

Scottish covenanting, Jesuit, and Quaker printing in Holland, 1664-1684

D. W. B. SOMERSET

The main purpose of this article is to observe that many of the books published anonymously, and without place or name of printer, by Scottish Covenanters during the period 1664 to 1684 appear to have been printed by the same Dutch printer, Henry Goddaeus in Rotterdam (or possibly by his widow from 1684). This includes such famous works as Samuel Rutherford's *Letters (Joshua Redivivus)* (1664, 1675), John Brown of Wamphray's *Apologetical Narration* (1665), James Stirling's *Naphtali* (1667), Sir James Steuart's *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669), Robert Fleming's *Fulfilling of Scripture* (1669, 1671), Robert Macward's *True Non-Conformist* (1671), David Calderwood's *True History of the Church of Scotland* (1678), and Thomas Forrester's *Rectius Instruendum* (1684). Goddaeus was not a sympathizer with the Covenanters, however, but simply a commercial publisher, and in 1675 he printed an edition of the Roman Catholic Bishop John Lesley's *De Origine Moribus et rebus gestibus Scotorum* (original edition 1578). The man behind this edition can be identified (with high probability) as the Scottish Jesuit George Leslie, and thus Goddaeus was apparently printing simultaneously for Covenanters and for a Jesuit.

The evidence behind this claim regarding the Goddaeus press is simply that many of the covenanting works from the period are printed in the same style, and with the same limited ornamentation, as are works bearing Goddaeus's imprint, such as Brown of Wamphray's *De Causa Dei Contra Antisabbatarios* (1674-1676). An examination of some contemporary volumes soon shows that this ornamentation was not universal, nor even particularly common, in general Dutch or Scottish printing at the time. The 1675 edition of Lesley's *De Origine Moribus et rebus gestibus Scotorum* displays the same ornamentation. Goddaeus also printed for the English Quaker Benjamin Furly, and there is a possibility that he printed Robert Barclay and George Keith's *Quakerism Confirmed* (1676) – hence the inclusion of the word 'Quaker' in the title of this paper.

1. Presbyterian printing in Scotland after 1660

The printing of Presbyterian and covenanting works in Scotland was greatly restricted after the Restoration of the monarchy in 1660. In November 1661, the Scottish Privy Council prohibited unlawful printing under sanction of

the ‘highest peril’, and the printers Christopher Higgins, George Swintoun, and James Glen all found themselves in trouble for producing covenanting material.¹ Commentaries and devotional and practical works could still be published openly, as could polemical writings against Romanism (until the accession of James VII in 1685) and against Quakerism, but anything that took to do with Church government or the Covenants had to be printed anonymously and, generally, abroad. Thus there were numerous Edinburgh editions of works by Hugh Binning, Andrew Gray, and James Durham; and William Guthrie’s *Christian’s Great Interest* was several times printed in Glasgow and London; but George Gillespie’s *Dispute Against the English-Popish Ceremonies* (1660) states neither printer nor place of publication, and may well have been produced in the Netherlands.

In 1661, Robert Macward was exiled to the Netherlands, and soon thereafter the flow of Scottish covenanting works commenced. The Dutch Republic had been the centre of European printing for decades and the Dutch authorities made little attempt to control the vast quantities of material produced.² Whether it would have been easy to identify the printer of the *Apologetical Relation* (1665) and *Naphtali* (1667) at the time is difficult to assess, but by the 1670s Henry Goddaeus was openly putting his name to some of the covenanting publications that he was issuing, and a simple comparison would quickly have shown the Dutch or British authorities (as it did the present writer) that Goddaeus must have been printing many of the anonymous ones as well.

2. Henry Goddaeus

Henry Goddaeus was born about 1633 in Vaassen, where his father Hermann was a pastor. His elder brother Conrad (1612-1658) was also a pastor in Vaassen. In 1659, Henry married Johanna Snoeck in Rotterdam, becoming the father of eleven children.³ He began printing in Rotterdam – in Dutch, English, and Latin – about 1660. His earliest recorded items, both from 1660, are (1) a Dutch translation by Frans van Hoogstraten of *Diogenes Cynicus Redivivus* (1658) by Johan Amos Comenius, with the title *Den Verrezen hondschen Diogenes*; and (2) *A summary description manifesting that greater profits are to be done in the hott then in the could [sic] parts off the coast off America* by the Anglo-Dutch courtier Sir Balthazar Gerbier (c. 1592-1667), who had fallen on hard times after the restoration of Charles II. Other early items are *De Eere des Werelds ontdekt* for the Quaker Benjamin Furlly (1662), and *A Christian Womans Experiences* printed for the Baptist Hanserd Knollys (1599-1691) in 1663. In all, we have found forty-two items bearing the Goddaeus imprint between 1660 and 1683, but more will probably emerge. He died in May 1684, and a further ten items from 1684 to 1690 carry the imprint of his widow.

¹ Alastair J. Mann, ‘The Book Trade and Public Policy in Early Modern Scotland, c.1500-c.1720’ (PhD thesis, University of Stirling, 1997), pp. 258, 292, 321.

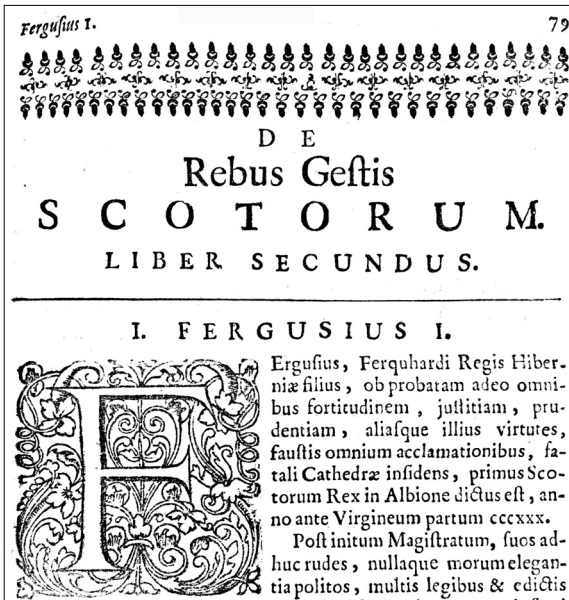
² See Paul G. Hoftijzer, ‘The Dutch Republic, Centre of the European Book Trade in the 17th Century’, in: European History Online (EGO), published by the Leibniz Institute of European History (IEG), Mainz 2015-11-23. URL: <http://www.ieg-ego.eu/hoftijzerp-2015-en>.

³ See an online Goddaeus family tree: <http://www.mijnstambomen.nl/leiden/goddeus.htm>. Further information on Henry Goddaeus may well be available in Dutch. See also <http://web.ecclesia-in-fasna.nl/?p=3256>

From the materials bearing his imprint, Goddaeus seems to have been a commercial printer with no strong religious convictions, publishing for a Baptist, a Quaker, two Scottish Covenanters, several Dutch pietist ministers, and a Jesuit, among others. He and his widow, however, seem to have had a sympathy for the underdog, and many of their publications were for people out of favour with the authorities in some way. In 1660, his place of printing was at the Red Bridge (Roobrugge); from 1662 to 1664 in the Newstreet (Nieuwstrasse); in 1665 and 1666 in S. Jacobstraet; and from 1671 to 1682 in Oppert. In 1682, he was apparently living in New Street;⁴ possibly his shop was a different place from his house after 1664. His widow was printing in Lombardstraat from 1684 to 1688.

3. The ornaments employed by Goddaeus

The commonest ornament employed by Goddaeus was probably the acorn.⁵ This came in several varieties but the one almost always used by Goddeus was acorn A (although he did have other types of acorns as well which he occasionally used, whether deliberately or by mistake). In the absence of any



Acorns of type A with P-fleurons in John Lesley, *De Origine Moribus* (1675), p. 72. Note that the fourth acorn from the right in the bottom row is not of type A.

distinguishing letter, an acorn will be assumed to be of type A. Acorns were popular with other printers, and they could be used individually in various formations, or put together in rows. Goddaeus was not skilful with his ornaments, and a row of acorns in his hands typically presented a careless, clumsy appearance.

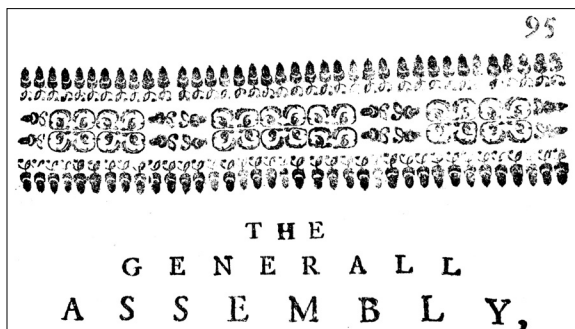
Goddaeus often supplemented his acorns with bars; and the bars and acorns provide one of the most distinctive features of his work, as will appear. Often the bars were varied with sheep, stamens, popcorn, or 'Q-fleurons',

and the acorns were sometimes replaced by 'P-fleurons'. Another distinctive ornament that he frequently used as a tail-piece was the squirrel. Other

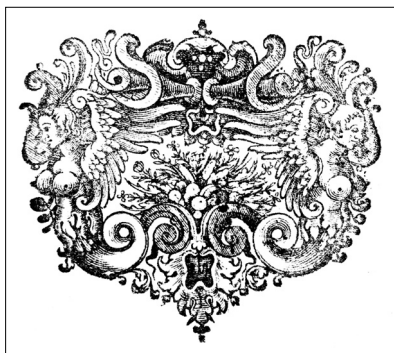
⁴ Jessica L. Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson: her story of marital abuse and defiance in seventeenth-century England* (Stanford University Press, 2014), p. 145.

⁵ For convenience, we have tried to name the ornaments. The appropriateness of some of these names may be questioned.

frequently used but less distinctive ornaments include the mermaids, the floral yoke, the 'A' head-piece, and the R- and S-fleurons.⁶ Certainly the floral yoke, the 'A' head-piece, and the S-fleuron were often used by other printers as well.⁷ Most of these ornaments will be illustrated in the course of the paper.



Acorns of type B (top and bottom rows) and type A (middle) with popcorn in *A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies* (1682), p. 95.



Mermaids. John Lesley, *De Origine Moribus* (1675), p. 227.

One ornament that is important for identification is the Naphtali ornament, used on the title-page of *Naphtali* (1667), and also in Benjamin Furly's *Coppye van eenen brief* (1666) and in Hugh Smith's *Apology* (1677). Even more important is the crude angel (if one can even call it an ornament), which is used in ten works between 1662 and 1686. Another peculiar ornament, though seldom used, is the lion and sword with the motto 'Pugno Pro Patria' (I fight for the Fatherland).

4. Items known to have been printed by Henry Goddaeus

At least forty works survive bearing the imprint of Henry Goddaeus, Rotterdam, and a further ten with the imprint of his widow. Here we give a provisional list, with comments on the authorship and ornamentation of many of them (a few of the listed items we have not seen – either physically or electronically). The reader will soon realise that the author is considerably handicapped by his ignorance of the Dutch language.


1. Johann Amos Comenius, *Den Verrezen hondschen Diogenes*, translated from the Latin by Frans van Hoogstraten (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, voor Frans van Hoogstraten, 1660), 144 pages. Comenius lived from 1592 to 1670. Frans van Hoogstraten (1632-1696) was a member of the

⁶ For the 'A' head-piece, see H.R. Plomer, *English Printers' Ornaments* (London, 1924), pp. 128, 195 (no. 51).

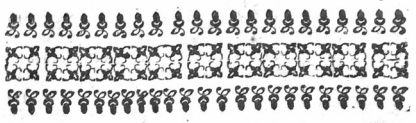
⁷ With regard to the floral yoke, Rindert Jagersma and Trude Dijkstra comment: 'Although almost every printer in this period was in possession of one of those, small differences are noticeable. These differences usually occur on the top of the ornaments or in the bows seen on both sides. When there is clear damaging the ornaments can be used for identification'; 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', *Quaerendo*, Vol. 43 (2013), pp. 278-310 (p. 292).

Aanpraak aan den Leezer.
 zynen, maar op te wekken, aan te leggen ende te be-
 den, als een goetd ende getrouw uitdeelder, tot de
 meeste nutte ende sichtiging. 2 Tim. 4. v. 2. 1 Cor. 9. v. 16.
 17. 2 Cor. 5. v. 11. 18. 19. 20. Rom. 12. v. 6. 7. 8. 1 Pet.
 4. v. 10. 11. 1 Cor. 12. v. 7. 8. 10. 28. 1 Tim. 4. v. 14. 2.
 Tim. 1. v. 6. Matth 25. v. 26. 27. Overmits de geweldige
 proceduren der Overheden, door welke al't recht van
 de Kerk geschonden wordt, my niet en kunnen berooven
 van mijn zending, die ik van den Heere gekregen heb.
 Indien iemand dit mijn doen verkeerdlijck zal willen uit-
 krijten, ende lasteren als scheuring, deze mijne verklaring,
 ende daadlijcke praktijcke zal'er tegen zijn, ende tot ver-
 zekering van dien ondertekene ik dit met mijn eyghen
 handt, voor de ooghen des genen, die herten en nieren be-
 proeft, ende stelle het tot een getuigenis.

JACOBVS KOELMAN.




Pag. 1



REFORMATIE
 Nodigh ontrent de
FEESTDAGEN,
 Vertoont in een
PREDIKATIE,
 Gedaan den 26 December 1672.

Over
GALAT. IV. Vers. 9, 10, 11.
 En nu, als gy Godt kent, ja veel meer van Godt gekent
 zijt, hoe keert gy u wederom tot de zwakke en arme
 eerste beginselen, welke gy wederom van vooren aan
 wilt dienen? Gy onderhoudt Dagen, ende Maanden,
 ende Tyden, ende Jaren. Ik vreeze voor u, dat ik
 eenighs te vergeefs aan u gearbeyden hebbe.

Eliefde in den Heere.



Gdy sijn hiez nu booz't aangezichte
 Gods gekomen, om de publike Gods-
 diensten waar te nemen / en te betrach-
 ten; Doch wij dienen wel te weten / en
 te bedenken / waarom / en uit wat zone
 en betweeghreden wij juist nu, en in zul-
 ken completen getal nu gekhmen sijn / elk vrage dat eens
 sijn eigen Herte; want her heeft sijn nuttigheid. Dit is

Squirrel ornament, with acorns and sheep on facing page. Jacobus Koelman, *Reformatie nodigh ontrent de feest-dagen* (1675).

*ligerly compared, and exactly rep-
 conforme to the foresaid printed Acts.*

a Welwisher of the Church of Scotland, who
 and encouragement by what is now done) inter-
 publish the rest of the Acts not heretofore print-
 a part of which he hath by him.

PSALM XLVIII.
 12. *Walk about Zion, and goe round about her: sell
 ereof.*
 3. *Markeye well her Bullwarks, consider her pala-
 may tell it to the generation following.*
*For this God is our God for ever and ever: He will be
 ven unto death.*



Printed in the Year 1682,

Angel. A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies (1682), title-page.

illustrious van Hoogstraten family, and was himself a poet, translator, and printer. He lived mostly in Rotterdam and seems to have had a close association with Goddaeus over the years. There is a squirrel ornament on the title-page. The name of Henricus Goddaeus appears in the colophon.

2. Johan Amos Comenius. *Faber fortunae. Handboexken van den werkmeester der fortune, ofte De kunst van zich zelve te redden. Waar bij gevoegt zijn De regelen van een verstandig leven. In Nederduits vertaalt door F. v. H. [i.e. Frans van Hoogstraten]* (Rotterdam: Francois van Hoogstraten; ter druckerij van Henricus Goddaeus [c. 1660]), 192 pages. This is sometimes dated to 1665.

3. Sir Balthazar Gerbier, *A summary description manifesting that greater profits are to be done in the hott then in the could parts off the coast off America and how much the public good is concerned therein referring to the annexed advertisement for men inclined to plantations* (Rotterdam: [Henry Goddaeus], 1660), 24 pages. For Sir Balthazar Gerbier, see *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (ODNB). In this work, he advocates slavery. The squirrel ornament appears on the title-page of the main text and the advertisement, and the 'A' head-piece on sig. A and sig. A2.

4. Charles de Rochefort, *Waalse Hervormde Kerk Rotterdam, Reglementen voor de Waalsche kerk te Rotterdam* (1661). A compilation of the various resolutions that had been adopted by the Walloon Church in Rotterdam. Not seen. Charles de Rochefort (c. 1604-1683) was pastor of the Walloon Church in Rotterdam from 1653 to 1681, but better known as the author of an important early work on the Antilles.⁸

5. [Benjamin Furly], *De Eere des Werelds ontdekt, en om desselvs onnuttigheids ende onprofijtelijsheids wille verworpen. Ende de Eere, die van God alleen komt, bevestigt, en in't werk gestelt : Ofte Eenige Redenen/ waarom het Volk Gods/ Quakers genaamt/ verzaken het gewoonlijke Eerbewijs/ ende de Groetingen des Werelds/ bestaande in den Hoed af te doen/ Buigen/ Goedendag zeggen/ etc. Welke opgehouden worden in het aannemen der Personen/ tegens de koniglijke Wet der Vrijheid* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1662), 32 pages. The angel appears on the title-page. This is a Dutch version of Benjamin Furly's *The worlds honour detected, and, for the unprofitableness thereof, rejected, and the honour which comes from God alone, asserted, and reduced to practice, or, Some reasons why the people of God called Quakers, do deny the accustomed honour and salutations of the world ... by a friend to truth, who is no respector or regarnder of persons, called a Quaker, B.F.* (London: Robert Wilson, 1663). Furly (1636-1714) defends the Quaker position of not doffing the hat in greeting superiors.⁹

6. Katherine Sutton, *A Christian Womans Experiences of the glorious working of Gods free grace, published, for the edification of others, by Katherine Sutton* (Rotterdam: Henry Goddaeus, 1663), 44 pages. Katherine Sutton seems to have died before the book was printed, judging by Hanserd Knollys' preface. For further information on her, see ODNB. The preface has the 'A' head-piece and on p. 1 is a double row of acorns.

7. Joannes Min-el, *Logica, ofte Redenkonstig onderwys. Na een ijdens begriip geschikt, door exempelen* (Tot Rotterdam: Gedrukt bij Henricus Goddaeus, 1663), 226 pages. This has the 'A' head-piece, the squirrel, and numerous acorns, among other ornaments.

8. H. R. van der Does, *Een profitelijk reken-boekje, van de granen : Seer dienstig voor alle Koopluyden die in Granen handelen soo tot Leyden, als andere omleggende Plaatsen* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1664), 72 pages. This is a guide for grain-buyers. It has the stamen decoration on sig. A2 and the

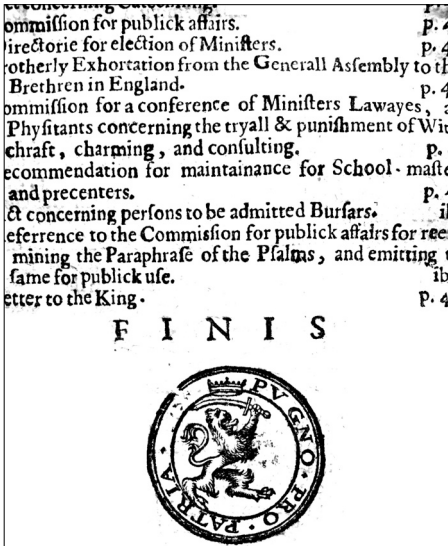
⁸ See Benoit Roux, 'Le pasteur Charles de Rochefort et l'*Histoire naturelle et morale des îles Antilles de l'Amérique*', in B. Grunberg (ed.), *Les Indiens des Petites Antilles: Des premiers peuplements aux débuts de la colonisation européenne* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 2011), pp. 175-216 (p. 188 for mention of Goddaeus).

⁹ See Sarah Hutton (ed.), *Benjamin Furly, 1646-1714: a Quaker merchant and his milieu* (Florence, 2007), especially pp. 87-109, and Appendix IV for a reprint of the English version.

squirrel ornament at the end. A copy of this, with the inscription of the German bibliographer Johann Albert Fabricius, sold for £840 at a Sotheby's sale in 2004.

9. Franciscus Ridderus, *Historisch A, B, C. Tot een besige ledigheydt: Vervaaetende vijf honderd voorwerpsele, yder met drie historien uyt heylige, kerckelijcke en wereltsche autheuren, soo oude als nieuwe, ende haer gebruyck* (Tot Rotterdam: Bij Joannes Borstius, boeckverkooper, anno 1664), 663 pages. Goddaeus is mentioned as printer at the end. Ridderus (c. 1620-1683) was a Dutch pietist minister. He moved to Rotterdam in 1656, and was a prolific author. This has the 'A' head-piece, the sheep, the stamens, the Q-fleurons, and the acorns, among other ornaments.

10. Edward Billing, *Een getrouwe getuygenisse voor Godt ende mijn Landt, zijnde een Retro-spectijf ofte Tegen-spiegel voor de wet-gevers ende de reste van de kinderen van de kerck van Engelandt* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1665), 16 pages. This was a Dutch translation by the Quaker Benjamin Furlong of an English work *A faithful testimony for God and my Country*



Lion and sword. *A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies* (1682), p. 498.

published in London in 1664. It has the same ornamentation on the title-page (two acorns) as Samuel Rutherford's *Joshua Redivivus* (1664) and Brown of Wamphray's *Apologeticall Relation* (1665).

11. Franciscus Ridderus, *Reys-Discours op het verschijnen van de comeet-sterre, die voor d'eerstemael gesien is den 15 December des jaers 1664 en vervolgens in 't jaer 1665* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1665), 32 pages. This has the 'A' head-piece on sig. A2 and the squirrel ornament at the end.

12. Pierre du Moulin, *Kort begriip der redenkonst* (Rotterdam, 1665), 182 pages. This is a reprint of a Dutch translation of du Moulin's *Elementa Logica* (1598). The name of Henricus Goddaeus as printer

appears at the end. This edition is very similar to an earlier one of 1649 (also of 182 pages) printed by Tymen Houthaak (Houthaek) in Amsterdam. Perhaps Goddaeus got some of his type from Houthaak. This has the squirrel on the title-page, the stamens on sig. A2, the popcorn on sig. A3, and the two rows of acorns at the end.

13. *Een oprecht, onpartijdig, ende seer naeuwkeurig verhael van't generemarqueert is onder het bloedigh zee-gevecht tusschen de navale machten des konings van Groot Brittangien, Karel de II [...] ende die van de [...] Staten Generael* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1666), 8 pages. This is an account of the 'Four Days' Battle' of 11th-14th June 1666. The ornament on the title-page is the lion and sword with the motto 'Pugno Pro Patria'.

14. *Een Oprecht, en Waerachtig Verhael van den ... bloedigen Zeeslagh, tusschen de twee machtig Vlooten van den Koning van Engeland ten eener, en die van ... (de) Staten der vrije vereenigde Nederl. ter anderer zijde: Voorgevallen op den 11, 12, 13 en 14 Junij, 1666* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1666), a single sheet. This is another account of the 'Four Days' Battle'.

15. *Waarachtig ende oprecht verhaal van den schrickelijcken zeeslagh, voorgevallen op Maandagh, zijnde den 14 Junij, des naarmiddaghs, na dat de Engelsche vloot met sevenentwintigh nieuwe schepen was versterckt, tot dat sy dood de donkerheyd van de mist van den anderen geraackten* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1666), 1 sheet.

16. *Een oprecht kort verhaal, van het zee-gevecht tusschen zijn majesteits, en de Hollantsche vlooten* (1666), 8 pages. This is a translation of an English account of the 'Four Days' Battle'. The ornament on the title-page is the angel, and on the last page is the squirrel ornament.

17. *Een waarachtig en oprecht verhaal, van de zeer wonderlijcke gezichten. Die gezien zijn in de provintie van Jorckshire, op den 23 Junij 1666. ontrent de steden Colburne, Sheffield, en Attercliffe, geschreven door verscheyde geloofwaardige personen uyt Engeland, aan diversche Engelsche koopluuden binnen Rotterdam woonachtig* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1666), 1 sheet. An account of a wonder seen in Yorkshire.

18. *Kort en oprecht Verhael van den Zeeslag ... Voorgevallen op den 3 en 4 Augusti, 1666* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1666), 1 sheet. This is an account of the sea-battle between England and the Dutch on 3rd and 4th August 1666.

19. *Extract uyt een Brief, geschreven uyt Vlissinge, aen seker Koopman tot Rotterdam, wegens de Victorieuse Zee-slag tusschen de Hollandsche en Engelsche Vlooten. Voor-gevallen op Maendag, zijnde den 13en. September Ao. 1666. Ontrent de Hoofden, by Kalis in Vranckrijck* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddæus, 1666), 1 sheet. Not seen.

20. *Oprecht verhael van de attaque die de Hollandsche vloot heeft ghedaen op Quinesburgh, leggende ontrent 8 mijlen opwaerds in de revier van Londen, op den 22 en 23 Junij, 1667* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddæus, 1667). Not seen.

At this stage, there is an unexplained gap in the flow of Goddaeus' publications, although at least two of his anonymous publications date from this period.

21. *Catalogus exquisitissimos ac plerosque optima compactos libros complectens ... libros* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1670). Catalogue of the library of Jacobus de Bacq (c. 1640-1670), a doctor of Law. Not seen.

22. G.P. Vermeer. *Mey-krans, gevlochten by de vvillige-bloeme: onder 't woordt, door liefdt bewillghdt: ten Berghschen-Hoec. Op het jaar onses Heeren ende zalighmaeckers Jesu Christi, 1671* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1671), 1 page. A poem. This is particularly interesting because it has, as a border, a display of commonly used Goddaeus ornaments including acorns and bars, sheep, and stamens, and P- and Q-fleurons. It also has one of the classic Dutch printing ornaments as a head-piece, which might be called the 'full bear'.¹⁰

¹⁰ See R. Breugelmanns (ed.), *The Pilgrim Press* (Leiden, 1987), p. 162, Ornament I.

23. *Opdragt aan zyn doorluchtige hoogheid Wilhem Henrik, prince van Orangien en Nassauw, &c. Midtsgaders aanprikkeling aan alle vroomen Batos knechten* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1672). Not seen.

24. J. van Duren, *Uitschietend pijl-gebedt, ter vlucht uitgestort in desen bedroefden Tijdt* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1672). Not seen.

25. Adrianus de Herder, *Historia apologetica, ofte Waarachtigh vertoogh van al 't geen in de kerke tot Bleiswyk, als ook in de classe van Schieland, over 't werk van de reformatie, voorgevallen is* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1673), 328 pages. This has the floral yoke on the title-page, acorns and bars, and the squirrel at the end. Adrianus de Herder (1639-1699), pastor in Bleiswijk, was deposed in 1671 for refusing to baptize the children of the 'unregenerate'. He moved to Rotterdam where he conducted conventicles.

26. Adrianus de Herder, *Schriftuurlijk bewijs voor den heiligen doop van naastgeloovige ouders kinderen: gesuivert van alle tegen-redenen ende exceptien D. Francisci Ridderi* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1673), 329 pages. This was part of an ongoing dispute between de Herder and Ridderus. It has the floral yoke on the title-page, and acorns and bars.

27. Franciscus Ridderus, *Grove druk-fauten in het Schriftuurlijk bewijs van den heiligen doop, door Adrianus de Herder in het licht gegeven* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1673), 62 pages. This has many of the usual ornaments: the floral yoke, the acorns and bars, and the squirrel. Goddaeus was evidently ready to publish for both sides in the dispute.

28. John Brown of Wamphray, *Epistola ad celeberrimam A.M. a Schurman in qua placide examinatur nova ejus Sententia de Sabbato ad Die Dominica* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1674), 108 pages. Anna Maria van Schurman (1607-1678) was the first female university student in the Netherlands (and Europe), attending Utrecht in 1636; see Pieta van Beek, *The First Female University Student: Anna Maria van Schurman (1636)* (Utrecht, 2010). In 1669, she left the Reformed Church and joined the Labadists, generating considerable controversy. This is a response to her views on the Sabbath. It has the floral yoke, the acorns and sheep, and the squirrel.

29. John Brown, *De causa Dei contra antisabbatarios tractatus* (2 vols, Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1674-1676), 757 pages and 1012 pages. Both volumes have the floral yoke on the title-page. Other ornaments include the stamens, the sheep, the acorns and bars, the mermaids, and the squirrel.

30. Matthew Mackaile, *Noli-me-tangere tactum* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1675), 40 pages. The title-page has the floral yoke (see *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 443, and facing p. 445 for an illustration).¹¹ Mackaile was a physician and a cousin of the covenanting martyr Hew Mackail.

31. Jacobus Koelman, *Reformatie nodigh ontrent de feest-dagen* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1675), 302 pages. Jacobus Koelman (1632-95) was minister of Sluis from 1662, but was expelled from the town in 1675 for his 'puritanism'. This is his work against the observation of Festival Days in the Dutch Church. There is a floral yoke on the title-page (as with Lesley's

¹¹ J.F. Kellas Johnstone and A.W. Robertson, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis* (2 vols, Third Spalding Club, Aberdeen, 1929-1930).

De Origine which was printed in the same year; see next section), a squirrel, and sheep and acorns, and bars and acorns.

32. [Jodocus van Lodenstein], *t'Samen-sprake, nopende de sake der formulieren van gebeden en onderrichtingen, ende de poginge van D. Jacobus Coelman, predikant tot Sluys in Vlaenderen, daer ontrent. Door Christianus Alethinus [i.e. J.L.]* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1675), 40 pages. Jodocus van Lodenstein (1620-1677) was minister of Sluis from 1650 to 1653 and then a professor in Utrecht. He was a defender of the Sabbath and a friend of Jacobus Koelman's. This has the floral yoke and the stamens.

33. John Brown, *Christus de wegh, de waarheid, ende het leven* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1676), 44+549+21 pages. This has the floral yoke on the title-page, and bars and acorns and P-fleurons elsewhere. It is a Dutch translation of the following work.

34. John Brown, *Christ, the Way, and the Truth, and the Life* (Rotterdam: printed by H.G. for Iohn Cairns, bookseller in Edinburgh, and to be sold there, 1677), 94+380 pages. There is a long address, 'To the Christian Reader', signed by 'R. Mc. W.' This has the floral yoke on the title-page, sheep and P-fleurons, bars and acorns, and the squirrel at the end. A second edition appeared in 1678, with the imprint of Robert Sanders, Glasgow; its style appears to be in imitation of Goddaeus, but the ornaments are different.¹²

35. *The Rotterdam's Courant. 7th June 1680* (Rotterdam, printed by Goddaeus, June 7. N. Style, 1680. & reprinted at London by B. Harris at the Royal-Exchange), 2 pages. How long Goddaeus's *Rotterdam Courant* ran for seems to be unknown. This issue, as reprinted in London, seems to be the only copy surviving. For Benjamin Harris, see *ODNB*. He moved to New England in 1686 and in 1690 published the first multi-page newspaper in America. It lasted one issue, after which he was jailed for publishing without a licence.

36. *The humble advice of the Assemblie of Divines now by authority of Parliament sitting at Westminster, concerning a shorter catechisme: with the proofs thereof at large out of scriptures. Presented by them lately to both Houses of Parliament* (Rotterdam: Henry Goddaeus, no date [perhaps c.1680]), 62 pages. The dating of this item is puzzling. There seems to be a unique surviving copy (in Canterbury Cathedral library, for some reason), the title-page of which names Henry Goddaeus as the printer but appears to have had the date of printing shaved off by the binder. The Scottish congregation in Rotterdam ordered 1500 copies of the Shorter Catechism in February 1686,¹³ but by this time Goddaeus was dead, and his widow seems always to have described herself as such in her imprints. The ornament on the title-page is the angel, which was used several times by Goddaeus and his widow between 1678 and 1686, especially in connection with covenanting works, but was also used

¹² The printing of this second edition was one of the matters that Sanders' bitter rival, Agnes Campbell, brought to the attention of the Privy Council in 1680; see W.J. Couper, 'Robert Sanders the Elder', *Records of the Glasgow Bibliographical Society*, Vol. 3 (1915), pp. 26-88 (p. 38).

¹³ R.J. Dickie, 'The Scots Church in Rotterdam – a Church for Seventeenth Century Migrants and Exiles, Part III: Assessing religious knowledge and entitlement during the time of the exiled Covenanters (1660–1690)', *Scottish Reformation Society Historical Journal (SRSJH)*, Vol. 9 (2019), pp. 42-58 (p. 58).

by him in 1662 and 1666. We have included the *Catechism* here because of its natural relation to other items with the angel, such as the *Second Book of Discipline* and the *Acts of Assembly*, which Goddaeus printed at this time. As Robert Dickie observes, however, the 1686 order for 1500 Shorter Catechisms ‘seems a rather large order given the size of the congregation: although figures are hard to come by, it seems from Sessional records that there were upward of eight hundred Scottish inhabitants in [Rotterdam] in 1699.’¹⁴ It is hardly likely, therefore, that the congregation had placed another order for catechisms just a few years previously; so it could well be that this particular item should be dated to the 1660s.

37. Franciscus Ridderus, *Vermakelyken weghwyser na den hemel* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1680), 319 pages. This has the stamens and the bars and acorns.

38. Hendrik van Dam, *Korte beschrijvinge van het eylandt Westvoorn* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1680), 168 pages. This is the earliest account of the former island Westvoorn or Goeree. The ornaments include acorns, stamens, a squirrel, and bars.

39. *Catalogus variorum & insignium librorum* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1680). A catalogue of the library of Richard Maden (d. June 1680), the minister of the English Presbyterian congregation in Rotterdam. Not seen.

40. Hendrick van Dam, *Korte beschrijvinge van alle de plaatsen en polders die ingebroken zijn door de schrickelijcke water-vloedt, geschiedt op maandagh, den 26. ianuarij deses iaars 1682. soo in Hollandt, Zeelandt, Brabandt als Vlaanderen, &c.: met de geschiedenissen vande voornaamste water-vloeden, sedert de generale sond’vloedt, tot op desen tegenwoordigen tijdt toe. Als mede de hemels gesichten, teecken en comeeten, sedert den algemeenen Sond’vloedt, tot en met den jare 1680* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1682), 180 pages. An account of various floods including that of 26th January 1682. This has acorns and popcorn (p. 3) and acorns and bars (p. 9), but also acorns of type B (p. 8).

41. Mary Hampson, *A Plain and Compendious Relation of the Case of Mrs Mary Hampson* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1682). No copies of this edition survive, but the work was reprinted by an anonymous printer in London in 1684. Mrs Hampson lodged with Goddaeus at 3 Newstreet in 1681, after fleeing from her violent husband, and she wrote an account of her marriage which Goddaeus printed. Through an English agent (Edward Everard) in Rotterdam, who also stayed with Goddaeus, her husband was able to secure the destruction of the entire printing. See Malay, *The Case of Mistress Mary Hampson: her story of marital abuse and defiance in seventeenth-century England*, pp. 45-46, 132.

42. Marinus van Ommers, *Marini van Ommers oratio scholastica: continens gratiarum actionem pro fideli institutione præceptorum suorum; publicè habita, quum ex Erasmano ad academica studia promoveretur, MDCLXXXIII* (Rotterdam: Henricus Goddaeus, 1683), 16 pages. This seems to have been the last worked printed by Goddaeus. Not seen.

¹⁴ *ibid.* Dr Dickie suggests that some of the 1500 catechisms may have been intended for Britain.

The following ten items were printed by Goddaeus' widow, Johanna Snoeck.

1. Jan Reyner, *De onderrechter van de character konst, om kort ende snel te schrijven in de Neder-duytsche tael* (Rotterdam: gedrukt by de weduwe van Henricus Goddaeus, 1684), 44 pages. This has the angel on the title-page and the last page. Jan Reyner was a merchant in Rotterdam and an early Dutch stenographer.

2. Andreas van Luchtenburgh, *Verklaringe van de nieuwe aerds en hemel-spiegel, zijnde een plat hemels en aerds globus* (Rotterdam: by de weduwe van Henricus Goddaeus, 1684). 124 pages. Andreas van Luchtenburgh (1643-1709) was a Dutch mathematician and astronomer. The Google Books copy of this has the '1684' changed by hand to '1685'. The squirrel ornament is on the last page.

3. Andreas van Luchtenburgh, *Onder-wyser van de nieuwe-wereld ofte plat hemels en aards-globus: leerende op een bijzondere en lichte maniere den loop des hemels, ende groote zee-vaart, op alle polus-hoogten, sonder eenige rekeninge op deselve volbrengen* (Tot Rotterdam: by de weduwe van Henricus Goddaeus, 1685), 124 pages. This is the same book as item 2 above with a new title-page and prelims.

4. [Francis Turner], *Een predicatie gedaan voor hare majesteyten Jacobus de II en koningin Marya ten tijden hunner krooninge* (Rotterdam: wed. H. Goddæus, 1685), 18 pages. This was a translation of the sermon preached by Francis Turner, Bishop of Ely, at the coronation of James II of England. The final page has the squirrel.

5. George Plaxton, *De Trouwhertige Redenering* (Rotterdam: Wed. v.H. Goddaeus, 1685), 1 sheet. For George Plaxton, see ODNB. This was Dutch translation of *The Loyal Speech of G. Plaxtone upon the Proclamation of King James II* (1685).

6. Alexander Pitcarne, *Harmonica Evangelica Apostolorum Pauli et Jacobi in doctrina de justificatione* (Rotterdam: Goddaeus, 1685). Not seen. Alexander Pitcarne (c.1622-1695) was minister of Dron, and was banished to Holland in 1681. He is not to be confused with the atheistical physician Archibald Pitcairne (1652-1713).

7. Pieter Smout; Jan Dionys Verburg; Frans Kuyper, *Vreede en vryheid onder de Rhijnsburgers: verbroken en wechgenomen, door 't onnoodig twisten en scheuren der vervalte Collegianten, hoe en waar door die ontstaan zijn* (Rotterdam: Gedrukt by de Weduwe van Henricus Goddæus, 1687), 64 pages.

8. *Brief van een vriend aan een gereformeerd vluchteling, aangaande de persoon en de dood van den heer Fulcran Rey* (Rotterdam: wed. H. Goddæus, 1687), 14 pages. Fulcran Rey was a Huguenot probationer from Nimes, who was put to death aged 24 in 1686 – apparently the first of the French Protestant martyrs after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in October 1685.

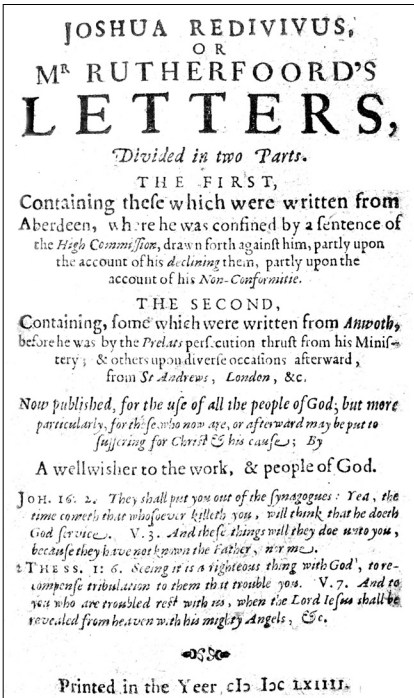
9. Andreas van Luchtenburgh, *Kort Begryp van een Astronomische, Geometrische, Arithmetische, en Navicularische Quadrant en Astrolabium Universale* (Rotterdam: Weduwe van H. Goddaeus, 1688), 24 pages.

10. Pierre Frotté, *Les motifs de la conversion de Pierre Frotté* (Rotterdam: chez la veuve de Henri Goddé, 1690), 16 pages. No ornaments. In French, and dated 1st February 1690. Frotté was a canon of the Abbey of St Genevieve in

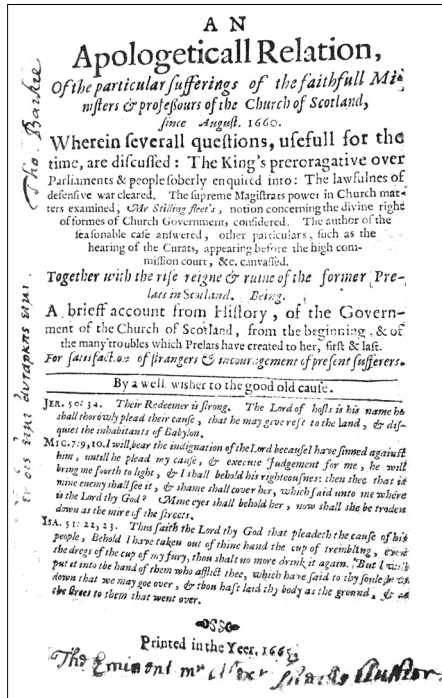
Paris and, from 1686 to 1690, priest of the parish of Souilly in the Diocese of Meaux. He was sickened at the persecution of the Protestants of Claye-Souilly by the Bishop of Meaux, Jacques Bossuet (with whom he was friendly), after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685. In 1689 he became a Protestant and fled to Holland. His work takes the form of a letter to Bossuet.

5. Materials without imprint almost certainly or probably printed by Henry Goddaeus

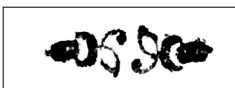
Judging by the ornaments employed, the following twenty-five items were also printed by Henry Goddaeus, with another three by his widow. Most of them are covenanting works, and it is likely that he also printed a considerable



Samuel Rutherford, *Joshua Redivivus* (1664), title-page.



Apologeticall Relation (1665), title-page.



Enlargement of woodcut from the above two facsimiles.

number of non-covenanting works which may come to light in due course.

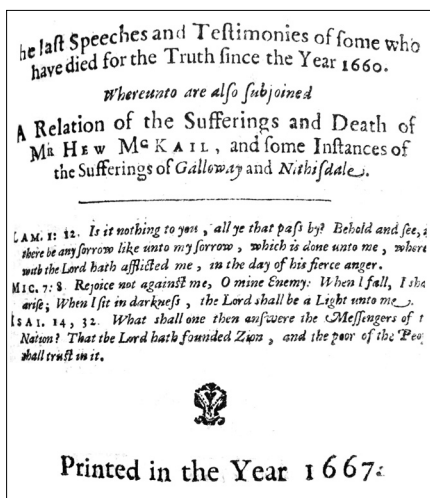
1. Samuel Rutherford, *Joshua Redivivus* or *Mr Rutherford's Letters, Divided in two Parts* (1664), 48+576 pages. This was the first important covenanting work printed abroad after 1660. The lengthy preface was by Robert Macward, who oversaw the publication. The English Short Title Catalogue [ESTC] follows Wing in suggesting Rotterdam as the place of publication. The title-page has two acorns on their sides. The squirrel is on p. 576 and the 'A' head-piece is used twice.

2. [John Brown of Wamphray], *An Apologeticall Relation of the particular sufferings of the faithfull ministers & professours of the Church of Scotland, since August 1660* (1665), 32+424+8 pages. The ESTC follows Wing in conjecturing Edinburgh as the place of publication. Brown of Wamphray was banished from Scotland in 1662 and arrived in Holland about March 1663.¹⁵ The title-page has the same two acorns as *Joshua Redivivus* above. Other common Goddaeus features include the rows of acorns ('Ad Lectorem' and p. 425), the 'A' head-piece, and the squirrels (at the end of 'The Epistle to the Reader' and the whole volume).

3. Benjamin Furly, *Coppye van eenen brief: geschreven aen seeckeren vriend, over sijn ghevoel en oordeel, dat alle de gene, die niet en gebruycken de uytterlijcke instellingen van doop ende avondmael, kerck-gang, &c. niet en zijn geleyd door den geest Gods, maer door eenen dwael-geest* (1666), 40 pages. This has the same ornament on the title-page as *Naphtali* (1667), and a row of these symbols used as a head-piece on sig. A2., as in Hugh Smith's *Apology* (1677).

4. [James Steuart of Goodtrees], *Naphtali, or The wrestlings of the Church of Scotland for the kingdom of Christ: contained in a true and short deduction thereof, from the beginning of the reformation of religion, until the year 1667. Together with the last speeches and testimonies of some who have died for the truth since the year 1660. Whereunto are also subjoined a relation of the sufferings and death of Mr. Hew McKail, and some instances of the sufferings of Galloway and Nithisdale* (1667), 80+306 pages. The ESTC follows Wing in suggesting Holland as the place of publication. This has the same unusual ornament on the title-page as Hugh Smith's *Apology* (1677), below. There is a double row of acorns at the head of 'The National Covenant', a floral yoke on p. 191, and the 'A' head-piece, used twice. Sig. A2 is very similar to sig. *2 in Brown's *Apologeticall Relation* (1665).

5. [James Steuart of Goodtrees], *Jus Populi Vindicatum, or The peoples right, to defend themselves and their covenanted religion, vindicated: Wherein the act of defence and vindication, which was interprised anno 1666. is*

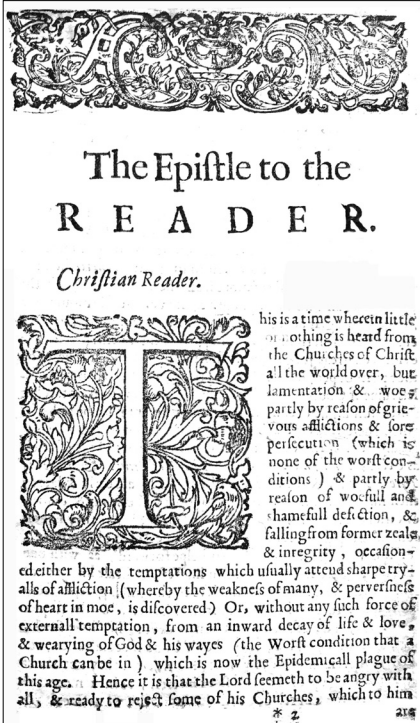


Naphtali (1667), title-page.

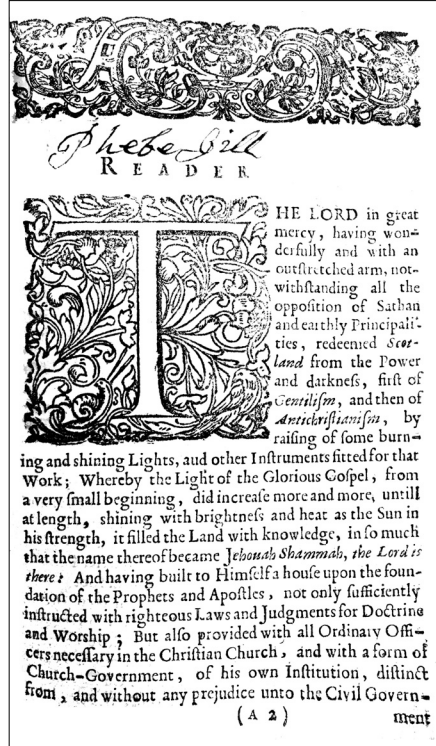


Enlargement of woodcut from the above facsimile.

¹⁵ I.B. Doyle, 'John Brown of Wamphray: a study of his life, work, and thought' (PhD thesis, University of Edinburgh, 1956), p. 43.



The A-headpiece. *Apologetical Relation* (1665), sig. *2.



Naphtali (1667), sig. A2.

particularly justified: the lawfulness of private persons defending their lives, libertyes and religion, against manifest oppression, tyranny and violence, exerced by Magistrats supream and inferiour, contrare to solemne vowes, covenantts, promises, declarations, professions, subscriptions, and solemne engagements, is demonstrated by many arguments (1669), 40+472 pages. The ESTC states London as the place of publication. The most distinctive Goddaeus features are the squirrel at the end of the 'Epistle to the Christian Reader' and the double row of acorns with the bar on p. 1. The title-page and the final page (p. 572) both have the floral yoke, with the 'A' head-piece on sig. *2.

6. [Robert Fleming], *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1669), 14+296 pages. The ESTC states Rotterdam as the place of publication. This was Fleming's first publication, while he was still in Scotland. It was presumably seen through the press by Robert Macward. It has several of the standard Goddaeus features including the floral yoke on the title-page, the 'A' head-piece, the double row of acorns with Q-fleurons on p. 1, and the squirrel on p. 296.

7. John Furly, *A testimony to the true light, which is the way of life and righteousness to all thar [sic] obey it, and are subject to its requirings. Being a serious admonition to all people to turn to the Lord; but more especially intended for the inhabitants of the town of Colchester and parts adjacent.*

By John Furly. Also, a true relation how the Lord made manifest strength in weakness, and raised up a living testimony to his eternal truth, in a child of his, (named, Elizabeth, who deceased the 16th of the twelfth moneth, called February 1669) to the admiration of all that were about her. The second edition unto which is added a Præfatory word, by B.F. [Benjamin Furly] (1670), 32 pages. The ESTC states London as the place of publication. There is no ornament on the title-page, but sig. A2 has a row of bars. John Furly (1618-1686) was Benjamin's elder brother.

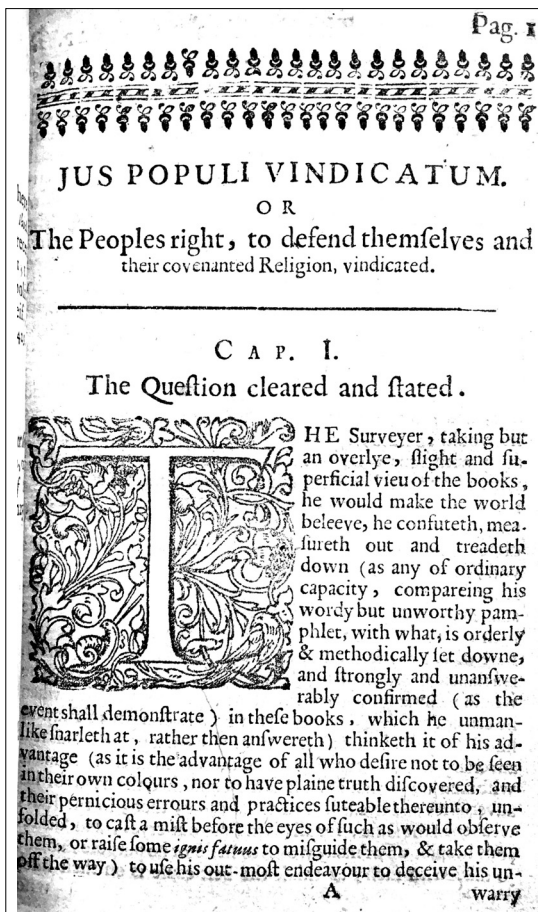
8. [Robert Macward], *The True Non-Conformist* (1671). The ESTC suggests Amsterdam as the place of publication. This has the R-fleuron on the title-page (see Fleming's *Fulfilling* (1671) and Lesley's *De Origine* (1675)).

Common Goddaeus ornaments include the sheep and stamens on sig. *2, the Q-fleuron at the end of the preface, and the 'A' head-piece.

9. [Robert Fleming], *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1671), 28+554. This was considerably enlarged from the 1669 edition. The ESTC says that it was printed in Amsterdam. It has the R-fleuron on the title-page (cf. Macward's *True Non-Conformist* (1671) and Lesley's *De Origine* (1675)), and the bar and acorns on p. 1.

10. [John Livingstone], *A Letter, written by that famous and faithful Minister of Christ Mr. John Livingstoun unto his parishioners of Ancram in Scotland, dated Rotterdam October 7 1671* (1671), 16 pages. The ESTC makes no suggestion as to place of publication. Livingstone was in Rotterdam until his death in August 1672. The mermaid ornament on p. 16 was often used by Goddaeus, and this was probably printed by him.

11. [Samuel Rutherford], *Mr Rutherford's Letters, the Third Edition, now divided into three parts* (1675), 8+578+120 pages. The ESTC suggests London as the place of publication. Macward replaced his lengthy preface from the



Acorns and bars. *Jus Populi Vindicatum* (1669), p. 1.

THE FULFILLING
OF THE
SCRIPTURE,

OR

An Essay shewing the Exact Accomplishment of the Word of God in his Works of Providence, performed & to be performed.

For confirming the Believers, and Convincing the Atheists of the present time:

Containing in the End a few rare Histories of the Works and Servants of God in the Church of Scotland.

THE SECOND EDITION.

Corrected, and enlarged with several Additions both Doctrinall and Historicall.

All the Additions have this Mark (¶) before and after.

Also an APPENDIX is added in the end, and an Index at the beginning.

Isai. 46: ver. 10. *My Counsel shall stand, and I will do all my pleasure.*

John 10: v. 35. — *And the Scripture cannot be broken.*

Act. I ver. 16. *Men & Brethren, This Scripture must needs have been fulfilled.* —



Printed in the Year 1671.



Fulfilling of Scripture (1671), title-page showing R-fleuron.

(left) Enlargement of woodcut from facsimile.

first edition with a much briefer one, but added a postscript at the end of the book.¹⁶ This has several Goddaeus features including the acorns on the title-page, the acorns with bars at the end of the postscript (p. 110), the rows of acorns with sheep on p. 1, the acorns with stamens on sig.*2 and p. 1 of the third part, the further stamens on p. 415, and the floral yoke on p. 578. A pirate edition of this third edition appeared in same year, complete with Macward's complaint about the earlier pirate edition, and his postscript. The ESTC states that this 1675 pirate edition was printed in London, but Kellas Johnstone thinks that it was printed in Scotland.¹⁷

12. John Lesley, *De Origine Moribus et rebus gestibus Scotorum* (1675), 34+543+47 pages.¹⁸ Online catalogues suggest or state Amsterdam as the place of publication. This has several of the common Goddaeus features including the floral yoke (title-page and p. 163), acorns with stamens and the R-fleuron (p. 3), acorns with bars (p. 16), the mermaids (pp. 123, 227, 269), and the popcorn (p. 273). The

dedication leaf included in some copies for Scotland was printed by Andrew Anderson in Edinburgh.¹⁹ Undistributed copies were re-issued in 1677 by the London printer Robert Boulter with a replacement title-page bearing his own imprint: '*Excusum pro Roberto Boulter, ad insigne Capitis Turcae, ex adversum Mercatorio Regali, in Vico vulgo Cornhill dicto, MDCLXXVII*'.

13. [Hugh Smith], *An Apology for, or Vindication of the Oppressed persecuted Ministers & Professors of the Presbyterian Reformed Religion,*

¹⁶ Kellas Johnstone says that the author of this postscript is unknown, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 446, but Macward virtually acknowledges it as his own in his postscript to Brown's *Quakerisme the path-way to Paganism* (1678), p. 563.

¹⁷ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 446.

¹⁸ For a discussion of the background to this publication, see D.W.B. Somerset, 'George Leslie, Jesuit, and the printing of Lesley's *De Origine*, 1675', *SRSJH*, Vol. 10 (2020), pp. 114-141.

¹⁹ *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, Vol. 2, p. 443.


in the *Church of Scotland* (1677), 210 pages. The ESTC suggests Edinburgh as the place of publication. This has the same ornament on the title-page, the head of the preface, and p. 1 as is used in *Naphtali* (1667). The capital I on p. 1 is the same as that on p. 1 of Fleming's *Scripture Truth Confirmed* (1678).

14. [Robert Fleming], *Scripture Truth confirmed and cleared by some great appearances of God for his Church under the New Testament* (1678), 14+214 pages. The most distinctive Goddaeus feature is the double row of acorns with bars on sig. *2, with a further double row of acorns on p. 1. The capital I on p. 1 is the same as that in Hugh Smith's *Apology* (1677). There is a floral yoke on the title-page and the final page. Although they have separate registers, this work is usually found bound with [Robert Fleming], *The Truth and Certainty of Protestant Faith* (1678), 4+55 pages. This too has acorns and bars on sig. *3, acorns on p. 1, and a squirrel on the title-page and on the final page. The ESTC states that both works were printed in Rotterdam.

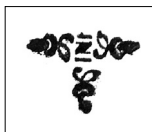
15. John Brown, *Quakerism the Path-Way to Paganisme* (Printed for John Cairns, and other booksellers in Edinburgh, 1678), 565 pages. The ESTC conjectures Rotterdam as the place of printing. This has many of the usual Goddaeus features: the bars and acorns, the sheep and acorns, the mermaids, and the squirrel.

16. David Calderwood, *True History of the Church of Scotland* (1678), 8+839 pages. The background to the printing of this is discussed in Section 7. The ESTC suggests the place of printing as the Netherlands, saying: 'Wing attributes to Edinburgh, but the typography is continental in appearance, as are the signatures of the preliminary leaves.' David Laing says that it 'was printed at Rotterdam by Waesberg', without giving any reason.²⁰ Many copies have a different title-page, probably printed in Scotland, dated 1680. The remaining unsold copies were re-issued again in 1704 with a third title-page. The distinctive Goddaeus features are the bars with acorns on the title-page and again on the first page of the prelims. Because this was an important work,

M^R RUTHERFOORD'S
L E T T E R S,
The Third Edition
Now divided in three Parts.
THE FIRST
Containing those which were written from
Aberdeen, where he was confined by a sentence of
the High Commission; drawn forth against him, partly
upon the account of his declining them, partly
upon the account of his Non-Conformity.
THE SECOND & THIRD
Containing some, which were written from
Aberdeen, before he was by the Prelats persecution
thrust from his Ministry; and others upon
occasions afterward, from St An-
drews, London, &c.
Published for the use of all the People of God; but more
particularly, for those who now are, or afterward may
be put to suffering for Christ and his cause;
By a Welwisher to the work, and People of God.
Joh. 16: 2. They shall put you out of the Synagogues: Yea, the
time cometh that whosoever killeth you, will think that he
doeth God service. Ver. 3. And these things will they doe
unto you, because they have not known the Father, nor me.
2 Theff. 1: 6. Seeing it is a righteous thing with God; to re-
compense tribulation to them that trouble you. Ver. 7. And
to you who are troubled rest with us, when the Lord Jesus shall
be revealed from heaven with his mighty Angels, &c.



Printed in the Year clō Ioc LXXV.



Mr Rutherfoord's Letters
(1675), title-page.

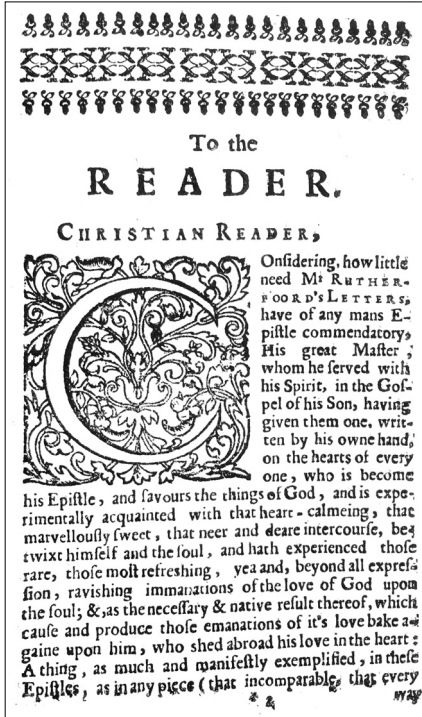
(left) Enlargement of
woodcut from facsimile.

²⁰ D. Calderwood, *History of the Kirk of Scotland* (8 vols, Wodrow Society, Edinburgh, 1842-49), Vol. 8, Appendix, p. [10].

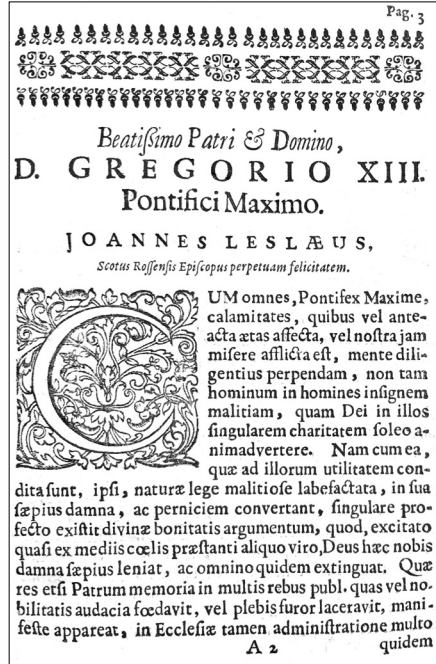
Goddaeus also used two classic printing ornaments: the bear and snakes (end of preface), and the men with dogs (p. 1).²¹

17. [Robert Macward], *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (1678), 44 pages. The ESTC states the place of printing as Edinburgh; Wing says that it was printed 'abroad'. It has the angel on the title-page.

18. [Robert Fleming], *The One Necessary Thing* (1679), 4+64 pages. The ESTC does not suggest a place of printing. This item has several of



Acorns with stamens. *Mr Rutherford's Letters* (1675), sig *2.



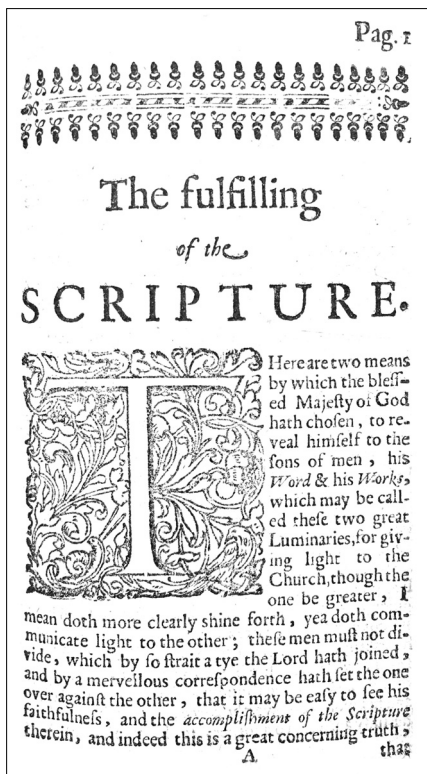
Acorns with stamens and R-fleurons. John Lesley, *De Origine Moribus* (1675), p. 3.

the common Goddaeus features including the floral yoke, the acorns and bar, and the stamens. Fleming was back in Scotland for most of 1679 so it was probably printed in his absence.

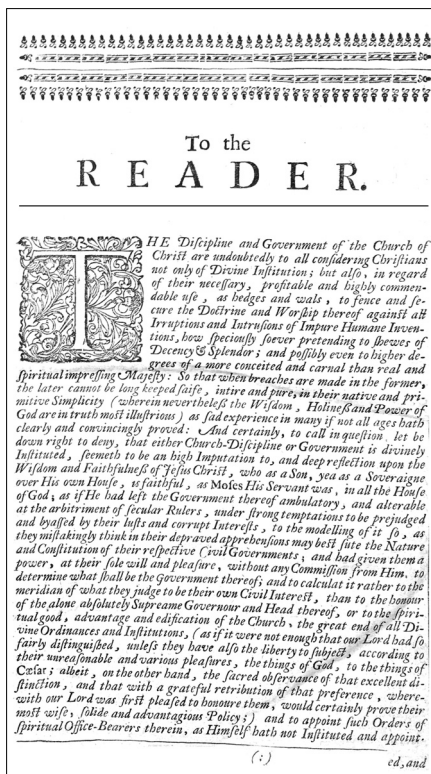
19. [John Brown], *Life of Faith in Times of Trial and Affliction* (1679), 396 pages. The ESTC is silent as to the place of printing, but one online catalogue suggests Edinburgh. It has the acorns and bars on the title-page, and then acorns and popcorn, the floral yoke, and the P- and Q-fleurons.

20. [John Brown], *The Swan-Song: or the Second Part of the Life of Faith in Times of Trial and Affliction* (1680), 474 pages. Again the ESTC is silent as to the place of printing, but one online catalogue suggests Edinburgh. It has three P-fleurons on the title-page, and then P-fleurons and Q-fleurons, acorns and popcorn, the squirrel, and the floral yoke.

²¹ For discussion and illustrations of these ornaments, see *Pilgrim Press* p. 162, Ornaments II and III.



Acorns and bars. *Fulfilling of Scripture* (1671), p. 1.



Acorns and bars. David Calderwood, *True History* (1678).

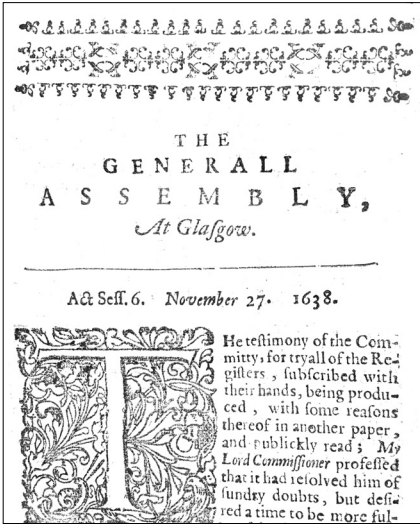
21. [James Steuart of Goodtrees], *Naphtali* (1680), 350 pages. The ESTC suggests Amsterdam as the place of printing. This has several of the standard Goddaeus ornaments including the floral yoke, the acorns and bars, the P- and Q-fleurons, and the stamens.

22. *Heads and Conclusions of the Policie of the Kirk* (1680), 44 pages. This is an edition of the *Second Book of Discipline*, presumably following the example of David Calderwood in 1621 when he originally printed the *Second Book of Discipline* to prevent it passing into oblivion. Robert Wodrow mentions that in February 1682, his father-in-law Patrick Warner had his Edinburgh house broken into by a party of guards who 'took him out of his bed, ransacked the whole house, and took away upwards of twenty copies of Calderwood's *History*, lately printed, mostly upon his charges, with some hundreds of the *Second Book of Discipline*, lately printed'. When questioned about the copies of the *Second Book of Discipline*, he said, 'They had been sent him from Holland'.²² The title-page has the angel ornament, and p. 3 has the acorns with bars. The ESTC suggests that it was printed in Glasgow; others follow Wing in attributing it to Edinburgh.

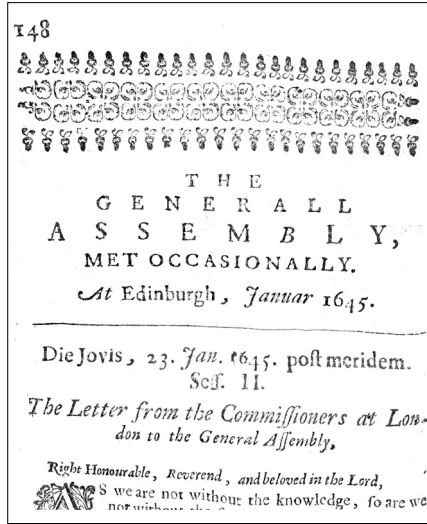
²² Robert Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland* (2 vols., Edinburgh, 1721-2), Vol. 2, pp. 250-1.

23. William Guthrie, *A sermon of Mr William Guthrey. Hosea XIII. Ver. IX*, 47 pages. This has the acorns on p. 1 and the floral yoke on p. 47. There is no title-page or date, and the ESTC makes no suggestion as to place of printing. Being sometimes bound with Guthrie, *The heads of some sermons preached at Finnick* (1680) (see Section 6), it is often dated to 1680 as well.

24. [Robert Macward], *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water* (1681), 44 pages. This is simply a re-issue of the 1678 publication with the date changed on the title-page. Again the ESTC suggests Edinburgh as the place of printing,



Acorns, stamens, and P- and Q-fleurons.
A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of
the Generall Assemblies (1682), p. 1.



An example of Goddaeus' carelessness: a pagination error, the wrong ornaments on the left, the popcorn at the left misorientated, and the fourth acorn from the left at the top of the wrong variety. A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies (1682), p. 148 (actually p. 248).

and this time Wing, too, suggests Edinburgh. It has the same angel ornament as before.

25. *A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies of the Church of Scotland Beginning at the Assembly Holden at Glasgow 27 day of November 1638; and Ending at the Assembly, Holden at Edinburgh the 6 day of August 1649* (1682), 485+13 pages. The ESTC suggests Edinburgh as the place of printing. This has the angel on the title-page, the stamens, the acorns and popcorn, acorns of type B (p. 95), and the P-, Q-, and S-fleurons used by Goddaeus. It is not an uncommon book nowadays (the only Goddaeus publication of which this can be said) and it must have been printed in considerable numbers. Surplus copies came into the hands of the Edinburgh printer George Mosman, and in 1691 he re-issued it with the *Acts of the General Assembly of 1690* and with two new title-pages, one to replace the original and one for the combined whole. Unsold copies were still available as late as 1721.²³ On the final page is an emblem consisting of the Dutch

²³ See the advertisement at the end of J. Dundas, *An Abridgment of the Acts of the General Assemblies of the Church of Scotland* (Edinburgh: John Mosman, 1721).

lion brandishing a sword and round it the words 'Pugno Pro Patria', used by Goddaeus in a publication of 1666 (above).

The following items were probably printed by Goddaeus' widow.

1. Jan Reyner, *Een nieuwen character-konst, om kort ende snel te schrijven in de Nederduytsche tael* (Tot Rotterdam: gedrukt voor den auteur Jan Reyner, woonende op de Zuydzijde van de Nieuwehaven, 1684), 52 pages. There is no explicit mention of Goddaeus' widow, but the title-page (which is probably all that she printed) has the bars and the P-fleurons. This item appears, in fact, to be the following work with a new title-page: Johan Reyner, *Een Nieuwe Character Konst: Diergelijcke noyt in dese Landen gepractiseert is geweest, waer door men met weynigh moeyte, ende in korten tijd sal kunnen leeren soo kort ende snel te schryven met de ghemelde Characters, als men ordinaris spreken ofte Prediken kan; De Voordelen en nuttigheden van dese Konste, kan men sien in het eerste Hoofdstuck aen den Leser, zijnde seer commodieus en profitable* ('sGravenhage: gedrukt by Johannes Rammamazeyn, voor Johan Reyner, 1673). One of the copies on Google Books has both title-pages.

2. [Thomas Forrester], *Rectius Instruendum* (1684), 50 (Preface)+24 (Contents)+283 [i.e. 269] +136+200+4 (Errata)+12 (Advertisement) pages. The ESTC says that this was printed in Edinburgh; others say London. The title-page and the last page of the Advertisement have the angel ornament, and elsewhere there are bars and acorns, stamens and P-fleurons, and several squirrels. This work was written in reply to David Forrester, *The Differences of the Time, in Three Dialogues, the first anent Episcopacy, the second anent the Obligation of the Covenants, the third anent Separation* (Edinburgh: Heir of Andrew Anderson, 1679), 10+225 pages. David Forrester was minister of Lauder from 1659 to 1684, and then of Longforgan from 1684 to 1697. Thomas Forrester was minister of Alva (not Alloa, as asserted in his *ODNB* entry) from 1664 to 1674 when he was deposed for engaging in conventicles. In 1684 he was declared fugitive. John Erskine of Carnock mentions being with him in Rotterdam in March 1685,²⁴ and then his accompanying the ill-fated Argyll invasion two months later (a matter on which Forrester's *ODNB* entry is entirely silent, as it is regarding his authorship of *Rectius Instruendum*). On the third last page of the Preface, Forrester seems to distance himself from Cameronian views on separation, although Alexander Shields commends *Rectius Instruendum* in *Hind Let Loose* (1687), sig. A3 as among the 'authors of greatest note and repute in our Church'.

3. *Waerachtigh verhael van 't gene gepasseert en voorgevallen is tot Nimes, of een bygelegene stad in Vrankrijk, omtrent het gevangen nemen van de person van Monsieur Fulcran Rei* (1686), 18 pages. With the angel ornament on the title-page.

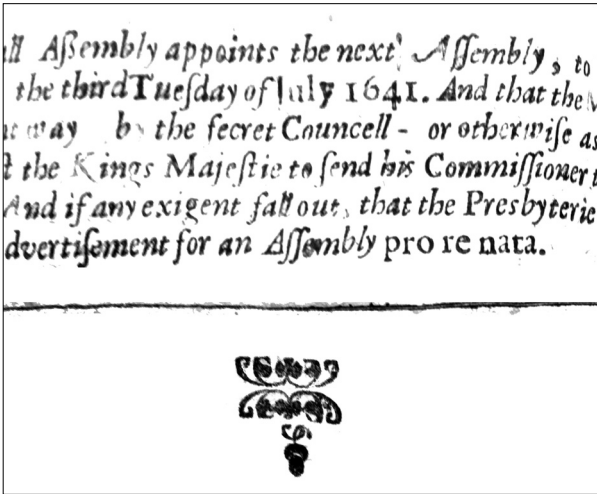
6. Some cases of uncertainty

The printer of the following items is less certain, though some of them may well have been printed by Goddaeus.

²⁴ *Journal of Hon. John Erskine of Carnock, 1683-1687* (Scottish History Society, Edinburgh, 1893), p. 109ff.

1. [George Wither], *Vox & lacrimae Anglorum, or, The true Englishmens complaints to their representatives in Parliament, ..., the second edition* (1668), 18 pages. Wing W3209. The first edition was printed the same year but in a different setting (16 pages) and without any ornament. This second edition has the floral yoke on the final page. An Amsterdam bookseller named Drummond informed the British authorities in 1668 or 1669 that he could identify the Rotterdam printer who had produced this work; see Anne Dunan-Page, Beth Lynch (eds.), *Roger L'Estrange and the Making of Restoration Culture* (Routledge, 2016), p. 59. Goddaeus was fond of the floral yoke, and was prepared to print seditious material, so he is certainly a possibility for this unnamed Rotterdam printer.

2. John Brown, *Libri duo. In priori, Wolzogium, in libellis duobus de Interprete Scripturarum causam orthodoxam prodidisse demonstrator. In posteriori, Lamberti Velthusii Sententiæ Libertino-Erastiana...* (Amsterdam,



S-fleuron and inverted acorn (not of type A). *A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies* (1682), p. 94.

1670), 407+716 pages. The printer is given as 'Apud Henricum ab Aquisgrano' (i.e. Henricus from Aachen). The title-page of the first work has an inverted acorn and three copies of the S-fleuron – the same two ornaments in a similar arrangement to that used multiple times by Goddaeus in *A True Copy* (1682). The title-page of the second has a reduced floral yoke (quite a common ornament, but not with

Goddaeus). The title-page of the first work makes one strongly inclined to think that 'Henricus ab Aquisgrano' was Henry Goddaeus.

3. [Robert Macward], *Case of Accommodation* (1671), 134 pages. The ESTC says that this was printed in Edinburgh. It looks like a Goddaeus publication but has no distinctive ornaments.

4. [Robert Macward], *English Balance* (1672), 110 pages. The ESTC suggests London. This has no ornaments, and the only reason for postulating a Goddaeus connection is that he was Macward's usual printer. There seems to be no strong evidence either way.

5. *Wederlegginge van den vergiften ende lasterlijcken Hollandtschen venezoen, gebacken in Engelandt* (1672), 12 pages. This has a squirrel on the title-page, which makes it likely to be a Goddaeus publication.

6. Robert Barclay and George Keith, *Quakerism confirmed, or, A vindication of the chief doctrines and principles of the people called Qvakers*

from the arguments and objections of the students of divinity (so called) of Aberdeen in their book entituled *Quakerism convassed* (1676), 4+88 pages. This appears to have the same ornament and general lay-out on the title-page as Buchanan's *De jure* (1680) and Guthrie's *The heads of some sermons* (1680) – mentioned below – (although we have not been able to check the sizes of the ornaments against each other). Barclay was in regular communication with Benjamin Furly in Rotterdam during the 1670s. In 1674, Furly provided a preface for the joint Latin/Dutch edition of Barclay's *Theses theologicæ ... Theologise stellingen* (Amsterdam: C. Cunradus, 1674), and the following year he added a postscript to Barclay's *Christianæ quaedam animadversiones in Nicolai Arnoldi: (qui S.S. theol. doct. & profess. se praedicat) exercitationem theologicam de Quakerismo, ejusque brevis refutatio* (Rotterdam: Petrus van Wijnbrugge, 1675). In 1677, they travelled together in Holland and Germany. On p. 87 of *Quakerism confirmed*, Keith and Barclay mention their difficulty in getting the work published, so it is not unlikely that Furly might have sent it to Goddaeus for printing.²⁵ If so, it is somewhat ironic that Goddaeus should have printed John Brown's *Quakerisme the Path-way to Paganisme* two years later.

7. [John Brown], *The History of the Indulgence* (1678), 162 pages. Wing conjectures Edinburgh as the place of printing. This has different acorns from those known to have been used by Goddaeus, but the same as those used in *Banders Disbanded* (1681), and we would suggest that the same printer did both works.

8. George Buchanan, *De jure regni apud Scotos, or, A dialogue, concerning the due priviledge of government in the kingdom of Scotland, betwixt George Buchanan and Thomas Maitland* (Printed in the year 1680), 134 pages. This item and the next one (Guthrie, *Heads of some sermons*) have very similar title-pages with the same V-shaped ornament. It is highly likely that they are by the same printer. On the basis of the usual acorns on sig. A2, we are inclined to attribute this one, and hence both of them, to Goddaeus.²⁶

9. William Guthrie, *The heads of some sermons preached at Finnick, the 17 of August. 1662 By Mr William Guthry upon Matth. 14: 24, 25, 26.* (Printed in the year. 1680), 60 pages. The ESTC makes no suggestion about the printing of this. See the item above (Buchanan, *De jure regni*). This item also has an Adam and Eve head-piece on sig. *2, but this seems to have been quite a common ornament.

10. [Robert Fleming], *The Fulfilling of the Scripture* (1681), 16+462 +14 pages. The ESTC lists this publication twice over (Wing/F1267 and Wing/F1268), attributing one, tentatively, to Rotterdam and the other, definitely, to London, but there seems to be no difference between the two listings. This item appears to have the same ornament on the title-page as the next (Fleming,

²⁵ For the stopping of the Quakers' book in Aberdeen in March 1676, see J. Stuart (ed.), *Extracts from the Council Register of the Burgh of Aberdeen, 1643-1747* (Scottish Burgh Record Society, Edinburgh, 1872), p. 294.

²⁶ On the other hand, the same V-shaped ornament is used for the title-page of Samuel Jansonius, *Flagellum veneris, ofte Verhael van Venus plaege, ofte vuyle pocken* (Rotterdam: Jacob Gysen, 1680).

test concerns of Christians exercise and
duty in these times.

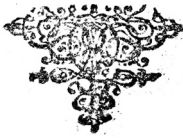
et us hold fast the profession of our faith without wave in
that promised.)

Nevertheless, whereto we have already attained, let us
us mind the same thing.

nothing be done through strife, or vain glory, but
each esteem other better than themselves.

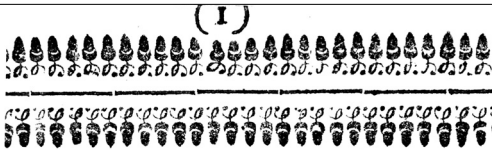
where envying and strife is, there is confusion, and
et

Now we exhort you, Brethren, warn them that are
-minded, support the weak, be patient toward all men.



Printed M. DC. LXXXI.

Ornament on title-page of *The Church Wounded and Rent* (1681).



SECTION I.

have much aversion to move in any controve
riends so truly dear on every side are thus inte
mpers so sadly prevail, as most seem not in cafe
ome in these things, so as this present breach
yond hope, if some blessed touch of the great he:
us in this day, beside the crowd and noise now
ut all access for a being heard on such a subject

Acorns of type B. *The Church Wounded and Rent* (1681), p. 1.

Church Wounded and Rent), and we are inclined to treat them together. The same ornament also appears on the title-page of Franciscus Ridderus, *Theologisch, philosophisch en historisch proces voor Godt* (Rotterdam: Barent van Santbergen, 1678), and we would tentatively suggest Barent van Santbergen as the printer of this too.

11. [Robert Fleming], *The Church Wounded and Rent by a Spirit of Division* (1681), 8+48 pages. The ESTC makes no suggestion about the printing of this item. It appears to have the same ornament on the title-page as the previous (Fleming, *The Fulfilling of Scripture*), and both are probably the work of the same printer (possibly Barent van Santbergen). This has acorns of type B (except for one of type A) on p. 1.

12. [Robert Macward], *Banders Disbanded* (1681), 53 pages. The ESTC states Edinburgh as the place of printing. On p. 3 this has different acorns from the types commonly used by Goddaeus, but the same as Brown's *History of the Indulgence* (1678), and we would conjecture that the same printer did both. There is nothing conclusive to suggest that this printer was Goddaeus.

13. *The protestatione of the antipopish, antiprae-lattick, antierastian, true Presbyterian. But poor and persecuted, church of Scotland. Against. The Scottish congregation at Rotterdam in Holland, printed May 1684* (1684), 4+20 pages. This has the floral yoke on the title-page, and a double row of fleurons for a head-piece on p. 1. It is hard to tell from the poor electronic reproduction, but the fleurons do not seem to be those commonly

used by Goddaeus. Nevertheless, the general clumsy effect looks familiar. The ESTC suggests ‘Glasgow: R. Saunders?’ as the place of printing, but the widow of Goddaeus seems far more likely.²⁷

7. John Cairns and the printing of Calderwood’s *History*

Of the anonymous Goddaeus publications, the only one for which there is any information regarding its printing is Calderwood’s *True History of the Church of Scotland*. This may have been published partly in response to John Lesley’s *De Origine* (1675), but from the title one would think that it was more a response to Archbishop John Spottiswoode’s *History of the Church of Scotland*, the original edition of which appeared in 1655 with reprints in 1666, 1668, and 1677.

The earliest reference to the publication of Calderwood’s *History* is a letter from John Carstairs to Robert Macward on 30th November 1676, saying that two or three of them had at last obtained a manuscript copy of the *History* (probably from the family of Douglas of Cavers). Their plan for this copy is not entirely clear. They had given it to the Edinburgh printer John Cairns, with the intention that he should print it (possibly with the help of others), and John Cairns, it seems, was now sending the copy to Macward and his companions in Holland to assist with the proofreading.

There cometh along in this vessel, directed to Mr Russell, some papers from John Cairnes: they are a rare and rich jewel, especially for the poor Church of Scotland, both shaming and allarming us, Mr Calderwood’s *History*, which with some difficulty two-three of us have at last obtained...I have given the copy to John Carnes to make of it what he can; and if it come through, it may, throge God’s blessing, make him somewhat up. Let it even be hastened through with all convenient diligence, for this is the very seasoun for such a books coming out....Title and preface may be thought of time enuech; and it’s a good providence, I just now think, that it hath no title, since none of the printers will ever hear of the author’s name till it be finished. It wold be done in such a letter as may sute the work, and yet not overcharge poor john with vast expence.²⁸

John Cairns was a printer and bookseller in Edinburgh, active between 1671 and his death in 1681. He was clearly part of the covenanting circle. His surviving output is small but it includes items by George Buchanan (*Poemata*, 1677), John Bunyan (*Pilgrim’s Progress*, 1680), James Durham (*On Scandal*, 1680), and John Flavel (*Mysterie of Providence*, 1681). In 1677 and 1678, as we have seen, he used Goddaeus as the printer for John Brown’s *Christ, the Way, and the Truth, and the Light* (1677) and *Quakerisme the Path-way to Paganisme* (1678). In 1680, he was employed by Sir Thomas Murray to print his digest of the Acts of Parliament, and for this ‘he brought Dutch workmen (Joshua van Solingen and Jan Colmar

²⁷ The suggestion regarding R. Sanders probably emanates from Couper, ‘Robert Sanders the Elder’, p. 78, but Sanders had too many Scottish printing-enemies watching him for such a hazardous venture to be plausible.

²⁸ Thomas M’Crie (ed.), *Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson* (Edinburgh, 1825), pp. 495-6.

and materials from Holland'.²⁹ The Acts were printed in 1682, but by this time Cairns was dead.

On 8th March 1677, Carstairs wrote again to Macward, saying that the sailing of James Cassells' ship had been delayed because of the frost, but it had left at last with its precious 'jewell'. On 17th February 1679, Carstairs sent a prefatory epistle for the Calderwood's *History*, which he supposed had now been printed, inviting Macward to make any changes to it that might be necessary. Further undated letters between Macward and John Brown mention some changes proposed for the preface, all of which were implemented in the final version.³⁰ The correspondence thus confirms that Calderwood's *History* was printed in Holland³¹ during 1678 (including the title-page), and was overseen by Robert Macward; and that the preface dates to 1679 and was largely the work of Carstairs, revised by Macward and Brown. The delays with the preface, and then perhaps further delays with distribution during the eventful year of 1679, probably account for the printing of a new title-page dated 1680, found in many copies.

8. How conclusive is the argument?

The identifying of anonymous printers is an exercise that has its pitfalls.³² One much-studied press in British and Dutch Church history is that of Thomas Brewer and William Brewster in Leiden in the years 1617-1619 – the so-called 'Pilgrim Press'; and one of the books supposedly printed by the press in 1619 – for which it was soon suppressed – was David Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*. Brewer was eventually apprehended in 1626 and imprisoned for fourteen years, while Brewster escaped on the *Mayflower* to New England in 1620.³³ The question of which books were actually printed by the press, out of the twenty-odd candidates, has exercised bibliographers over the years.³⁴ Among the difficulties that may be mentioned are: (i) that a book may bear a printer's name yet not be printed by him (e.g. the name of the printer Robert Boulter on some copies of John Lesley's *De Origine*, mentioned above); (ii) that several printers may possess the same type and ornaments, and these may even share peculiar defects if they happen to have been made from the same defective mould; (iii) that a printer may employ different compositors who have their own individual styles; and (iv) that a compositor may move and start working elsewhere.³⁵ Thus Edward Raban

²⁹ J. Munro (ed.), *James Watson's Preface to the History of Printing, 1713* (Greenock, 1963), p. 12.

³⁰ *Memoirs of Mr William Veitch and George Brysson*, pp. 497-503.

³¹ For further confirmation that Calderwood's *True History* was printed in Holland, see Robert Wodrow, *Analecta* (4 vols., Maitland Club, Edinburgh, 1842-43), Vol. 2, p. 393.

³² See Breugelmans, *The Pilgrim Press*, p. 161: 'The assigning of books to presses by comparing and re-identifying typographical material is a precarious activity.' For a recent Scottish pre-Reformation example, however, – apparently successful – see Elizabeth Tapscott, 'Propaganda and persuasion in the early Scottish Reformation, c. 1527-1557' (PhD thesis, University of St Andrews, 2013), pp. 104-114; eadem, 'False Imprints and the "Miserabill Estait of the Warld": printing Sir David Lyndsay's *Monarchie*', (online document).

³³ K.L. Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower: English Puritan Printing in the Netherlands, 1600-1640* (Leiden, 1994), pp. 140-142.

³⁴ Breugelmans, *The Pilgrim Press*; Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, pp. 138-140.

³⁵ See Breugelmans, *The Pilgrim Press*, pp. 157-169 for a discussion of some of these difficulties.

(later in Aberdeen) moved from Holland to Scotland in 1620 and started printing in Edinburgh and St Andrews with similar type, ornaments, and style to the 'Pilgrim Press'; and his connection (if any) with the 'Pilgrim Press' remains a matter of discussion.³⁶

Whether Goddaeus did all his own composition, we do not know, but he may well have employed others, particularly in the busy years of the mid-1670s, and this may account for some of the variations in his press's printing style. The letter from Carstairs to Macward quoted above suggests that he may also have cooperated with other printers for large jobs such as Calderwood's *History*.³⁷ These possibilities, however, make little difference to the general argument that he was the printer in Holland responsible for producing most of the covenanting books.

With regard to the ornaments that Goddaeus used, some were frequently employed in the printing world – for examples the acorns and the floral yoke – and probably none were unique to him,³⁸ though possibly some of his combinations may have been, as perhaps the acorns with bars, sheep, or stamens. To complete the argument, one would need to examine in detail the work of a multitude of other Dutch printers, especially those printing in Rotterdam.³⁹ Ledebøer lists about 800 printers, publishers, and booksellers active in 'Nord-Nederland' (the Protestant Netherlands) between 1660 and 1684, of whom perhaps about 50 were in Rotterdam.⁴⁰ Few of these, however, operated throughout the period, and the similarity of style in the covenanting corpus makes it likely that just one printing-house produced the bulk of it. Thus most of these printing houses can probably be eliminated.⁴¹

³⁶ See, for example, *Bibliographia Aberdonensis*, p. 184, commenting on *Perth Assembly*: 'Its type closely resembles the ordinary plain fonts [Raban] brought over... The imposing and press work is worthy of Raban's reputation'; Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p. 144; Mann, 'The Book Trade and Public Policy in Early Modern Scotland, c. 1500-c. 1720', pp. 152-153.

³⁷ George Gillespie's *Dispute Against the English-Popish Ceremonies* (1637) was obviously the work of two printers, with quires 3K-3N, 3P, and 3R being printed by John Canne in Amsterdam, and the rest by Willem Christiaensz in Leiden; see Sprunger, *Trumpets from the Tower*, p. 215.

³⁸ The squirrel, for example, is used at the end of the preface in Goossen van Vreeswijck, *De roode leeuw, of Het sout der filosofhen* (Amsterdam: Pieter Arentsz, 1672), which also has three acorns on the title-page (and thus looks very like a Goddaeus production). Even the angel's head is used by the Rotterdam printer Barent van Santbergen for the title-pages of *Engelandts appel en beroep van de secreten cabale of vergaderinge* (1673) and Goossen van Vreeswijck, *Het licht der mane, of Glans der sonne* (1678), and by the printer Johannes Janssonius van Waesberge of Amsterdam in Goossen van Vreeswijck, *De groene leeuw, of Het licht der filosofhen* (1674).

³⁹ False imprints were not uncommon in the period, and it is estimated that 'in the first quarter of the seventeenth century, 25 per cent of all published books were brought out anonymously or pseudo-anonymously'; Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', p. 281.

⁴⁰ Adrianus Marinus Ledebøer, *Chronologisch register behoorende bij de Alfabetische lijst der boekdrukkers, boekverkoopers en uitgevers en Nord-Nederland* (Utrecht, 1877), pp. 22-32.

⁴¹ Caution is needed, however, because Ledebøer's list is based on works bearing imprints and this restriction may create a false impression. The obscure Amsterdam printer Israël de Paull (1632-1681) has only four surviving works bearing his imprint, but at least thirteen further items are now known to have issued from his press including two of Benedict Spinoza's most famous works, *Tractatus Theologico-politicus* and *Opera Posthuma*; see

The main Rotterdam printers of the period were the Naeranus family, the Hackius family, and the Leers family. The Naeranus family consisted of Johannes Naeranus (1608-1679) and his son Isaac Naeranus (c. 1635-1712). One of their commonly employed ornaments had two rows of acorns,⁴² and they did print one item for the reformed writer Franciscus Ridderus in 1663, but they belonged to a prominent family of Remonstrants, and it is not at all likely that they would have printed the Scottish covenanting material. The Hackius family was mainly based in Leiden although they did add Rotterdam to their imprint from 1664, but their business, *Officina Hackiana*, folded for practical purposes in 1677, so they too can be excluded from consideration.⁴³ The Leers family consisted of Arnoldus (Arnout) Leers (1616-1673), and then his widow, together with his son Reinier Leers (1654-1714) from 1676. Arnoldus used the acorn,⁴⁴ and Reinier printed for the Covenanter Robert Fleming in 1685,⁴⁵ but they were very much up-market commercial printers, and not likely to hazard their business with anything subversive.

Another Rotterdam printer was Johannes Borstius, who operated between 1664 and 1695, which covers the period in question. Furthermore he was the son of Jacobus Borstius (1612-1680), who was a Reformed minister in Rotterdam from 1654 and a close friend of Robert Macward's.⁴⁶ In 1668, Johannes Borstius printed his father's translation of *Naphtali* (1667) into Dutch.⁴⁷ He was a neater printer than Goddaeus, however, and his style was quite different. Other important Rotterdam printers included the city printer Abraham van Waesberge;⁴⁸ and Reynier van Doesburg who printed for Reformed writers such as Jacobus Koelman and Wilhelmus à Brakel from 1681 until 1731.⁴⁹

An absolute proof that Goddaeus was the printer of the works mentioned would, therefore, require a great deal more work; but no serious rival has emerged so far, and it is exceedingly probable that he was the printer of the works listed in Section 5. In particular, those works in which numerous Goddaeus features combine, such as Lesley's *De Origine* (1675) and Calderwood's *True History* (1678), can confidently be ascribed to Goddaeus.

Jagersma and Dijkstra, 'Uncovering Spinoza's Printers by Means of Bibliographical Research', pp. 297-299.

⁴² See, for example, H. Bots, O.S. Lankhorst, and C. Zevenbergen (eds.), *Rotterdam Bibliopolis* (Rotterdam, 1997), p. 26.

⁴³ Paul G. Hoftijzer, 'Sic transit gloria ... The end of the *Officina Hackiana*', *Quaerendo*, Vol. 26:4 (1996), pp. 258-273.

⁴⁴ For example, Zacharias Sylvius, *Schola Salernitana, sive de conservanda valetudine praecepta metrica* (Rotterdam: Arnoldus Leers, 1667) has two pairs of paired acorns on the title-page, and the ornament is used again on pp. 426, 499.

⁴⁵ Robert Fleming, *Confirming Worke of Religion* (Rotterdam: Reinier Leers, 1685).

⁴⁶ See W. Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1832), pp. 74-77.

⁴⁷ *Historie der Kercken van Schotlandt, van het begin der Reformatie, tot het Jaer 1667* (Rotterdam: Johannes Borstius, 1668).

⁴⁸ His work *De ses eerste boecken Euclidis* (Rotterdam: Abraham van Waesberge, 1661) has a display of inverted acorns on the title-page.

⁴⁹ For Reynier van Doesburg, see *Rotterdam Bibliopolis*, pp. 261-326.

9. Concluding remarks

Henry Goddaeus certainly printed some covenanting works – namely those which bear his imprint – and there can be little doubt that he was the printer of many more. His father and his elder brother were both Reformed pastors (as we have mentioned), but whatever religious convictions Henry had, these did not hinder him from publishing works of various conflicting shades of religion. In this, he provides a contrast with his near-contemporary Johannes Boekholt (1656-1693) who commenced publishing in Amsterdam in 1679, producing Dutch translations of numerous British writers including John Brown of Wamphray, William Guthrie, Robert Macward, Richard Baxter, and John Bunyan, along with Dutch Pietists such as Jacobus Koelman and Wilhelmus à Brakel. For Boekholt, publishing of religious books was a labour of love; for Goddaeus, a matter of business.⁵⁰

Much of Goddaeus's printing was for people who were in trouble with the authorities in their country (whether Britain, Holland, or France), and who perhaps had difficulty in finding any other willing printer. It is rather surprising, therefore, that he had so little apprehension of trouble arising to himself from his printing. He often withheld his name from his work, but this seems to have been rather to protect those for whom he was printing than to cover himself, and he made little attempt to disguise his style, at least in the works that we have identified. Had the same effort been made to detect him as was made in 1619 with the printer of David Calderwood's *Perth Assembly*, he would soon have been apprehended. At least two of his publications (*Apologetical Relation*, *Naphtali*) were condemned by the Privy Council in Scotland,⁵¹ and others (Calderwood's *History*, *Second Book of Discipline*) were confiscated when they were found, but it does not appear that any effort was made to trace their printer. Presumably it helped that the Dutch Republic was twice at war with Britain during the period under discussion (1665-1667, 1672-1674). In 1670 and again in 1676, Charles II asked the States General to expel Robert Macward and others from the Dutch Republic – on both occasions with a measure of success – but he was not apparently strong enough to pursue the printers whom they employed as well.⁵²

One conclusion that we can draw from our work is that little weight is to be attached to the unsupported suggestions and statements of bibliographers about the place of printing of unnamed material. Of the twenty-five items in English that we have – with reasonable confidence – identified as printed by Goddaeus in Rotterdam, only four are attributed by the ESTC to Rotterdam, another three to 'Holland', four to Amsterdam, three to London, and six to Edinburgh. It is clear that this is an aspect of the ESTC on which more work needs to be done, and that in the meantime it cannot be used with any

⁵⁰ See J.B.H. Alblas, *Johannes Boekholt (1656-1693): the first Dutch printer of John Bunyan and other English authors* (Nieuwkoop, 1987).

⁵¹ *The Apologetical Relation* was declared seditious, and ordered to be burned by the hangman at the Cross, with a fine of £2,000 Scots for anyone in possession of it, J.K. Hewison, *The Covenanters* (2 vols., Glasgow, 1913), Vol. 2, p. 189; for possession of *Naphtali* the fine was £10,000, Wodrow, *History of the Sufferings of the Church of Scotland*, Vol. 1, p. 281. Quite a number of copies of both works survive, so the print-runs must have been large.

⁵² Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam*, pp. 36-37.

confidence. The inaccuracy of these Wing/ESTC suggestions is probably the main cause of the error towards the end of the following statement:

After the symbolic and posthumous publishing in Rotterdam of the letters of the late and great presbyterian divine Samuel Rutherford (c.1600-61) – these appeared in *Joshua redivivus* (1664) and engendered much spiritual excitement in military and clerical presbyterians in Scotland and abroad – a stream of tracts by exiled presbyterians poured from the presses of Rotterdam. John Brown of Wamphray, exiled in 1663, had his *Apologeticall Relation of the Particular Sufferings of the Faithful Ministers and Professors of the Church of Scotland since 1660* (1665) printed at Rotterdam as did Sir James Stewart of Goodtrees and James Stirling's *Naphtali, or the Wrestlings of the Church of Scotland* (1667). They were promptly banned and committed to the flame by the Scottish Privy Council. But the pace increased across the North Sea, as the Dutch divine Jacobus Koelman set himself in business in Rotterdam as a tireless editor and translator of Scottish presbyterianism, preparing editions in Dutch and Latin and encouraging further editions in English. For example, Brown's *Christ the Way, the Truth, and the Life* (Rotterdam, 1677) was printed for the Edinburgh bookseller John Cairns a year after its publication in Dutch. Other Dutch print centres joined the fray, Flushing printing in 1673 the complete letters of Rutherford in Dutch, while the banished minister Robert MacWard had his infamous presbyterian tract *The Poor Man's Cup of Cold Water, Ministered to the Saints and Sufferers for Christ in Scotland* printed in Amsterdam in 1678. In fact, by the late 1670s the period of radical publishing out of Rotterdam was drawing to a close. In the aftermath of the murder of James Sharp, Archbishop of St. Andrews in May 1679, the press war of information and misinformation now took place on the domestic stage. Presbyterianism now had the ability to print covertly within Scotland through the presses of the likes of George Mosman and James Glen.⁵³

An examination of H.G. Aldis's *A List of Books Printed in Scotland Before 1700* does indeed give the impression that covenanting works were largely produced in Edinburgh after 1680, but the impression is a false one. We have listed above seven covenanting items printed by Goddaeus and his widow from 1680 onwards, with a further six which were probably printed in Rotterdam, either by Goddaeus or by other printers closely associated with the Scottish exiles. It was not the death of Archbishop Sharp in 1679 that made a difference to the printing of covenanting (as opposed to devotional) Presbyterian writings, but rather the death of John Brown in 1679 and of Robert Macward in May 1681, together with the division among the Covenanters and the rise of the Cameronians from 1679. Probably half of the entire covenanting corpus (by word-count) was written by John Brown, while most of the major works were seen through the press by Robert Macward. After 1680, the only substantial new works printed by the moderate Covenanters – *A True Copy of the Whole Printed Acts of the Generall Assemblies* (1682) and *Rectius Instruendum* (1684) – both came from the Goddaeus press, while the two main Cameronian works –

⁵³ A.J. Mann, 'The press and military conflict in early modern Scotland', in S. Murdoch and A. MacKillop (eds.), *Fighting for Identity: Scottish Military Experience, c. 1550-1900* (Leiden: Brill, 2002), pp. 265-286 (p. 271).

Informatory Vindication and *Hind Let Loose* (both 1687) – were also printed in Holland according to Cameronian sources, possibly in Utrecht.⁵⁴ It may be that smaller items such as sermons were being printed in Edinburgh, but even this part of the claim would need some evidence to establish it.

⁵⁴ M. Jardine, 'United societies: militancy, martyrdom and the Presbyterian movement in late-restoration Scotland, 1679 to 1688' (PhD thesis, 2 vols., University of Edinburgh, 2009), Vol. 1, pp. 213-214.