VI.—PHILOSOPHY IN THE DUTCH UNIVERSITIES.

THE history of Philosophy among the Dutch has never yet been written. It would have little to record beyond a long series of infiltrations of foreign thought into the science, theology and literature of the Northern Netherlands. Its one great name would be that of Spinoza; and him we can scarcely consider a fair representative of the native habit of thinking. In the average learned Dutchman there is much less of his speculative daring than of the sceptical conservatism of old Erasmus. Born of a race of thrifty citizens and husbandmen, he fully appreciates the value of accurate knowledge and sound scholarship, but pure theory he generally distrusts, as likely to unsettle the even balance of his mind, and endanger the peaceful progress of human affairs. As the late Professor van Heusde puts it: "in philosophising we ask for simplicity, good sound sense, and especially good principles, that should in no wise disagree with those of our religious doctrine". Hence philosophy is valued rather as a mental exercise to be taken with moderation than as a pursuit for life after fundamental truth. For the purpose in view a summary acquaintance with existing theories and their shortcomings is commonly thought sufficient, while strict consistency is given up as a hopeless pretension, and people on their own part acquiesce in some mild and tolerant variety of Protestantism.

On the other hand there is a steady demand for French, German, and English literary productions. And in the nation itself we find a considerable admixture of foreign elements from the most different parts, to which it is indebted for much more discrepancy of opinion than one might be inclined to look for in so small and so untroubled a community. Ultramontanism, Calvinism, and Positivism, Toryism and Radicalism, all have their steadfast adherents, and there can hardly be a party in the civilised world without its sympathisers in the present kingdom of the Netherlands. Nevertheless, as in England, while everybody is speaking his mind and it frequently comes to sharp altercations, this very continuance of verbal strife has proved conducive to independence of opinion and, in the main, to a prudent forbearance from extremes.

In the present slight sketch—which will be strictly confined to Dutch Academical Philosophy—it would take us too far to give an account of anything anterior to the Reformation. There were a few creditable schools, founded chiefly by Gerardus Magnus and his brotherhood since the fourteenth century, but the higher order of education, and all academical degrees, had to

be sought for abroad. When the change of religion made Popish universities unavailable, William of Orange persuaded the Provincial States of Holland to provide for the establishment at Leyden of a complete set of Faculties, namely Theology, Law, Medicine and Arts. To the new university a charter was granted by the Prince Stadholder under the legal fiction of an order from the nominal sovereign, King Philip II. of Spain (1575). Ten years after this, the Frisian States, on their own authority, founded a similar institution at Franeker, and their example was followed in time by those of the town and country of Groningen (1614). Harderwijk on the Zuider-Zee had a college added to its old established grammar-school by the district authorities of the Veluwe (1600), and this was afterwards endowed with the privileges of a university by the States of Gelderland (1648). The old episcopal town of Utrecht, long desirous of the same advantages, succeeded in establishing a college of its own (1634), which received academical prerogatives from the Provincial States in 1636. About the same period (1630 and 1632) identical measures were adopted by the cities of Deventer (in Overijssel) and Amsterdam. In both those cases, however, the Athenæa or Illustrious Schools, as they were called, have never been empowered by the supreme authorities to confer degrees, until, by the University Law of 1876, one has been suppressed altogether, and the other promoted to the rank of a municipal university. Meanwhile, after various accidents, Harderwijk and Franeker had been finally abrogated in 1818 and 1843 respectively. Other Athenæa had existed for some time at Nimeguen, Dordrecht, Bois-le-Duc, Breda, and Middelburg.

As all these places of education depended on different sovereign powers, there was no perfect similarity in their laws and customs. The statutes of Leyden, framed by a far-sighted statesman like William the Silent, were the most liberal of all, enacting no religious or philosophical restrictions. At Franeker all the professors had to subscribe to the confessional symbols of the established Presbyterian Church, and Groningen at least did not abandon this point until 1801. Utrecht copied Groningen in one more respect. The statutes of both contain the following article: "*Philosophi ab Aristotelis philosophia non recedunt, * propugnatores absurdorum paradoxorum et inventores dogmatum novorum ab Aristotelica doctrina discrepantium non feruntur*". In practice we shall presently find public opinion more powerful than either the liberty allowed in some places or the prohibition enacted in others.

*Utrecht added the clause "*neque publice neque privatim*". All the old academical statutes were superseded by the Royal Decree of 1815.

Unlike all other continental universities, those of the United Netherlands were always subjected to boards of Curators, men of rank and note, who often wielded the power of appointing and even discharging professors. They never belonged to the body of the university, but acted as delegates of the sovereign who provided for its wants.* By their prudence, and the resistance they offered to clerical dictation, they were of great service in preserving freedom and peace. Of course the Calvinist clergy, inspired by zealous refugees from France and Belgium, kept struggling for influence upon the teaching at least of their own Faculty, and more than once, when they got for a moment the upper hand in public affairs, they obtained some temporary advantage. Yet the town corporation of Leyden declared from the first, that they were not willing to admit the inquisition of Geneva while making war against that of Spain. And when the famous Synod of Dordrecht demanded an ecclesiastical Curator to look after the theological faculty, its resolution remained a dead letter, and the regular Curators prevented the local synod from meddling with academical government. But the interests of their position forbade their giving countenance to very small minorities; and Spinoza, perhaps, was not far wrong when in the *Tractatus Politicus* he wrote: "*Academiae, quae sumptibus reip. fundantur, non tam ad ingenia colenda quam ad eadem coercenda instituantur*".

Of college life as in England and at Cologne or Louvain, there was no question except in the case of certain exhibitioners, nearly all destined for the Church. Each university had its *bursa* or *œconomia*; at Leyden the States' College subsisted from 1592 to 1810, the Collegium Gallo-Belgicum (for preachers in the French language) from 1606 to 1703. Even within these the "regenting or tutorial system" found no favour. The Principal (called *Regens*) and his vicegerent merely repeated with the alumni what they learnt from the Professors common to all; and other undergraduates found plenty of private

* At Leyden, Franeker, Harderwijk, they were separate boards commissioned by the Provincial States and the Stadholder. At Groningen, where the sovereignty was divided between the town and the country district, each appointed its own half of the board. At Utrecht the civic authorities were themselves the Curators, who took care not to allow any academical jurisdiction, whereas at Leyden the burgomasters sat with the Curatorial board, and also in the Rector's tribunal. From 1815 the burgomaster (or mayor) of each university-town was *ex officio* one of the Curators, but the new Law contains no such stipulation. Of course under the present Constitution the board is in its turn subordinate to the Minister of the Interior, there being no separate department of Education. The idea of the office was evidently suggested by the *Conservatores privilegiorum* of older universities.

teachers ready to help them on in the same way. On Wednesdays and Saturdays there were no public lectures, but men went to hear Extraordinary Professors and licensed Readers, and, under the superintendence of any official teacher, tried their own powers in disputation.

The oldest Leyden Faculty of Arts (or Philosophy as it was surnamed) consisted of six Ordinary Professors, for Logic, Physics, Mathematics, and the three learned languages. Ethics was commonly regarded with some suspicion on account of its heathenish tendency; and Metaphysics also because of the Humanists' and Protestants' natural aversion from mediaeval subtleties. Still both were admitted as extraordinary subjects from the first, and before the middle of the seventeenth century they had obtained their place in the regular curriculum. Everyone, especially the candidate for orders, was expected to begin his studies with Humanities and Philosophy, although a degree in Arts was by no means looked on as indispensable. Nor do we find the degree of Bachelor taken except in a very few instances.* To the title of *Artium Liberalium Magister* that of *Philosophiae Doctor* was superadded at a very early period, so as to put the graduates markedly on a level with the "Doctors" of the other Faculties; the celebrated Gerardus Vossius became the first A.L.M., Ph. D. of Leyden in 1598.

As might be presumed, the official philosophy was the mitigated Scholasticism adopted in the Protestant schools of the time. Of Ramism there is hardly a trace.† Jac. Arminius the divine and Rud. Snellius the mathematician, both Hollanders from Oudewater, who had taught the dialectic of Ramus in Switzerland and Germany, were called to other duties at Leyden. Two occupants of philosophical chairs, Corn. de Groot (Leyden 1575) and Henr. de Veno (Franeker 1602-13) are mentioned as inclined to Platonic doctrines, meaning apparently some form of modernising eclecticism. As far as I know, de Groot's successor Nic. van Dam (1575-79) was an Aristotelian, and so were three Belgian professors at the same place, Alex. de Ratlo (1578-87), Ant. Trutius (1582-93), and Adr. Damman (1586-88).‡ After these and the insignificant Westerhovius (1583-84) came a Frenchman the elder Pierre du Moulin (*Molinæus*, 1593-98), afterwards a minister at Paris, and

* At Bologna the Bachelor's degree was altogether unknown.

† Prof. Jo. Hachting of Franeker (1622-30), published a *Dialectica Petri Rami* in 1626. In mere grammar-schools the doctrine appears to have found more favour.

‡ Ratlo had been in England, and Damman is probably the same who was called to Scotland by Geo. Buchanan, and wrote to Lipsius from Leith, in 1590.

several Scotch Peripatetics: Jas. Ramsay¹ (1588-93), John Makolo (MacCulloch? Reader in Logic 1597), John Murdison (1600-5), and Gilbert Jack of Aberdeen (*Jacchaerus*, 1603-28)* Some writers have supposed a connection between the Aristotelian and the Calvinist predominance of the period; but there is no indication of nonconformity in the philosophy of the Remonstrant (or Arminian) party. Petr. Bertius, Ger. Vossius, and Caspar Barlaeus clearly belong to the same school with those by whom they were superseded in their offices in 1619 (to please the friends of the Synod of Dordt), Frank Burgersdijk (d. 1635) and Dan. Mostert (*Sinapius*). At Franeker, Lollius Adama (1585-1609), Andr. Roorda (1611-21), probably Joach. Andreae (1613-20), and certainly Arn. Verhel (1618-64) taught in the same spirit. At Groningen the first philosophical appointment was that of another Scotchman, Geo. M'Dowell, a native of Maxton on the Tweed, who was called from St. Andrews at the age of twenty-four. From the professor's chair, which he occupied from 1614 to '27, he stepped into that of a presiding military judge, and in time rose to be Charles II.'s ambassador at the Hague (1650). Nor did his academical successors, Franc. Meyvart from Ghent (1620-40), Mart. Schoock from Utrecht (1640-65), and Jo. Bertling (1667-90), swerve from the received doctrine. Schoock was a partisan, soon to become a private adversary, of Gisbert Voet, the Utrecht pillar of orthodoxy, and enlarged in print upon an endless variety of subjects, from Papacy and Cartesianism down to butter, herrings, and beer. In the Deventer College the Peripatetic banner was firmly upheld by a learned and far-travelled Doctor of Paris, Gisbert van Isendoorn (1634-47), who taught for nine years more at Harderwijk in his native province (1648-1657), and then died in peace, after obtaining a Curatorial resolution against the Cartesian heresies.

During this first period, before the irruption of really original thought, Aristotle was cherished mainly as a guarantee for *bona fide* logical studies, as opposed to the slipshod facility that the Ramist and similar schools were contented to impart. Even so accomplished a classical scholar as Hugo Grotius was not to be deceived as to the mediocrity of the boasted disciples of Cicero, but recommended Murdison for the long vacant chair of Logic, and urged Jack to write his *Instt. Primae Philosophiae* (1616); while all the Peripatetic text-books of the time are adorned with laudatory verse by such men as Dan. Heinsius,

* On the Scotch Philosophers in the Dutch Universities I shall be happy to exchange notes with their learned countrymen. Of Eglesham or Eglieximus, mentioned by Prof. Veitch in No. V. of *MIND* as a Professor at Leyden, I have not been able to find a trace in any part of the country.

Ger. Vossius, Pet. Cunaeus, and Casp. Barlaeus, whom no one will suspect of a tender regard for the Middle Ages. Of those books one at least will be known by name to most readers of philosophical history. The Grammar Schools of that time retained not only the name of *scholae triviales*, but actually taught the old *trivium*: Grammar, Dialectic, and Rhetoric. Their work was found insufficient at the University; so the Provincial States directed the schools of Holland to be provided with standard treatises, and by their order Vossius wrote his *Grammatica* and *Rhetorica*, and Burgersdijk his *Institutiones Logicae* (Lugd. Bat. 1626), good scholarly works, that made their way all over Europe.

The old school having thus prepared everything for undisturbed dominion, was very soon after to be involved in a struggle for life with an enemy from quite a unexpected quarter. On April 16, 1629, the Rector of Franeker registered the name of *Renatus des Cartes, Gallus, Philosophus*. Not finding, as it seems, the scientific intercourse that he wished for, that habitual traveller soon returned to Amsterdam, whence he made only a short trip to England. At Amsterdam he made the acquaintance of the private tutor of some young men, Henri Reniers (or Renery as he writes the name), a Belgian convert from Romanism and then recently disappointed of a Leyden professorship. This new friend was called to a chair at Deventer in 1631, and in 1634 to one at Utrecht, where he died after a short time from sheer hard work. In both places he explained the tenets of his French master, cautiously but devotedly; as he wrote to Mersenne: "*is est mea lux, meus sol, erit ille mihi semper Deus*". At his death in 1639, not only his philological colleague and countryman Aemilius, but several of the magistrates and of the students held with him, and one of his pupils, Henr. de Roy (or le Roy, *Regius*), was teaching physiology on his principles with great applause. However, Regius in his medical chair thought fit to attack the Aristotelian school in such a style as to move the wrath, not only of his philosophical colleagues, Arn. Senguerd (1639-48) and Dan. Berckringer (1640-67), but of their mighty theological protector Gisbert Voet, himself an old pupil of Jack and private teacher of Burgersdijk. This indefatigable champion of things constituted immediately began his operations, first making his pupils protest in their customary theses, and then procuring two decrees against the enemy, one of the Town Council, limiting Regius to his medical profession, and the other of the Academical Senate. In the latter the body of professors disapproved the new Philosophy for three notable reasons: first, because it contradicted the old system, secondly, because it kept the students in ignorance of the meaning of old terms, and lastly, because it

led, or might appear to lead, to consequences in opposition with other sciences, especially with orthodox Theology. Another pupil of Voet, Schoock at Groningen, was inspired by his master to publish a damnatory tract against Cartesianism. The irritable French philosopher, who had at first prompted the faithful Regius with arguments at his request, but wished to keep the peace as long as possible, now found himself openly accused of nothing less than Atheism, a rather dangerous charge even in the free republic, and resorted in his turn to vigorous measures. Besides publishing his well-known Letter to Voetius, he applied to the ambassador of his country, and with his aid to the Senate of Groningen and the Utrecht magistrates. After much throwing-up of polemical dust, Utrecht forbade its printers to publish any more controversial writings on either side (1645), and Schoock, who had betrayed the suggestions of his chief, narrowly escaped an action for libel on the latter. Henceforth peace reigned at Utrecht, under the auspices of Voet and his two sons Paul and Daniel, each in turn called to a philosophical chair by his influence (1641-53 and 1653-60). Straight from the deathbed of the younger the brave old father went forth to make interest with the authorities for the Aristotelian cause, but this time the office was given to a young kinsman of some of the town magnates themselves, Regnerus van Mansvelt, a Cartesian (1660-71). Only a few years before his death, the veteran divine had the satisfaction of seeing another of his true pupils, Gerard de Vries, first a reader (1671-72), and then a professor (1674-1705) in the place of his offspring. Yet towards the end of the century this same de Vries was reported to have but little influence, and to have yielded on certain points to the current of neology.

Meanwhile at Leyden the study of Philosophy had not thriven under the successors of Burgersdijk: Jo. Bodecherus the Latin poet (1629-38), Dan. Sinapius, promoted from his place in the States' College to an ethical professorship (1635-38), and Franc. du Ban, a Frenchman (1635-43). In 1641 the glib-tongued Adr. Heereboord* attempted to revive it, protesting against the slavish respect for Aristotle, which that great thinker would have been the first to disclaim, and teaching Logic on a plan of his own. Of course he was called to account before the Rector, Otto Heurnius, an aged professor of medicine who had lectured on Logic in his early days; but the Curators allowed him to proceed as he had begun. Soon after this we find him in raptures with the first works of Descartes, and what with his lessons, the reports from Utrecht, and the residence of the French thinker in Leyden and its neighbourhood, the seeds of neology began to

* One of his works, the *Philosophia Naturalis*, is said to have been reprinted at Oxford in 1665.

germinate among the students. To escape this danger, some conscientious youths actually went to Utrecht for lectures on orthodox Metaphysics; so the Leyden Curators, at the urgent request of their theological faculty, determined for the first time to open a public metaphysical course (1644). On the advice of Salmasius they secured the services of Adam Stuart, "*vir in philosophia Roscius*," sometime professor at Sedan, whose Scotch antecedents I have not been able to discover, but who at that time appears to have stayed in London. He at once proved himself as ardent a controversialist as any of the Voet family, and openly opposed Heereboord, who since 1645 had lectured on Ethics as well, and had sought to point out the difference between the followers of Aristotle and those of Nature. The great topics of the day, the legitimacy of universal doubt, and the attributes of the Deity, were drawn into every public disputation, and such was the vehemence of Revius, Regent of the College, and Trigland, a Professor of Divinity, that Descartes lodged a formal complaint with the Curators (1647). He only obtained a decree prohibiting all mention of his theories in the University. But Stuart, continuing his attacks on the doctrine without naming its author, found a fresh opponent in Jo. de Raey, doctor of medicine and a pupil of Regius, who had played a part in the Utrecht quarrel six years before, and now insisted that the decree should be respected to the letter by one party as well as the other. This led to violent scenes and some passionate pamphlet writing, after which the Curators put a stop to the proceedings (1648).

For the next quarter of a century their policy appears to have been one of mediation. In 1656 the professors of Philosophy and Divinity had to promise not to encroach upon each other's province. Adam Stuart died in 1654, but by that time de Raey had been his colleague in the faculty for three years (1651-68). Poor Heereboord, addicted to wine and rather a shallow rhetorician, died in 1661, and was replaced by David Stuart, who inherited the opinions of his father without his quarrelsome temper (1661-69). During the same time the Leyden students had the opportunity of hearing a talented Cartesian from foreign parts, Arnold Geulincx. Born at Antwerp, and educated at Louvain, he had been a brilliant professor in that university for twelve years, but fled from the place to become a Protestant at Leyden, where he was looked on with suspicion, and only supported by the charity of a theological professor, Abr. Heidanus. At last an extraordinary professorship was bestowed on him (1665), but poverty and disappointment put an untimely end (1669) to the career of one too little known, whom I incline to consider the most original thinker ever seated in a Dutch

philosophical chair. In 1669 and '70 the balance of parties was reversed by the appointment of two decided Cartesians, Burcherus de Volder (1670-1705) and Theod. Kranen (1670-73), while the tradition of Scholasticism was preserved by a mere reader, Wolferd Senguerd, the son of the Utrecht Aristotelian, who had spent his last years (1648-67) at the Athenæum of Amsterdam.

However the French invasion of 1672 and the nomination of William III. drew on a reaction in favour of the time-honoured system. Fred. Spanheim, the theologian, often annoyed by petulant Cartesian juniors, had the consolation of seeing some of them banished from the University; Kranen removed into the medical faculty; while Senguerd and a certain Wilhelmus were installed as professors (d. 1724 and 1677). De Volder, a peaceful savant, though faithful to the losing side in politics, kept his place mainly on account of his skilful scientific experimenting. Moreover the clergy prevailed upon the Curators to promulgate a syllabus of errors not to be defended any more; for instance, "*Omnem philosophiam esse religionis expertem, summumque hominis bonum esse animum sua sorte contentum*". Heidanus venturing to remonstrate against this measure both as a Cartesian and a Coccejan in theology, was ruthlessly deposed in his eightieth year (1676); while a scrupulous French divine, Steph. le Moyne, took courage to accept office in a university thus hapily purified of modern abominations.

Warded off, as far as possible, from Leyden and Utrecht, the new philosophy continued to flourish at Amsterdam, where its staunch defender de Raey professed from 1669 to 1702, and Jo. Theod. Schalbruch, the editor of Clauberg's works, from 1698 to 1722.* Even at Harderwijk it was favoured by Corn. van Thiel (1655-88), and more openly by Ger. Wijnen (1691-1722); and at Groningen, notwithstanding the Statutes, by the historian Tob. Andreae (1634-76), Ger. Lammers (1667-69), and two Huguenot refugees, Jac. Gousset (1691-1704) and Mich. Rossal (1724-44). Franeker was a hotbed of Cartesianism under Jo. Greidanus (1658-68), Jo. Wubben (1664-78), Jo. Schotanus a Sterringa (1678-99), Abr. Gulichius (1679-80), Tob. Andreae the nephew (1681-85), Herm. Alex. Roëll (1686-1704), and Ruard Andala (1701-27). Yet here also the Scholastic tradition was designedly kept up by the appointment of Christoph. Munster (1651-60), Abr. Steindam (1664-72), and Jo. Regius (1686-1738), the last of his tribe, who had to eke out his means by the practice of medicine, while striving to the last to stem

* Of the philosophical teaching of the famous Tib. Hemsterhuis (Amst. 1705-1717) there is little or no record.

the flood of modern speculation. A common weapon against Cartesians in those latter days was an accusation of Spinozism, which was repeated likewise against their successors.

Of these the foremost in age and fame was the great experimentalist Will. Jac. 's Gravesande, who had visited England as secretary to the ambassadors sent to compliment George I. on his accession to the throne. Called to a chair of astronomy and mathematics at Leyden in 1717, he was the first on the Continent to teach the natural philosophy of his revered friend, Sir Isaac Newton.* From 1734 to his death in '42 he also lectured on Mental and Moral Philosophy, and here he was evidently inspired by the doctrine of Leibnitz, as vulgarised in the writings of Christ. Wolff. Thenceforth the professor of Philosophy in the United Provinces was a physicist in the first place. Logic had, since the disgrace of Peripatetic lore, lost much of its attractions. So had Metaphysics, when the students of nature began to give up even Cartesian hypotheses, and attempting to proceed by the light of experience alone cared for abundance of ascertained facts rather than systematical completeness of theory. Reason had ceased to assert its omnipotence, though it retained its feeling of responsibility and a distrust of theories not altogether "clear and distinct". Accordingly, on ethical as well as metaphysical subjects, it was fain to retire upon safe generalities, getting clear of troublesome questions by a *non liquet*, or an appeal to Christian revelation. The title of Eclectic came again into favour, and Cicero was hailed once more as the model of a philosopher. Calvinism, too, had lost much of its rigidity, and could hardly find fault with a Philosophy so modest, and so ready to stand sentinel against the many sad infidels of the day. In this way, the eighteenth century, together with part of the next, as represented by our Academical Philosophers, became an age of innocence, blissfully unaware of the real difficulties of human thought, and wondering with a placid smile of superiority at the eccentricities of past and present innovators. Well-disposed students doted on the plausible commonplaces of preceptors like Nic. Engelhard (Groningen 1728-

* An older Dutch Newtonian, who showed experiments relating to the new theories in private, was Bern. Nieuwentijt (1654-1718), M.D. and alderman of Purmerend, a pupil of de Volder and Kranen, and as such an ardent Cartesian in his youth. Dislike of hypotheses, and love of experiment, as practised even by Senguerd, made him turn to the Latin works of English authors. Of his two chief works in Dutch, one, on the evidence from nature for the existence of a Deity, was translated into English, and largely borrowed from, it is said, both by Paley and Chateaubriand. The other, printed after his death, is a treatise on mathematical method in refutation of Spinoza.

65), Jo. Lulofs (Leyden 1742-68),* Dion. van de Wijnpersse (Gron. 1752-69, Leyden 1769-1805), Jo. Fred. Hennert (Utrecht 1764-1804), Jo. Theod. Rossijn (Harderwijk 1765-75, Utrecht 1775-1815), Bern. Nieuhoff (Deventer 1775, Harderwijk 1775-1818), all men of learning and sense, but without the spirit of speculative enterprise. The savage disputes of old, between schoolmen and inquirers, had died out long ago. Instead of them, essays and dissertations found plenty of cultivated readers outside the Universities, and their writers were encouraged to stand up for religion and morality by promises of gold medals and fine type. There were the Society of Sciences at Haarlem, Teyler's Society in the same place, the Society for the Defence of Christianity at the Hague, the Stolpian Fund at Leyden, all established in the latter half of the century, and holding out their yearly prizes. Among their early laureates one of the most esteemed was the Mennonite preacher, Dr Allard Hulshoff (d. 1795), from the Wolffian school of Engelhard, and even professors like van de Wijnpersse and Dan. Wytttenbach, more celebrated as a philologist, were proud of their approval. Turning over the leaves of their stately quartos and octavos, we now vainly try to appreciate endless rehearsals, in wordy Latin or indifferent Dutch, of the same worn-out demonstrations. Surely the worthy prizemen's success must have been something like that of the redoubtable Father Provincial,† "*qui super duas disputationes strenue se habuit contra haereticos, et superdisputavit eos omnes, sed noluerunt ei credere ipsi infideles*".

In point of fact, I suspect the best men of that period to have shared Ruhnkenius's opinion: "*suavitatem fructumque philosophiae positum esse in ratione et forma, non in materia et argumento; quippe de cujus veritate omnia esse incerta*".‡ Even Franc. Hemsterhuis (1721-90), the professed Platonist, who despised Cicero as a philosopher, would have Philosophy entirely separated from Science, and told his readers that the human soul was designed to contemplate and to enjoy, and not, as it seemed, to understand its objects. In spite of a slight tinge of the doctrine of Spinoza, he draws the regulation dogmas of moderate eighteenth-century Deism from the depths of his inner consciousness, and for his much-admired speculations on love he is indebted, rather than to the *Symposium*, to his innocent flirt-

* One of Lulofs's pupils was Elie Luzac the Wolffian, Doctor of Law and printer at Leyden, who wrote in French, besides other works, a refutation of Lamettrie's *L'Homme Machine*, entitled *L'Homme plus que Machine* (1748).

† *Epist. Obscur. Viror.* I. 49.

‡ Wytttenbachii *Opuscula* I. p. 535, in *Vita Ruhn.*

ings with Mesdames de Galitzin and Perrenot.* Still the classical studies revived by his father Tiberius (1685-1766) had the good effect of discrediting the mock mathematical demonstrations of the Wolffian imitators. Also, the contemporary Scotch thinkers began to be noticed by men like Hennert†; and on the whole, by various influences, Philosophy in the Universities themselves was brought near to a level with polite literature. "Clearness and distinctness," a by-word ever since Descartes, assumed the meaning of plainest possible intelligibility. Only the language of the lecture-room remained Latin, though it rarely attained the accomplished elegance of Wytttenbach's *Praecepta Philosophiae Logicae* (Amst., 1781).

When Kant emerged into European celebrity, his works were received in these parts with more doubt than applause. Except for a rectorial oration of Ant. Chaudoir at Franeker (1792), and the lectures of Hennert and the young Ger. van der Voort at Groningen (1790-93), he was barely mentioned by the official men. At Amsterdam he met with an active apostle in Paulus van Hemert, formerly a professor at the Remonstrant Seminary, who published a couple of treatises (1792 and '96) and six volumes of a magazine (1799-1803), in which he was joined by a small number of rising talents. When their journal proved too heavy for its intended readers, van Hemert tried a more literary and popular one, which by his ready wit was kept alive for four years more. In those same years (1804-8) some of the best Groningen undergraduates carried on a junior Kantian Society. Provoked by the contemptuous treatment of received opinions and their timid advocates in the Amsterdam publication, van de Wijnpersse in his extreme old age published some anonymous remarks on the dangerousness of the Critical doctrine (1805), and Wytttenbach (1807) attempted to ridicule the new metaphysical fever, upbraiding Kant for ignorance of history and van Hemert for neglect of Latin, discourteousness, and oblivion of personal benefits. A fierce literary war between the veteran with his school and the Kantian chief was kept up in Latin during the next seven years. After this, the movement, always limited to a small circle, slowly died out in the country. The last Kantian relic was an orthodox village clergyman named

* As to the Platonic dialogues of Madame Wytttenbach, they are but clever exercises in French composition.

† Will. Laur. Brown, who died in 1830 as Principal of Marischal College at Aberdeen, was born at Utrecht in 1755, and officiated there as Professor of Moral Philosophy, etc., from 1788 to '94, using Hutcheson as a textbook. Beattie's *Elements of Moral Science* were translated under Hennert's auspices, and published in 1795. But the Scotch influence is visible, even in 1781, in the latter's *Aphorismi*.

le Roy, who persisted in considering his master the destroyer of Rationalism, as showing by his sceptical arguments the necessity of a supernatural revelation.

Napoleon, during his short occupation of the country (1810-13) was pleased to abolish two of its Universities, degrade Utrecht to the rank of an *école secondaire* (whatever that might mean), and incorporate Leyden and Groningen as *académies* with his comprehensive *Université de France*. As a consequence, the Faculty of Philosophy and Arts, once the nursery of unbigoted thought and general culture, was cut asunder on the new French plan into one of Science and another of Literature. After the downfall of the Empire, the Royal Decree of Aug. 2, 1815, on University Education, ratified this disruption, but introduced the titles of *Facultas Disciplinarum Mathematicarum et Physicarum* and *Facultas Philosophiæ Theoreticæ et Literarum Humaniorum*. In all the five faculties the degrees of Candidate and Doctor were to be obtainable by stated examinations; but students of Divinity or Law had first to take a special degree in Literature, and those of Medicine a similar one in Science. Besides, to keep up a connection between the great divisions of university-work, there was introduced an elaborate system of certificates of attendance on lectures in different faculties. For instance, while philologists were examined, everyone else had to produce his certificate in Logic; Metaphysics and History of Philosophy were examination-subjects for the literary doctorate, but the lectures must be attended by students in natural science and in theology as well. The whole form of education set forth in the new Decree was an ingenious compound of the old plan of a liberal education and the novel one of mere professional training; and in the course of sixty years it has proved a practical failure. First, the arrangement of Grammar Schools was for the most part left at the mercy of municipal authorities, under whose too often tradesman-like rule sound classical instruction was allowed to decline by degrees. From 1845 to '49 a Government Commission was appointed to examine for matriculation, and thus set up a fixed standard of proficiency; but this was soon discontinued, and matters were left to grow worse than ever. Seeing men admitted to the University from imperfect schools or scanty private tuition, parents began to think it a wise thing not to detain their boys in the higher forms of well-conducted establishments. The old custom of lecturing in Latin, sanctioned as a rule by the Decree of 1815, had to be abandoned, not so much because of modern notions as of deficient understanding of the language. A more serious disadvantage was the neglect of a thorough training of the mental faculties, owing in part to the multiplicity of subjects gradually introduced into

preparatory schools for the mistaken purpose of a many-sided instruction. Secondly, the literary *propaideia*, as it was called, at the University could not answer its aim because the same teaching had to serve for future philologists and for everyone else; also because the plan had been subsequently improved upon by a separate examination in mathematics. Undergraduates felt that only the very best of them could really satisfy the conditions of the system; and hastened to get rid of their mathematical and classical obligations anyhow.* In the third place, certificates of attendance appeared to mark a subject as being of little importance, and it was hard to refuse them, especially where other duties rendered such attendance a positive burden, and many without their own fault were ill-prepared to derive a real benefit from what they were commanded to hear.

Under this system, philosophical teaching was naturally esteemed by most young men a kind of troublesome "survival" from the dark ages, and had moreover to be kept down to the level of intellects little accustomed to serious exertion. Of the four subjects mentioned in the Decree, Ethics was after a time left off as a useless duplicate of Moral Theology, and Metaphysics generally coalesced with History of Philosophy. Nor was there much chance of rivalry of opinions in the same place. For as the State was at the charge of maintaining three Universities,† there must needs be a limited number of chairs, and in one instance, at Utrecht, Philosophy was divided for some years between the professors of Mathematics and of Greek. Amsterdam, being a mere city Athenæum, trusted as of old to its physicist, until it happened to meet with an orientalist, Dr. Taco Roorda, much interested in philosophical studies;‡ and since he left the place in 1843, both branches of learning have been represented in combination by his three successors, now all employed as professors at Leyden, but of whom only one continues to teach Philosophy.

* At Leyden, from Sept. 1876 to June '77 (the unit of University time always embracing a whole year), there were 118 examinations by the Literary Faculty, of men destined for the study of Law. Four of these passed their propaedeutical stage "*summa cum laude*," seventeen "*non sine laudibus*" sixty-three passed without comment, and thirty-four were plucked.

† Leyden, Utrecht, and Groningen. Moreover there were at first the State Athenæa of Harderwijk and Franeker, abolished in 1818 and '43.

‡ A paper of his, on the present condition of Philosophy in the Netherlands, appeared in I. H. Fichte's *Zeitschrift*, Vol. X. (1843). He wrote in Dutch on Psychology (in the German manner) and the Philosophy of Language. For the last thirty years of his life, he was the chief representative of Javanese philology.

In practice, lecturers on Logic had the option either to attract an audience by avoiding technicalities and by a plentiful sprinkling of literary condiments, or to stick to their subject and drive most of their hearers away. One of them, who tried to take a middle road between the two extremes, and to give some value to his certificates by a little private examination, found the outlines of Formal Logic looked up to as little short of the Differential Calculus. As for the Metaphysical course, it had to be sweetened with historical matter, and hardly left a vestige in the youthful mind beyond a few dates and ready-made formulæ. There was no time to give anything like a complete survey; anyone taking an interest in philosophical discussions felt extra time spent on them as detracted from his proper avocations. Also, Divinity professors took to giving parallel lectures under the title of Natural Theology; and for the sake of the philological students and their final examinations the best plan was after all to devote the one year that was available to an account of Greek philosophy from Thales to Aristotle.

Of the dozen or so of professors representing Philosophy during this last period; none became properly followers of the great contemporary German schools. It is true that the well-read Jac. Nieuwenhuis (Deventer 1816-22, Leyden 1822-43), after admiring Geo. Hermes of Bonn, took some part in recommending the views of Krause, as explained in French by Ahrens; also, the present titular at Utrecht was at one time their eloquent advocate. Again, the liberal Catholic, F. C. de Greuve (Groningen 1831-62), gave some evidence of a leaning towards Hegelianism. Others, like the lofty-minded Mart. des Amorie van der Hoeven (prof. of Law, Amsterdam 1848-68), were deeply impressed by the German speculations; but their allotted place was not in a philosophical chair.* On the opposite side, divines like E. A. Borger † scornfully warned their countrymen from wasting their attention on those foggy and comfortless foreign productions; and even one of the old Kantian set of van Hemert, J. F. L. Schröder (Utrecht, 1817-44), turned out in his mature age to be an anthropologist of the common-sense and common-place school. A sound mathematician, a man of most extensive reading, and an earnest and amiable moralist, he held his own beside the popular Ph. W. van Heusde (Utrecht 1804-39), a pupil of Wytttenbach and an unceas-

* For this reason I must also refrain from reporting on the original attempt of one of van Hemert's old comrades, Dr. J. Kinker (d. 1845), to complete the Kantian system in his *Essai sur le dualisme de la raison humaine*, published after his death in an unfinished state (1850-52).

† *Disputatio de Mysticismo*, Harlemi, 1819, Hagae Com., 1820.

ing expounder on the nature and history of Man, who inspired his hearers with an ardent love for Plato without penetrating very far into the depths of that master mind.* After these, Utrecht had the good fortune to obtain the services of Dr. C. W. Opzoomer (1846). By his fluent and tasteful lecturing many have learnt to admire a form of doctrine derived in the main from Comte and J. S. Mill, but supplemented by a divorce between scientific and religious truth, so as to find room for a broad type of Protestantism. One of the leaders of the "Modern" party in the Church, he has also distinguished himself as a commentator on Dutch Civil Law, and as a careful student of Modern Literature. Like his two predecessors, he has earned the fame of a promoter of intellectual life far beyond his official sphere, and spokesman of a goodly number of our most cultivated men. From his school came forth the Chevalier van der Wijck, professor at Groningen since 1863, who appears to turn his attention chiefly to the propagation and improvement of modern British Psychology.

Outside of the Universities, various thinkers have found an echo in the country. From 1828 to '30, and again in '36 and '37, a Hegelian periodical was published at the Hague by a small body of believers. Among the material supporters of Comte there were certain military officers in the Dutch service, and more than once the Positivist doctrines, both original and as reformed according to M. Littré, were recommended to our notice. They even contrived to present themselves in the form of a dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Divinity.† Others again looked for their guidance to the systems of older ages. Dr. A. J. Vitranga made interest for the emanation-theory of Plotinus, and Dr. J. van Vloten devoted many years to the task of getting credit for our own Spinoza as the Philosopher of the Future.‡ A variety of heterodox opinions, from Deism to Se-

* *Initia Philosophiæ Platoniciæ* 1827-36, 2d ed., 1842. *Characterismi principum Philos. veterum* 1839. In his Dutch works, especially the *School of Socrates* (1834-9), of which there exists a German translation, he advises his countrymen, on the strength of a theory of national capabilities, to abstain from competition with others in the field of independent philosophical research, and study the ancients merely for their own edification. His tomb was inscribed with a sentence of his own: "How could he be called a philosopher who does not believe as a child?"

† Dr. l'Ange Huet, Leyden 1866.

‡ Of purely historical contributions, I need only mention the *Fragments of Xenophanes, Parmenides, and Empedocles*, edited (1830-38) by S. Karsten, the pupil and successor of van Heusde; the dissertation of his son H. T. Karsten, *de Platonis quæ feruntur epistolæ* (Traj. 1864), and the remarkable studies of the late P. A. S. van Limburg Brouwer on Indian and Chinese speculations, published in the *Gids* (Guide)

cularism, were advocated side by side in the volumes of the *Dageraad* (Dawn), a special journal appearing at Amsterdam for several years since 1856. Throughout our theological and general literature there are indications of a sincere interest in certain philosophical questions, much desultory reading about them, and a desire to have them answered to one's personal satisfaction. The self-contented "Eclectic" or "Christian Philosopher" of the last century, though still largely represented in the ranks of elderly clergymen and jurists, is now becoming a figure of the past. In his place, drawing-room free-thinkers would compound for a similar makeshift, the "Poet Philosopher," and their friends in the laboratory try to construct a creed out of the tentative assumptions of Science. But habits of scientific thoroughness, acquired by steady application to any class of problems, give rise to a demand for something of a quite different type. Where methodical research is attempted, it remains to be seen whether the rising generation will avoid the slough of sceptical despondency and find its way to rational convictions of its own.

From the first of October of this present year our Universities will be subjected to the Law of April 28, 1876, and the Royal Decrees appertaining thereto. The main feature of this law—considered by many to be a patched-up compromise between contradictory principles—appears to be an absolute division of labour. The Grammar School, or Gymnasium, as reformed within the next four years, is to be the place for liberal education, and to absorb all that went under the name of literary *propaideia*; whereas the University becomes the place for such professional training as requires some knowledge of Latin and Greek—a mere aggregate of special schools. Certificates of attendance are abolished altogether. The five Faculties remain as they were. Only that of Divinity is loosened from all connection with church or sect, leaving its former dogmatical and practical teaching to be pursued in ecclesiastical seminaries;*

monthly magazine, and intended apparently to invalidate the vulgar conceptions of human nature and self-evident truth.

* Institutions of this kind, mere schools without living in common, have been kept up for many years in close connection with the Athenæum at Amsterdam, by the Remonstrants, Mennonites, and Lutherans. Nor are the scholarship and social status of their ministers in any sense inferior to those of the clergy turned out by the universities. There is no state church in this country since 1795; so legislation is but consistent in placing all denominations on the same footing. The present Remonstrant Professor of Divinity is established at Leyden, and without belonging to the University, took a share in its teaching as if appointed to an extraordinary chair. Under the new Law he is to hold office in the University as well, on the strength of his happening to be our one

and in those of Law, Natural Science, and Literature, men may follow different paths and obtain different degrees. Instead of one kind of *Philosophiæ Theoreticæ Magistri, Literarum Humaniorum Doctores*, as ordered in 1815, we are in one Faculty to have special Doctors of Classical, of Semitic, and of Dutch philology, of that of the East-Indian Archipelago, and of Philosophy. The latter will be different from anything yet known in history. A young man of eighteen, fresh from his Gymnasium, is to be instructed in Logic, Psychology, and the history of Greek and Roman Philosophy, and then to take the degree of Candidate. By another examination, concerning Mediaeval and Modern systems, and Metaphysics, "in its full extent and all its applications," together with a dissertation to be argued on for an hour, he may conquer the title of a Doctor, and afterwards—repent of his neglected education. Certainly such a scheme did not come into being through any oversight on the part of those who will have to carry it out. The only chance of counterbalancing its evil effects would be in a combination of the Philosophical with some other curriculum; provided one could afford to stay for a couple of years beyond the usual time. Philosophy being thus pushed aside into a corner of the academical system, should try to get a voluntary hearing from the best students of every class; but then there is the difficulty of finding suitable hours, and procuring due consideration for intricate problems without the inducement of some present reward. The student of Classical Literature alone will be obliged to acquire some notion of Ancient Philosophy for the sake of his first degree. Perhaps the cause of independent thought will be best served by carefully written books for private reading. Philosophy at large can dispense with Universities, but Universities that try to dispense with Philosophy will be found in the long run to tamper with the mainspring of their own constitution.

J. P. N. LAND.

Leyden, August, 1877.

specialist in the History of Religions. Among the old philological and philosophical professors of the same denomination were Jo. Clericus (le Clerc, 1684-1736), the friend of Locke, Dan. Wyttenbach (1771-79), and Paulus van Hemert (1790-96).