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‘Addicted to Puritanism’: Philosophical and theological relations between Scotland and the United Provinces in the first half of the seventeenth century¹

Esther Mijers

Introduction

In 1693, the future principal of the University of Edinburgh, William Carstares (1649–1715), wrote to the newly appointed principal of Glasgow, his brother-in-law William Dunlop (1654–1700), urging him to consider hiring Dutchmen to fill new chairs in theology and philosophy.² This idea was the culmination of a long tradition of Scottish-Dutch educational and intellectual exchange, which had started in the late sixteenth century with the founding of two of the oldest Dutch universities, Leiden and Groningen. It had gained momentum over the course of the seventeenth century, finding its conclusion, in the early eighteenth century, in the reform of the University of Edinburgh by Carstares along Dutch lines. Inspired by his own time in the United Provinces and the large number of Scottish students who chose to study abroad, Carstares responded to Scotland’s brain-drain with academic improvements in emulation of the Dutch.³ He and his contemporaries looked towards the Dutch with admiration. Their specialist professors, whose erudition and reputation as educators were the envy of the academic world, were respected around Europe. Yet they may not have known that during their founding years, the Dutch universities had themselves turned to Scotland for the very same reason.

The Dutch universities—Leiden, Franeker, Groningen, and Utrecht—attracted Scottish students from the moment they opened their doors in the late sixteenth century.⁴ In the first half of the seventeenth century, 79 Scots matriculated officially, and by 1750 this number had risen to over 1,500. The reasons for this popularity—a combination of longstanding Scottish-Dutch relations and the reputation of the Dutch universities as both civic institutions and centres of academic excellence—have been explored numerous times.⁵ Likewise the influence of their Dutch education on the Scots, in law and medicine, has received a great deal of attention from scholars such as Robert Feenstra, John Cairns, G.A. Lindeboom, E. Ashworth Underwood, and Ole Grell.⁶ Much work remains to be done, however, on the early years of Scottish-Dutch academic exchange and in particular with regard to philosophy and theology. The combination of the progressive nature of the Dutch universities, the cosmopolitanism and relative freedom of the United Provinces, and the large number of Scots who had some Dutch experience, all of which phenomena arguably reached their high point in the later seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, provides a compelling reason for the idea of a ‘perfect storm’ of pre- or even early- Enlightenment. Yet, as Alasdair Raffie has recently rightly argued, this gives a teleological and incomplete account of Scotland’s intellectual evolution.⁷ Instead, its less successful aspects should also be investigated, including the more conservative aspects of the early years of the Scottish-Dutch exchange, during which a shared Presbyterianism led first to a scholarly and subsequently a more practical co-operation, which differed greatly in nature and dominance from the later period. Moreover, such narratives must take into account the wider and international context of Scotland’s cultural, economic, and political history. Indeed, Scotland’s intellectual history of the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries has arguably not benefited as much as the later period of the vibrant and still growing field of Scottish Diaspora studies, which takes an

international approach through both comparative and network-theoretical methodologies.⁸

Within both the history of Scotland's ties with the wider world and the history of universities and intellectual history, the Scottish-Dutch relationship in the earlier seventeenth century remains largely unexplored. Nijenhuis in his *Ecclesia Reformata* downplayed its importance almost completely, in sharp contrast to his treatment of the later period.⁹ This is all the more noticeable as Scotland's early-seventeenth century relationship with other parts of Europe is now receiving a fair amount of attention. Much work has been done on the political and economic links with Scandinavia, focusing on the Thirty Years War and the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, and recently the relationship with France and the end of the *Auld Alliance* has also been re-evaluated.¹⁰ The Franco-Scottish intellectual and academic story is also starting to be uncovered, in the work of Marie-Claude Tucker on the Protestant academies in France and Tom McNally's research into the Scots Colleges abroad.¹¹ Likewise, the Scottish presence at the German universities is the subject of new research.¹² The religious and intellectual aspects of the Scottish-Dutch relationship have thus far only been addressed in the two classic surveys of Scotland and Europe, T. C. Smout's *Scotland and Europe 1200-1850* and Grant G. Simpson's *Scotland and the Low Countries 1124-1994*. Each contains one chapter, both by James K. Cameron, devoted to the earliest academic links.¹³ However, both are far from complete and add little to J.P.N. Land's classic nineteenth-century article, 'Schotse Wijzgeren aan Nederlandsche Hoogeschoolen', on Scottish philosophers at the Dutch universities.¹⁴ More recently, James Eglinton has made an exploratory foray into the theological connections between the two nations.¹⁵

This article aims to make a contribution towards filling in some of the gaps and rectifying the shortcomings in existing accounts of the Scottish-Dutch philosophical and theological connections in the first half of the seventeenth century: connections based on Presbyterianism and on its philosophical underpinning in reformed Aristotelianism. In particular, it addresses the question of what exactly these connections looked like and how they emerged and evolved. It also attempts to formulate an answer to the question of when, why, and how the nature of these links changed in the middle of the seventeenth century. As such, it builds on previous research, on some of the economic and political aspects of the (early) seventeenth century Scottish-Dutch relationship on the one hand, and on Scotland's relationship with the later seventeenth-century European Republic of Letters on the other.¹⁶ Here, the Scottish-Dutch connections are examined from a viewpoint of equality. Academic mobility has long been acknowledged as being of crucial importance for the Scottish intelligentsia and the same must now be concluded for the early history of the Dutch universities, which owed a substantial part of their early philosophy curriculum to Scottish academics and their teaching.¹⁷ Rather than giving a definitive account, the purpose of this article is to provide an overview. As such it is an invitation to further research. The richness of the source material, especially in the various university archives on either side of the North Sea, as well as the many textbooks and other academic publications, justifies a larger and 'deeper' research project than time and space allow here. Similarly, the extensive and complicated networks which are at the heart of this story would benefit from further conceptualization and visualization, beyond the classic database. As a starting point for this research, the focus of this piece is on the people, especially the university professors and their contacts, and the background and context of the long Reformation which underpinned both Scottish and Dutch ideas of philosophy and theology.

Background

Relations between Scotland and the United Provinces originated in the Medieval wool and cloth trade. The Scots developed a central market in the Low Countries very early on; the first Staple was established in Bruges in 1313.¹⁸ As part of the Auld Alliance with France, Scotland's earliest focus was largely on Flanders. But even before the advent of the Reformation, Scotland began to leave the French sphere in search of fortune further north. When the Flemish trade collapsed in the fifteenth century, the attention of the Scottish kings shifted towards Burgundy, which by the 1420s had taken possession of most of the secular principalities of the Low Countries. At the same time, the Scottish wool and cloth trade increasingly began to concentrate on the Scheldt delta, the area's commercial artery. The move northwards was completed with the founding of an official Scottish Staple in Veere (Campveere) in 1541, formalizing the old commercial ties.¹⁹ The Staple was overseen by a Staple Conservator, who maintained a working relation with both the Convention of Royal Burghs and the Scottish Parliament, and who was assisted in his moral duties by the Staple minister, appointed by the Kirk in Scotland.²⁰ When the Dutch Revolt broke out and the seven northern Dutch provinces declared independence from their Spanish overlord, Philip II, in 1581, the Staple also became one of the key diplomatic channels between the two countries, as well as a portal for religious and clandestine activities.

If trade was the foundation of the Scottish-Dutch relationship, religion brought the countries even closer together. From the late sixteenth century onwards, the Presbyterian Scots and their Dutch co-religionists admired and supported each other in the aftermath of the Reformation. In 1572, the first Scots arrived in the United Provinces to fight with the Dutch in their rebellion against the Catholic Philip II. Soon a Scottish regiment was established in the United Provinces, and the Scots Brigade, as it became known, was born.²¹ Formally part of the Dutch army (*Staten Leger*), it became a second conduit, alongside the Staple, for exchange and co-operation. Following the arrival of the first Scottish soldiers, English support arrived in the early 1580s, when the English Army led by the Earl of Leicester was sent across. In 1585, the cities of Vlissingen (Flushing) and Den Briel and Fort Rammekens were handed over to Elizabeth I as English garrisoned towns in return for financial aid to the Dutch rebels, a situation which continued until 1616. These English regiments established a number of Puritan churches and were soon joined by Presbyterian Scots.

The civilian Protestant residents from the British Isles in the United Provinces were granted the right to establish their own churches in Amsterdam and Leiden in 1607. After the Synod of Dordt (1618–19), this right was confirmed and extended throughout the country so that by the middle of the seventeenth century there were numerous British churches throughout Zeeland and Holland with large proportions of Scots in their congregations.²² There were also 'exclusively' Scottish churches: the Staple Church in Veere, established by the Convention of Royal Burghs in 1614, and the Scots Church in Rotterdam, founded in 1642. After the Restoration, these increasingly became the focal point for the Scottish community in the United Provinces, with the Scots Church of Rotterdam at its spiritual, moral, and social centre.²³

So by the middle of the seventeenth century, three institutions had been established which both confirmed and extended the older Scottish-Dutch commercial relationship: the Staple, the Scots Brigade, and the Scottish Church in Rotterdam. Within the climate of international Protestantism, these facilitated exchanges of people, goods, and ideas. In addition, Scotland and the United Provinces were

connected by several dynastic links. The Stuart-Orange relationship was of great importance to the individual families, but also served as further conduits for exchange. The marriage of James VI & I's daughter, Elizabeth (1596–1662), to the Protestant Frederick, the Elector Palatine and future King of Bohemia (1596–1632), may be seen as the first of the Stuart-Orange matrimonial alliances. Frederick was the son of Louise Juliana (1576–1644), a daughter of William of Orange (1533–84), the hero of the Dutch revolt. Despite James VI & I's pro-Spanish policy, Stuart involvement in the Thirty Years War focused on their restoration to Bohemia. They established a court in exile at the Hague, which became a focal point for the Stuart presence in the United Provinces. Elizabeth's position as a patron of the sciences is well known, but she was also tied by her Protestantism to the wider British-Dutch intellectual sphere. This early Stuart-Orange connection was confirmed by the friendship between James VI & I and Maurits (1567–1625), William of Orange's son who led the Dutch into a new phase of their anti-Catholic crusade, both militarily and religiously, and the naming of the ill-fated Prince Henry (1594–1612), Elizabeth's brother, after Maurits's younger brother Frederik Hendrik (1584–1647). Moreover, James supported Maurits in his rift with Johan van Oldenbarnevelt (1547–1619), the pre-eminent Dutch legal scholar and leader of the more latitudinarian republican party, over the political and religious direction of the Dutch revolt and the newly established Dutch state. Two further Stuart-Orange marriages followed later in the century. William II (1626–50), son of Frederik Hendrik and one of Elizabeth of Bohemia's ladies-in-waiting, Amalia van Solms (1602–75), married Mary Henrietta (1631–60), daughter of Charles I (1600–49) and Henrietta Maria of France (1609–69), who conducted a pro-Protestant foreign policy in favour of Elizabeth of Bohemia. Mary Henrietta worked tirelessly to gain support for Charles I, hoping to obtain a Dutch guarantee as part of the rapprochement between England and Spain. A third Stuart-Orange marriage was the direct result of these Stuart policies, when William II's and Mary Henrietta's son, the future Stadholder-King William III (1650–1702) married his niece Mary II (1662–94).

As a consequence of these numerous connections, one might argue for a Scottish-Dutch world which was not only commercially and politically close, but also culturally and intellectually cohesive, at least in the earlier part of the seventeenth century. It has been argued elsewhere that the Scots benefited greatly from this situation and flocked to the United provinces in substantial numbers. Throughout the seventeenth century a semi-permanent Scottish community resided in the United Provinces, consisting of overlapping groups of merchants, soldiers, (politico-)religious exiles and students. At the same time, the Dutch admired and relied on the Scots as far as their religious, intellectual, and academic life was concerned. Indeed, in the first half of the seventeenth century, the relationship was far more one of equals, if not partners, than has hitherto been acknowledged.²⁴ Informed by the Reformation, the two countries were part of the wider Protestant International in which Scotland played a leading role.

The Protestant International

Even before the Reformation broke out in Scotland and the Low Countries, the Scots and the Dutch had been converging intellectually and were equally indebted to European Humanism. The education of James IV's son, Alexander Stewart, by Erasmus of Rotterdam, who taught him rhetoric and Greek at the University of Siena, can be seen as a typical rather than an exceptional case in point.²⁵ The Reformation

created a new international sphere in which Scotland soon became an example of heroic and pure Protestantism in the eyes of the Dutch, who displayed great interest in the events in Scotland. For example, the Dutch politician and mayor of Amsterdam C.P. Hooft (1547–1626) mentioned Scottish affairs in his speeches, as did the historian Emanuel van Meteren (1535–1612); the famous Dutch poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) still referenced them years later.²⁶ Scotland was not only part of the religious landscape and the Dutch public's imagination: it was also part of the newly independent country's foreign affairs, via the Staple at Veere and the Bohemian Court as well as more official channels.

The on-going Dutch Revolt was cause for frequent and serious diplomatic traffic between the two nations.²⁷ The (potential) disruption of trade as a result of the war with Spain worried the Scots a great deal. Adrian Damman van Bijsterveld, a Dutch agent, ambassador to James VI, regent in humanities at Edinburgh (1590–4), and Latin poet, kept the States General abreast of the events in Scotland.²⁸ Born in Ghent, he had taught philosophy at Leiden until 1588. He may have been first brought over to Scotland by James VI himself or by George Buchanan, but Damman was officially appointed in 1594 by the States General as their Resident at the Scottish Court.²⁹ When that same year, James VI invited the States General to 'act as sponsors at the baptism of his son', the Dutch used the event to discuss the international situation. The Dutch States' representatives, Walraven III, Lord of Brederode and Jacob Valcke, Treasurer of Zeeland, appealed to the 'old alliances and friendships between Scotland and these Lands'.³⁰ For at least part of their stay, they were hosted by Alexander Seton, first earl of Dunfermline (1556–1622), lord chancellor of Scotland, who had an interest in learning and culture and would have known Damman.³¹

For many years after, the Dutch continued to court James, now VI & I, for their own Protestant cause.³² After 1603, these efforts became more 'British' in focus, although there remained a distinct awareness of Scotland as an independent and friendly nation until the mid-1600s. Examples of this are numerous: in 1626, a Middelburg-based syndicate led by the burgomaster Jan de Moor worked with the Earl of Seaforth towards a Dutch plantation on the island of Lewis.³³ And almost twenty years later, in 1644, the wealthy Zeeland merchants Adrian and Cornelis Lampsins gave a loan to the Estates of Scotland 'in corroboration of the joynt Publique-Faith of both Kingdomes'.³⁴

The diplomatic connections between Scotland and the United Provinces, while focused on commercial relations, led to interaction and co-operation on an elite level. James VI and his courtiers and the new Dutch rulers shared an interest in learning. In Scotland, the Dutch poets Damman and Godfried Van der Hagen, while students at St Andrews, published work in honour of James—Damman's Latin translation of Guillaume de Saluste Du Bartas (1544–90), *La Sepmaine ou Création du monde*, was dedicated to James when printed in 1600;³⁵ Van der Hagen, a member of the circle around Sir John of Scotstarvit (1585–1670) contributed a poem entitled 'Coridonis Querela', to the *Muses Welcome* which was published upon James's return to Scotland in 1617,³⁶ and maintained links with Dutch scholars as this time. Damman was especially well connected. He had taught Maurits of Orange's nephew and son-in-law, Willem Lodewijk Duke of Nassau-Dillenburg (1560–1620), the future stadholder of Friesland, Groningen, and Drenthe. In Scotland, he knew George Buchanan, taught several aristocratic boys and eventually (re-)married into the royal family.³⁷ His impeccable scholarly and diplomatic credentials served him well on both sides of the North-Sea. Other high-ranking Dutchmen were similarly attracted to

Scotland as a place of learning: Jonas van Reigersbergh visited Scotland in 1597. The second son of the burgomaster of Veere, he shared a Zeeland background with many future Dutch visitors, and as Grotius' brother-in-law, he too was well connected politically and academically.³⁸

Beyond the intellectual elite level of reformed Humanism, the Dutch also looked to the Scottish Presbyterians for theological and philosophical inspiration and guidance. In practical terms, this translated into a close academic relationship in the early seventeenth century. In the first half of the seventeenth century seven Scottish professors of philosophy were appointed at the Dutch universities, and there was another attempted appointment; more than 128 Scottish students matriculated there, and at least 17 known Dutch students studied in Scotland at the University of St Andrews.³⁹ Indeed Leiden and St Andrews seem to have been particularly close. In 1588, 13 years after its founding, the university's senate appointed the first of the Scottish philosophers who would come to dominate the teaching of philosophy there, a St Andrews graduate called James Ramsay.⁴⁰ He succeeded Adrian Damman, who had left the University of Leiden that same year, first for Germany and then for Scotland.⁴¹ Despite being a lawyer, Ramsay was Professor *Extraordinarius* in Aristotelian logic until his death in 1593. He was also appointed at the *Staten College*, Leiden's college of theology, for students on bursaries, which was established in 1592, where he briefly taught logic and physics.⁴² Perhaps because of Ramsay's untimely death, the University of Leiden paid *Magistro Petro Nicolai*, a Scottish minister based in Denmark, to travel to Scotland, possibly with the intention of finding a successor for Ramsay.⁴³ Whether he succeeded in his mission is not known—Ramsay was succeeded by the Frenchman Pierre Du Moulin—but in 1597 a Scot was appointed at Leiden. James Macculough, also known as Makolo, was recommended to the University by the Stadholder, Maurits of Orange, and taught Aristotle.⁴⁴ Nothing more is known of him, nor is it clear how long he stayed. The tradition of appointing Scottish philosophy professors continued with the arrival, in 1599, of another St Andrews graduate, John Murdison (Johannes Murdisonus, 1568–1605). Born in Edinburgh to a merchant father, he graduated MA in 1587 from both St Andrews and Edinburgh before studying medicine at Helmstadt (1588–9), Jena (c.1589) and Wittenberg (1591).⁴⁵ At Helmstadt he knew the poet and scholar John Johnston (c.1565–1611), who was Andrew Melville's ally at St Andrews.⁴⁶ He arrived in the United Provinces c.1592 and served as *conrector* of the Latin School in Middelburg until 1599, when he matriculated as a Law student at Leiden. He graduated *D. Juris* in 1604 while teaching physics, alongside Vossius, and logic, before returning to Scotland in 1607 to become a private law teacher in Edinburgh.⁴⁷

Murdison was succeeded by another St Andrews and Helmstadt graduate, Gilbert Jack (Jaccheaus) (1577/8–1628), who arrived in 1603.⁴⁸ The last of the early Scottish philosophers at Leiden, he was also the most impressive. Jack had studied at Marischal College Aberdeen, at Helmstadt when the mathematician and physician Duncan Liddel taught there, and at Herborn. He enrolled as a student in theology at Leiden in 1603 and was allowed to teach Porphyrius' *Isagoge*. When Murdison left Leiden in 1605, Jack became Professor *Extraordinarius Logices* but was strictly forbidden to teach theology. Two years later he became Professor of Ethics and in 1611 he graduated MD. A year later he became Professor *Ordinarius* in Physics.⁴⁹ Despite occasional academic disputes and an invitation to become the first White's Professor of Moral Philosophy at Oxford in 1627, he stayed in Leiden until his death in 1628.

The last of the Scottish professors at Leiden in the seventeenth century were Adam Steuart (1591–1654) and his son David (1627–69). A strict Aristotelian and reformed scholastic, Adam is especially remembered for his arguments with Descartes and his supporters.⁵⁰ He succeeded Burgersdijk at Saumur in 1619 as Professor of Philosophy before moving on to Sedan in 1622, where he had a dispute with Pierre du Moulin, who had been Ramsay's successor at Leiden in the late 1590s. As early as 1635, Leiden was interested in his appointment and made enquiries as to whether he would be appropriate and available to succeed Burgersdijk as professor of logic and physics.⁵¹ Steuart may have been pre-occupied with the deteriorating situation in the British Isles. Certainly by 1644 he was in London, where he acted as publicist for the Scottish commissioners at the Westminster Assembly. His reputation for orthodoxy appealed to Leiden, where he had been discussed again the year before as a potential candidate for the chair in physics and ethics. By this time, the Cartesian disputes were in full swing and the Curates wished to ensure that the future professor was 'van de Gereformeerde religie ende niet suspect van eenige nieuwigheden'.⁵² Steuart arrived at Leiden soon after and spent the rest of his life teaching physics and metaphysics.⁵³ Upon his death, he was succeeded by his son David, who shared his views.⁵⁴

Leiden was not the only university to appoint Scottish scholars. Scotland's reputation for Aristotelian orthodoxy also appealed to the University of Groningen, which was founded as the third Dutch university, after Franeker, in 1595, although it took almost twenty years before it was fully up-and-running.⁵⁵ Upon the recommendation of Johan Casimir Junius, the son of the famous Leiden theologian Franciscus Junius the Elder, William Macdowell (Makdowell or Macduell, 1590-c. 1666) was appointed to teach logic, physics, and eventually metaphysics. The two men knew each other from their student days at St Andrews. Macdowell had studied there from 1602 and acted as philosophy master before he had even graduated, in 1607.⁵⁶ He arrived in Groningen in 1614 and famously delivered one of the orations for the opening of the University, in which the new university's purpose, which was arguably more distinctive than that of Leiden, was clearly set out.⁵⁷ Macdowell appears to have been instrumental in shaping the philosophy curriculum, adding the highly suspicious discipline of metaphysics and corresponding with Vossius about the potential appointment of Junius.⁵⁸ Philosophy at Groningen also contained practical elements, including *politica*, which may explain his decision to obtain a law degree there in 1625.⁵⁹ Soon after, Macdowell, like Adrian Damman a generation earlier, found a new career in politics, first as a member of the provincial Council of War for Groningen and Friesland, and soon after as a diplomat for Charles I and Charles II, representing the royalist position during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.⁶⁰

The Dutch appreciation for Scottish philosophical excellence did not manifest itself in the hiring of professors alone. Dutch students also went to Scotland to study. In the later sixteenth and early seventeenth century, a small but significant group went to St Andrews. Their motivations remain obscure but were clearly informed by the religious and political changes brought about by the Reformation. Thomas McCrie, Andrew Melville's nineteenth-century biographer, listed a group of eleven students from the Low Countries who attended St Andrews between 1596 and 1601/6.⁶¹ Among them were Johan Casimir Junius (?–1624), Junius' son; Paulus Coddæus, most likely a relation of the Leiden theologian Willem van der Codde (Coddæus) (1574–after 1625), who had been taught by Junius; and Willem Teellinck (Teellingius) (1579–1629), the founder of the *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation). Some, though not all, studied theology or philosophy, and the majority

became like Teellinck ministers in the Dutch Reformed Church.⁶² Around 1615, Veere sent three students to study theology at St Mary's. Daniel de Coster (Costerus), Cornelis Beukelaar (c.1590-?), and Justinus van Assche (before 1611–after 1644) received bursaries from the town. The first two had been pupils at the Latin schools of Zierikzee (De Coster) and Veere (Beukelaar) and studied philosophy and theology at the University of Franeker before spending a year as Melville's students at St Andrews (1615/6) and another at Saumur (1617–18). Their peer, the Emden-born Justinus van Assche, had also attended Zierikzee and Franeker when his uncle and guardian Philips-Willem Arondeaux, a member of the Council of Veere, requested the town to pay for his studies. Van Assche was accompanied by his nephew Justinus Arondeaux, a possible relation to William of Orange's bastard son, Justinus van Nassau (1559–1631), and together they studied theology at St Mary's and medicine at Caen in 1617/18. Van Assche also went to Saumur in 1619.⁶³ Two other Zeelanders, Abraham Sauchelle, from Middelburg, and the Latin poet Godfried van der Hagen, also attended St Andrews, from 1616–18.⁶⁴

The Zeeland connection between these men and the University of St Andrews is striking.⁶⁵ Home to the Scottish and the English Staples, not to mention the cautionary town of Vlissingen (Flushing), Zeeland was naturally 'British-oriented' in its foreign policy in the first decades of the United Provinces' existence.⁶⁶ In addition, it was a hub of staunch Presbyterianism and of scholarly and cultural excellence—not least due to the large numbers of Flemish migrants who flocked to the province in the early stages of the Revolt—and had a close association with the House of Orange.⁶⁷ Zeeland provided fertile breeding grounds for both the St Andrews's and wider Scottish connections and for the Dutch universities, especially Leiden.⁶⁸ The particular appeal of St Andrews's can be explained by the reputation of Andrew Melville as the great Protestant educator.⁶⁹ The result was a number of networks, diplomatic, scholarly, and religious, which intertwined with the Scottish professors at Leiden, Groningen, and other Protestant institutions elsewhere in Europe, with a common Protestant cause. All of these relied on personal contacts. On a national level, the concerns of the new state were bound up with the founding of universities and the teaching of its youth. The Stadholders and local rulers were closely involved with this. For this reason, the town of Veere sponsored bursaries. For the same reason, the Dutch representatives who were present at the baptism of Prince Henry in 1594 met with students of philosophy at Edinburgh and attended their disputations.⁷⁰

The Orange-Stuart connection continued to play a part in the exchange of students and scholars throughout the first half of the seventeenth century, not least through the role of the Bohemian court in The Hague as a hub for learning and a meeting place for religious and political exiles. The Staple also played an important role in the Scottish-Dutch scholarly networks. Sir John Scot of Scotstarvit used it for some of his publishing ventures, including the first atlas of Scotland, the *Atlas Novus* (1654), and his posthumous volume of poems by Van der Hagen at Middelburg in 1619.⁷¹ In the 1630s and 40s, it became an entrepôt of illegal publications destined for the Scottish Covenanter market. The result was a Scottish-Dutch exchange which was increasingly both based on and characterized by Presbyterianism of a largely orthodox persuasion.

'Addicted to Puritanism'

The theological connections between the two countries grew closer during the first half of the seventeenth century, eventually overtaking academic and philosophical

relations. The result was a more practical combined effort based on shared religiosity and the belief that the Reformation was under constant threat, both in Scotland and in the United Provinces. Religiously, Scots in the United Provinces were as divided as they were at home. Initially, Episcopalians and Irenicists found as much a welcome reception as staunch Presbyterians. Divines as diverse as the Jacobean exiles Robert Durie (1555–1616), John Forbes of Alford (c.1568–1634), David Calderwood (1575–1650), the Aberdeen Doctor John Forbes (1593–1648), and the Irenicist and associate of Samuel Hartlib, John Dury (1596–1680) all spent considerable time in the United Provinces. Ministers from both sides of the North Sea involved themselves with church affairs and policy. The Synod of Dordt, the impact of Laudianism, both at home and in the British churches in Holland and Zeeland, and the subsequent Wars of the Three Kingdoms encouraged debate and correspondence. Institutionally as well, there was close co-operation, via the Staple and its church, the English-language church at Middelburg which had been founded by Willem Teelinck, and the Scottish Church in Rotterdam, part of the Classis of Schieland in Zeeland.

In 1621, the English Synod in the United Provinces (1621–28/33) was co-founded by John Forbes of Corse in an attempt to keep the Church of England at bay and to provide an organizing structure for the exiles, whose ideas were causing the Dutch concern.⁷² While he certainly did not speak for the entire exile community, Forbes's tract, *Instructiones historico-theologicae de doctrina Christiana*, accompanied by an introductory poem by the royalist and former Groningen Professor of Philosophy, William Macdowell, met with success amongst the Dutch ministers.⁷³ He received endorsement from the Faculty of Theology at Leiden, as well as from the hero of Presbyterian orthodoxy and friend to the Scottish covenanters, the Utrecht theologian Gijsbert Voetius (1589–1676). Another signatory, the Leiden theologian and tutor to the future Stadholder William II, André Rivet (1572–1651), whose brothers were educated in Scotland and who himself had come close to attending St Andrews, was also intimately involved with theological and ecclesiastical affairs across the North Sea, first as the orthodox opponent of the latitudinarian Grotius and later as adviser to Stadholder William II in his mediation efforts on behalf of his father-in-law Charles I.⁷⁴

The United Provinces' distinctive religious environment, full of seeming contradictions, had obvious appeal for men like John Forbes of Corse and Macdowell.⁷⁵ But it was at the orthodox Presbyterian end of the Protestant spectrum that the theological and the philosophical relationship between the Dutch and the Scots was at its most intimate. This is what Patrick Scot observed in 1622, in his report to James VI & I on the situation in the United Provinces, when he concluded that the two territories shared an addiction to Puritanism.⁷⁶ In the early 1600s, a group of ministers emerged who became profoundly inspired first by English Pietism and soon after by Scottish Presbyterianism. The group's founding fathers were Willem Teelinck and the Cambridge and Franeker theologian, William Ames (1576–1633). Known as the *Nadere Reformatie* (Further Reformation), their movement came to represent the most orthodox wing of the Dutch Reformed Church. Led by the Utrecht theologian Gijsbert Voetius (1589–1676), a pupil of Gilbert Jack, the members of the *Nadere Reformatie* became increasingly Scottish in their orientation. Much of their activity originated in Zeeland, whose churches actively supported their Presbyterian brethren, to the annoyance of the *Provinciale Staten* (the provincial government)⁷⁷

In 1643, the provincial Synod of Zeeland pledged its support to the Church of Scotland and, in 1644, the Staple Church adopted the Solemn League and Covenant.⁷⁸ Its Dutch translation had appeared in 1643.⁷⁹ Elsewhere in the country as well, the

events in Scotland were followed with great anxiety in pamphlets and correspondence. The Staple minister William Spang (1607–64), whose correspondence with his cousin the Professor at Theology at Glasgow and Westminster divine, Robert Baillie (1602–62) provided an eye-witness account of the entire period of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, orchestrated a propaganda campaign putting the Staple back to its old use as a diplomatic and political hub. Illicit books, arms and credit in support of the Covenanting cause found their way across the North Sea via the Staple.⁸⁰ In 1650, the Stadholder William II, in his attempts to intervene on behalf of his brother-in-law Charles II, received a Scottish delegation, keen to explore a Scottish option for the new king. Spang was sent to represent the Zeelandish-Scottish interest.⁸¹ A year later, the University of Utrecht, on the advice of its leading theologian Voetius, invited the Covenanting theologian and former Westminster divine Samuel Rutherford (c.1600–61) to leave his post as Rector of St Mary's College, St Andrews and join Utrecht as successor to the recently deceased Carolus Dematius.⁸² The latter had been a proponent of the *Nadere Reformatie*, whose first post had been in Zeeland, where he had been influenced by Teellinck. Rutherford, whose anti-Arminianism was extremely popular in the United Provinces, was surprised and possibly flattered at the invitation, but eventually turned Voetius and his colleagues down, in 1652.⁸³

In the wake of the Wars of the Three Kingdoms, several new members joined Voetius' movement, including the preachers Wilhelmus à Brakel (1635–1711), Jacobus Borstius (1612–80), Jacobus Koelman (1632–95), Jodocus van Lodensteyn (1620–77), and the author Anna Maria Schuurman (1607–78). Around the same time, the United Provinces welcomed substantial numbers of exiled Scottish Presbyterians. The Stuart Restoration in 1660 not only saw the Church of Scotland return to its pre-war position, but also led to the forced renouncing of the Covenants. As a result, many ministers chose to leave for Ireland or the United Provinces, taking their parishioners with them. As Ginny Gardner and Douglas Catterall have outlined, the majority of the exiles in the United Provinces settled in Rotterdam, congregating around its Scots Kirk.⁸⁴ The most high-profile of these covenanter exiles were the theologian John Brown of Wamphray (1609–79), who was Samuel Rutherford's private secretary during the Westminster Assembly, Robert MacWard (c.1625–81), the popular preacher John Livingstone (1603–72), and the minister Alexander Petrie (c.1594–1662). They received support, moral as well as practical, from the members of the *Nadere Reformatie*: the Dutch translation of the Solemn League and Covenant was reissued in 1660;⁸⁵ and from Voetius' Utrecht colleagues Matthias Nethenus (1618–86) and Andreas Essenius (1618–77), with whom they corresponded and cooperated on matters of religious controversy, translating and printing of pious works, and trading and smuggling of books.⁸⁶

The influence of these Scots on their Dutch co-religionists was substantial. The Scots Kirk in Rotterdam was the exiles' centre for theological debate, and its ministers were closely connected to Voetius' circle. Voetius himself is said to have been influenced in his *Theologia practica* by the Scottish theologians.⁸⁷ Others helped with the editing and publication of Covenanter texts.⁸⁸ For instance, Koelman and Borstius published translations of works by James Stewart of Goodtrees (1635–1713), William Guthrie (1620–65), and Samuel Rutherford. Robert MacWard submitted his edited manuscript of Rutherford's *Examen Arminianismi* to the Utrecht theologians, Nethenus, Essenius, and Voetius, who added a preface acknowledging MacWard's contributions and a short biography, and supervised its publication.⁸⁹ The same trio, with help from the well-known biblical scholar and Professor of Hebrew at

Utrecht, Johannes Leusden, also tried to publish a Latin translation of the Bible by the exiled minister John Livingstone (1603–72), which had been left unedited upon his death.⁹⁰ MacWard, alongside Brown, the Utrecht theologians, and Koelman were two of the driving forces behind these and many other publishing ventures, which eventually came to a halt after the Revolution.

A Scottish Education

The founding years of the Dutch universities owed a great deal to Scottish input. Scottish professors and their ideas were instrumental in the formation of the curricula of Leiden, Groningen, and to an extent Utrecht under Voetius.⁹¹ Considering the later reputation of the Dutch universities as educators of post-Restoration Scotland, there is a gentle irony in the idea that the educators became the pupils in the space of only one or two generations. Indeed, the current focus by scholars, including Jonathan Israel, Rienk Vermij and Wiep van Bunge, on the scientific, Spinozist and radical nature of late seventeenth-century Dutch philosophy, has disregarded both its traditional Aristotelian roots and its proximity to Reformed theology.⁹² Yet, it was these traits which were sought after when the first two Dutch universities were founded in the late sixteenth century, and in which Scottish scholars specialized. Recent work by Marie-Claude Tucker on the French academies and emerging insights into the German academies show the Scots as exporters of Protestant education in a variety of fields.⁹³ Philosophy had been considered as the foundation for all disciplines, and especially theology. At Leiden, the founding of the *Staten College* in 1592, followed by a university-wide reform in 1598, confirmed the fundamental importance of philosophy, firmly established the latter as a compulsory part of the curriculum, and reinforced its relationship with theology.⁹⁴ At Groningen, the relationship had been spelled out in Macdowell's opening speech, and at the other universities, Franeker and Utrecht the situation was no different.

Until Dordt, Dutch philosophy largely drew on foreign scholars. Van Sassen's *Geschiedenis van de Wijsbegeerte in Nederland* has described the complex relationship between philosophy and reformed theology which emerged as a result.⁹⁵ During the formative years of the Dutch universities, however, their outlook was arguably both more inclusive in its reformed theology and less originally traditional in its Aristotelian interpretations. Scotland's reputation in the United Provinces for the staunchness of its Reformation, the Melvillean innovation of its universities, and the excellence of its learning, made its scholars the obvious and practical choice as the first generation of philosophy professors. Leiden and Groningen needed scholars to educate their students and fulfil the new institutions' civic and religious duties. The practical nature of Scottish ethics, 'aimed at teaching [...] students how to live as godly citizens', was particularly sought after.⁹⁶ So it was primarily the Dutch 'programme of studies' which informed the appointment of the philosophy professors rather than any 'external, political factors'.⁹⁷ They were all Aristotelians, although the most influential among them, Gilbert Jack and William MacDowell, did not fit the mould of the post-Dordt theologians who would come to shape Dutch Reformed philosophy and lead the disputes over Cartesianism and its philosophical successor, Cartesio-Cocceianism.⁹⁸

Perhaps because of his tendency to go off-piste, it was specified at Jack's appointment that he was to teach philosophy and was expressly forbidden to address theology.⁹⁹ Nevertheless, Jack strayed into theological territory due to his interest in contemporary controversies such as predestination and divine foreknowledge.¹⁰⁰

Influenced by his time at Helmstadt and Herborn, centres in Northern Europe of Aristotelian revival and of Ramism and Reformed theology respectively, he taught a reformed Aristotelianism which also made use of recent scholarship, including Zabarella, Suarez, and the Coimbra commentators. Drawing on Suarez's theory of divine concurrence, he attempted to accommodate a measure of free will with divine predetermination. In the years leading up to Dordt, such ideas were considered increasingly undesirable.¹⁰¹ Eventually, Jack was identified as an Arminian—his friendship with several leading Arminians, including Grotius, would have confirmed suspicions—and in 1619 he was suspended for three months, alongside Willem van der Codde, who also may have had a Scottish connection.¹⁰² This does not appear to have hurt his career in the long run, however, and in 1623, Jack became a full professor.¹⁰³

Jack made substantial contributions to Dutch philosophy through his own work, in his textbooks which 'catered for the syllabus of their time' and were some of the period's most frequently reprinted textbooks, and through his pupils.¹⁰⁴ The latter were an eclectic group and included the future Cartesian philosopher Henricus Reneri (1593–1639), the Arminian theologian Conrad Vorstius (1569–1622), the Cartesian theologian Abraham Heidanus (1597–1678) and his orthodox (contra-Remonstrant) adversary Voetius, and Voetius' fellow-orthodox, the neo-Aristotelian Franco Burgersdijk (1590–1635). The latter, who briefly replaced Jack during his suspension, and with whom he quarrelled over his *Idea philosophiae naturalis*, would eventually become the real architect of post-Dordt Aristotelianism in the United Provinces, until the advent of Cartesianism.¹⁰⁵ Incidentally, Burgersdijk's pedagogic model, based on compromise between Aristotelianism, humanism, and Ramism, owed more to the work of another Scot, Mark Duncan, than to his old Leiden master, Gilbert Jack.¹⁰⁶

The other Scot whose interests in metaphysics determined much of the early philosophy curriculum at Groningen was William Macdowell. Setting the stage in his opening oration, he explained the philosophic purpose of the new academy, clearly linking theology and philosophy, while rejecting medieval scholasticism except as a method.¹⁰⁷ For Macdowell, the university was not for knowledge acquisition only, but had the moral purpose of training students for both civic and religious duties.¹⁰⁸ As the first Professor of Philosophy at Groningen, he taught *omnes philosophiae partes, Logica, Ethica, Physica, Metaphysica, Mathematica*. In practice this meant metaphysics within the framework of the Heidelberg Catechismus and the Dutch confession of faith; logic; ethics; and politics.

The Scots' instrumental role around 1600 came to an end once the Dutch universities were firmly established. By the time the Synod of Dordt was held, only Jack and Macdowell were still in post. This arguably most defining of moments in the history of the seventeenth-century Dutch universities was preceded by a coup d'état in 1618 by Maurits, Prince of Orange (1567–1625) and Stadholder of Holland and Zeeland. A new orthodox and more national framework emerged which went beyond the immediate realm of theology. Post-Dordt, the Dutch universities experienced a shift away from latitudinarianism and towards religious and philosophical *Preciesheyt* (orthodoxy) that came to be defended with militant zeal. Politically as well, Dordt reverberated around the provinces and cities. For the remainder of the century, interpretations of orthodoxy shaped the Dutch intellectual, religious and public landscape.

After 1618-19, orthodox Calvinism came to dominate Dutch political and intellectual life. The theology faculties were transformed into schools of Reformed theology and became openly divided over matters of orthodoxy, splitting between

those who followed Gijsbert Voetius and those who sided with his colleague at Leiden, Johannes Cocceius (1603–69). But it was in the philosophy faculties that the real battle was fought out. The arrival of René Descartes (1596–1650) and his New Philosophy in the United Provinces in the late 1620s challenged traditional Aristotelian philosophy and rocked the traditional Protestant theology which was largely based on Aristotelianism to its core. Soon a protracted dispute broke out between the supporters of the new Cartesian philosophy and its orthodox opponents led by Voetius. The Cartesian disputes divided the Dutch universities along ‘party lines’.¹⁰⁹ In 1643 Aristotelianism was designated the official philosophy at Utrecht. Led by Voetius, the anti-Cartesian campaign was subsequently rolled out to the rest of the country, not only to the other Dutch universities, but also to the city, provincial, and national governments. Voetian attempts at banning Cartesian works and ideas outside Utrecht failed, however. By the 1650s, an altered version of the New Philosophy, Cocceio-Cartesianism, was adopted at the University of Leiden. Significantly, in 1657 the States of Holland, prompted by the Grand Pensionary of Holland and leader of the Province’s ruling oligarchy, Johan de Witt (1625–72), adopted an edict confirming the separation of philosophy and theology. At the University of Utrecht, however, philosophy and theology remained closely connected under the ever-watchful eye of Voetius, whose influence would continue even after his death in 1676. Utrecht never came to a rapprochement with Cartesianism; instead, Aristotelianism remained the official philosophy at Utrecht well into the eighteenth century.¹¹⁰

For the Scots, the Cartesian disputes had a profound impact. Some, such as Adam and David Steuart, were directly involved in the academic disputes, whereas others were affected by the politico-theological fallout, like the exiled ministers who were part of Voetius’ circle and whose ideas contributed to the development and advancement of his Reformed orthodoxy. Profoundly anti-Cartesian, the Stuarts were the last of the seventeenth-century Scottish philosophers in the United Provinces.¹¹¹ Having arrived at Leiden in 1644, via Saumur, Sedan, and London, Adam Steuart was known for his narrow views.¹¹² During his time as publicist to the Scottish commissioners, his hardline and militant Covenanter stance put him at odds with the Independents. At Leiden, Adam Steuart sided with Voetius in the Cartesian disputes, against Descartes himself, but especially against his Cartesian colleague Adriaan Heereboord (1613–61), and later against his former Sedan colleague, rector of the University of Groningen, Samuel Maresius (1599–1673). In a prequel to the Leiden settlement of 1657, the University tried to impose restrictions on the public teaching of philosophy and theology. Steuart’s and Heereboord’s positions were clearly referenced and the position of theology was confirmed as over that of philosophy, ‘in cas van concurrentie der Theologische met de philosophische diputatien’.¹¹³

More important than these academic disputes, however, was the effect they had on the reputation of the Dutch philosophy and theology curricula. In 1648, Robert Baillie wrote to William Spang:

I find that 20 years agoe the professors of Leyden, with the consent of the synods of Holland, have agreed on a course, to be taught both in grammar-schools and colledges, which the magistrate hes commanded to be everywhere but one. I pray you try at Apollonius¹¹⁴ or the schoolmaster of Middleburgh, or some other, if it be so, and what that course is, which you will set downe, and send over here to me in your first letter.¹¹⁵

Six years later, he wrote again, this time to Voetius, asking directly for a Dutch-produced textbook, so that the Scottish universities would not need to rely on scholastic texts.¹¹⁶ In the middle of this exchange, Rutherford was invited to take up a post at Utrecht. This was both the high point and the end of the theological and philosophical connection between Scotland and the United Provinces. By the middle of the seventeenth century, the Scottish-Dutch academic relationship had started to change direction. Initially admired by Scots at home and abroad, Dutch philosophy teaching now became known for its factionalism, leaving students bemused and puzzled by the antiquated nature of the debate.¹¹⁷ At the same time, concerns over heterodoxy started to dominate theology.¹¹⁸ Outside the universities, the Scottish-Dutch relationship was arguably longer lasting. Voetius and his supporters, including the members of the *Nadere Reformatie*, allied themselves politically with the House of Orange, whose fortunes waxed and waned over the course of the later seventeenth century. The Scottish exiles shared not only their ‘addiction to Puritanism’ but also their Orangist allegiance, at least until their return with William of Orange in 1688. Of course, William’s reign would soon turn to disappointment, but not before the Scottish universities became the target of their orthodox, Voetian-inspired zeal for reform.¹¹⁹

Conclusion

The story of the philosophical and theological connections between Scotland and the United Provinces is one of historical links, shared Presbyterian causes, and wider European influences, networks, and exchanges. Given their common background of northern humanist and international Calvinism, this is perhaps not surprising. Both countries were part of a wider academic sphere in which the French academies and the German universities were outposts of Reformed teaching, alongside the Scottish, and soon also the Dutch, institutions. As a country rich in scholarship and Reformation heritage, late sixteenth- and early seventeenth-century Scotland became an exporter of educators. Scottish scholars in Europe, both students and academics, had personal contacts and exchanged ideas not only with each other but with the wider Reformed academic community as well. The early Reformed universities in Scotland, France, Germany, and the United Provinces were both melting pots of and training grounds for the Protestant International. The Scottish-Dutch philosophical and theological connections must be considered as part of this wider Northern European story. At the same time, their close historical ties—commercial, religious, and monarchical connections—justify the notion of a Scottish-Dutch ‘world’. Theirs was arguably a ‘special relationship’, at least until the middle of the seventeenth century.

Although much more, systematic work needs to be done, not least on the content of the various philosophical and theological texts, a number of things have become clear. Scots were instrumental in educating the Dutch, as students at St Andrews, as philosophy professors at Leiden and Groningen, and as facilitators within the wider network of the Reformed universities. Individual contacts were key and were a constant, but the academic discussions and concerns were prone to shift and change over the first half of the seventeenth century, from humanist learning to Aristotelian philosophy to orthodox theology and its practical defence. Moreover, the direction of travel changed completely. If, around 1600, the Dutch universities had come into their own with help from five Scottish philosophers, the Synod of Dordt

and the succession of Charles I and the subsequent Wars of the Three Kingdoms, saw the United Provinces emerge to overtake its Scottish academic role model, aided by the collapse of first the German universities, as a result of the Thirty Years War, and then, over time, the French Huguenot academies. Scottish and Dutch scholars remained in dialogue until the politics of the Wars and the Cromwellian occupation of Scotland put an end to the two nations' political and diplomatic connections. At the same time, the Dutch academic arguments over Cartesianism and its internal political implications severed the connection, first with Scottish philosophy and then theology. Scotland now fell off the radar of the Dutch imagination, of which it had been such an integral part in Hooft's and Vondel's time. Instead, the United Provinces became a place for Scottish academic consumption as a market place or depot for European learning, whether for exiles, students, or occasional visitors. The later part of the seventeenth and the earlier eighteenth centuries saw a new stage in the relationship between Scotland and the United Provinces, in the context of the European Republic of Letters, and a further step towards the Scottish Enlightenment.

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³⁶ Godefridus Vanderhagen, 'Coridonis querela', in John Adamson, *Ta ton mouson eisodia: The Muses Welcome to the High and Mighty Prince James* (Edinburgh 1618), 182–4.

³⁷ A. J. van der Aa et al., *Biographisch Woordenboek der Nederlanden* (21 vols, Haarlem, 1852–78), vi. s.n.

³⁸ Among others he met Codde, Junius, John Johnston, James VI, Scaliger, and Junius (all mentioned below) and more than likely Damman as well. 'Album van Jonas van Reigensberg', in Zeeuwsch Genootschap der Wetenschappen, *Catalogus der Tentoonstelling van Zeeuwsche Oud-en Merkwaaardigheden, in de Provincie Zeeland of Elders Voorhanden* (Middelburg, 1870), 29; Cameron, 'Some continental visitors to Scotland', 51.

³⁹ This figure is impressionistic and not based on systematic research. The number of 128 students is based on Leiden, see H.T. Colenbrander, *Der Herkomst der Leidsche studenten*, in Johan Huizinga & Alfred Rudolf Zimmerman (eds.), *Pallas Leidensis* (Leiden, 1925), 294–5.

⁴⁰ Robert N. Smart, *Alphabetical Register of the Students, Graduates and Officials of the University of St Andrews, 1579–1747* (St Andrews, 2012), 504;

P.C. Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen tot de Geschiedenis der Leidsche Universiteit* (7 vols, 's-Gravenhage, 1913–24), i. 54, 69. With many thanks to Peter Kruschwitz for helping with the Latin translations of some of these records.

⁴¹ P.C. Molhuysen & P.J. Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*. (10 vols, Leiden, 1911–37), iii. s.n.

⁴² Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, i. 72, 248*; Matthijs Siegenbeek, *Geschiedenis der Leidsche Hoogeschool, van Hare Oprigting, in der Jare 1575, tot het Jare 1825* (Leiden, 1832), 76; Paul Dibon, *L'Enseignement philosophique dans les universités Néerlandaises à l'époque pré-Cartésienne (1575–1650)* (s.l.v.d.), 20.

⁴³ Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, i. 266*

⁴⁴ Dibon, *L'Enseignement philosophique*, 29.

- ⁴⁵ Smart, *Alphabetical Register*, 437.
- ⁴⁶ James K. Cameron (ed.), *Letters of John Johnston, c.1565–1611 and Robert Harris, c.1565–c.1645* (Edinburgh, 1968), p xxii.
- ⁴⁷ Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, i. 117, 124, 127, 152–3. Cf. C.S.M. Rademaker, *Gerardus Joannes Vossius (1577–1649)* (Zwolle, 1967), 53.
- ⁴⁸ Siegenbeek, *Geschiedenis der Leidsche Hoogeschool*, 83.
- ⁴⁹ Molhuysen & Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, i. 197-8 (ed.); Molhuysen *Bronnen*, ii. 4.
- ⁵⁰ *The Correspondence of Rene Descartes, 1643*, ed. Theo Verbeek, Erik-Jan Bos & Jeroen van de Ven (Utrecht, 2003), 180; Wiep van Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza: An Essay on Philosophy in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic* (Leiden, 2001), 41–2.
- ⁵¹ Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, ii. 195-6.
- ⁵² *Ibid.*, 276.
- ⁵³ M. A. Stewart, 'Steuart, Adam (1591–1654)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/66373>.
- ⁵⁴ Land, 'Schotse Wijzgeren', 180.
- ⁵⁵ Arjo Vanderjagt, 'Practising continuity: The academy at Groningen, 1595–1625', in Alasdair A. Macdonald & A.H. Husse (eds), *Scholarly Environments: Centres of Learning and Institutional Contexts, 1560–1960* (Brill, 2004), 33-48, 44-6.
- ⁵⁶ Smart, *Alphabetical Register*, 367; Klaas van Berkel, 'Descartes in debat met Voetius. De mislukte introductie van het Cartesianisme aan de Utrechtse Universiteit (1639–1645)', *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis de Geneeskunde, Natuurkunde, Wiskunde en Techniek*, 7 (1984), 4-18.
- ⁵⁷ H.A. Krop, 'Northern humanism and philosophy: Humanist theory and scholastic practice', in F. Akkerman, A. J. Vanderjagt & A.H. van der Laan (eds), *Northern Humanism in European Context, 1469–1625* (Leiden, 1999), 152-7.
- ⁵⁸ Rademaker, *Gerardus Joannes Vossius*, 228.
- ⁵⁹ Arie Johan Vanderjagt, 'Filosofie tussen humanisme et eclecticisme: Van Unbbo Emmius (1547–1625) tot Martinus Schook (1614–1669)', in G.A. van Gemert, J. Schuller tot Peursum-Meijer & Arie Johan Vanderjagt (eds), *Om Niet aan Onwetendheid en Barbarij te Bezwijken: Groningen Geleerden 1614–1989* (Hilversum, 1989), 40-3.
- ⁶⁰ Willem Frederick, Prinz van Nassau-Dietz, *Gloria parenti: Dagboeken van Willem Frederick, Stadhouder van Friesland, Groningen en Drenthe, 1643–1649, 1651–1654*, ed. J. Visser & G.N. van der Plaats (The Hague, 1995), III 195, IV 9, 35, V 51, VII 98, 161, 174, IX 88; Macdowell (Dr. William) in Molhuysen & Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, ii. s.n.; Timothy Venning, 'Macdowell, William (b.1590, d. in or before 1666)', in *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/17475>.
- ⁶¹ Thomas McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville* (2 vols, Edinburgh, 1819), 491-6.
- ⁶² The full list is as follows: Joannes Doucherus (Jean/John Doucher) (1573-1629), Petrus (Paulus) Goddaeus (Coddaeus), Joan. Casimirus Francisci Junii, Joannes Valace, Tobias Merbeckius, Guilielmus Teellingius, Samuel (Johannes?) Gerobulus R., Johannes Quada à Ravensteyn, Petrus à Scharlahen (Scharlaken), Jobus Danche, Johannes Bochardus (Jean Bocard). See also Smart, *Alphabetical Register*; N.C. Kist & H.J. Royaards, *Archief voor Kerkelijke Geschiedenis Inzonderheid van Nederland. Vol VI* (Leiden, 1835); Molhuysen & Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*. On Coddaeus see Cameron (ed.), *Letters of John Johnston*.
- ⁶³ Isaac Beeckman, *Journal tenu par Isaac Beeckman de 1604 à 1634*, ed. Cornelis de Waard (4 vols, The Hague, 1939-53), iv. 25, 31; Smart, *Alphabetical Register*, 22, 24, 56, 128, 247; Molhuysen & Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, i, iii.
- ⁶⁴ Molhuysen & Blok (eds), *Nieuw Nederlandsch Biographisch Woordenboek*, viii; Cameron, 'Some continental visitors to Scotland', 51.
- ⁶⁵ P.J. Meertens, *Letterkundig Leven in Zeeland in de Zestiende en de Eeerste Helft des Zeventiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1943), 170.

- ⁶⁶ Flushing was one of the cautionary or garrisoned towns, which had been granted to Elizabeth I for her support in the Dutch revolt. They were returned by James VI & I. See Mijers, 'A natural partnership', 262.
- ⁶⁷ Cf. the observation by 'an English republican regarding Zeeland and the Dutch "devotion" for the Prince of Orange', *A Brief Relation* (Leiden, 4 August 1650), quoted in full in P. Geyl, 'Een Engelsch republikein over Willem II's Staatsgreep in 1650', *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap* 45 (1924), 77-88, 82.
- ⁶⁸ For Zeeland's scholars, see Mark Somos, *Secularisation and the Leiden Circle* (Leiden, 2011), 204-12.
- ⁶⁹ Eglinton ('Scottish-Dutch Reformed theological links', 134-5) highlights Teellinck as one of his pupils, though Melville had left the university by then.
- ⁷⁰ *Register van Holland ende Westvriesland vande Jaare 1593 en 1594*, 677.
- ⁷¹ For the Blaeu Atlas see Margaret Wilkes & Chris Fleet (eds), 'Look at Scotland and enjoy a feast for the eyes: A special edition of invited seminar papers to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the publication of the first 'Atlas of Scotland' in 1654', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 121/3 (2005); Smart, *Alphabetical Register*, 247.
- ⁷² Keith L. Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism: A History of English and Scottish Churches of the Netherlands in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries* (Leiden, 1982), 289-318.
- ⁷³ John Forbes, *Instructiones historico-theologicae, de doctrina Christiana* (Amsterdam, 1645).
- ⁷⁴ McCrie, *Life of Andrew Melville*, 467-8; for Rivet and Grotius see for instance Henk Nellen, *Hugo Grotius. A Lifelong Struggle for Peace in Church and State, 1583-1645* (Leiden, 2015), 529-36.
- ⁷⁵ The Dutch religious settlement had a number of seeming contradictions: the Reformed Church was not an established but a public church, whose anti-Arminianism or Gomarist *preciesheit* (orthodoxy) had been confirmed at Dordt, while the Dutch also embraced a level of Erastianism and toleration of other sects and arguably even Jews.
- ⁷⁶ Maidment (ed.), *Letters and State Papers*, 390.
- ⁷⁷ J.H. Kluiver, 'Zeeuwse reacties op de Acte van Seclusie', *BMGM-Low Countries Historical Review*, 91/3 (1976), 407.
- ⁷⁸ Sprunger, *Dutch Puritanism*, 358-62; W.P.C. Knuttel (ed.), *Acta der Particuliere Synoden van Zuid-Holland, 1621-1700* (6 vols, 's-Gravenhage, 1908-16), ii. 399-402.
- ⁷⁹ *Solemnel covenant ofte heiligh verbondt gemaect door de Heeren ende Gemeente van de drie Koninckrijcken van Engelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, om de religie te reform eren enz* (s.l., 1643), 4^o, 8 blz.
- ⁸⁰ Alastair J. Mann, 'Mapping North Sea print networks during the gestation of the first Atlas of Scotland: Commercial, legal and political landscapes', in 'Look at Scotland and enjoy a feast for the eyes: A special edition of invited seminar papers to celebrate the 350th anniversary of the publication of the first 'Atlas of Scotland' in 1654', *Scottish Geographical Journal*, 121/3 (2005), 243-60, 254; *Journal of Thomas Cunningham*.
- ⁸¹ Robert Baillie, *Letters and Journals of Robert Baillie*, ed. David Laing (3 vols, Edinburgh, 1841-2); P. Geyl, 'Willem II en de Stuarts', *De Gids*, 87 (1923), 45-78.
- ⁸² G.W. Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus: Vroedschapsresolutiën en Andere Bescheidenbetreffende de Utrechtsche Academie* (3 vols, Utrecht, 1936), i. 263-74.
- ⁸³ *Ibid.*, i. 274,
- ⁸⁴ Catterall, *Community Without Borders*, 337-40; Ginny Gardner, *The Scottish Exile Community in the Netherlands, 1660-1690* (East Linton, 2004); William Steven, *The History of the Scottish Church, Rotterdam* (Edinburgh, 1833)
- ⁸⁵ *Solemnel covenant ofte heiligh verbondt gemaect door de Heeren ende Gemeente van de drie Koninckrijcken van Engelandt, Schotlandt ende Yerlandt, om de religie te reform eren enz* (s.l., 1660).
- ⁸⁶ Mijers, 'News from the Republic of Letters', 126-7.
- ⁸⁷ G. Voetius, 'De Theologia practica' [Johannes Cuypius 21 February 1646], in *Selectarum disputationem theologiarum* (Utrecht, 1659), 3-11.
- ⁸⁸ Eglinton, 'Scottish-Dutch Reformed theological links', 139-44; Mark Jardine, *The United Societies: Militancy, Martyrdom and the Presbyterian Movement in Late-Restoration Scotland, 1679-1688* (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 2009).

- ⁸⁹ Samuel Rutherford, *Examen Arminianismi, conscriptum et discipulis dictatum à [...] Samuele Rheteforte [...]*, ed. Matthias Nethenus (Utrecht, 1668).
- ⁹⁰ This apparently never appeared: Eglinton, 'Scottish-Dutch Reformed theological links', 147.
- ⁹¹ For the founding of the Dutch universities, see for instance A.C.J. Vrankrijker, *Vier Eeuwen Nederlansch Studentenleven* (Voorburg, 1936), 21–48.
- ⁹² Jonathan Israel, *Radical Enlightenment: Philosophy and the Making of Modernity, 1650–1750* (Oxford, 2001); Wiep van Bunge, *Spinoza Past and Present: Essays on Spinoza, Spinozism and Spinoza Scholarship* (Leiden, 2012); Rienk Vermij, *The Calvinist Copernicans: The Reception of the New Astronomy in the Dutch Republic, 1575–1750* (Amsterdam, 2002).
- ⁹³ Tucker, *Maîtres et étudiants écossais*; Friedrich & Omodeo (eds), *Duncan Liddel*.
- ⁹⁴ Willem Otterspeer, *Groepsportret met Dame, i: Het Bolwerk van de Vrijheid. De Leidse Universiteit. 1575–1672* (Amsterdam, 2000), 390.
- ⁹⁵ F.L.R. Sassen, *Geschiedenis van de Wijsbegeerte in Nederland tot het Einde der Negentiende Eeuw* (Amsterdam, 1959), 120-4.
- ⁹⁶ Christine M. Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science in the Arts Curriculum of the Scottish Universities in the 17th Century' (PhD diss., University of Edinburgh, 1975), iii.
- ⁹⁷ Vanderjagt, 'Practising continuity', 44.
- ⁹⁸ The St Andrews professors are identified as Aristotelian by Sarah Hutton, *British Philosophy in the Seventeenth Century* (Oxford, 2015), 78.
- ⁹⁹ Ibid.
- ¹⁰⁰ Ibid.
- ¹⁰¹ For instance, in 1614 a group of students at Leiden was investigated by the University for allegations of blasphemy. Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, ii. 51–4.
- ¹⁰² Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, ii. 126*.
- ¹⁰³ Marja Smolenaars, 'Jack, Gilbert (bap. 1577, d. 1628)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography* (Oxford, 2004). Available: <http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/14512>.
- ¹⁰⁴ Hutton, *British Philosophy*, 42, 78.
- ¹⁰⁵ F. Burgersdijk, *Idea philosophiae naturalis* (Leiden, 1622); Bunge, *From Stevin to Spinoza*, 31
- ¹⁰⁶ Klaus van Berkel, *Isaac Beeckman on Matter and Motion: Mechanical Philosophy in the Making*. (Baltimore, 2013), 194.
- ¹⁰⁷ Krop, 'Northern humanism and philosophy', 152-7.
- ¹⁰⁸ Vanderjagt, 'Filosofie tussen humanisme et eclectisme', 39.
- ¹⁰⁹ The story of the Dutch Cartesian and Cocceio-Cartesian disputes are well known. For an overview, see for instance Israel, *Radical Enlightenment*, 556–95; 889–934.
- ¹¹⁰ Berkel, 'Descartes in debat met Voetius', 15.
- ¹¹¹ M.A. Stewart, 'Libertas philosophandi: from natura to speculative philosophy', *Australian Journal of Politics and History*, 40 (1994), 29–46, 39.
- ¹¹² Princess Elizabeth of Bohemia famously referred to him in her correspondence with Descartes as 'a man who has read a lot but with very mediocre judgement'. Elisabeth to Descartes, Crossen, May 1647. Lisa Shapiro (ed. & trans.), *The Correspondence between Princess Elisabeth of Bohemia and René Descartes* (Chicago, 2007), 162.
- ¹¹³ Molhuysen, (ed.), *Bronnen*, iii. 18, 15-80.
- ¹¹⁴ Willem Appolonius (1603–57) was a theologian in Middelburg, and together with Teellinck responsible for many of the letters of support for the Kirk during the Wars of the Three Kingdoms.
- ¹¹⁵ Baillie, *Letters and Journals*, iii, 148–9.
- ¹¹⁶ Ibid., 268-70; Shepherd, 'Philosophy and Science', 335.
- ¹¹⁷ Edmund Calamy, *An Historical Account of My Own Life, With Some Reflections of the Times I Have Lived In (1671–1731)*, ed. John Towill Rutt (London, 1829), 157; Robert Wodrow, *Early Letters of Robert Wodrow, 1698–1709*, ed. L.W. Sharp (Edinburgh, 1937); EUL, La.II.91/60, Alexander Boswell to Charles Mackie (1728).
- ¹¹⁸ For instance, in 1669, Matthew Crawford (c.1640–1700), a Scottish Presbyterian minister, wrote *Exercitatio Apologetica, pro doctrina (de perpetua obligatione quarti precepti de Sabbato) ab Ecclesus Reformatis Communitates recepta, adversus Socinianos, Anabaptistas, Libertinos, Pontificiodo quosdam Lutheranos, Enthusiastas, & quosdum Viros Doctos in Ecclesiis Reformatis* (Utrecht, 1669) and dedicated it to Gisbertus Voetius. In it he accused the Cocceian Professor of Theology at Utrecht,

Frans Burman (1628–79), and some of his colleagues, of heterodoxy: Kernkamp, *Acta et Decreta Senatus*, i. 487–9.

¹¹⁹ Mijers, 'The Netherlands, William Carstares and the Reform of Edinburgh University', 115-21.