and markets of Lisbon as he was on the dockside at Port Glasgow.

While projects like Pearson's *Book Owners Online* are increasingly shedding light on book culture beyond the traditional early modern elites, discovering a surviving collection like Anderson's, that is also so well supported by archival biographical evidence, is surely a rare occurrence. The internal material evidence and patterns of provenance within the books indicate heavy use and circulation within mercantile and maritime communities. If Anderson's collection is typical of a mariner's library, perhaps our lack of knowledge of early mariners' books is a consequence of their utility: books which were used heavily until exchanged, sold, accidentally left in an overseas port, or read to destruction.⁷⁴ Had Anderson not had to sell his books to raise funds, it is possible his rich and varied library would not have survived.

NOTES AND REFERENCES

- ¹ Harry R. Skallerup, *Books Afloat & Ashore: A History of Books, Libraries, and Reading Among Seamen During the Age of Sail* (Hamden, Conn., Archon Books, 1974), p. 2. For examples of maritime books see, Thomas R. Adams, 'The beginnings of Maritime Publishing in England, 1528-1640' in *The Library*, Vol. s6-14 (3), Sept. 1992, pp. 207–220; and Thomas R. Adams and David W. Waters, *English Maritime Books Printed Before 1801 Relating to Ships, Their Construction And Their Operation At Sea* (Providence R.I.; Greenwich, The John Carter Brown Library and The National Maritime Museum, 1995).
- ² Andrew Pettegree & Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World: Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven; London, Yale University Press, 2019), p. 154. Pettegree & der Weduwen refer here to the Netherlands, but it is also surely true for Scotland. On the role of seventeenth-century Scottish masters in e.g., safely navigating ship and crew overseas and acting as supercargo to freight and sell cargoes for the best price, see T.C. Smout, *Scottish Trade on the Eve of Union, 1660–1707* (Edinburgh; London, Oliver & Boyd, 1963), pp. 56–57.
- ³ See Richard J. Blakemore, 'Orality and Mutiny: Authority and Speech amongst the Seafarers of Early Modern London' in *Spoken Word and Social Practice*, ed. by Thomas V. Cohen and Lesley K. Twomey (Leiden: Brill, 2015), pp. 262–3; and Margaret E. Schotte, *Sailing School: Navigating Science and Skill, 1550–1800*, (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 2019), pp. 5–8.
- ⁴ For other recent research on the topic, see e.g., Hélène Richard, 'Libraries: Shipboard Collections' in *The Oxford Encyclopedia of Maritime History*, ed. by John B. Hattendorf, tr. by Frédéric Potter (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), Vol. 2, pp. 364–366; and the Palgrave Maritime Literature and Culture series, especially, *Shipboard Literary Cultures: Reading, Writing, and Performing at Sea* ed. by Susann Liebich and Laurence Publicover (Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) [with thanks to Christian Algar of the British Library for his thoughts on this topic].
- ⁵ Schotte, p. 5.
- ⁶ Schotte, p. 6.
- ⁷ Vincent V. Patarino, 'The Religious Shipboard Culture of Sixteenth and Seventeenth Century English Sailors', in *The Social History of English Seamen, 1489–1649*, ed. by Cheryl Fury (Woodbridge, Boydell & Brewer, 2012), pp. 176–181.
- ⁸ Richard J. Blakemore, *The London and Thames Maritime Community during the British Civil Wars, 1640–1649* (2013). PhD thesis, University of Cambridge. pp. 41–42.
- ⁹ Blakemore (2015), p. 263.
- ¹⁰ Lists of seventeenth-century mariners' books are offered by: Cyril Ernest Kenney, 'The Library of Captain Sturmy' in *The Quadrant and the Quill: a book written in honour of Captain Samuel Sturmy "a tried and trusted Sea-man," and author of The Mariner's Magazine 1669* (London, [s.n.], 1944), pp. 125–164; and Christian Algar, 'Books with Providence: The Power and Influence of Book Ownership on a Seventeenth-Century-Man-of-War' in *Shipboard Literary Cultures: Reading, Writing, and Performing at Sea* ed. by Susann Liebich and Laurence Publicover (Cham, Switzerland, Palgrave Macmillan, 2021) pp. 41–62. There are also book lists of merchant adventurers: R.J. Fehrenbach, 'Nathaniel Brading. Merchant Adventurer. Owner's Inventory. 1645.' [PRLE 275] in *Private Libraries in Renaissance England: A Collection and Catalogue of Tudor and Early Stuart Book-Lists*, ed. by R.J. Fehrenbach and Joseph L. Black (Tempe, Az., Arizona Center for Medieval and Renaissance Studies, 2017), Vol. IX, pp. 309–317; and in a Scottish context, David Wedderburn, *The Compt Buik of David Wedderburne, Merchant of Dundee 1587–1630...* ed. by A. H. Millar (Edinburgh, Scottish History Society, 1898), p. xxxi. [with thanks to Theo Van

Heijnsbergen, University of Glasgow, for this reference].

¹¹ Janet Dickinson has recently analysed bindings (the texts destroyed by water) excavated from a seventeenth-century wreck, see 'Drowned books and ghost books. Making sense of the finds from a seventeenth-century shipwreck off the Dutch island of Texel' in *The Seventeenth Century*, Vol. 38, Issue 1, 2023, pp. 49–85.

¹² See David Pearson, *Book Owners Online* <https://www.bookowners.online/Main_Page>. See, for example, entries for: Richard Haddock (ca.1629–1715), Charles Bertie (1641–1711), James Moodie (1645–1725), Hugh Raymond (1674–1737), Kenneth Sutherland (d.1734), Augustus Fitzroy (1716–1741), Frederick Cornwall (1706–1788) and Thomas Frankland (1718–1784). A handful of George Carteret's (1610?–1680) books survive. A sale catalogue listing the library of Joseph Embree (d.1716?), possibly an East India Company mariner, survives at the British Library [Last accessed 23 Oct 2023].

¹³ I will use the terms 'skipper' and 'ship master' interchangeably, though the latter seems to be the most used term in seventeenth-century Scotland for those captaining a ship.

¹⁴ GUA 58021/11/18 [with thanks to Moira Rankin, University of Glasgow ASC, for directing me to this bundle].

¹⁵ GUA 26778, pp. 89–92.

¹⁶ All books owned by Anderson are listed in the appendix. Specific titles mentioned are accompanied by their appendix number in brackets.

¹⁷ Captain Anderson's prior ownership of the *Confessio amantis* was first noted in 1977, see John Durkan, 'The Early History of Glasgow University Library: 1475–1710' in *Bibliotheca: A Scottish Journal of Bibliography and Allied Topics* 8 (1977). p. 124.

¹⁸ See endnotes for acknowledgments. Additionally, I'd like to thank Julie Gardham, University of Glasgow ASC, and Willy Maley, University of Glasgow, for

reading the manuscript and offering corrections and advice. I would also like to thank Richard J. Blakemore, University of Reading, the peer reviewer for this article, for his encouragement and advice.

¹⁹ The Old Library collection 'comprises the 20,000 or so books acquired by the Library by the end of the 18th century', see *Old Library* <<https://www.gla.ac.uk/myglasgow/archivespecialcollections/discover/specialcollectionsa-z/oldlibrary/>> [Last accessed 6 March 2023]. By 1691 the University Library probably held circa 4,200 volumes. See Stephen Rawles, 'The 1691 Shelf Catalogue — A snapshot of an Academic Library at the End of the Seventeenth Century' in *The University of Glasgow Library: Friendly Shelves* ed. Peter V. Davies et al. (Glasgow: Friends of Glasgow University Library, 2016), pp. 34–45.

²⁰ See Appendix: 17, 21, 22, 48, 52, 58, 61, 67, 78, 79, 88, 92, 93, 99, and 106.

²¹ Comparing autographs in those books mentioned in endnote 20 with Anderson's autograph in e.g., NRS CS226/126 (Petition for Captain John Anderson...).

²² John McUre, *A view of Glasgow* (Glasgow: printed by James Duncan, 1736), pp. 281–2. McUre claims the co-partnership built the *Lyon* (700 tons with 40 pieces of ordinance) in Belfast, and the *George*, and owned two further ships (cf. endnote 40). Anderson's partners are named as Sir George Maxwell of Pollock, Sir John Bell of Hamilton's Farm, John Campbell of Woodside, John Graham of Dougalston, John Anderson of Dowhill [whether elder or younger, not stated], John Luke of Claythorn, Ninian Anderson and James Colquhoun.

²³ On the company's trade focus being 'Greenland, and the extreme north of America and Russia', see, William Robert Scott, 'The Greenland Fishing and Soapworks Company, or The Glasgow Soaperie' in *The Constitution and Finance of English, Scottish and Irish Joint-Stock Companies to 1720* (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1911), vol. 3, p. 130–131. Following Scott, see Smout (1963), pp. 28, 50; and Gordon Jackson, 'Glasgow in

- Transition, c. 1660–c. 1740’ in *Glasgow* ed. by T. M. Devine and Gordon Jackson (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1995–1996), vol. 1, p. 79.
- ²⁴ With thanks to peer reviewer, Richard Blakemore, University of Reading, for confirming this.
- ²⁵ McUre, p. 207. Anderson was involved in two joint-stock companies with overlapping membership. The first was the co-ownership of the ship, *Providence*, which Captain Anderson and the Andersons of Dowhill commissioned to be built in Leith around 1662 (cf. NRS AC7/4 [19r–20r]). The second was the soap works (the ‘Soaperie’), active from 1674 with Captain Anderson a partner from 1676 (after which the *Providence* was sold). They were closely interconnected ventures, which eventually failed spectacularly with Captain Anderson and his partners suing each other in the Court of Session. See NRS CS186/28, NRS CS226/126, NRS RH15/52/5.
- ²⁶ Claire McLoughlin, *Scottish commercial contacts with the Iberian world, 1581–1730*. (2014). St Andrews University. PhD thesis. <https://research-repository.st-andrews.ac.uk/handle/10023/4525>, pp. 223–224.
- ²⁷ McLoughlin, p. 157. This may underestimate numbers since the port books are missing 1674–1679 and 1692–1694.
- ²⁸ McLoughlin, p. 162.
- ²⁹ NRS E72/10/1, [41v]. N.B. This voyage was overlooked by McLoughlin in her thesis (endnote 26). This was not the first appearance of the *Providence of Glasgow* in the port books; it is listed inbound from Spain in March 1666, outbound to Spain in September that year, then inbound in February 1667. The first of these voyages was skippered by John Brown and the second by John Scott. See NRS E72/10/1 [5r], [15v] and [36r]. These three voyages took place during the Second Anglo-Dutch War (March 1665 to July 1667), during which the *Providence*, as skippered by Scott, was given a letter of marque as a privateer. See Glasgow City Archives T-PM 107/7/20/4, [5v] and for more on Scottish privateers as opportunistic armed traders see Eric J. Graham, *A Maritime History of Scotland 1650–1790* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2002), p. 22.
- ³⁰ NRS E72/10/2 [5r and 19r], NRS E72/10/3(4) [10v and 11r].
- ³¹ NRS E72/10/3(1) [5v], [6v] and [7r].
- ³² NRS E72/10/3(4) [2r].
- ³³ Smout states the *Glasgow Merchant* was the first Glasgow ship to cross the Atlantic, also in 1672 (though notably in an earlier article he gives the date October 20 1670). See Smout (1963), p. 177; and T.C. Smout ‘The Development and Enterprise of Glasgow 1556–1707’ in *The Scottish Journal of Political Economy* (November 1959), pp. 208–209. Contrastingly, Graham suggests the *Rainbow of [Port] Glasgow* was the first Glasgow ship to undertake a transatlantic crossing, in February 1671. The English Navigation Acts and the Royal Burgh of Dumbarton’s policing of its foreign trade right prior to the founding of Port Glasgow in 1668 were barriers to Glasgow ships entering the Atlantic economy earlier. See Graham, pp. 37–44.
- ³⁴ See NRS CS186/28 (Information for John Leckie & Anderson of Dowhill Against Captain John Anderson). For more on James Foulis see McLoughlin, p. 181 and Justine Taylor, *A Cup of Kindness: The History of the Royal Scottish Corporation, a London Charity, 1603–2003* (East Linton, Tuckwell Press, 2003), p. 45.
- ³⁵ See Stephen Mullen, *Glasgow, Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: An Audit of Historic Connections and Modern Legacies* (Glasgow, Glasgow City Council, 2022), p. 37. Also see, Stephen Mullen and Simon Newman, *Slavery, abolition and the University of Glasgow. Report and recommendations of the University of Glasgow History of Slavery Steering Committee* (Glasgow, University of Glasgow, 2018). For an overview of the increasing westward focus of Scottish merchant activity during the seventeenth century see, T.M. Devine and Philipp R. Rossner, ‘Scots in the Atlantic Economy, 1600–1800’ in *Scotland and the British Empire* ed. by John M. Mackenzie and T. M. Devine (Oxford: OUP, 2011) pp. 30–53. Also see endnote 64.

³⁶ NRS CS226/126 (Condiscendance).

³⁷ On these voyages Anderson was to act as master, supercargo (the merchants' agent responsible for the cargo's safety and achieving the best price at market), and purser (responsible for disbursing pay to the crew). On the role of supercargo, see Graham, pp. 174-5. The *Beattie* was a ship newly acquired by the company and which was later lost with most its cargo of sack. See Glasgow City Archives T-PM 113/1012 and T-PM 114/13; and NRS CS 186/28 (Reply to Dowhill's Answers) [with thanks to Irene O'Brien and Barbara Neilson of Glasgow City Archives].

³⁸ The *Providence* was subsequently sold by the company. See NRS CS226/126 (Information for Captain John Anderson; and also NRS AC7/4 [19r-20r].

³⁹ I believe Anderson is saying that terrible storms forced them to cut the anchor rope repeatedly and that they were driven back to Cadiz. For a discussion of the dangers of winter sailing and the fact that long sea passages were often avoided between November and March, see Smout (1963), pp. 60-61.

⁴⁰ This document, alongside City Archives T-PM 113/578, confirms that *pace* McUre, the *Lyon*, was built in Waterford rather than Belfast (cf. endnote 22). For the reports of the cannons being swapped over see, *The Register of the Privy Council of Scotland* ed. and abr. By P. Hume Brown (Burlington, Ontario, Tanner Ritchie, 2009) series 3, vol. 6 pp. 273-4.

⁴¹ £20,000 Scots had been incurred before 1677, with overall debts closer to £30,000 Scots. See, NRS CS186/28 (Information for John Leckie & Anderson of Dowhill Against Captain John Anderson). The 'Soaperie' company's debts following the *George's* return from Spain in 1679 exceeded £50,000 Scots. See, Glasgow City Archives T-PM 129/11 (1 June 1680).

⁴² See NRS RH/52/5 and Glasgow City Archives T-PM 129/11 (26 July 1680).

⁴³ NRS CS186/28 and NRS226/126; also see, [1687] 3 Brn 609, 'Captain John Anderson v Anderson of Dowhill and

Lecky' in 'Decisions Of The Lords Of Council and Session, reported by Sir John Lauder Of Fountainhall' via British and Irish Legal Information Institute (BAILII) Scottish Court of Session Decisions <https://www.bailii.org/scot/cases/ScotCS/1687/Brn030609-0936.html> [Last accessed 21 March 2023] [with thanks to Kit Baston, University of Glasgow, for helping interpret these documents].

⁴⁴ He was likely the master of the *Elizabeth of Glasgow* inbound from St Martins in France with sack, brandy, hops etc for George Maxwell, Hugh Nisbett, and himself in April 1681. See, NRS E72/19/1. And he was commissioned by Sir John Maxwell to purchase a charter chest while away in Danzig on another trip in August 1681. See, Glasgow City Archives T-PM 129/11 (29 Aug 1681).

⁴⁵ NRS CS226/126 (Petition for Captain John Anderson).

⁴⁶ *The Glasgow register: Being an exact list of the magistrates, and other office-bearers in that city...* (Glasgow: Bryce, 1781), pp. 9, 27. He was elected to the council again in 1686. A legal dispute heard before the Scottish Admiralty Court in 1686 between Anderson and the heirs of Quentin Hamilton, a young man apprenticed to him 1677-1684, attempting to recoup £188 Scots for 'cloathes and necessars' Captain Anderson had paid upfront also points to his financial struggles. See NRS AC7/7 [pp. 204-222].

⁴⁷ I have been unable to determine Anderson's birth details. His name was common in seventeenth-century Glasgow with three notable Anderson merchant families active (viz. Andersons of Stobcross, Woodside, and Dowhill). Glasgow City Archivist, Richard Dell, suggested Captain Anderson and his brother, William, were sons of Provost John Anderson. Three different men of that name were provost during the century, though their known family trees provide no candidates. Claude J.K. Anderson stated Captain John Anderson may have been a nephew or cousin of John Anderson of Dowhill, the elder, but offers no evidence. Anderson was a Glasgow burgess and guild

brother and should be locatable in the burgess roll yet more than twenty men with his name were entered during the first six decades of the seventeenth century and even with some contenders easy to exclude, the correct Anderson is difficult to determine. One contender to note is the 'Captain John Anderson' made burgess and guild brother gratis, on 18 March 1643. Such awards were usually reserved for services rendered to the town in some way, and this John Anderson seems to have a connection with a Robert Steinson, merchant from Kirkmichael. If this is the correct man, it implies Captain Anderson came to the town from elsewhere. See, *Glasgow copartneries, joint stock companies and ventures to 1775: a register compiled from the Burgh Court Register of Deeds and Probative Writs, and from the Greenock and Port Glasgow Port Books* comp. and ed. by Richard Dell (Glasgow: Glasgow Corporation, 1971); on Anderson family trees, see *Provosts of Glasgow from 1609 to 1832*, comp. by James R. Anderson and ed. by James Gourlay (Glasgow: Hedderwick, 1942) and *Old Glasgow Exhibition, 1894, Catalogue: notes and indexes*, comp. by A. W. Gray-Buchanan (Glasgow: Royal Institute of Fine Arts, Glasgow, 1903); also see, Claude J. K. Anderson, 'The Andersons in Scotland: Ancestors of the Andersons of Monmouth County in East Jersey' in *The Genealogical Magazine of New Jersey*, vol. xxiv (1) (1949) [with thanks to Bette M. Epstein, New Jersey State Archives, for this reference]; for the burgess book see, *The Burgesses & Guild Brethren of Glasgow, 1573–1750*, ed. by James R. Anderson (Edinburgh: Scottish Record Society, 1925) and also, see Glasgow City Archives B4/1/3 (18 March 1643) [with thanks to Michael Pearce for his palaeographical assistance]. On gratis burgess and guild brotherhood see, T.C. Smout, 'The Glasgow Merchant Community in the Seventeenth Century' in *The Scottish Historical Review*, Vol. 47, No. 143, Part 1 (Apr 1968).

⁴⁸ The *George of Glasgow*'s first mate was a William Anderson, plausibly Anderson's brother. See CS 226/126 (Information).

⁴⁹ Glasgow City Archives B10/15/4230. [with thanks to Kit Baston and John Finlay, University of Glasgow, for their thoughts on

interpreting this document. Any mistakes or misunderstandings are my own].

⁵⁰ The 109 titles cost the University Library, £90.01.00 Scots, see GUA 58021/11/18.

⁵¹ Pearson notes that for England, by 1700, 'it was not uncommon to find personal libraries of several hundred, or even several thousand books owned by scholars, clergymen, and gentry families, while tradesmen and the less well-off might have a shelf's worth...'. See David Pearson, 'Patterns of Book Ownership in Late Seventeenth-Century England' in *The Library*, Vol. 11, Issue 2, June 2010, pp. 139–167. In the bibliophilic Netherlands personal libraries were frequently much larger, see Pettegree & der Weduwen, pp. 2–3. A near entire library comprising ca. 100 books is certainly possible for a seventeenth-century Glasgow ship master.

⁵² Roger L. Emerson, 'Scottish Cultural Change 1660–1710 and the Union of 1710', in *A Union for Empire: Political Thought and the Union of 1707* ed. by John Robertson (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), p. 132.

⁵³ GUA 58019/13.

⁵⁴ GUA 26776, pp. 92–96.

⁵⁵ Adams and Waters, entries: 212, 1913.

⁵⁶ With thanks to Michael Pearce for transcribing.

⁵⁷ Where and how Anderson learned to navigate is unknown (see endnote 47). We know that from 1677–1684 he took on an apprentice, educating and instructing him, 'in the art both of merchandizing and navigation', so it is plausible Anderson had learned by apprenticeship in the same way (see endnote 46). Glasgow appointed a Professor of Navigation in 1681 and opened navigation schools in 1696 and 1707. See, Jackson, pp. 69–72. For a detailed study of different approaches to navigation education over time and in different places see, Schotte, 93–113; 115–147.

⁵⁸ On the threat to merchantmen posed by North African pirates, see Graham, pp. 30–37. On storms, see endnote 39.

- ⁵⁹ See Lizanne Henderson, *Witchcraft and Folk Belief in the Age of Enlightenment Scotland, 1670–1740* (Basingstoke, Palgrave, 2016), pp. 51 (n. 137), 95–96.
- ⁶⁰ See Matthew Champion, ‘Of books, book curses, and the wrath of librarians...’ (2019) <<http://medieval-graffiti.blogspot.com/2019/12/of-books-book-curses-and-wrath-of.html>> [Last accessed 17 March 2023].
- ⁶¹ See Smout (1963), p. 97 and endnote 37.
- ⁶² On the use of historical travel accounts by mariners see Skallerup, pp. 4–5.
- ⁶³ See Andrew R. Murphy, *William Penn: A Life* (Oxford: OUP, 2019), pp. 9–10. The Penn autograph matches those in letters sent by Penn, see e.g., National Archives SP 84/77 f.193. Thanks to John-Mark Philo, University of East Anglia, for his assistance in confirming.
- ⁶⁴ The port books have the *Providence* returning from Antigua, like Nevis, in the Leeward Islands. For more on seventeenth-century Scottish sugar trade with the Leeward Islands, see Stuart M. Nisbet, ‘Early Scottish Sugar Planters in the Leeward Islands, c. 1660–1740’ in *Recovering Scotland’s Slavery Past: The Caribbean Connection*. ed. by Tom. M. Devine (Edinburgh: EUP, 2015), pp. 62–81.
- ⁶⁵ McLoughlin, p. 237.
- ⁶⁶ See endnote 48. Also note that the name Robert Anderson, possibly another relation of Captain Anderson’s, is associated with a couple of books (Appendix: 13, 75).
- ⁶⁷ The edition is unrecorded in Universal Short Title Catalogue and only one other copy, held by New York Public Library, is listed on OCLC Worldcat.
- ⁶⁸ See Skallerup, p. 13, and Adams and Waters, pp. 317–330. For a discussion of medical books used aboard a sixteenth-century Manila Galleon, see Angela Schottenhammer, Mathieu Torck, and Wim De Winter, ‘Podcast: The Case of Agustín Sánchez, Part 2—a Transpacific Surgeon’s Medical Practice, Inventory, and Books on Board the Manila Galleon’ *Crossroads Research Centre* <<https://crossroads-research.net/projects/erc-adg-transpacific/podcasts-and-videos/>> [Last accessed 4 April 2023] [with thanks to Willy Maley for this reference].
- ⁶⁹ For others see Appendix: 8, 30, 62 and 107.
- ⁷⁰ See University of Glasgow Library catalogue entry: <<https://eleanor.lib.gla.ac.uk/record=b1606793>> [Last accessed 21 March 2023]. Note that Jeremy J. Smith discusses this copy in, *Transforming Early English: the Reinvention of Early English and Older Scots* (Cambridge: CUP, 2020), p. 142 (footnote 12).
- ⁷¹ McLoughlin, pp. 222–223.
- ⁷² William Scott Shepherd, *The Politics and Society of Glasgow, 1648–74*. (1978) PhD thesis. University of Glasgow. <<https://theses.gla.ac.uk/78777/>> pp. 351–352.
- ⁷³ William Scott Shepherd, p. 318.
- ⁷⁴ With thanks to Graeme Kemp, University of Glasgow ASC, for his thoughts.

APPENDIX: CAPTAIN ANDERSON'S BOOKS

Books are listed alphabetically, by author. Titles and price paid (£ Scots) in bold, transcribed from GUA 58021/11/18.

Matches have been confirmed where Anderson's autograph, or a 1693-dated acquisition inscription is present. Copies have been identified as 'probably' Anderson's if, for example, an undated Library acquisition inscription signed by principal William Dunlop (active as principal, 1690-1700) is present, or a late seventeenth-century shelfmark, locating the copy beside confirmed Anderson books in a 'miscellaneous' sequence of the 1691 catalogue is present. Copies are identified as 'possibly' Anderson's if there is less internal evidence, but a match remains plausible. The 1691 shelfmark is supplied in square brackets after the current shelfmark. Current shelfmarks all take the prefix 'Sp Coll'.

1691 catalogue — *Catalogus librorum Bibliothecae Universitatis Glasguensis anno 1691* [with additions post 1691] MS Gen 1312.

Arthur — Archibald Arthur, *Catalogus impressorum librorum in Bibliotheca Universitatis Glasguensis...* (Glasgow: Foulis, 1791).

A.

- 1 **Jo: Acosta's Morall & Naturall history of the Indies Englished 1604 — £0.6.0**
Acosta, José de, 1540-1600. *The naturall and morall historie of the East and West Indies*. London. 1604. English. ESTC S100394.
Bk7-g.15 [AE.6.6]. Other provenances: Duncan McLauchlan; Jon McLachlane.
- 2 **Alvari Instituto Gram: Latine Geneua 1674 — £0.4.0**
Alvares, Manuel, 1526-1583. *De institutione grammatica libri tres*. Genoa. 1674. Latin. Not in USTC.
Bh6-l.14.
- 3 **Orlando Furiosos — £1.0.0**
Ariosto, Lodovico, 1474-1533; Harington, John, Sir, 1560-1612, tr. *Orlando furioso: in English heroical verse*. London. 1591. English. ESTC S106637.
Bm6-f.20 [AK.app.4.3].

B.

- 4 **Babington on Exodus & Leviticus — £0.18.0**
Babington, Gervase, 1550-1610. *Comfortable notes upon the bookes of Exodus and Leuiticus*. London. 1604. English. ESTC S100580.
Probably: Bi3-i.13 [AY.7.8]. Other provenances: E.P. (binding stamp).
- 5 **Rob. Baylies Ladensium Autocratacrisis [...] 1641 — £0.18.0**
Baillie, Robert, 1599-1662. *Ladensium autokatakrisis, the Canterburians self-conviction*. London. 1641. English. ESTC R8353.

Possibly: Bi3-i.3 [AZ.4.10].

- 6 Jo: Barclaij Argenis in 8vo Paris 1625 — £0.12.0**
Barclay, John, 1582-1621. *Argenis*. Paris. 1625. Latin. USTC 6018975.
Probably: Bl9-k.27 [AK.app.6.5].
- 7 Plantaliontis prosodia — £0.2.0**
Bartelon, Pantaleon. *Pantaleontis ... De ratione quantitatis syllabariae liber (i.e Prosodia)*. Lyon. 1578. Latin. USTC 141553.
Probably: Bh1-l.11 [AZ.8.4]. Other provenances: Senr Guil. [Cuaris?]
- 8 Bezae Confessio fidei — £0.2.0**
Bèze, Théodore de, 1519-1605. *Confessio Christianae fidei*. London. 1575. Latin. ESTC S101561.
Probably: Bm5-l.14 [AZ.6.3]. Other provenances: Robert Law (1647), William Couper, John Nymmell (et amicus).
- 9 Blaw Institutio Astronomica — £0.8.0**
Blaeu, Willem Janszoon, 1571-1638. *Institutio astronomica de usu globorum*. Amsterdam. 1655. Latin. STCN 090021517.
Bk6-h.4 [AF.6.12]. Other provenances: C.M. (binding stamp)
- 10 Rich: Blomeh's Geography Lond: 1670 — £6.0.0**
Blome, Richard, -1705. *A geographical description of the four parts of the world*. London. 1670. English. ESTC R7171.
Bi6-c.2 [AE.1.11].
- 11 Blundevill 8 treatises of mathematicks Edit Lond 1606 — £0.18.0**
Blundeville, Thomas, active 1561. *M. Blundeule his exercises, containing eight treatises*. London. 1606. English. ESTC S115619.
Bh7-h.12 [AF.6.7].
- 12 The art of riding by Thomas Blundivel Edit London 1580 — £0.12.0**
Blundeville, Thomas, active 1561. *The foure chiefest offices belonging to horsemanship...Conteining the whole art of riding*. London. 1580. English. ESTC S102739.
Probably: Bh6-h.11 [AZ.4.21].
- 13 Bourn's Regiment for the sea Lond: 1620 — £0.2.0**
Bourne, William, -1583. *A regiment for the sea*. London. 1620. English. ESTC S119277.
Bi4-h.20 [AF.6.8]. Other provenances: Robert Anderson (1652?)
- 14 Democritus Junior's Anatomy of Melancholy Oxford 1638 — £1.10.0**
Burton, Robert, 1577-1640. *The anatomy of melancholy*. Oxford. 1638. English. ESTC S122250.
Probably: Bh9-e.9 [AX.3.9].

C.

- 15 **Domitius Calderinus; in Valerium Martialem, Edit Venetijs 1474 — £1.0.0**
Calderino, Domizio, 1447-1478. *Domitii Calderini uerone[n]sis com[m]entarii in .M. Valerium Martialem.* Venice. 1474. Latin. ISTC ic00037000; GIP C8.
Probably: Bm1-e.9 [AX.3.4].
- 16 **Jo: Calvin's treatise about Relicts of Saints — £0.2.0**
Calvin, Jean, 1509-1564. *Very profitable treatise, made by M. Ihon Caluyne, declarynge what great profit might come to al christendome, yf there were a regester made of all saintes bodies and other reliques.* London. 1561. English. ESTC S112756.
Possibly: Bi7-l.15 [AQ.7.28]. Other provenances: John Bell, Cadder.
- 17 **Campanellas advice to the king of Spain concerning universal monarchy edit: London — £0.12.0**
Campanella, Tommaso, 1568-1639. *Thomas Campanella an Italian friar and second Machiavel. His advice to the King of Spain for attaining the universal monarchy of the world.* London. 1660. English. ESTC R208002.
Bi7-h.1 [AY.7.14]. Other provenances: Ralph Pilkington.
- 18 **Carpenterij Ramus Aureus Rotterd: 1604 — £0.8.0**
Carpentier, Pierre, active 17th century. *Elegantiorum Latinae linguae orationum ramus aureus.* Rotterdam. 1604. Latin. USTC 1011116.
Probably: Bk4-i.4. [AY.7.16].
- 19 **Antonius Verderius de deorum gentilium imaginis in 4to Edit: Lugdun: 1581 — £0.2.4**
Cartari, Vincenzo, 1531?-1590. Du Verdier, Antoine, 1544-1600. *Imagines deorum, qui ab antiquis colebantur.* Lyon. 1581. Latin. USTC 141828.
Probably: Bn3-i.15 [AY.5.10]. Other provenances: G. Lamda [effaced]. William Cowse and George Aldrich (1662).
- 20 **Causabon about enthusiasm — £0.4.0**
Casaubon, Meric, 1599-1671. *Treatise concerning enthusiasme.* London. 1656. English. ESTC R14827.
Probably: Bi5-i.18 [BM.4.22].
- 21 **Don Quixot in Spanish Madrid 1668 — £0.8.0**
Cervantes Saavedra, Miguel de, 1547-1616. *Parte primera y segunda del ingenioso hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha.* Madrid. 1668. Spanish. Not in USTC. IB. 72409.
Bl3-g.6 [AK.app.5.4].
- 22 **Reliquae Carlinae with Eikon Basilike... — £0.12.0**
Charles I, King of England, 1600-1649. *Reliquiae sacrae Carolinae.* Hague [i.e., London]. 1651. Latin. ESTC R211041.

Sp Coll 586 [AX.5.7].

- 23 Collings Mariners plain scale Lond 1659 — £0.12.0**
Collins, John, 1625-1683. *Navigation by the mariners plain scale new plain'd*. London. 1659. English. ESTC R207824.
Bk5-h.17 [AF.6.1].
- 24 Ja: Cooks Mellificium cherurgiae — £0.8.0**
Cooke, James, 1614-1694. *Mellificium chirurgiae, or the marrovv of many good authors enlarged*. London. 1662. English. ESTC R215218.
Probably: Bi1-l.21 [AZ.6.24].
- 25 Lusitaniae captivitas sub philippe ... libertas sub Joanne — £0.2.0**
Correia, Gaspar Pinto, 1596-1664. *Lusitaniae captivitas sub Philippo, libertas, et felicitas sub Joanne*. Lisbon. 1643. Latin. USTC 5024121.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AZ.7.3 but not in Arthur.
- 26 Thomas Coriats Crudeties — £1.4.0**
Coryate, Thomas, approximately 1577-1617. *Coryat's crudities hastily gobled up in five moneths travels*. London. 1611. English. ESTC S108716.
Bi6-f.11 [AY.5.4]. Other provenances: Giles Penn (c. 1573- c. 1656).
- 27 Helkia Crooks Microsmiographia on anatomy of mans body Lond 1631 — £2.0.0**
Crooke, Helkiah, 1576-1635. *Mikrokosmographia: A description of the body of man*. London. 1631. English. ESTC S107279.
Probably: Bm5-d.2 [AX.2.9]. Other provenances: Agnes Stewart? [effaced].
- 28 Coccij Institutio Juris Canonici — £0.2.0**
Cucchi, Marco Antonio, 1506-1567. *Institutionum juris canonici libri quatuor*. Cologne. 1564. Latin. USTC 666762.
Probably: Bi2-l.28 [AN.5.21].
- 29 Cuffs discourse of age of man — £0.1.0**
Cuff, Henry, 1563-1601. *The differences of the ages of mans life*. London. 1633. English. ESTC S109124.
Probably: Bi5-l.19 [AZ.6.29].
- 30 The Saracen history Lond 1575 — £0.6.0**
Curione, Celio Augustino, 1538-1567. *Notable historie of the Saracens*. London. 1575. English. ESTC S109154.
Probably: Bf73-g.30 [AY.7.11]. Other provenances: Hillen Tyller and John Beer, James Farquhar, Moncrieff, George Andersone, James Dougall, Robert Allane.

D.

- 31 French Dictionarie by Pierde'll Brunn Edit: Paris 1660 — £2.10.0**

Delbrun, Pierre, 1606-1676. *Les liaisons de la Langue françoise avec la latine*. Paris. 1660. French and Latin. Not in USTC.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AY.5.11 but not in Arthur.

- 32 **Dounham the antichrist Lond: 1603 — £0.6.0**
Downname, George, -1634. *Treatise concerning Antichrist*. London. 1603. English. ESTC S779.
Probably: Bi4-h.12 [AZ.4.5 then moved to R.5.1].
- 33 **Englands heroical epistles by dreitton — £0.2.0**
Drayton, Michael, 1563-1631. *Englands heroicall epistles*. London. [edition unconfirmed]. English.
Probably: Bl4-k.11 [AK.app.6.7] [wants t-p]. Other provenances: James Vincent.
- 34 **Du Moulins acomplishment of propheties Galliae — £0.4.0**
Du Moulin, Pierre, 1568-1658. *Accomplissement des prophéties*. Sedan. 1621. French. USTC 6808525.
Probably: Bm7-k.11 [AX.5.10].
- 35 **Lord pryssarks Art of Warr Cambridge 1639 — £0.6.0**
Du Praissac, Sieur. *Art of warre, or Militarie discourses*. London. English. ESTC S122251.
Bk3-k.12 [AF.5.6].
- 36 **Verders Romant of Romances Englished by Pembroke Lond 1640 — £1.0.0**
Duverdier, Gilbert Saulnier -1686. *The love and armes of the Greeke princes. Or, The romant of the romants*. London. 1640. English. ESTC S116707.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AK.app.1.1 but not in Arthur.

E.

- 37 **Eldred's Gunners Glasse 1647 Lond — £0.10.0**
Eldred, William, approximately 1563-. *The gvnners glasse*. London. [1647]. English. ESTC R201306.
Bi3-k.9 [AF.6.9]. Other provenances: Matthew Dawson (1667), Robert Barstow.
- 38 **Charleton's defence of Epicurus Moralls Lond 1656 — £0.8.0**
Epicurus. Charleton, Walter, 1619-1707, tr. *Epicurus's morals*. London. 1656. English. ESTC R18807.
Possibly: Bh5-h.3 [AI.5.25]
- 39 **Adagia omnia des: Erasmi, Junij ... in locos communes alphabeticæ digesta Edit: ... Wechelenis 1629 — £2.10.0**
Erasmus, Desiderius, -1536. Junius, Hadrianus, 1511-1575. *Adagia, id est, Prouerbiorum, paroemiarum et parabolarum omnium ... in vsu fuerunt, collectio absolutissima in locos communes digesta*. Frankfurt am Main. 1629. USTC 2098856.

Probably: Bi6-c.1 [AY.3.4]

- 40 Stephani Annot: in Sophoclem et Euripidem — £0.2.0**
Estienne, Henri, 1531-1598. *Annotationes in Sophoclem et Euripidem*. Geneva. 1568. Latin. USTC 450571.

- Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AK.app.6.6 but not in Arthur.
41 Euclids Elements Geometry Englished by Leeke & Searle Edit Lond 1661 — £2.0.0
Euclid. Leake, John, 1681 or 1682- and Searle, George, ed. *Euclid's Elements of geometry*. London. 1661. English. ESTC R25387.
Bl6-d.15 [AF.2.16]

F.

- 42 Rob: Fairlei's poemata Latina — £0.2.0**
Farlie, Robert. *Neanica. H.e. Horologium Automatum*. Edinburgh. 1628. Latin. ESTC S122381.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AK.app.6.9 but not in Arthur.
- 43 The state of Rome under Alexander 7 1664 — £0.4.0**
Ferrare du Tot, Charles de, -1694. *Rome exactly describ'd, as to the present state of it, under Pope Alexandre the Seventh*. London. 1664. English. ESTC R17626.
Probably: Bh5-l.10 [AZ.7.18]. Other provenances: Simson, Thomas [Packer?], merchant.
- 44 John Florio's dictionary Italian & English Edit Lond: 1611 — £1.4.0**
Florio, John, 1553?-1625. *Queen Anna's nev vworld of words, or dictionarie of the Italian and English tongues*. London. 1611. English and Italian. ESTC S121353.
Probably: Bi6-e.7 [AX.3.7].
- 45 The history of Venice by Mr Fougases Englished by Shute Edit 1612 — £2.10.0**
Fougasses, Thomas de. *Generall historie of the magnificent State of Venice*. London. 1612. English. ESTC S121332.
Probably: Bl2-d.2 [AC.1.8]. Other provenances: Oswald Bwttynne.
- 46 Jo: Frenchs art of distillation Lond: 1653 — £0.14.0**
French, John, 1616-1657. *The art of distillation*. London. 1653. English. ESTC R5348.
Possibly: Bm5-h.17 [AO.4.21].

G.

- 47 Jo: Gadbury's Genethaiologia doctrine of Nativities Lond: 1658 primum Mobile — £2.0.0**
Gadbury, John, 1627-1704. *Genethlialogia; Or, The doctrine of nativities*. London. 1658. English. R25437.

Bm4-e.7 [AF.2.17].

- 48 Controversiae artium per Bernardam Gellegium ... Edit Matriti 1623 — £0.12.0**
Gallego de Vera, Bernabé. *Controversiae artium in defensionem doctrinae Angelici doctoris*. Madrid. 1623. Latin. USTC 5016510. Bl7-g.14 [AI.3.20]. Other provenances: Fr. Thomas Joyceus, Ord. Praed. (Dominicans).
- 49 Jac: Gultelij Tabula Chronographic: Ecclessiae Catholicae Lugd: 1616 — £3.0.0**
Gaultier, Jacques, 1562-1636. *Tabula chronographica status ecclesiae catholicae a Christo nato ad annum 1614*. Lyon. 1616. Latin. USTC 6902061. Bl10-b.1 [AE.2.10]. Other provenances: [unidentified armorial binding].
- 50 Goclenij Logica — £0.8.0**
Goclenius, Rudolph, 1547-1628. *Problematum logicorum partes V*. Marburg. 1602. Latin. USTC 2052518. Probably: Bi4-k.12 [AG.5.22]. Other provenances: L. Vinckius, Lugd. (1634).
- 51 The winter evening conference Edit: Ed 1684 — £0.2.0**
Goodwin, John, 1625 or 6-1690. *Winter-evening conference between neighbours*. Edinburgh. 1684. English. ESTC R40907. Probably: Bh1-l.14 [AZ.8.7].
- 52 Jo. Gowers poems Edit: Lond 1554 de Confessione Amantis — £1.00**
Gower, John, 1325?-1408. *Io. Gower de confessione amantis*. London. 1554. English. ESTC S120946. Bm5-f.18 [AK.app.4.4]. Other provenances: Thomas Buchanan, schoolmaster (active 1575), William Wood, John Burdin, George Drummond, James Mowatt, John Maxwell, James Dougall, Deacon of the Incorporation of Gardeners of Glasgow (active 1640-1661).
- 53 The Dial of Princes by Donantony of Guevara ... in English Edit 1582 — £1.4.0**
Guevara, Antonio de, -1545? *Dial of princes compiled by the reuerend father in God, Don Antony of Gueuara*. London. 1582. English. ESTC S103482. Untraced. Included (crossed out) in the original Anderson acquisition list, GUA 58021/11/18, but excluded from the fair copy, GUA 26778, so presumably not acquired.
- 54 Edmond Gunter concerning the Cross Staff & other instruments &c in 4to Edit London 1653 — £0.4.0**
Gunter, Edmund, 1581-1626. *The vvorks of Edmund Gunter: conteining the description and use of the sector, cross-staff, and other instruments*. London. 1653. English. ESTC R188170.

Bh5-h.6 [AF.6.11]. Other provenances: J. Wolf (1653).

55 Alexr Guagnius de polonius tomi tres Francofurti 1485 [sic] — £0.14.0

Gwagnin, Alexander, 1538-1614. *Polonorum regem rerum Polonicarum tomi tres*. Frankfurt am Main. 1584. Latin. USTC 690722.

Probably: Bk7-i.22 [AX.5.8].

H.

56 Peter Heyle's Geography Edit Lond: 1652 — £4.0.0

Heylyn, Peter, 1600-1662. *Cosmographie in four books. Containing the chorographie and historie of the whole world*. London. 1652. English. ESTC R5447.

Bi10-c.9 [AE.1.10]. Other provenances: William Jamieson.

57 Rich: [sic] Heywoods hierarchy of Angells Lond 1635 — £1.0.0

Heywood, Thomas, -1641. *The hierarchie of the blessed angels*. London. 1635. English. ESTC S122314.

Bh6-e.18 [AK.app.4.2]. Other provenances: Charles Bowes, Nathan Bird.

58 English grammar made for the use of the Queen — £0.3.0

Howell, James, 1594?-1666. *A new English grammar, prescribing as certain rules as the languages will bear for forreners to learn English. Ther is also another grammar of the Spanish or Castilian Tongue...For the service of Her Majesty, whom God preserve*. London. 1662. English and Spanish. ESTC R23452.

Bm3-l.21 [AZ.6.28]. Other provenances: Thomas Whitmoor, John Willeby, Thomas Crispe, William Anderson, Elizabeth Wattling, Lisbon (1675).

59 Hubbards pill to purge Formality — £0.4.0

Hubbert, Thomas. *Pilula ad expurgandam hypocrisin. A pill to purge formality*. London. 1650. English. ESTC R4502.

Probably: Bm8-l.6 [AQ.7.5]. Other provenances: W.C. (binding stamp).

60 Clerks guide — £0.16.0

Probably: Hutton, Richard, Sir, 1561?-1639. *Young clerk's guide in four parts*. London. 1673. English. ESTC R224184.

Probably: Bi3-k.15 [AN.5.18].

J.

61 K. James demonology & Spiedell & severall other tracts — £0.4.0

James I, King of England, 1566-1625. *Daemonologie, in forme of a dialogue, diuided into three books*. London. 1603. English. ESTC S107583.

Bh6-i.2 (item 1) [AF.6.10]. Also see 92 and 99.

- 62 Jo. Jewell Bp of Salisbury [...] Harding Edit. Lond. 1565 — £2.0.0**
Jewel, John, 1522-1571. *Replie vnto M. Hardinges Ansuueare*.
London. 1565. English. ESTC S112275.
Probably: Bl5-e.9 [P.1.10]. Other provenances: John Jewel
(1522-1571), James Stewart, Earl of Moray, (approx. 1531-1570),
Robert Allane, writer, John Robertoun, R. Hamiltoun, James
Andersoun, H. W.

K.

- 63 Kirkwoods Grammar — £0.4.0**
Kirkwood, James, active 1698. *Prima pars grammaticae*. Edinburgh.
1675. English. ESTC R223620.
Probably: Bm8-l.3 [AZ.6.26].

L.

- 64 [See 105]**
Lansbergen, Philips van, 1561-1632. *Apologia, pro Commentationibus
Philippi Lansbergii in motum terræ diurnum & annuum*. Middelburg
[i.e., Leiden]. 1633. Latin. USTC 1018266.
Probably: Bm2-h.22 [AZ.4.3].
- 65 Wolfgangi Lazrij de Gentium ... Germania migrationibus
Francofurti 1600 — £2.10.0**
Lazius, Wolfgang, 1514-1565. *De gentium aliquot migrationibus*.
Frankfurt am Main. 1600. Latin. USTC 629891.
Probably: Bi7-c.5 [AD.2.13].
- 66 Cathaerina Dulcis Schola Italica — £0.8.0**
Le Doux, Catherin, 1540-1626. *Schola Italica... dictionarium Italico-
Latinum*. Frankfurt am Main. 1620. Latin and Italian. USTC 2109950.
Probably: Bk7-i.20 [AX.5.13].
- 67 Leyburns art of dialling Lond 1669 — £0.10.0**
Leybourn, William, 1626-1716. *The art of dialling, performed
geometrically*. London. 1669. Latin. ESTC R231068.
Bk6-g.9 [AF.6.2].
- 68 Lyburns Panorganon Edit London 1672 — £0.14.0**
Leybourn, William, 1626-1716. *Panorganon: or, a universal
instrument*. London. 1672. English. ESTC R21924.
Bl6-h.9 [AF.6.3].
- 69 Lilies Christian Astrologie in 4to Edit: Lond: 1659 — £0.2.4**
Lilly, William, 1602-1681. *Christian astrology modestly treated of in
three books*. London. 1659. English. ESTC R216689.
Bk9-i.11 [AF.6.13]. Other provenances: Edward [Stonney?] (1667).

- 70 Lockeyers Balm for England 1643 — £0.6.0**
 Lockyer, Nicholas, 1611-1685. *Baulme for bleeding England*. London. 1643. English. ESTC R30503 or R30503.
 Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AQ.6.10 but not in Arthur. Not Bh9-k.19, accessioned in 1722.
- 71 Petri Lorioti de Gradibus affinitatis — £0.4.0**
 Loriol, Pierre, -1573. *In titulum illum, de Gradibus affinitatis*. Lyon. 1542. Latin. USTC 122647.
 Probably: Bm10-c.1 [AX.2.1]. Other provenances: Gulielmus Baylie, Patrick Gall.

M.

- 72 Markums masterpeice for curing of horses Lond: 1675 — £0.14.0**
 Markham, Gervase, 1568?-1637. *Markham's master-piece revived*. London. 1675. English. ESTC R217391.
 Probably: Bm3-h.10 [AO.5.7].
- 73 The Answer to Gilb: Burnets dialogues on the Non conformists — £0.6.0**
 McWard, Robert, 1633?-1687. *True non-conformist in answere to the Modest and free conference betwixt a conformist and a non-conformist*. [Amsterdam?] 1671. English. ESTC R16015
 Untraced. Not B18-l.1, accessioned in 1722.
- 74 Tho: Mori Utopia — £0.2.0**
 More, Thomas, Saint, 1478-1535. *De optimo reipub. Statu, deque nova insula utopia*. Cologne. 1555. Latin. USTC 630799.
 Probably: B15-l.9 [AZ.7.6]. Other provenances: P.S.M. (stamped binding).
- 75 A nou English Memorial by Nathaniel Morton in 4to Edit Cambridge 1669 — £0.12.0**
 Morton, Nathaniel, 1613-1685. *New-Englands memoriall*. Cambridge, Ma. 1669. English. ESTC R16332.
 Probably: Bi3-k.13 [AZ.5.9]. Other provenances: Nath. Robinson (1669), Capt. John Hughes, Nevis (1669), Cooke, William Warkman, William Dawson, Robert Anderson.

N.

- 76 Jo: Naucleri Chronicon Coloniae 1579 — £2.10.0**
 Nauclerus, Johannes, 1425-1510. *Chronica ... succinctim comprahendentia res memorabiles seculorum omnium ac gentium*. Cologne. 1579. Latin. USTC 622284.
 Bh4-c.14 [AE.1.9]. Other provenances. [Unidentified armorial binding — bend, in base a lion rampant, with a crest of a crowned eagle displayed].

P.

- 77 **Dolman about the succession of England 1594 — £0.3.0**
Parsons, Robert, 1546-1610. *A conference about the next succession to the crowne of England*. [Antwerp]. 1594 [i.e., 1595]. English. ESTC S114150.
Probably: Sp Coll 1250 [AZ.7.2]. Other provenances: Soy de Sandford, Martin Array.
- 78 **Jo: Minsheu ... Spanish English dictionary Edit. Lond: 1623 — £1.0.0**
Perceval, Richard, 1550-1620 and John Minsheu. *A dictionary in Spanish and English*. London. 1623. English and Spanish. ESTC S115745.
Bm2-e.11 [AX.3.8]. Other provenances: Juan Pendarues/Pendaruis (1655), Mary Deane, George Pley, Pedro Pusman, George Saymon, Juan Juanes, Don Deago Cammearo, Don Pedro Cave (1655), Sara Deane.
- 79 **Philips seamans art by geometry edit Lond 1657 — £0.16.0**
Phillippes, Henry, -1677? *The geometrical sea-man: or, The art of navigation performed by geometry*. London. 1657. English. ESTC R214729.
Bk8-h.3 [AF.6.6]. Other provenances: John Burnsyd (1671).
- 80 **Trigonometria Pitissi in 4to Edit: Augustie Vindel 1600 — £0.1.2**
Pitiscus, Bartholomäus, 1561-1613. *Trigonometriae siue, De dimensione triangulorum libri qvinue*. Augsburg. 1600. Latin. USTC 615234.
Bi5-g.3 [AF.6.4].
- 81 **Angeli politani epistolarum lib 12 — £0.10.0**
Poliziano, Angelo, 1454-1494. *Epistolarum libri duodecim*. Basel. 1522. Latin. USTC 604823.
Probably: Bi5-i.17 [AX.5.6]. Other provenances: Robert Cocke, William Hudson, John Selbancke.
- 82 **Icones Pontificum — £0.2.0**
Possibly: *Pontificum et Cardinali[um] effigies et regnor[um] numerus*. Mantua? [s.n.]. Latin. Not in USTC.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AZ.7.1.
- 83 **The present state of England in Apryll 1576 — £0.4.0**
Unidentified and untraced.
- 84 **Prideaux sermons on Christmas & powder plot & Gourys conspiracy — £0.2.0**
Prideaux, John, 1587-1650. *Eight sermons, preached by Iohn Prideaux*. London. 1621. English. ESTC S110466.
Untraced.

- 85 Cardani Commentaria in Ptolomei Lib: de Constructuion quadripartita de Astrorum iudiciis edit Basil 1578 [with] A Conradi disypodij resolutiones mathemat — £1.10.0**
 Ptolemy. Cardano, Girolamo, 1501-1576. *In Cl. Ptolemaei de astrorum iudiciis, aut (ut vulgo appellant) Quadripartitae constructionis*. Basel. 1578. Latin. USTC 604948.
 Bn4-c.4 [AF.1.12]. Other provenances: [G. Battista Pinelli?] [effaced].
- 86 Ptolemaei Almagestum Edit Latine ... Osualdo. Basiliae 1551 — £2.0.0**
 Ptolemy. *Omnia quae extant opera praeter Geographiam ... summa cura et diligentia castigata ab Erasmo Osualdo Schrekken-fuchsio*. Basel. 1551. Latin. USTC 604938.
 Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AF.2.15 and still extant in Arthur as, AA.8.14. Not Bi7-d.16.
- 87 Purchase pilgrimes part: 1 Edit: Lond 1625 — £3.0.0**
 Purchas, Samuel, 1577?-1626. *Purchas his pilgrimes* [Vol. 1]. London. 1625. English. ESTC S94810.
 Probably: Bn2-d.7 [AC.1.7]. nb. Bn2-d.8-10 are later accessions.

Q.

- 88 Quivedo's works in Spanish part 1 [and part 2] Edit Bruxelles 1661 — £2.0.0**
 Quevedo, Francisco de, 1580-1645. *Obras*. Brussels. 1660-1661. Latin. Not in USTC or STCV.
 Bn7-g.8-9 [AK.app.5.1-2].

R.

- 89 Will Ramsayes Astrologia Restaurata Edit: Lond: 1654 [with] Same Introduction to the judgement on the stars — £1.10.0**
 Ramesey, William, 1627-1675 or 6. *Astrologia restaurata; or, Astrologie restored*. London. 1654. English. ESTC R187367.
 Bm4-e.10 [AF.2.18].
- 90 The comparison of Plato and Aristotle — £0.6.0**
 Rapin, Rene, 1621-1687. *The comparison of Plato and Aristotle*. London. 1673. English. ESTC R231319 or R37109.
 Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AG.6.21 but not in Arthur.
- 91 Caroli Renaldini Mathematica in 4to Edit Bononiae 1655 — £0.16.0**
 Rinaldini, Carlo, Count, 1615-1698. *Opus mathematicum*. Bologna. 1655. Latin. Not in USTC.
 Bl7-g.23 [AF.6.5].
- 92 [See 61]**
 Roberts, John, of Weston. *Compleat Canonier or Gunners Guide*. London. 1668. English. ESTC R182756.

Bh6-i.2 (item 2) [AF.6.10]. Also 61 and 99.

- 93 Roberts Map of Commerce Lond: 1638 — £2.0.0**
Roberts, Lewes, 1596-1640. *The merchants mappe of commerce*. London. 1638. English. ESTC S122012.
Bh7-e.1 [AD.2.16]. Other provenances: Conventus S. Georgij.
- 94 Paul Ricaut's Present state of the Ottoman Empire Lond: 1670 — £2.0.0**
Rycaut, Paul, Sir, 1628-1700. *The present state of the Ottoman Empire*. London. 1670. English. ESTC R18036.
Probably: Bl5-d.14 [AD.2.15].
- S.
- 95 Scots discovery of Witchcraft Lond 1584 — £0.12.0**
Scot, Reginald, 1538?-1599. *The discoverie of witchcraft*. London. 1584. English. ESTC S116888.
Probably: Bm10-k.27 [AZ.5.7]. Other provenances: Cocker.
- 96 The acts of parl[iamen]t of Scotland for the years 1648 & 1649 — £0.18.0**
Scotland. Parliament. *The Acts done and passed in the first session... 1648 [and 1649]*. Edinburgh. 1648. English. ESTC R21983 [and R19064 and R19030].
Probably: Bi6-e.10 [AX.3.6].
- 97 Curia politiae in English edit: London 1673 — £1.10.0**
Scudery, M. de, (Georges), 1601-1667. *Curia politiae; or the apologies of several princes*. London. 1673. English. ESTC R13242.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AD.2.14 but not in Arthur.
- 98 Francion's A Comicall history by Mr dy Moulin Edit Lond 1655 — £0.12.0**
Sorel, Charles, 1602?-1674. *The comical history of Francion ... By Monsieur de Moulins*. London. 1655. English. ESTC R2041.
Probably: Bm8-e.20 [AK.app.4.5]. Other provenances: John Ayres.
- 99 [See 61]**
Speidell, John, active 1600-1634. *A geometricall extraction*. London. 1657. English. ESTC R12720.
Bh6-i.2 (item 3) [AF.6.10]. Also see 61 and 92.
- 100 Spencers Fairy Queen Lond 1590 — £0.12.0**
Spenser, Edmund, 1552?-1599. *The faerie queene. Disposed into twelue books*. London. 1590. English. ESTC S121920.
Probably: Sp Coll 171 [AK.app.5.3]. Other provenances: John Colquhoun Esq., James [Edwards?].
- 101 O. S. Counsell to the afflicted on the Fire of London 1666 — £0.8.0**
Stockton, Owen, 1630-1680. *Counsel to the afflicted: or, Instruction*

and consolation for such as have suffered loss by fire. London. 1667. English. ESTC R28857.
Probably: Bh4-i.4 [AR.6.8]. Other provenances: Edward Wilkes, Mary Wilks.

- 102 Stonehams treatise on the First psalm — £0.4.0**
Stoneham, Mathew. *Treatise on the First Psalme.* London. 1610. English. ESTC S117850.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AQ.4.22 and CQ.7.4 in Arthur.

T.

- 103 Tanner hidden treasure of physick 1672 Lond — £0.10.0**
Tanner, John, approximately 1636-1715. *Hidden treasures of the art of physick.* London. 1672. English. ESTC R222390.
Probably: Bi6-k.10 [AX.5.2].
- 104 To: Tylor upon peter sermon Cambridge: 1612 — £0.8.0**
Taylor, Thomas, 1576-1632. *Iaphet's first publique perswasion into Sem's tents: or Peter's sermon.* Cambridge. 1612. English. ESTC S126284, S95492 or S118155.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AR.6.10 but not in Arthur.
- 105 Traittors decipered & Lansbergij defensio in motum terrae — £0.4.0 [also see 64]**
Traytors decipered in an answeare to a shamelesse pamphlet, entituled, A declaration of the Parliament of England... The Hague. 1650. English. ESTC R203791.
Probably: Bh3-h.3 [AZ.4.3].
- 106 The tryall after Thomas Overbury — £0.2.0**
True and historical relation of the poysoning of Sir Thomas Overbury. London. 1651. English. ESTC R10750.
Bm3-l.9 [Bl.5.9 moved from AZ.7.17].
- 107 Aegidius de prisca Alpina Rhaetia Basil Edit: 1538 — £0.2.0**
Tschudi, Aegidius, 1505-1572. *De prisca ac uera Alpina Rhaetia.* Basel. 1538. Latin. USTC 609352.
Bi4-f.20 [AE.6.7]. Other provenances: James Beaton (1517-1603) (Abp. Glasgow).

V.

- 108 Hen: Vaughans poems 1651 — £0.2.0**
Vaughan, Henry, 1622-1695. *Olor Iscanus. A collection of some select poems.* London. 1651. English. ESTC R6212.
Untraced. Listed in 1691 catalogue as AK.app.6.8 but not in Arthur.
- 109 Fr. Vigerus de praecipuis Graeca lingua... — £0.4.0**
Viger, François, 1590-1647. *De praecipuis Graecae dictionis idiotismis.* London. 1647. Latin.
Probably: Bm5-l.22 [AZ.6.27].