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RABAN REDUX: A RE-EVALUATION OF THE LIFE AND CONNECTIONS OF EDWARD RABAN

PETER H. REID & C. PAUL MITCHELL

Abstract: The art of printing came to Aberdeen in 1622 with the arrival of Edward Raban, a journeyman printer. Within months he was appointed *Unversitatis Typographus* followed quickly by appointment as *Urbis Typographus*. He played a prominent role in both economic and cultural life of the city for the next twenty-five years. This article is based on research conducted as part of the four hundredth anniversary of Raban's arrival in Aberdeen. Previous scholars of bibliographic and print history have examined aspects of Raban's life and established a narrative that he first came to Scotland in 1620. Through interrogation of Old Parish Registers and other genealogical sources, this narrative can now be disproved, and the article demonstrates that Edward Raban was domiciled in Scotland as early as 1616. It also explores other aspects of Raban's familial connections, particularly his son Édouard Raban, printer in Orange. It also suggests further avenues for research around Raban's putative involvement with what is commonly called the Pilgrim Press in Leiden.

Keywords: Edward Raban, Aberdeen, printing, book production, genealogy, Scotland, Netherlands.

Introduction

Edward Raban (ca. 1579-1658) was the first printer to work in Aberdeen, arriving at Whitsun 1622 and producing the first book printed in the city in July of the same year. Although a strong print culture existed in the city, closely associated with the two universities, it was Raban who established an indigenous printing trade in Aberdeen, a trade which flourished for the next three and half centuries. Edward Raban is sometimes an opaque and obscure figure, partly because of his own activities and partly because the archival sources have not survived. His life has been studied by a number of bibliographic scholars including Edmond (1886), Gordon Duff (1922), Bushnell (1928), Mann (2002), Beavan (2004) and these acknowledge some common and well-accepted precepts and timelines. The four hundredth anniversary of Raban's arrival in Aberdeen, and the establishment of an indigenous printing industry in the North-East was marked with a series of events and activities – 'Raban 400'¹ – and this project also included new academic research into aspects of Raban's life. This new research deployed genealogical research techniques to piece together a new narrative of the life of Edward Raban. This article explores these new discoveries about Raban and endeavours to place them in the wider context of printing history in Scotland generally, and Aberdeen in particular. Inevitably, it

is not possible to answer every question or to solve every inconsistency in the chronology. Indeed, some new questions are posed by this recent research into Raban's life.

The prevailing narrative of Edward Raban's life

Edward Raban appears fleetingly in the surviving records of his age, and his life was only pieced together in the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The basic tenets of his life being that he worked in Edinburgh in 1620 (under the sign of ABC in the Cowgate, where he printed one volume) and from later that year (until 1622) was Printer to the University in St Andrews, before arriving in Aberdeen. Later accounts are, however, incomplete, and not always based on solid or reliable material with the early life of Edward Raban, being set out in a number of oft-quoted sources (Edmond, Gordon Duff, Bushnell). Raban is believed to have been born around 1579 somewhere either in Gloucestershire or Worcestershire. James Gordon (1615-1686), Parson of Rothiemay (son of Robert Gordon of Straloch, the cartographer) in his *Scots Affairs* speaks of Raban, whom he knew, in 1640 as 'ane Englishman'². Edmond, whose work *The Aberdeen Printers: Edward Raban to James Nicol 1620-1736* (1886) remains seminal, corroborates the Parson of Rothiemay's assertion by saying:

and, had we been disposed to doubt this source, the matter is at once set at rest by the imprint of one of his own books, in which he styles himself Edwardus Raban, *Anglus*'.³

However, his ancestry was German. In some of his volumes, Raban describes himself as 'Edward Rabanus, Anglo Britannus, Gente Germanus', and in his *Prognostications for the Yeare 1625* (his almanack), he writes of 'Pope Joanna her Holines sate, in respect she was my native country woman'.⁴ Gordon Duff notes that with this remark Raban intended to convey that he was of German origin.⁵ Gordon Duff makes something of a leap of faith in corroborating this reference to Pope Joan being Raban's countrywoman with the references on title pages to 'Anglo Britannus, Gente Germanus' to assert that the use of that phrase 'puts it beyond all doubt that Raban was born in England of German parents'.⁶ It is not at all beyond doubt that his parents were German and the connection to Germany may be in an earlier generation. Gordon Duff is also keen to encourage the reader to assume a connection to the German family of Raban⁷ who were printers and booksellers in Frankfurt, Herborn, Wittenberg, and Helmstadt. However, despite the conveniently similar nomenclature (the German printers often spelt the name 'Raben' or used the Latin 'Corvinus' for raven) no such connection can be proved beyond circumstantially around the common surname and shared trade.

Raban provides one further glimpse into his family heritage. In his *Raban's Resolution against Drunkenness*, *Raban's Resolution against Whore-dome*, and *Raban's Resolution against Sabbath-breakers* (1622), he admonishes his uncle:

Yet because my father's brother Peter Raban is a parson at Melton mobre in Wooster-shyre [sic] of England, I will be bold with him (if he bee yet alive) to put him in remembrance of the doctrine of St. Paul who was the very pattern of chaste and zealous priesthood'⁸

There exist a number of problems with this statement. Firstly, Melton Mowbray is in Leicestershire and not Worcestershire. Secondly, no ordained person of the name of Peter Raban has been found in Leicestershire, nor anywhere else in the Church of England.⁹ Additionally, if as Gordon Duff asserts, Raban was born to German parents then this makes Peter Raban, parson at Melton Mobre [sic] a German too. This seems improbable and would seem to indicate that Raban's German ancestry was at least one generation further removed. It is quite possible that Raban muddled the name of the Parish and the county, but it is unlikely that he would describe 'my father's brother Peter Raban' incorrectly, especially as he was writing this account in his early forties when he was at the peak of his professional career with all his mental faculties about him. There is a 'Raven' (without forename) listed in the Clergy Database as being briefly curate at Keyham in Leicestershire in 1601 but this is without any further details. The vicar of Melton Mowbray between 1613 and 1659 was Zacharie Caudrey so if a Peter Raban had any connection with that place, it had certainly ceased by the time Raban was writing.

Gordon Duff (1922), in his paper on Raban's early career, draws heavily on the autobiographical fragments which the printer left in *Raban's Resolution against Drunkenness*, (1622). Gordon Duff describes this as 'a little book in the library of Lord Crawford at Haigh Hall'¹⁰ which, in his words, 'threw a flood of light upon Raban's early career'.¹¹ It is a small octavo probably originally consisting of 72 leaves but now wanting all before Ci'. Raban spent his early adulthood as a soldier fighting for the Protestant Dutch Republic under Maurice of Nassau against Catholic Spain. It notes:

I remember that in the year of Christ 1600, there was no small stir in England (especially in and about London) with mustering, pressing, furnishing, and sending of Captains and Soldiers into Flanders to assist the estates of the Netherlands, who sent out their forces in the defence of God's quarrel and their own, under the conduct of the most worthy prince and champion, Maurice of Nassau. And at which time also it was my silly fortune to march from London with our English Cavellieroes. But I remember what merry days we had in London before we took shipping, for we made day and night all one, with eating, drinking, playing, swearing, etc.¹²

Raban is believed to have been aged around twenty at this point and may well already have learned the art of printing in England although later commentaries seem to dispute this. The same account later indicates that Raban was present at the Battle of Nieuwpoort on 2 July 1600.

....being landed we marched forwards driving the Spaniards out of this seance and that fort, till we came before Newport, and shortly after were sharply assaulted by Albertus of Austenrich, yet

through the help of God we slew at least six thousand of the Spanish side, took many prisoners, and returned into Holland with victory.¹³

A further piece of autobiographical evidence used by Gordon Duff comes from a book which Raban himself printed during his time in St Andrews. It is entitled *The Pope's New Years Gifts, Anno 1622. Containing a Discoverie of the Abuses of the Romane Clergie* (1622) which was "Written first in Latine by sundrie Authors of their owne Profession". The translator of the volume was noted as 'G.L.' and this was almost certainly George Lauder, grandson of Maitland of Lethington who, like Raban, had served in the armies of the Low Countries. In the essay 'The Printer to the Pope', Raban notes that he served in "the worthy Estates of Holland full ten years in their tedious wars"¹⁴ before resolving to travel more widely. He describes a journey "from Ryneberke towards Colonia Agrippina, and from thence forward to Mentz, Frankford, Worms, Frankendale, Spier, Strasburg". His eventual goal was Rome but, in the Alps, he turned back, having been employed by an English traveller as his guide: "I convoyed them through all Germany, even to Hamburg, visiting all the fair cities and the churches as we went".¹⁵

These autobiographical notes outline Raban's military service under Maurice of Nassau in the Low Countries and his travels around various parts of Europe in the period 1600-1612. He was, however, clearly establishing himself as a printer for Mann found a testimonial (1607) that possibly relates to him and another, dated 15 February 1613 in the *Getuigenisboeken* [Testimony Book] for Leiden. It refers to Jacob Jacobsz and Eduwaert Raethboud [Raban] '*wel gehert en guede wetensches*' (well-tempered and good in knowledge).¹⁶ There has been a misinterpretation of this testimonial in the past with the Dutch syntax being misunderstood leading to the assumption that Jacob Jacobsz was alderman and university printer; in fact, Raban and Jacobsz were both appearing before the aldermen and university printer as the testimonials were given. The testimonial does state explicitly that Jacobsz and Raban were journeyman printers and had worked in the same shop for four years (that is 1609 to 1613).

Mann suggests that Raban did not learn his trade in Leiden but in Amsterdam under Françoise Lammelinson [sic].¹⁷ The name Françoise Lammelinson is an incorrect reading of the original document. It is in fact Franchoy's Raphelingien (or van Ravelingen), better known as Frans or Franciscus Raphelingius the younger (1568-1643), grandson of Christopher Plantin, the humanist and printer. De Baar's *Index op de getuigenisboeken 1581-1810*¹⁸ does clearly corroborate that it is Raphelingius and not the fictitious Lammelinson with simultaneous entries for both Eduwaert Raethboud (Raban) and Franciscus Raphelingius in volume L (1611-15), page 224. The 1613 testimonial does not explicitly state that Raban worked for Raphelingius but it does note he lived in his house during this period, so it seems highly probable that this was the printer he worked for in Leiden.

Raban himself, in *Resolutions against drunkenness*, makes one reference to his work as a printer, telling the story of a printing master dying whilst at work on the Sabbath:

Yea, a master whom I served in mine owne science in the fair city of Leyden had it aye for a custom to boil his printing varnish on the Sabbath days in a garden house without the city; till at last his house took fire, and burnt the house, himself, and his only daughter. He being a rich man died thus miserable leaving none issue to inherit his trash.^{19 20}

Gordon Duff, who made use of this story of the printer being burned to death, went on to make the incorrect assertion that Raban took up printing as a trade between 1612 and 1620 largely based on the circumstantial evidence that there were many printers in Leiden and the belief that Raban was there. This story proves to be complex (as will be shown) and has led to wrong assumptions in the chronology of Raban's life. Gordon Duff concludes that:

Putting the sum of all this at twelve years, we know all his occupation between 1600 and 1612. We have still to account for the eight years between 1612 when he was on the Continent and 1620 when he appeared as a printer in Edinburgh.²¹

This eight-year period, 1612 to 1620, is crucial in understanding Raban's story. It culminates with Raban's apparent arrival in Edinburgh, and the date of 1620 for this event is accepted by Edmond, Gordon Duff, and Bushnell in their accounts of his life.

A note on methods

The preceding account of Edward Raban's life has until recently been widely accepted. In 2021, ahead of the four hundredth anniversary of Raban's arrival in Aberdeen, a review was undertaken of all the published sources to reassess the chronology and narrative of Raban's life. From this there were obvious, intriguing gaps in the story, most notably that period mentioned by Gordon Duff between 1612 and 1620.

The principal avenue adopted to attempt to 'fill in the gaps' was the interrogation of genealogical sources. This had not been done by the bibliographic scholars mentioned previously, inevitably so as the books were their focus. In part this was due to the assumptions made around Raban's life, and in part due to the cumbersome and time-consuming nature of trawling through hard-copy Old Parish Registers (OPRs) page by page in pre-digitized days. Digitization and the searching facilities available through Scotland's People has made full interrogation much easier.

A systematic search of OPRs across Scotland was undertaken, with focus on the places Raban lived (Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Aberdeen). St Andrews proved fruitless as the records for the period do not exist; Aberdeen yielded one result which was already known and then the records of the Kirk of St Nicholas contained a gap at the key period (1624-27); Edinburgh proved most successful and, ultimately, revealing. Searches were undertaken

using all spelling variants (Raban, Raben, Rabban, Rabben, Rabane, etc) and eventually by using ‘first name beginning with ‘E’ and ‘surname beginning with ‘R’ limited by time-period (1612-30). The OPRs of births, marriages and deaths were consulted. Extensive online searching was also undertaken in the Leiden City Archives (www.erfgoedleiden.nl) and in Gemeente Stadarchief Amsterdam (<https://www.amsterdam.nl/stadsarchief/>) but, owing to Covid restrictions, this was limited to viewing their digitized materials. The results, revealing important new aspects to Raban’s life, which alter our understanding of his role in the history of Scottish printing, are outlined in the remainder of this article.

New discoveries on Raban’s arrival in Scotland

Initially, the search of OPRs was limited to Scotland but as information became available it raised more questions, and so it became necessary to look also in Holland, particularly for the period 1612-15 and these Dutch records are the starting point for outlining new details about Raban’s life and career.

The timing of the testimonial, in February 1613 (mentioned above), is interesting, and it has been suggested by Lane²² that Raban may have left the employ of Raphelengius at this point in 1613. A baptism entry was found in OPRs for the Lutheran church in Amsterdam from 24 October 1613 (Figure 1), showing the baptism of “Dierick, Eduwaert Rabbannus’s zoon tug Bernt Diericks, Judith Willems”.²³ ‘Tug’ is an abbreviation of tugenissen, an archaic form of the modern Dutch word getuigenissen (witnesses). This is the only reference in the Amsterdam archives to ‘Rabbannus’ and, although there is a small possibility it is someone else, extensive searches of the indexes for given names beginning with ‘E’ and surnames with ‘R’ would seem to suggest that this is indeed the baptism record for Dierick son of Edward Raban. There are relatively few people named ‘Eduwaert’ and this ‘Rabannus’ is the clearest rendering of the surname in the Dutch sources.

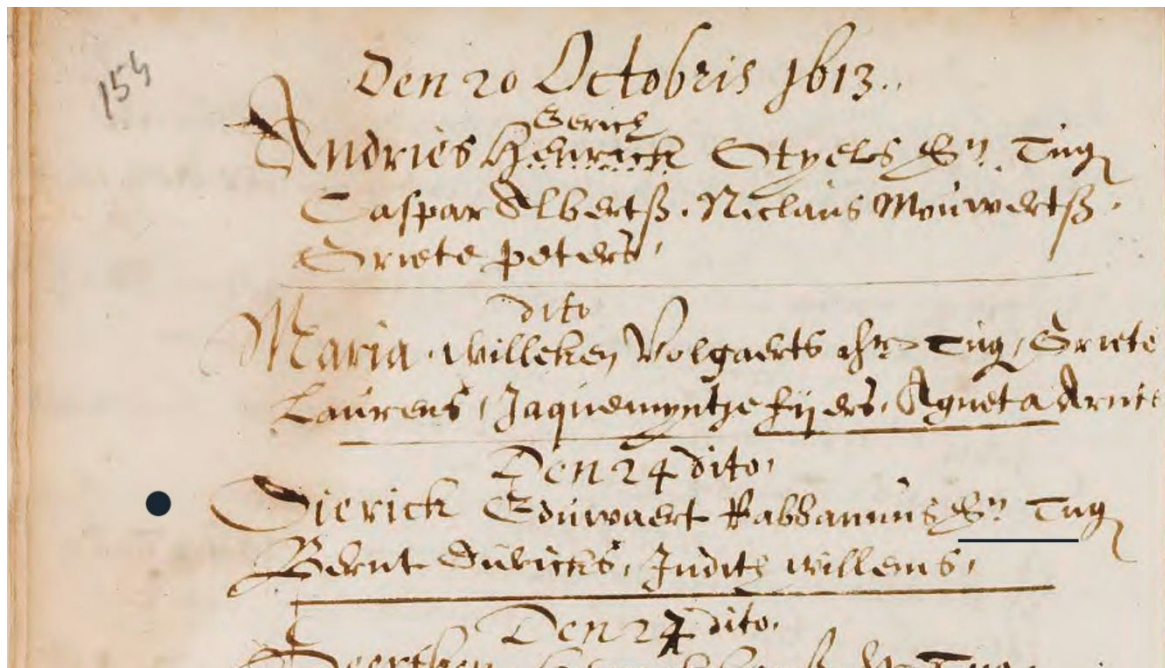


Figure 1: 24/10/1613. RABBANNUS, DIERICK. BT Dopen, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 138, blad p.154, akte nummer DTB 138, Gemeente Amsterdam Stadarchief. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

This entry is interesting for three reasons. Firstly, this tells us that Raban has a wife. This banal observation masks the fact that no record of marriage has been found. We know from other later sources Raban's first wife was Jonet Johnston who was Scottish. Clearly, there are unanswered questions here. Did Raban travel to Scotland previously? Was Jonet Johnston, for some reason, resident in Holland? Was there another wife before Jonet Johnson? All have been considered and evidence has been sought but the questions cannot yet be answered. Secondly, the timing (24 October 1613), is nine months after the Leiden testimonial (February 1613); Lane has suggested that Raban may have left the employ of Raphelengius at this point in February 1613²⁴ and it is not, therefore, implausible that he should be in Amsterdam rather than Leiden a few months later. Thirdly, the baptism takes place in the Lutheran church in Amsterdam and there is a slim possibility that this may have been a German named Raban (as the Lutheran church in Amsterdam had a large number of German congregants) but this does seem unlikely given that the name does not crop up elsewhere.

The narrative about Raban and his life as a printer in Scotland is the conventionally held and widely accepted assumption that he first arrived in Edinburgh in 1620 and stayed only a short time. Edmond (1886), Gordon Duff (1922), and Bushnell (1928) all base this on the information from his one Edinburgh imprint that he printed at 'the sign of the A.B.C. in a house in the Cowgate'.²⁵ They, together with Mann, also make the claim that Raban had been associated with the Pilgrim Press in Leiden between 1617-19. Only Kellas Johnstone deviates from the 1620 date by stating that Raban arrived at Leith from the Continent in 'late 1619',²⁶ although he presents no evidence for this assertion.

The examination of OPRs revealed that Raban was in fact in Edinburgh in 1616 for, on the 14 January that year, (Figure 2) it is recorded that ‘Edward Raban, Printer and Jonet Jonstoun a.d.²⁷n. [a daughter named] Constantia’.²⁸ The baptismal entry is reproduced below, courtesy of the National Records of Scotland, and the entry in question being the second listed for 14 January 1616.

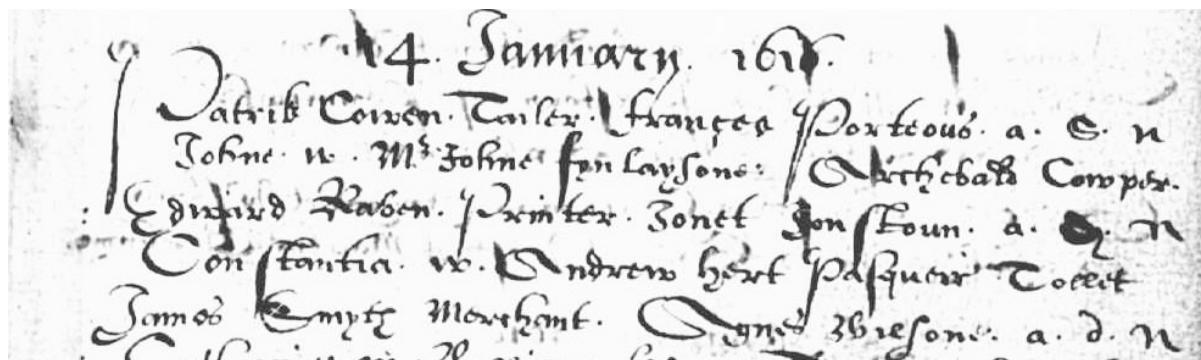


Figure 2: 14/01/1616. RABEN, CONSTANTIA. Old Parish Registers. Births 685/1 20 49 Edinburgh. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

This child was the first of three daughters born to Edward Raban and Jonet Jonstoun named Constantia (or variations thereof). As noted previously, no record of the wedding or banns of Raban and Jonet Jonstoun has been found either in Scotland or in Holland. The evidence in this baptismal entry places Raban in Edinburgh in January 1616 although, in all likelihood, he must have been there from some point late in the previous year, as he is unlikely to have travelled with a heavily pregnant wife in the depths of winter. The witnesses listed are as important as the date, for they are Andrew Hart and Pasquier Tollet.²⁹

Andro (Andrew) Hart (d.1621) was one of perhaps the most successful and wealthiest booksellers and printers of his day, operating his bookshop and printing house from premises on the north side of the High Street in Edinburgh. His 1610 edition of the Geneva Bible, the second bible to be printed in Scotland, is renowned for its accuracy. From as early as 1590, Andro Hart had also been importing books from Germany and the Low Countries and by 1612 he had become “Scotland’s largest book importer, and his scale of international trade was probably unsurpassed until the 1690s”.³⁰ He was also having books printed in Amsterdam and Leiden. It is, therefore, very significant that Raban who had presumably arrived in Edinburgh at some point in the second half of 1615 (see above) was quickly closely associated enough with Andro Hart to ask him to be witness at the baptism of Constantia.

It could, perhaps, be assumed that there might be a chance that Edward Raban was only ‘visiting’ Edinburgh in 1616 and that the narrative of his continued domicile in Leiden

until 1620 might remain intact. However, in the following year, on 17 June 1617, Raban can again be found in the OPRs for Edinburgh. This time he stands as a witness at a baptism: 'Henrie Stolence, pastment maker and Catherine d'uplancas a.s.n [a son named] Andrian [usually given as Adriaan].³¹ Witnesses Andrew Wyssman and Edward Raban.' (Figure 3).

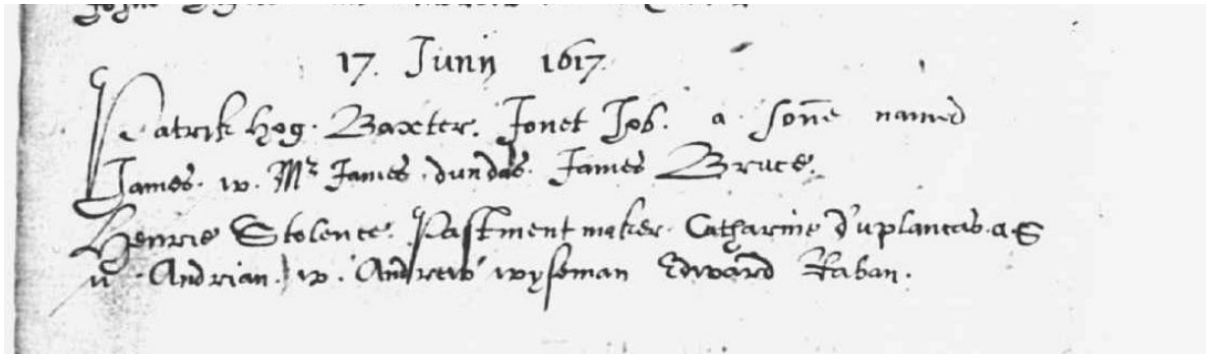


Figure 3: 17/06/1617. STOLLENCE, Andrian. Old Parish Registers. Births 685/1 20 190 Edinburgh. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

This would appear to suggest continued domicile in Edinburgh and that Raban is sufficiently integrated into life there to act as a witness for the child of other émigrés from France and the Low Countries.

The first Constantia (born in Edinburgh in January 1616) evidently died young for, on the 24 May 1618, a further baptism entry in Edinburgh (Figure 4) is to be found: 'Edward Rabane, Printer, Jonot Rabane a.d.n. [a daughter named] Constance'³². Andrew Hart is once again one of the witnesses with the other being Henry Stolence, reciprocating the role Raban had played for his son the previous year.

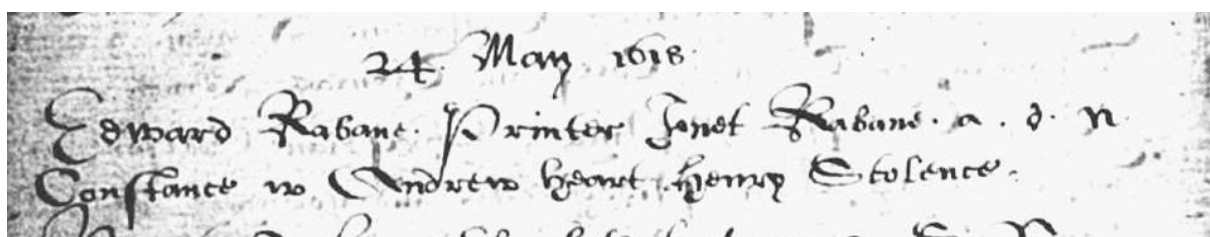


Figure 4: 24/05/1618. RABANE, CONSTANCE. Old Parish Registers. Births 685/1 20 218 Edinburgh. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

This second Constantia/Constance (II) born in 1618 must also have died young for a third daughter is given that name after Raban's arrival in Aberdeen with the baptismal record on 8 January 1624. The existence of Constantia (III) has been well-known as was noted by the previous scholars more than a century ago. However, as with much of Raban's own life, Constantia III has been muddled and conflated by later writers. Kellas Johnstone asserts that it was this Constantia (III) who married Gavin Milne, a burgess of Aberdeen in 1648, basing his conclusion from the existence of Constantia's baptism record and from an entry

in the Register of Burgesses stating the marriage of Gavin Milne to the ‘only daughter of Edward Raban, printer’.

40		Burgess Register
1648.		
Jany.	12.	John Findlay, shoemaker, eldest son of John F., shoemaker <i>t. j.</i>
		Gilbert Arthur, weaver, who married the widow of a trade burgess <i>t.</i>
		John Tarves, weaver, served with the late David Nicolson, weaver <i>t.</i>
		William Thomsons, cooper, served with the late James Straqn. <i>t.</i>
	20.	William Scringeor, cooper, served with the late George Meslet <i>t.</i>
		Gavin Milne, married only daughter of Edward Raban, printer <i>g.</i>
		Hew Kennedy, simple burgess, for service done within this burgh in tyme of the visitation <i>G.</i>
	26.	John Smith <i>g.</i>
		Patrick Makie <i>g.</i>
		James Watsons, served with Adam Watsons, merchant <i>g.</i>
		Andro Baverlay, simple burgess.

Figure 5: Register of Burgess of Aberdeen, 20 January 1648. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

However, following the genealogical research recently conducted (see below), it can be stated with certainty that Constantia (III) also died young, and that Raban had another daughter, Elizabeth, who was the only daughter to survive to adulthood, and that it was she that is recorded in the Register of Burgesses of Aberdeen,³³ (Figure 5) as marrying Gavin Milne, Guild Burgess. There exists a gap in the OPRs for the Kirk of St Nicholas in the second half of the 1620s and therefore no baptism entry for Elizabeth Raban has been found. It may be speculated that she was born in 1627 for this was the year that Jonet Johnston, Raban’s wife died, and that event may well have been in or through complications from childbirth. Given the three daughters named Constance/Constantia (a name which clearly had particular meaning for Raban and his wife³⁴) the fact that this final daughter was named Elizabeth may well indicate that Constantia (III) was still alive at this juncture.

The reason that we know it was Elizabeth and not Constantia (III) that married Gavin Milne is not because a marriage entry has been found but because the baptism entries for four children of Gavin Milne and *Elizabeth* Raban (Isobel 1649 and given below (Figure 6); James 1652, William 1653, and Robert 1654) do exist and there is no mistaking that they state Elizabeth and not Constance.

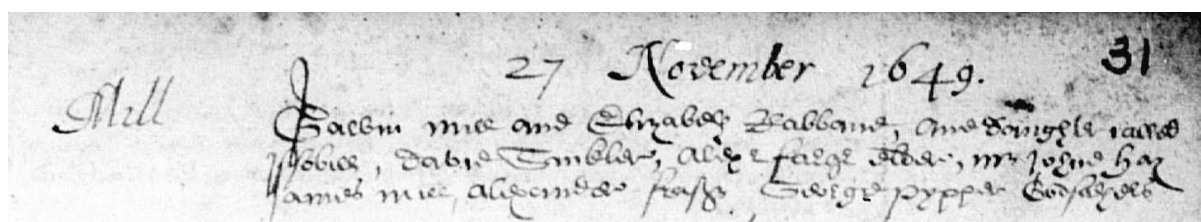


Figure 6: 27/11/1649. MILL, ISSOBIL. Old Parish Registers. Births 168/A 40 60 Aberdeen. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

Kellas Johnstone and the other authors all appear to have been unaware of the existence of Elizabeth, and therefore have assumed Constantia (III) to be the daughter in question. Gavin Milne (variously recorded as Gawaine or Gawine) died sometime between 1654 and 1661, and on 18 February 1662, Elizabeth Raban married for a second time, her spouse being John Murray. She is recorded dying in 1685, with both the second marriage and necrology entries surviving in the OPRs for St Nicholas Kirk.

On Édouard Raban

The narratives from OPRs around the offspring of Edward Raban enhance understanding of the life, career, and movements of the man. Most notably, they place him in Scotland and in close association with key figures in the printing and book trades (most particularly Andro Hart) at an earlier date than has been previously acknowledged in the published accounts of his life. There are two further genealogical conundrums associated with Raban, however. The first of these relates to the existence in France of a printer by the name of Édouard Raban (fl.1635-1687) and to two mysterious John Rabans that appear in various OPRs in Scotland (1620-1660).

When Raban arrived in Aberdeen in 1622 (June, according to Kellas Johnstone), he was accompanied by his wife and son, also named Edward (again, Kellas Johnstone).³⁵ It is unclear where Kellas Johnstone took this information from, but it seems likely that it was from the notes and diaries of David Wedderburn³⁶. It has been supposed by him and others that the son was a babe-in-arms and had been born during Raban's sojourn in St Andrews (but the St Andrews's baptismal records do not begin until 1625). From this inference on the part of Kellas Johnstone and others, it has been stated widely that Edward the younger was born in 1621, and indeed, Bibliothèque nationale de France in their catalogue entry lists him as being born in that year. It notes:

Fils de l'imprimeur-libraire d'Aberdeen Edward Raban (1579?-1658), lequel avait servi dans l'armée de Maurice de Nassau, prince d'Orange. Affilié à la loge maçonnique du "Bon Accord". Travaille avec son père au moins jusqu'en 1635, mais des difficultés économiques le contraignent à émigrer sur le continent. ^{37 38}

This becomes problematic when one considers the earliest imprint to bear the name Édouard Raban dates from Grenoble in 1635 (Figure 7) which would mean that he was but fourteen years old, and even allowing for the early commencement of printing apprenticeships, this is too young to be credible as an independent printer in Grenoble.

LA PASTORALE
DE LA
CONSTANCE
DE PHILIN ET
MARGOTON.

DEDIEE A MONSIEUR LE
COMTE DE SAVLT.

Par I. MILLET.



A G R E N O B L E,

Par EDOÜARD RABAN, demeurant à la place
Saint André, près la porte du Palais, à l'en-
feigne du Naivre.

M. DC. XXXV.

AVEC PERMISSION.

Figure 7: Édouard Raban's first volume 'Le pastorale de Constance de Philin et Margoton' printed in Grenoble 1635. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

Édouard Raban appears in a number of French sources from the late nineteenth century Millet (1877)³⁹, Maignien (1884)⁴⁰, and Pellechet (1887)⁴¹ and continues down to Martin and Lecocq (1977)⁴² all fall into the not uncommon trap of conflating Edward Raban of Aberdeen and Édouard Raban of Orange. Martial Millet in his work on the printers of Orange describes Édouard as:

Né en Écosse, cet imprimeur exerça d'abord son art à Édimbourg et à Saint-Andrews, puis à Aberdeen; de là il passa à Genève, à Grenoble et vint, vers 1646, s'établir à Orange.^{43 44}

Nothing in Millet's statement, except the final remark about Édouard being in Geneva and Grenoble before settling in Orange around 1646, is in fact correct. It was Edward Raban, not Édouard, who had worked in Edinburgh, St Andrews, and Aberdeen. Édouard did indeed learn his craft with his father in Aberdeen but he never worked in St Andrews or Edinburgh. Pellechet does, however, add a little further detail on Édouard, noting explicitly that he was a Scottish Protestant:

Par ailleurs, le huguenot Richard Cocson reprenait en 1625 la marque d'un libraire de sa religion et commençait à faire fonctionner une presse; un protestante écossais de passage, Édouard Raban, le remplaçait après sa mort (1635) mais il partait peu après 1642 pour réapparaître à Orange avant de sa fixer à Nîmes.^{45 46}

Édouard left Grenoble in 1642, moving to Orange where he was appointed as printer to the Prince, the town, and the university.⁴⁷ In 1660, Édouard moved to Nîmes but in February 1663 was forbidden to practice after printing a Protestant tract. He returned to Orange where his son Isaac (born circa 1639) had been running the firm. Isaac died in 1665 and Édouard, with Isaac's widow (using the imprint *Veuve Isaac Raban*⁴⁸), continued the businesses. In 1674, Édouard produced *Antiquitez de la ville et cité d'Orange*. Following the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes, he was compelled to abjure his Protestantism and to convert to Catholicism. Édouard died April 1687. (Figure 8) *Veuve Isaac Raban* sold the press 1698.

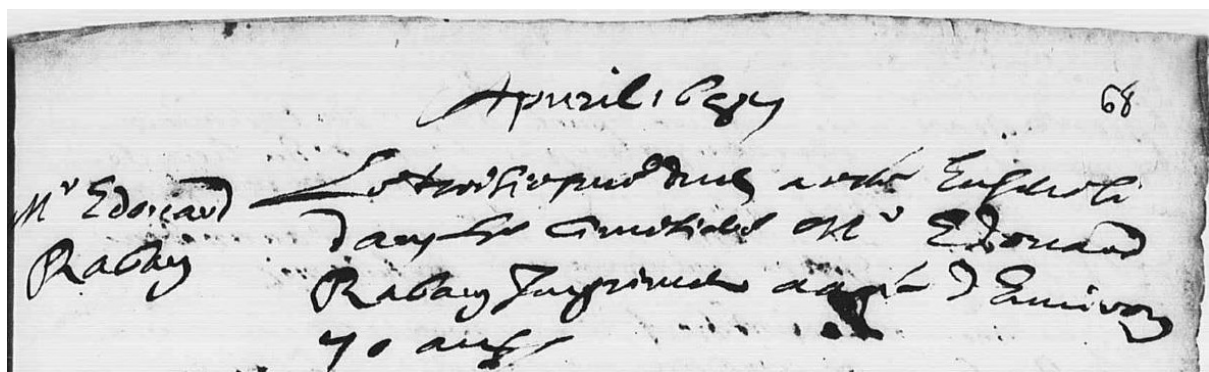


Figure 8: Death entry for RABAN, ÉDOUARD. Orange, April 1687.⁴⁹ Image courtesy of Raban 400.

Accompanying the death record, his will describes himself as ‘né à Leyde’⁵⁰, a remark which takes the story back to Edward Raban’s time in the Low Countries in the 1600s and 1610s. Given this new genealogical research it is possible to pinpoint more accurately the probable date of birth of Édouard Raban. The register entries for Dierick Rabbannus in Amsterdam in October 1613, and for Constantia (I) in Edinburgh in January 1616, would therefore seem to suggest that if Édouard was indeed ‘né à Leyde’ that occurred sometime between August 1614 and March 1615. However, no record of the birth or baptism has yet been found.

On John Raban

Scottish OPRs contain two further intriguing but so far unexplained entries. The first is in Kirkcaldy, and the second is in Edinburgh. These entries present very different circumstantial evidence which make them of interest in piecing together the narrative of Edward’s life. In Kirkcaldy in 1647, one ‘John Rabane’ married a Christian Melville (Figure 9). Edward Raban himself had strong connections to various members of the Melville family (with David Melvill, bookseller in Aberdeen, effectively being Raban’s

business partner). However, no connection between Edward and John, or David Melvill and Christian Melville has been found.

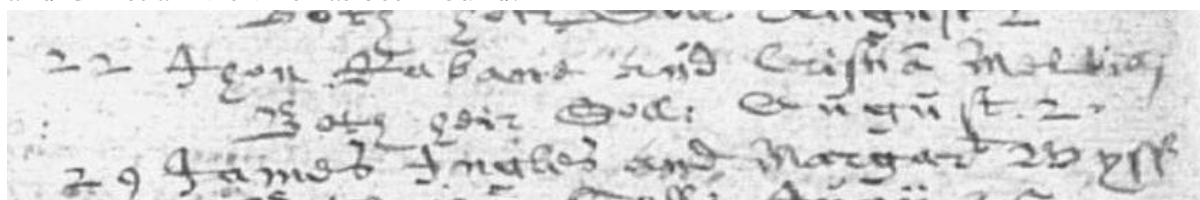


Figure 9: 02/08/1647. RABANE, JHON. Old Parish Registers. Marriages 442/10 299 Edinburgh.⁵¹ Image courtesy of Raban 400.

In Edinburgh, the following year, (Figure 10) a 'Johne Rabbens, Printer' married Mause Whyte. This latter entry has been identified by earlier scholars but with no definitive connection having been made.

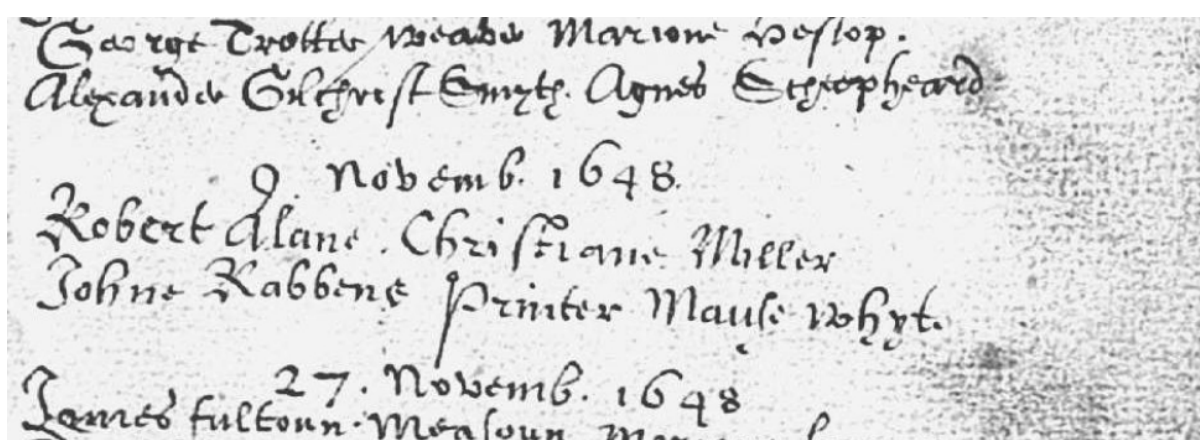


Figure 10: 09/11/1648. RABBONE, JOHNE. Old Parish Registers. Marriages 685/1 430 262 Edinburgh. Image courtesy of Raban 400.

These cannot be the same people as John Rabane and Christian Melville went on to have four children recorded in baptism records between 1648 and 1653. Nothing further has been found on 'Johne Rabbens, Printer'. This remains a topic which requires further investigation to ascertain whether there was any connection with the Aberdeen printer. If either was the son of Edward, then the best estimate is that this child must have been born in Aberdeen between 1625 and 1627.

Much new information about Raban and his life in Scotland has been uncovered through this genealogical investigation. It can be established through these baptismal entries that Edward Raban was first observed in Edinburgh in January of 1616 and the subsequent two entries in 1617 and 1618 suggest that he was permanently domiciled in the Scottish capital during this period. The two baptismal records that relate to Raban's own daughters show that he was a close enough associate of Andro Hart to ask him to act as witness at the baptisms. However, much remains perplexingly opaque and obscure.

Unresolved questions

The narrative about Edward Raban being ‘associated with the Pilgrim Press in Leiden’ and particularly during the period ‘1617-19’ is a recurring theme in the pre-existing literature (Edmond, Gordon Duff, Bushnell). It is so widespread that it is difficult to believe it is a myth. Indeed, Raban’s printed works from his time in Aberdeen contain typeface and ornaments which scholars have widely connected with the Pilgrim Press. If he did have a connection with it during that period, then it is fair to suppose that he may have ventured back to Holland for some reason between the summer of 1618 and late 1619 or early 1620 (the date commonly but clearly erroneously given as his ‘initial arrival’ in Scotland to establish his business in Cowgate under the sign of ABC). What good reason, therefore, would Raban have for leaving Edinburgh and going back to Leiden during 1618-19?

It would seem likely, given that the literature on Raban uniformly makes mention of his association with the Pilgrim Press in Leiden around 1617-19 there must be some credence to this. The issue of the association that Raban had with the Pilgrim Press is, however, much contested. William Brewster (ca.1566-1644) and Thomas Brewer (1578-ca.1640) were English Puritans based in Leiden. They putatively ran a ‘publishing firm’ which in the words of Breugelmans:

...produced religious books and pamphlets, many in English and, of course, of a puritan nature. Many had to be smuggled into the realm of King James – himself a man with outspoken ideas about religion – to be sold there.⁵²

This has come to be known as the Pilgrim Press (with Brewster subsequently being one of the ‘Pilgrim Fathers’ onboard the *Mayflower*). The Press was disbanded in the aftermath of the publication of David Calderwood’s *Perth Assembly* in 1619, a work which so provoked the ire of King James VI & I that his Ambassador to the United Provinces, Sir Dudley Carleton, effectively managed to cajole the Dutch authorities in closing down the press and into pursuing Brewster as the supposed printer. Gordon Duff (1922) presented a supposition that Raban had somehow been an assistant to Brewster. However, Harris and Jones (1922) were less convinced by this. They did, however, note that it was striking to observe ‘the appearance of so large a number of...Brewster’s initials with recognizable flaws, in the books printed by Raban’.⁵³ They speculated that:

It is not unreasonable to suppose that as soon as ever the firm got wind of Sir Dudley Carlton’s [sic] suspicions, the distinctive initials and ornaments were distributed between Reynolds and the bird of passage, Raban ; that the former slipped away to Amsterdam and joined himself to Thorp, bringing with him not only some of the “characters,” but the patronage of the Leyden community ; that Raban, loaded up with other of the initials and ornaments, supplemented by a further stock purchased from the same type-founder, and bearing with him also the manuscript of the *Parasynagma Perthense*, which the Leyden firm dared no longer handle, made his way to Scotland.⁵⁴

Harris and Jones also rehearse the role that Raban may have played in the printing of the volume the *Perth Assembly*.⁵⁵ Three months after Raban's daughter (Contantia (II)) is recorded in the baptism registers, the Perth Assembly met (25-28 August 1618) and assented to five articles promoted by King James VI & I in an attempt to integrate the practices of the Kirk more fully with those of the Church of England. The articles were (i) kneeling during communion, (ii) private baptism, (iii) private communion for the infirm, (iv) confirmation by a bishop, and (v) observance of Holy Days encouraging minister to celebrate Christmas and Easter. The reception of the Five Articles of Perth was mixed⁵⁶. David Calderwood (1575-1650), Minister of Crailing in Roxburghshire, was a leading opponent of the implementation of the Articles and, after the assembly, penned his work the *Perth Assembly, the proceedings thereof and the proof of the nullitie thereof*. The subsequent printed work comprises a volume of 101 pages arguing systematically against each of the five articles. Calderwood himself did not attend the Perth Assembly so he must have gathered first-hand accounts during the process of writing his tract over the late summer and autumn of 1618.

Having completed his manuscript, Calderwood had to get it printed. The printing of the *Perth Assembly* has been subject to considerable investigation including by Harris and Jones (1922)⁵⁷. Calderwood was certainly well-acquainted with the principal booksellers and printers of Edinburgh including Andro Hart and James Cathkin⁵⁸ (c1559-1631) who, with his brother Edward, is frequently mentioned by Calderwood in his *History*⁵⁹. Cathkin and Hart had been close associates both in their trade and their radical Presbyterianism from more than twenty years by this point. Raban, as we have demonstrated, was also a close enough associate of Hart to have him as witness at the baptisms of two of his children.

There was much speculation at the time that the *Perth Assembly* had been printed in Edinburgh by either Andro Hart, Richard Lawson, or James Cathkin. However, the book had in fact been printed in Leiden and shipped back to Scotland in April 1619:

The booke entituled Perth Assembly was brought hether in Aprile, and were landed at Bruntisland. It pleased God that howbeit Mr John Mitchelson [Parson of that place] was -inquisitive to know what books were in the fatt, the customer [the collector of the customs] would not suffer him to medle with them. When they were brought from Bruntisland to Leith, the Bishop of St Andrews comming in immediately after saw the fates, but took no notice of them, becaus they were laying on the shoar among other fates brought out of France, containing French wares. The books were kepted closs till the present suspition vanished.⁶⁰

The books must have been held in Edinburgh until late May or early June before being distributed. Suspicion, therefore, inevitably, fell on the leading printers and booksellers of the capital, Hart, Cathkin, and Lawson. Mann describes the circumstances:

The arrival in the summer of 1619 of David Calderwood's anonymous Perth Assembly, and anti-ritual and staunchly Presbyterian tract, infuriated the government and episcopacy and resulted in

the houses and booths of the Edinburgh book traders Andro Hart, Richard Lawson (f.1603-22) and James Cathkin (f.1601-31) being searched and ransacked as the authorities sought to establish the printer, distributors, and author of the offending work.⁶¹

James Cathkin himself was in London at this time, having left Prestonpans by boat on 3 June 1619.⁶² Whilst there he was summoned before King James VI & I, Archbishop Spottiswoode and others. Cathkin left a manuscript account of his interrogation, entitled *A relation of James Cathkin his imprisonment and examination about printing of the nulletie of Perth Assemblie by himself*.⁶³ It is written in a singular and unusual fashion but, allowing for some licence in the style it remains an important source of evidence. After an account of his examination by the King and the Privy Council, Cathkin goes on to relate that he was summoned, on 16 June 1619, by Archbishop Spottiswoode. Also present were Sir William Alexander and the Archbishop's brother, James (later Bishop of Clogher in Ireland). According to Cathkin's account, it was James who initiated discussion of the printing of the book of the Perth Assembly, but the questioning is marked 'B' for Bishop indicating Archbishop Spottiswoode:

The Bishop called for pen, ink, and paper, to pen my depofition, which was prefentlie broght him, althocht nothing was written. The Bishop prayed me to tell the truth, and I fould gett favour; and he asked me "If I was partner with Andro Hart in prenting? and if I knew his letter that he had ? I fpeir (said he), becaufe it is faid that Perth Affemblie was printed in Edinburgh ; for they that hes written to his Majestie affirmes that the book was watt, new come of the prefs, quhen they wer found , and that augments the fufpicion that it was done in Edinburgh. If his Majestie knew the printer, he wold not efcape with his life." C. "I had nothing to do with the printing of that book; and as for Andro Hart, I was partner with him in printing, bot not this five or fix years; and as for his letter, ther ar manie printers that have letters lik wnto wthers." B. "Hes he ane Englishman to his mann? and know ye quher he is? " C. "I think he be about the citie, bot I know not quher."⁶⁴

This document in the *Bannatyne Miscellany* has been examined and studied by a number of scholars⁶⁵ over the years. However, the significance of the question 'Hes he ane Englishman as his mann?' has perhaps been overlooked. Spottiswoode was enquiring whether Andro Hart had an Englishman working for him and presumably the Archbishop had a specific Englishman in mind and was that Englishman Edward Raban? Is the Englishman referred to the one they suspected of either transmitting the manuscript to Leiden or responsible for its printing in the same city?

We cannot provide an answer to that question and the evidence is at best circumstantial. However, until the recent discovery of the baptismal records outlined earlier in this article, Raban was not known to have been in Edinburgh prior to 1619 or 1620, nor was he believed to have any close association with Andro Hart (and by default his circle including David Calderwood and James Cathkin). The narrative has been that he came to Scotland for the *first time* after the debacle of the closure of the Pilgrim Press after its suspected involvement in printing the *Perth Assembly* rather than he *returned* to Scotland where he

had previously been living for some time. Much is made of Raban being ‘ane Englishman’ elsewhere, both by the Parson of Rothiemay and by Raban himself who adds ‘Angulus’ after his name in some imprints.

Mann, drawing on the work of Sprunger and others, highlights that Calderwood himself was in Leiden in 1619 and suggests that this was probably to supervise the printing of his Perth Assembly, and in which town he conversed with a number of Scottish and English puritans.⁶⁶ Here, however, the chronology of events is somewhat faulty. It is known from Calderwood’s MS History that the printed version of *Perth Assembly* arrived at Burntisland in April 1619 but Calderwood himself also gives us the definitive date he left for Holland:

...the author Mr David Calderwode as was intendit for the author was in the meane time lurking in Cranstoun in a secrete chamber appointed for him by my Ladie Dame Sara Cranstoun who was manie wayes steadable to him He removed from place to place as the Lord had provydit for him till the 27th of August that he embarked at Newheaven and sailed to Holland.⁶⁷

It is certain that Calderwood did visit Leiden. This is known to be the case for Edward Winslow (1595-1655), a well-known English Puritan who worked with Brewster printing in Leiden from 1617 and who was almost certainly involved in the printing of the work, later left this account in his *Hyocrisie unmasked*:

...I can and do affirm that a godly divine coming over to Leiden in Holland, where a book was printed, Anno 1619, as I take it, showing the nullity of *Perth Assembled* [sic], whom we judged to be the author of it, and hidden in Holland for a season to avoid the rage of those evil times (whose name I have forgotten). This man being very conversant with our pastor Mr Robinson.⁶⁸

Calderwood was certainly in Leiden but only after the book had been printed and distributed in Scotland. Was it, therefore, Edward Raban ‘ane Englishman’ with long association with Leiden and its printers but also with two years of close relationship to Andro Hart in Edinburgh who delivered Calderwood’s manuscript to Leiden or supervised his printing? If Raban did land at Leith in late 1619 and this must presumably be the case to give rise to the widely held assumption that this is the point at which he ‘first came’ to Scotland, it was not his *arrival* but his *return*.

One thing, however, is certain. The “Brewster” initials and ornaments which Raban uses are quite common.....in Holland at this time, but they are not common in the British Isles. It is practically certain that Raban landed in Scotland direct from Holland, and brought his initials and ornaments with him.⁶⁹

Edward Raban retired as Printer to the Town and Universities of Aberdeen in 1649. Little is known of Raban’s final years. He lived on until 1658, dying in Aberdeen in late November or early December that year. He was buried near the west wall of St

Nicholas Kirkyard on 6 December 1658. A memorial to Raban, inside the Mither Kirk, was unveiled on the tercentenary in 1922.

Conclusion

The research presented in this article sheds some further light on Edward Raban's life and has been derived from in-depth interrogation of genealogical sources hitherto left unconsidered by scholars of Raban. It proves beyond reasonable doubt that Raban was domiciled in Scotland earlier than was previously recognised, and that he had a close association with the leading Scottish printer and publisher of the day, Andro Hart. It also resolves issues connected with his daughter, who became the wife of Gavin Milne, as well as revising the life and connections of Édouard Raban, printer in Orange. Many questions do remain unanswered, and some elements remain speculative until further evidence and source material is uncovered. Raban was described by many of the authors mentioned here as something of an 'enigma' and he remains an enigma to the end.

Authors

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¹ Raban 400 available at www.raban400.com (accessed 10 January 2024).

² J. Gordon, *History of Scots Affairs 1637-41*. (Aberdeen, 1841), 238.

³ J.P. Edmond, *The Aberdeen Printers: Edward Raban to James Nicol, 1620-1736*. (Aberdeen, 1886) x-xi.

⁴ E. Raban, *Prognostication for the Year 1625*. (Aberdeen: 1625).

⁵ E. Gordon Duff, 'The early career of Edward Raban, afterwards first printer at Aberdeen.' *The Library*, (series 4), II/4, (1922), 241. Paper read before the Bibliographical Society, 19 December 1921.

⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 251.

⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 250.

⁸ Raban E. *Resolution against Drunkenness* quoted by Gordon Duff, p. 250.

⁹ Using <http://theclergydatabase.org.uk> which contains a number of later Rabans and many Ravens.

¹⁰ The Bibliotheca Lindesiana of James Lindsay, 26th Earl of Crawford located at Haigh Hall, Wigan.

¹¹ Gordon Duff, p.240.

¹² Raban, E. *Resolution against drunkenness* quoted by Gordon Duff, p.240.

¹³ *Ibid.* p.241.

¹⁴ *Ibid.* p.241

¹⁵ *Ibid.* p.241.

¹⁶ Gemeentearchief Leiden, Rechterlijk Archief, Getuigenisboeken 1581-1810 L. 224 (15 February 1613).

¹⁷ See A. Mann. *The Book Trade and Policy in Early Modern Scotland c.1500-1720*. Doctoral Thesis, University of Stirling, 1997, pp.153-154. However, this is an incorrect reading of the name Rapelingen in the archival source and no reference to a printer of the name Lammelinson existed.

- ¹⁸ P.M.J. de Baar. *Index op de getuigenisboeken, 1581-1810* (available at www.ergoedleiden.nl/component/lei_verhalen/verhaal/id/295 (accessed 10 January 2024)).
- ¹⁹ Gordon Duff, *Early career*, p.243.
- ²⁰ There is extensive debate whether this was Johannes (Jan) Sol. It appears unlikely that it was.
- ²¹ Gordon Duff, *Early career*, p.241.
- ²² Email correspondence between John Lane and authors, 19 February 2023. John Lane has conducted extensive (unpublished) research into the Dutch archives.
- ²³ Stadarchief Amsterdam, Gemeente DBT Dopen, archiefnummer 5001, inventarisnummer 138, blad p.154, akte nummer DTB 138.
- ²⁴ Lane, email correspondence, 19 February 2023.
- ²⁵ Gordon Duff, *Early career*, p. xi. There may have been other Edinburgh imprints by Raban but, if there were, they do not survive.
- ²⁶ J.F. Kellas Johnstone, *Record of the Celebration of the Tercentenary of the Introduction of the Art of Printing Into Aberdeen by Edward Raban in the Year 1622, 16th and 17th June 1922*, (Aberdeen, 1922).
- ²⁷ Badly or mistakenly written and heavily inked in the Register.
- ²⁸ Old Parish Registers Births 686/1 20 149 Edinburgh, p.149.
- ²⁹ Pasquier Tollet (several spelling variants in the records) was a Huguenot and had been in Edinburgh for over twenty years. He was married to Mary Kinmaker and three children have been identified: William (b 1595), Jonas (b 1598), Jonat (b 1600). Pasquier Tollet was a marykin (or marikin) maker) and his trade as marikin maker is described in Agnew's *Protestant exiles from France* (Printed Privately, 1866: Book First, Chapter XIV) which states that '[t]he trade of *marikin-maker* ... was apparently introduced by him and by another Frenchman, Jonas George'. Agnew goes on to explain '[t]he word *marikin* is derived from the French *marroquin*, of which the dictionary definition is, "a goat's skin dressed after the manner used in Morocco." Calderwood notes (*History of the Kirk of Scotland*. Edinburgh: Woodrow Society, 1644, volume5, p.535), about the arrest in 1597 of various citizens of Edinburgh including Andro Hart and Edward Cathkin, booksellers, and James Cathkin, now also a bookseller, but then a worker of marikin leather'. This is an interesting observation given the later roles of Calderwood, Hart, and Cathkin in the *Perth Assembly*.
- ³⁰ A. Mann, 'Some Property is Theft': copyright law and illegal activity in early modern Scotland'. In: Myers R, Harris M & Mandelbrote G (eds.) *Against the Law: Crime, Sharp Practice and the Control of Print Publishing Pathways*. (New Castle, 2004), 31-60 (see p.36).
- ³¹ National Records of Scotland, Old Parish Registers. Births 685/1 20 190 Edinburgh.
- ³² National Records of Scotland, Old Parish Registers. Births 685/1 20 218 Edinburgh.
- ³³ Burgess Register, 20 January 1648; [transcribed by Alexander MacDonald Munro] in *Miscellany of the New Spalding Club*. (Aberdeen, 1909), Volume 2, 396.
- ³⁴ It may be hypothesised that Constance or Constantia was the name of Raban's mother, or that of his wife.
- ³⁵ J.F. Kellas Johnstone, *Record of the Celebration of the Tercentenary*.
- ³⁶ David Wedderburn (ca. 1580-1646) was headmaster of Aberdeen Grammar School.
- ³⁷ Édouard Raban (1621-1687) available at https://data.bnf.fr/14595792/edouard_raban/
- ³⁸ Translation: *Son of the Aberdeen printer-bookseller Edward Raban (1579?-1658), who had served in the army of Maurice de Nassau, Prince of Orange. Affiliated with the Masonic lodge of "Bon Accord". Worked with his father until at least 1635, but economic difficulties forced him to emigrate to the continent.*
- ³⁹ Millet, M. *Notice sur les imprimeurs d'Orange et les livre sortis de leurs presses*. (Valence, 1877), 19.
- ⁴⁰ Maignien, E. *L'imprimerie, les imprimeurs et les libraires à Grenoble du XVe au XVIIIe siècle*, (Grenoble, 1884), XXXVI-XXXVIII.
- ⁴¹ M. Pellechet, M. *Notes sur les Imprimeurs du Comtat venaissin et de la Principauté d'Orange et catalogue des livres imprimés par eux qui se trouvent à la bibliothèque de Carpentras*, (Paris, 1887), 124-128.

- ⁴² Martin, H.J. and Lecocq, M. *Livres et lecteurs à Grenoble: les registres du libraire Nicolas 1645-1668*. (Geneva 1977) 280-281.
- ⁴³ M. Millet, *Notice sur les imprimeurs d'Orange*, p.19.
- ⁴⁴ Translation: *Born in Scotland, this printer first practiced his art in Edinburgh and Saint Andrews, then in Aberdeen; from there he went to Geneva, Grenoble and came, around 1646, to settle in Orange*.
- ⁴⁵ M. Pellechet, *Notes*, 124-128.
- ⁴⁶ Translation: *Furthermore, the Huguenot Richard Cocson took over the brand of a bookseller of his religion in 1625 and began to operate a press; a passing Scottish Protestant, Édouard Raban, replaced him after his death (1635) but he left shortly after 1642 to reappear in Orange before settling in Nîmes*.
- ⁴⁷ See his title pages, such as *Les vraies causes des derniers troubles d'Angleterre*. (Orange, 1653) which notes 'Chez Édouard Raban, Imprimeur & Libraire de Son Altesse, de la Ville, et Université'.
- ⁴⁸ See, for example, Maillot 'L'unité du saint Sacrement de l'Eucharistie. &c. Orange: Veuve Isaac Raban, 1674.
- ⁴⁹ Archives départementales de Vaucluse, Actes Paroissiaux et d' état civil d'Orange. Actes d'Ancien Régime. Paroisse catholique d'Orange. Actes de catholicité Sépultures (1599-1792) septembre 1686 – juin 1688, 68.
- ⁵⁰ Ibid. See also Moreil, F. 'La principauté d'Orange: Un carrefour des relations entre France et Provinces-Unies au XVIIe siècle. In Yves Krumenacker, Y. (ed.). *Entre calvinistes et catholiques: Les relations religieuses entre la France et les Pays-Bas du Nord (XVIe-XVIIIe siècle)*. (Rennes, 2010) 239-258.
- ⁵¹ The index date is given as 2 August, but the written entry date is 22 August.
- ⁵² R. Breugelmans, 'The Pilgrim Press: a Press That Did Not Print (Leiden 1616/17-1619)', *Quaerendo*, 39 (2009) pp.34-44. (see pp.34-35 in particular).
- ⁵³ J.R. Harris. and S.K. Jones, *The Pilgrim Press. A bibliographical & historical memorial of the books printed at Leyden by the Pilgrim Fathers*, (Cambridge, 1922), pp.57-58. See also the partial reprint of the same title edited by R. Breugelmans (*Bibliotheca Bibliographica Neerlandica*, 23; Nieuwkoop 1987).
- ⁵⁴ Ibid. p.59.
- ⁵⁵ The Latin edition of the Perth Assembly, supposedly out of St Andrews and by Raban is widely acknowledged. However, Aldis and Aldis (updated, National Library of Scotland) note '556 Parasyngma Perthense ... (By D. Calderwood). 4to. [St Andrews, Raban?], 1620. STC 4361 (not an STC book: [Holland?])' thus on speculating about Raban and noting that it is not a Short Title Catalogue book and therefore may be from Holland.
- ⁵⁶ See A.R. MacDonald, *The Jacobean Kirk, 1567-1625: Sovereignty, Polity and Liturgy*. (London: 1998) particularly chapter seven; also L.A.M. Stewart, "The Political Repercussions of the Five Articles of Perth: A Reassessment of James VI and I's Religious Policies in Scotland". *The Sixteenth Century Journal*, (2007) 38 (4): 1013-1036.
- ⁵⁷ Ibid. See pp.58-61 in particular.
- ⁵⁸ J. Cathkin 'A Relation of James Cathkin: His Imprisonment and Examination About Printing the Nullitie of Perth Assembly, by Himself'. *Bannatyne Miscellany*, Volume 1, pt.2, pp.199-214. *The Bannatyne Miscellany*, Edinburgh, 1827, Volume 1, 200, n.2 "James Cathkin, bookseller and burgess in Edinburgh, in the reign of James VI appears on several occasions to have shewn great zeal in the cause of Presbyterian discipline". Hereafter 'Bannatyne'.
- ⁵⁹ *Bannatyne*, stating Calderwood's mention of the Cathkin brothers on pp.166, 364, 367, 369, 732, 748 of his *History*.
- ⁶⁰ D. Calderwood, *History*. MS Volume 6, p.474, British Library Ad. MS 4739. Quoted in *Bannatyne*, p.209, n.14; and in the published version D. Calderwood, *History*. [Woodrow Society] (Edinburgh, 1841-49), volume 7, p.382.
- ⁶¹ A. Mann, 'The press and military conflict in early modern Scotland'. In S. Murdock and A. Mackillop, (eds.). *Fighting for identity: Scottish military experience c.1550-1900*. (Leiden, 2002), 265-286.

⁶² *Bannatyne*, p.199.

⁶³ *Bannatyne*, 199-215. The published version in *Bannatyne* noted “Cathkin and his relation (which is preserved in a MS volume in the possession of Robert Graham, Esq, Advocate) has given a most curious account of his examination by King James and the Privy Council of England”. A Robert Graham is noted in the membership of the Bannatyne Club for this period. The manuscript has not been traced.

⁶⁴ *Bannatyne*, p.209.

⁶⁵ Including Alastair Mann for his doctoral thesis, *The book trade and public policy in early modern Scotland c.1500-c.1720*, PhD thesis (University of Stirling, 1997), p. 100-101.

⁶⁶ Ibid. p142 quoting K.L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, (Leiden, 1993).

⁶⁷ Calderwood, *History*. v7, p.382.

⁶⁸ E. Winslow, *Hypocrisie unmasked*. (London, 1646), 96-97.

⁶⁹ Harris and Jones, *The Pilgrim Press*, p.59.