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*French Tyranny at School*

The Disaster Year (1672) and the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd*

**Abstract**

In 1674, the Amsterdam publisher Jan Claesz ten Hoorn printed a new schoolbook, the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd, of Franse Tiranny* (New Mirror of Youth, or French Tyranny). The work, based on a chronicle of the recent ‘Disaster Year’ (1672), during which the Dutch Republic was invaded and nearly overrun by a French-led coalition, provided a concise but highly graphic and violent history of these turbulent events for the Dutch youth. The *Nieuwe Spiegel* became a run-away success, and was one of the most popular Dutch schoolbooks of the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. This article provides a comprehensive overview of the production, content, circulation, use and legacy of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, and situates the book in the broader context of the political, literary and pedagogical culture of the Dutch Republic. Based on a detailed bibliographical reconstruction, this article also includes an appendix listing the fifty-two editions that appeared between 1674 and 1780.

**Keywords:** Franco-Dutch War, Pedagogy, Schoolbooks, Netherlands, Dutch Republic

The invasion and near destruction of the Dutch Republic in 1672 had significant reverberations in the Dutch book trade. As the Franco-German coalition swiftly occupied half of the country in June and July 1672, the initial impact could be seen in the outpouring of newssheets and political pamphlets, clamouring for an end to the rule of the True Freedom regime and the restoration of the Stadholder, Prince William III of Orange.<sup>1</sup> While publishers in the eastern provinces began to serve the occupying forces, providing them with French Catholic literature and printed ordinances, the printers of Holland offered the public a diverse range of titles commenting on the causes and progress

1 Michiel Reinders, *Printed Pandemonium: Popular Print and Politics in the Netherlands, 1650-72*. Leiden: Brill, 2013.

of the Franco-Dutch War.<sup>2</sup> The Dutch public was fascinated by the conflict, and publishers required little official encouragement from the authorities to produce a range of contemporary histories. These accounts served multiple purposes: to rally international opinion against France and sustain the allied coalition against it; to respond to the publicity campaigns waged by Louis XIV's propagandists; to provide contemporary chronicles for future historians; and most importantly, to inform and persuade Dutch citizens of the necessity to bear the heavy burdens imposed by the struggle.

With a variety of competing narratives of the war in circulation, publishers tried their best to make their versions stand out. On 2 June 1674, shortly after the end of the occupation, the Amsterdam printer Jan Claesz ten Hoorn shared news with the readers of the *Amsterdamsche Courant* that he was publishing two works related to the recent invasion and occupation.<sup>3</sup> The first, written anonymously by the diplomat and intelligencer Abraham de Wicquefort, was a work entitled *Fransche tyrannie* (French Tyranny):

Consisting of two parts, the first detailing a daily account of French aggressions in Utrecht and Woerden, and the other concerning their cruelties in Bodegraven, Zwammerdam, Loenen, Waverveen, Boshol, Abcoude, Nichtevecht and in other places, as well as their advance in 1673 in Brabant and Flanders.

This gruesome work, Ten Hoorn claimed, 'deserves to be read by all inhabitants of these lands for eternal memory'.<sup>4</sup> His second title, clearly associated with the first, was 'shortly to be published': this was the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeught, ofte Fransche Tiranny* (New Mirror of Youth, or French Tyranny), specifically

2 Arthur der Weduwen, 'The Dutch book trade and the Disaster Year (1672): crisis, pragmatism and recovery', in: Ann-Marie Hansen, Arthur der Weduwen (eds.), *Publishers, Censors and Collectors in the European Book Trade, 1650-1750*. Forthcoming, Leiden: Brill, 2023. Arthur der Weduwen, 'Druk, lees en huiver: vroege herinneringen aan het Rampjaar', in: *Holland Historisch Tijdschrift* 54 (2022), 193-202. Annette Munt, 'The Impact of the *Rampjaar* on Dutch Golden Age Culture', in: *Dutch Crossing* 21 (1997), 3-51. Donald Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede: Publiciteit over de Nederlandse Republiek in oorlog, 1672-1713*. Hilversum: Verloren, 2013, especially 21-57.

3 *Amsterdamsche Saterdagse Courant*, no. 22, 2 June 1674.

4 [Abraham de Wicquefort], *De Fransche tyrannie, dat is: Oprecht en waerachtig verhael van de grouwelijke wreetheden tot Bodegraven, Swammerdam en elders door de Fransen gepleegt*. Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn, 1674. This was an enlarged second edition; the first edition was advertised by Ten Hoorn in December 1673. See Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, *News, Business and Public Information. Advertisements and Announcements in Dutch and Flemish Newspapers, 1620-1675*. Leiden: Brill, 2020, 486, 506.

‘designed for the youth in schools’. Almost a month later, on 30 June, Ten Hoorn confirmed in another, shorter newspaper advertisement that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was now available, once again reasserting that it was ‘most suitable to be used by children in school’.<sup>5</sup>

By the end of the summer of 1674, two of Ten Hoorn’s colleagues in the Amsterdam book trade, Jacobus Konijnenbergh and Jacobus Bouman, had brought out rival editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Both were similarly advertised in the *Amsterdamsche Courant*: Konijnenbergh’s on 28 August, and Bouman’s on 6 and 29 September and 1 November.<sup>6</sup> Each publisher repeated Ten Hoorn’s claim that the work was ‘most useful to be taught in schools’, presumably referring to the ubiquitous ‘Dutch schools’, which were free to the poorest children and could be found throughout the entire country.

This was an auspicious beginning for a schoolbook. The market for schoolbooks was one in which the frequent reprinting of a small selection of popular titles was the established norm.<sup>7</sup> Schoolbooks tended to require little significant capital, but represented a rapid return on investment: they were generally cheap and relatively short works, published in small formats.<sup>8</sup> Often, they were reprinted directly from earlier editions. It was nevertheless unprecedented that a new schoolbook was produced by three competing publishers in the three months since its first appearance. The rapidity of the reprinting of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* suggests that Ten Hoorn, Konijnenbergh and Bouman had identified a receptive audience for the work.

They would not be proven wrong. Indeed, the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd* (as it was most commonly spelled) would become a long-lived bestseller: it was one of the most common Dutch books of the century between 1680 and 1780. It would become one of the most popular schoolbooks of the age, and one of only a few

5 *Amsterdamsche Saturdaeghe Courant*, no. 26, 30 June 1674.

6 *Amsterdamsche Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 35, 28 August 1674; *Amsterdamse Donder-daghsche Courant*, no. 36, 6 September 1674; *Amsterdamse Saturdaghse Courant*, no. 39, 29 September 1674; *Amsterdamse Donder-daghsche Courant*, no. 44, 1 November 1674. It is extremely unlikely that the advertisements by Konijnenbergh and Bouman referred to the same edition printed by Ten Hoorn: the publishers are not otherwise known to have collaborated with one another. If they had published an edition together, they would undoubtedly also have advertised it together, rather than separately, and months apart from one another.

7 Andrew Pettegree, Arthur der Weduwen, *The Bookshop of the World. Making and Trading Books in the Dutch Golden Age*. London: Yale University Press, 2019, 149-171. Harry Bekkering, et al. (eds.), *De hele Biblebontseberg. De geschiedenis van het kinderboek in Nederland en Vlaanderen van de Middeleeuwen tot heden*. Amsterdam: Querido, 1989.

8 Laura Carnelos, Elisa Marazzi, ‘Children and Cheap Print from a Transnational Perspective’, in: *Quaerendo* 51 (2021), 189-215.

books of history taught at contemporary Dutch schools. It was also a distinctly horrific text. As the title indicated, at its heart stood a discussion of ‘French Tyranny’, the plunder, war crimes and atrocities committed by French troops in the Netherlands in 1672 and 1673. For context, the work also dwelled on earlier instances of French outrages (the St Bartholomew’s Day Massacre of August 1572 and the attempted French coup at Antwerp in 1583), and contemporary French plunder and murder in the Southern Netherlands and Germany undertaken as part of the wider Franco-Dutch War. It framed these atrocities in a broader narrative of French political history and Franco-Dutch relations, and the staunch heroism of Dutch citizens faced by the onslaught of the invasion and occupation.

The text itself was structured as a dialogue between a father and son, a common textual trope, reminiscent of other types of educational literature, such as catechisms. The role of the father was that of the teacher, relating the grim anecdotes and lacing them with lessons of Calvinist rectitude, while the son’s contributions were entirely limited to expressing shock and disbelief, before asking his father to continue the narrative and confirm the wretched nature of the French. The *Nieuwe Spiegel* was also illustrated throughout: not with the ‘various beautiful illustrations’ that Jacobus Bouman referred to in his advertisement, but with sixteen cheaply-executed woodcuts, each depicting a French atrocity, accompanied by a caption of four lines of moralising verse.

This article will provide the first comprehensive overview and bibliography of this ubiquitous Dutch schoolbook.<sup>9</sup> The work is well known to historians of Dutch education of the period, and is regularly mentioned (and denounced for its graphic violence) in studies of seventeenth- and eighteenth-century pedagogy.<sup>10</sup> It has also come to the attention of scholars of public opinion and memory studies, who have framed the *Nieuwe Spiegel* in the broader context of anti-French propaganda produced during the 1670s, and Dutch identity-formation and visual culture.<sup>11</sup> It

9 In spring 2022, as part of the 350<sup>th</sup> commemoration of the Disaster Year, Nicoline van der Sijs and I edited a modern Dutch translation of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, published as: *Franse Tirannie. Het Rampjaar 1672 op school*. Zwolle: Waanders, 2022. This present article is based on the Dutch introduction written for this modern edition, which does not include the detailed bibliography found here at the end.

10 Bekkering, *Bibelebontseberg*, 130, 183. P.Th.F.M. Boekholt, E.P. de Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school in Nederland*. Assen: Van Gorcum, 1987, 38-39. E.P. de Booy, *Weldaet der scholen. Het plattelandsonderwijs in de provincie Utrecht van 1580 tot het begin der 19<sup>de</sup> eeuw*. Utrecht: Stichtse Historische Reeks, 1977, 60-63. Feike Dietz, *Lettering Young Readers in the Dutch Enlightenment: Literacy, Agency and Progress in Eighteenth-Century Children’s Books*. London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2021, 147-150. See more broadly the final section of this article, below.

11 J.C. Breen, ‘Gereformeerde populaire historiographie in de 17de en 18de eeuw’, in: *Tijdschrift voor Geschiedenis* 37 (1922), 254-273. Wolfgang Cillessen, ‘Der Spiegel der jeugd. Ein kinderbuch als Medium der Geschichtserinnerung in den Niederlanden (1614-1813)’, in: Hans Peterse (eds.), *Süss*



has, however, never before been investigated for its role in pedagogy and it has never been established canonically how popular it truly was. The bibliographers of the eighteenth-century Dutch schoolbook identified eighteen editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*; the Short Title Catalogue Netherlands (STCN) currently documents thirty editions.<sup>12</sup> I have been able to expand this corpus to fifty-two editions.<sup>13</sup>

The *Nieuwe Spiegel* confirms the paradox of popular literature in any age: the more widely it is used, the less chance it has to survive for posterity. No copies of the first three editions published by Ten Hoorn, Konijnenbergh and Bouman are known to have survived. The newspaper advertisements offer the only indication of their existence. The earliest extant edition dates from 1680, while many editions are undated, which has exacerbated the confusion in the established literature on the publication history of the text. Of the fifty-two editions that I have been able to identify, twenty-one survive in only a single copy; thirteen other editions are known to have been published, but a copy cannot be traced at the moment.<sup>14</sup> It is likely that many other editions, lost but untraceable, were also published in the century between 1680 and 1780. Happily, the existing corpus allows us to investigate this pervasive text, and the curious place of atrocity literature at the heart of Dutch schooling in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries.

## The Legacy of Spanish Tyranny

How did a work as incendiary as the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, filled with graphic accounts of torture, rape and murder, come to play a significant role in the common educational curriculum in the Dutch Republic? The clue is partially in its name: the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was heavily influenced by an older schoolbook, the original *Spieghel der Jeught*, which it rapidly replaced from 1674 onwards. This original Mirror of Youth, first published in 1614, was a tale of Spanish atrocities, chiefly those committed during the Dutch Revolt.<sup>15</sup> It emerged during the Twelve Years'

*scheint der Krieg den Unerfahrenen*. Göttingen: V&R Unipress, 2006, 51-134. Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede*, 45-48. Jasper van der Steen, *Memory Wars in the Low Countries, 1566-1700*. Leiden: Brill, 2015, 277-8. Kees van den Brink, 'Spiegels van Vaderlandsliefde. Nationalisme in het geschiedenisonderwijs in de Nederlanden in de zeventiende eeuw'. BA thesis, University of Utrecht, 2017.

12 P.J. Buijnsters, Leontine Buijnsters-Smets, *Bibliografie van Nederlandse school- en kinderboeken, 1700-1800*. Zwolle: Waanders, 1997, 146, 179-180. The STCN is available at <https://picarta.oclc.org/psi/xslt/DB=3.11>.

13 See the appendix at end for a full listing.

14 In total, only 80 copies have been traced of the 52 known editions.

15 Cillessen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', 53-73. Steen, *Memory Wars*, 71-78. Marijke Meijer Drees, *Andere landen, andere mensen. De beeldvorming van Holland versus Spanje en Engeland omstreeks 1650*. Den

Truce, as part of a broader debate on the future course of the war against Spain and the internal political strife in the young Dutch Republic. The *Spiegel* was itself an adaptation of a popular pamphlet first published in 1610 by the Zutphen minister Willem Baudartius, the *Morghen-wecker der vrye Nederlantsche Provintien* (Warning Call for the Free Netherlandish Provinces), a history of the tyranny, treachery and cruelty of the Spanish foe.<sup>16</sup> The *Morghen-Wecker* was written as a dialogue between a 'Free Netherlander' and a 'Hispanicised Netherlander'; this format was taken over by the minister Johannes Bouillet, who is generally recognised as the author of the *Spiegel der Jeught*, replacing the figures with a father and son.

The adaptation was a winning formula: the *Spiegel der Jeught* was first published in 1614 by an Amsterdam sacristan and bookseller, Herman Allertsz Koster. Several reprints followed in the 1610s, including a French translation prepared by Jeremie de Pours (1616). At least eighteen editions of the *Spiegel* are known to have been published before 1687 (eleven editions of which survive), but two editions claim to be the nineteenth edition. It is likely that well over twenty editions appeared before the Disaster Year. The work received official recommendation from the Reformed Church in the province of Utrecht for use at schools, while copies were also provided for the crews of VOC ships, to strengthen their resolve when encountering their Iberian enemies abroad.<sup>17</sup> Extremely anti-Catholic in its tone, it is unlikely to have found many readers at Catholic schools in the Dutch Republic. One surviving copy from 1644 includes a contemporary manuscript inscription on its flyleaf which identifies the book as: 'Libellus per totium schandalosus'.<sup>18</sup>

To what extent was the *Nieuwe Spiegel* indebted to its Spanish forerunner? The similarities are striking, but consulting the texts side by side confirms how widely they diverge; it certainly cannot be said that the anonymous author of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* simply replaced all Spaniards for Frenchmen.<sup>19</sup> Both *Spiegels* always appeared in an octavo format, but the Spanish *Spiegel* was a longer

Haag: Sdu, 1997, 87-95.

16 The USTC records seven editions.

17 De Booy, *Weldaet der scholen*, 270. Pettegree, *Der Weduwen*, *Bookshop of the World*, 121-2.

18 *Spiegel der Jeught, Ofte een kort verhael der voornaemste Tyrannije, ende Barbarische Wreetheden, welke de Spaengiaerden hier in Nederlandt bedreven hebben, aen menich duysent Mensche, geduerende de Nederlantsche Oorloge, ende daer voren*. Amsterdam: Otto Barentsz Smient, 1644 (Den Haag KB: GW A106729).

19 For this close textual comparison and the subsequent quotes cited here, I have used the 1644 edition printed by Otto Barentsz Smient, *Spiegel der Jeught* (hereafter *SJ*), and the 1680 edition of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* by Bouman, *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeught, Of Fransche Tyrannye: Zijnde een kort verhael van den Oorspronck en Voort-ganck deses Oorloghs; Als mede de schrickelijcke en on-menschelijcke wreetheyt en grouwelen door de Fransen in Nederlant en elders bedreven*. Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman,

text, generally comprising eighty-eight leaves (176 pages) rather than sixty-four leaves (128 pages). Both works advertised on their title-pages that they were 'Most useful and necessary to use in the schools of the Free Netherlands' or 'Most useful and serviceable to be studied in schools'.<sup>20</sup> The opening address of each *Spiegel* was directed to the 'lovers of the fatherland', while the *Nieuwe Spiegel* also targeted the 'regents of alms-houses, inspectors of schools and schoolmasters'.<sup>21</sup> Both explained that the work was compiled so that the atrocities committed by the Spanish and French would never be forgotten:

...our older compatriots, who experienced the Spanish Tyranny, might fear to forget it over time, while many among the youth ... do not wish to take the time to read through the histories that discuss the Spanish cruelties.<sup>22</sup>

...that the same [tyranny] that took place might be forgotten...Our children must never forget, what we had to suffer in our land from the rage of the French weapons.<sup>23</sup>

Remarkably, the opening two and a half pages of the dialogue in the *Nieuwe Spiegel* is virtually indistinguishable to that of the original *Spiegel*.

Father: My dear son, as an upright father I have the responsibility to bring you up in the fear of God, which will foster the same in you. ... Son: Was the tyranny as great as they say? Due to my youth I do not know this horrific tale.<sup>24</sup>

1680 (hereafter *NS*), although other editions of the Spanish *Spiegel* have also been inspected for comparison.

20 'Seer nut ende nootwendigh om inde Scholen der Vrye Nederlanden gebruyckt te werden' (*SJ*) and 'Seer nut en dienstigh om in de Schoolen geleert te worden' (*NS*).

21 The *SJ* is addressed to the 'Eerwaardighe Vader-land-lievende Mede-Burgher', the *NS* to the 'Eerwaerde, Achtbare, Wijse, Voorsienige Heeren, Regenten van Gods-huysen, Opsienders van Schoolen, en Leermeesteren binnen de machtige stadt Amsterdam, benevens alle andere Lief-hebbers van de wel standt des Vaderlants'.

22 *SJ*, f. A2r. 'onse bejaerde lants-lieden, de Spaensche Tyranye, die sy beleeft hadden, met der tijdt vergheten souden, ende dat veele onder de opwassende jeught ... oock den tijdt niet nemen willen om de historien te door-lesen, die der Spanjaerden wreetheden melden'.

23 *NS*, 3. '...dat selve overgekomen in de vergetingh begraven worden...Onse kinderen moeten nimmer vergeten, wat wy tegenwoordig in ons landt door het woeden der Fransche wapenen geleden hebben'.

24 *SJ*, f. A4r-v. 'Vader. Myn lieve soon, al seen ghetrouwe vader ben ick schuldigh u in de vreese Godes op te stellen, het welck u tot de selfde soude kunnen bevorderen. ... Is oock de Tyrannije so groot geweest als men seyt? Mijne jonckheydt ontschuldicht my soo ick dese gruwelijcke legende niet en weet'.

Father: My son, as a good and upright father I have the responsibility to raise you in the fear of God, and to teach you all that will foster the same in you. ...  
 Son: Was the cruelty of the French as horrific as is sometimes spoken of? Will you remedy my youthful ignorance, as I have not had the chance to learn of these matters.<sup>25</sup>

The two accounts only begin to diverge on page seven of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, when the son asks what the origins of the terrible account are. In the original *Spiegel*, the reader is introduced to the Spanish Inquisition and the rule of Emperor Charles V, whereas the *Nieuwe Spiegel* picks up on the arrogance and greed of the French, before moving on to the horror of the St Bartholomew's Day Massacre.

In terms of content, the original *Spiegel* does offer the reader more political context, focussing more broadly on Spanish misrule before the Dutch Revolt, as well as Spanish cruelty outside the Low Countries. In this sense, it clung closely to the model of Baudartius's *Morghen-Wecker*. In the 1660s, the *Spiegel* was also enlarged with accounts of the prosecution of the Waldensians in the Piedmont. In contrast, the text of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, despite a claim by the anonymous writer that it would be enlarged in the future, was never expanded.

Another divergence between the two *Spiegels* concerns the illustrations. The first Spanish *Spiegels* were unillustrated; the first to include a series of woodcuts was the edition of Marten Jansz Brandt (1625). The illustrated versions of the Spanish *Spiegel* had twelve woodcuts, some of which were used more than once in the same edition; they were unaccompanied by captions, and often placed at rather random intervals, not necessarily illustrating the story that surrounded it in the text. In this sense, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was more refined. The editions always contained sixteen woodcuts, which depicted the same scenes and were placed at the same points in the text, accompanied by four lines of verse that expounded upon the relevant atrocity. The title-page border illustrations of the two *Spiegels* also display different acts of cruelty: the only similar scene is the hanging of a man above a fire and the impaling of a baby (see figs. 1-2).

25 NS, 5-6. 'Vader. Myn zoon, ick ben als een goet en getrouw vader u schuldigh in de vreesse Godts op te trecken, en alles voor oogen te stellen, wat u daer toe sou komen bevorderen. ... is de wreetheyt der Franssen hier soo grouwelijck geweest, als somtijds verteld wort? Wilt mijne jonkheyt toch daer van onderrichten, dewijl ick die saecken niet grondig heb kunnen verstaen'.



Figure 1. The title-page of the 1644 Smient edition of the original *Spiegel*. Koninklijke Bibliotheek, The Hague: GW A106729



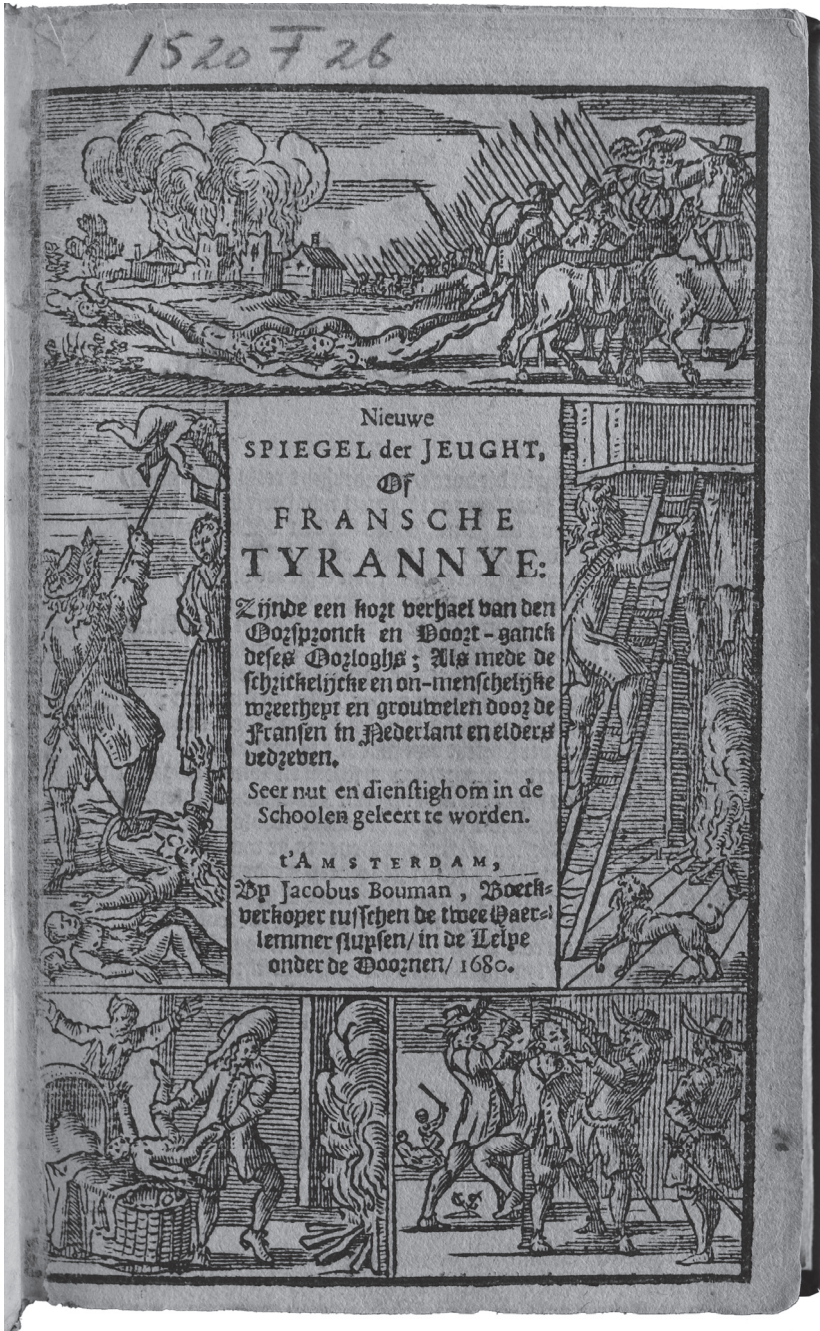


Figure 2. The title-page of the oldest extant edition of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, published in 1680 by Jacobus Bouman. University Library, Amsterdam: 1520 F 26

What is most striking is how quickly the *Nieuwe Spiegel* displaced the Spanish *Spiegel* in the market for schoolbooks. No edition of the Spanish *Spiegel* is known to have been published between 1669 and 1687. The edition of 1687, the final one known, was already influenced by the appearance of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Its publisher, the Dordrecht printer Simon onder de Linde, had added a short account of 'the cruelty of the French at Bodegraven and Zwammerdam' at the end, while the illustrations used on the title-page and throughout the text were copied from an edition of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, not the Spanish *Spiegel*.<sup>26</sup>

The success of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* can be ascribed to multiple reasons. The currency of the atrocities committed would have been fresh in the memory of many Dutch citizens, more so than some of the Spanish atrocities from over a century earlier. The work was also clearly marketed as a replacement in the preface:

...what bloody persecutions and tyrannical cruelties our forefathers suffered under the Duke of Alba ... so one can now use this New Mirror of Youth ... to ensure that one will never again fall into such disasters.<sup>27</sup>

This was a trope that was also used by other publications that appeared in the wake of the Disaster Year, in an attempt to trade on the widespread knowledge of the events of the Dutch Revolt. One pamphlet discussing the sack and burning of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam by the French commented that: 'I have often heard my parents talk about the Spanish cruelties committed at Zutphen and Naarden at the beginning of the troubles, but this French torching, murder and rape outweighs all the cruelties of the Spanish.'<sup>28</sup> The *Nieuwe Spiegel* certainly did its best to persuade its readers that the French atrocities were worse than those of the Spanish; the more prosaic text and lengthy graphic descriptions of violence attest to this.

The success of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* might also be attributed to the fact that it was less anti-Catholic than its predecessor. Although the *Nieuwe Spiegel* included accounts of the persecution and murder of the Huguenots in France, it did not concentrate on the re-Catholicising of the territories occupied by the

26 *Spiegel der Jeught, ofte Spaense Tyrannye*. Dordrecht: Symon onder de Linde, 1687. 'Met de Wreetheyt der Fransen tot Bodegraven en Swammerdam'.

27 *NS*, 4. 'wat bloedige vervolgingen, en tyranische wreetheden onse voor-ouderen, onder het woeden van den grouwelijcken Duc d'Alba...hebben geleden, so sullen sy evenwel desen Nieuwen Spiegel der Jeught nu dienen te gebreyken...en sich verhoeden in diergelijcke rampen noyt te vervallen'.

28 Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*, 278, more broadly 277-279.



French forces during the invasion and occupation of the Dutch Republic (nor was it enlarged to take into account the persecution of Huguenots after the Revocation of the Edict of Nantes in 1685). The French cruelties perpetrated in the Netherlands were identified as the result of French greed, lust and arrogance, rather than as part of a broader Catholic plot for world domination (as in the original *Spiegel*). For good measure, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* also related attacks by French soldiers on Catholic priests and nuns in the Dutch Republic.<sup>29</sup> We know from a complaint of 1631 by a Dutch Reformed minister, Johannes de Swaef, that many Catholic and Remonstrant parents refused to buy the original *Spiegel* for their children.<sup>30</sup> There will not have been such complaints on confessional grounds concerning the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, and in a country in which Catholics and non-conforming Protestants made up a significant share of the population, this can only have stimulated sales of the new schoolbook.

### Contemporary sources and reliability

The themes, structure and set-up of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* were familiar to a Dutch audience well versed in the patriotic memorial culture of the Dutch Revolt, in which atrocities played a prominent part.<sup>31</sup> The new text was heavily influenced by established norms that guided the discussion of war crimes, looting armies and occupation by foreign forces. While the original *Spiegel* was heavily indebted to the horrors exposed in Bartolomé de las Casas's description of Spanish cruelty in the West Indies and the prints of Frans Hogenberg, so the *Nieuwe Spiegel* relied on themes of violence discussed in the original *Spiegel*: including the impaling of children, the burning of civilians in their own houses, some while strung up in raging fireplaces, the mutilation of corpses, or the rape of a woman, whose ears, nose and breasts were cut off, with pepper rubbed into the wounds.<sup>32</sup> It is nevertheless the case that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* required new sources, as French atrocities in the 1670s were in detail different from those of Spanish atrocities committed during the Dutch Revolt. When we investigate

29 NS, 74-76.

30 Cillessen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', 71-72. The complaint was later repeated by another minister, Abraham van de Velde.

31 Van der Steen, *Memory Wars*. See more broadly, Judith Pollmann, *Memory in Early Modern Europe, 1500-1800*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2017, 159-185.

32 Cillessen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', 73-75. For a broader discussion of the appropriation of themes from the Dutch Revolt after the Disaster Year, see Simon Schama, *The Embarrassment of Riches: An interpretation of Dutch culture in the Golden Age*. London: Collins, 1987, 276-282.

the origins of the main content of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, it becomes clear that it has more indebtedness to contemporary sources on the Franco-Dutch War than to the original Spanish *Spiegel*.

From its first days, the invasion of the Dutch Republic was reported extensively by Dutch newspapers, pamphlets and broadsheets. These publications were fed by correspondence as well as by eyewitness accounts and rumours related by the stream of refugees who fled the occupied provinces. Such refugees will have passed on news of the brutality of the invaders and their incessant demands for taxes, food and accommodation for their soldiers. It was only in the first months of 1673, however, that Dutch publications came to focus specifically on the violent atrocities of the French in the occupied provinces, spawning a new sub-genre of publications on the war.<sup>33</sup> This was the direct result of a much-publicised expeditionary force organised by the Duke of Luxembourg after Christmas 1672, which saw 12,000 French soldiers attempt a raid on Leiden and The Hague by crossing the frozen flood lands that marked the frontline between Holland and Utrecht.<sup>34</sup> While the raid caused widespread panic in Holland, a sudden turn in the weather that threatened to isolate the French forced Luxembourg to retreat without achieving his aim. During the retreat, to inspire even more fear into the Dutch, they put two villages, Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, to the sword.

The massacre and burning of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam was immediately seized upon by several pamphlet writers, including the minister Johannes Quintius from nearby Aarlanderveen, and Adam Thomasz Verduyn, an engineer whose family members had been abused by French soldiers but had escaped the massacre.<sup>35</sup> Verduyn's account was appropriated by Romeyn de Hooghe, the most prolific illustrator of the Franco-Dutch War, for an illustrated broadsheet entitled *Spiegel der Fransse Tyranny, Gepleeght op de Hollandtsche Dorpen* (Mirror of French tyranny, committed against the villages of Holland) (see fig. 3).<sup>36</sup> The engraving is morbidly stunning in the realistic detail of the atrocities depicted. De Hooghe's trademark collage style, in which multiple scenes of

33 Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede*, 21-57.

34 For a succinct overview, see Olaf van Nimwegen, *De Veertigjarige Oorlog, 1672-1712*. Amsterdam: Prometheus, 2020, 126-128.

35 Johannes Quintius, *Bodegraven en Swammerdam in brandt*. Amsterdam: Jacob Benjamin, 1673; [Adam Thomas Verduyn], *Oprecht historisch verhael, van't geen voorgevallen is in Bodegraven en Swammerdam, door't invallen en doorbreken der Franssen*. Amsterdam: Jan Rieuwertsz, 1673.

36 Romeyn de Hooghe, *Spiegel der Fransse Tyranny*. S.l.: s.n., 1673 (Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-77.183). On De Hooghe and the Franco-Dutch War, see Henk van Nierop, *The Life of Romeyn de Hooghe, 1645-1708: Prints, Pamphlets, and Politics in the Dutch Golden Age*. Amsterdam: Amsterdam University Press, 2018, 89-138.



Figure 3. De Hooghe's influential *Spiegel der Fransse Tyranny*. The text underneath the print is partially derived from Verduyyn's pamphlet, the *Oprecht historisch verhael*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-77.183

murder, rape and torture are brought together to present one rampaging scene, is reminiscent of Hieronymus Bosch's arrangement of hell, but laced with a sense of immediacy that struck home with its traumatised audience.

De Hooghe's visual depiction had a profound impact on the other publications that appeared over the course of 1673 to report and reflect on the French invasion and occupation, and it circulated in numerous imitated versions. De Hooghe's influence became even more pronounced when he provided a set of eight new etchings for Abraham de Wicquefort's *Advis fidelle aux veritables Hollandois. Touchant ce qui s'est passé dans les villages de Bodegrave et Swammerdam*, published anonymously in September 1673.<sup>37</sup> These prints depicted specific French cruelties in even greater detail. It is to Wicquefort's text, which itself relied on a combination of eyewitness accounts and the first publications on the massacre, and De Hooghe's prints, that we should ascribe the greatest influence on the creation of the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd*. Wicquefort's *Advis fidelle* broadened the scope of the account to consider more generally French political history and French atrocities beyond Bodegraven and Zwammerdam. The *Advis fidelle* was translated into Dutch by its original publishers, Johannes and Daniel Steucker in The Hague, but also by Jan ten Hoorn in Amsterdam, who enlarged it with a separate account of French cruelties in Germany committed during the Franco-Dutch War.<sup>38</sup>

It was Ten Hoorn's adaptation, the *Fransche tyrannie*, mentioned at the beginning of this article, which was the direct source of inspiration for the text of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. The adaptation was most likely done by Ten Hoorn himself, or by a hack writer or assistant in his workshop. Many stories presented in the *Nieuwe Spiegel* were copied word-for-word into dialogue form.<sup>39</sup> To cut the length of the work, some anecdotes from the *Fransche tyrannie* were left out of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, such as the murder of minister Plancius in Kampen by French soldiers. Yet other stories were kept, but arranged in a different order.<sup>40</sup>

37 [Abraham de Wicquefort], *Advis fidelle aux veritables Hollandois. Touchant ce qui s'est passé dans les villages de Bodegrave et Swammerdam*. [Den Haag: Johannes and Daniel Steucker], 1673.

38 *Vervolg van de Fransche tyrannie, in Duitslant, en voornamelijk in de Palts gepleegt*. Amsterdam: Jan Claesz ten Hoorn, 1674. Most of the content that Ten Hoorn used for this supplement was derived from his earlier chronicles on the war, especially his *Nederlands Verquikking, of d'Ontwaekte Leeuw*. Amsterdam: Jan Claesz ten Hoorn, 1673.

39 See for example *De Fransche tyrannie*, 39-41 and NS, 45-46. FT: 'Wat dunkt u, mij goede Hollanders? Doet dese handel u niet aen de fabel van de wolf en 't schaepe gedenken? 't Welk sonder andere rechtsvordering geëeten wierd, om dat de reden van de sterkste altijd de beste is. De soon van mijn heer Jan Heuft wierd niet beter gehandelt. De vader had sich, eenige dagen voor d'omkeer der saken van Uytrecht, naer Hollant begeven, om sich niet voor d'eerste baldadigheit van de Fransche soldaet bloot te stellen...' NS: *Zoon*. Dese handel kan ons aen de fabel van de wolf en het schaepe doen gedencken, dat sonder andere rechts-vordering gegeten wiert, om dat de reden van de sterckste altijd de beste is. *Vader*. De Soon van den Heer Jan Heuft wiert niet beter gehandelt. De Vader had sich eenige dagen voor het omkeeren der saken, van Utrecht na Hollandt begeven, om sich voor d'eerste baldadigheit van de Franse soldaten niet bloot te stellen...'

40 See for example *De Fransche tyrannie*, 22-30 in comparison with the NS, 24-36.





Figure 4. An extract from one of the etchings made by De Hooghe for the *Advis fidelle*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-OB-77.193

Twelve of the sixteen woodcuts used for the *Nieuwe Spiegel* were also definitively modelled on De Hooghe's prints for the *Advis fidelle*, also adapted for Ten Hoorn's *Fransche tyrannie* (see figs. 4-5). These were all the images that depicted atrocities in the Netherlands, as the other four showed the Bartholomew's Day Massacre, the Duke of Alençon's troops leaving Antwerp, a generic advance of the French army and a scene in which Louis XIV instructs his intendants to govern the Republic with an iron fist.<sup>41</sup>

With such an obvious reliance on De Hooghe's and Wicquefort's ardently anti-French accounts, to what extent did the *Nieuwe Spiegel* contain any semblance of the truth? In the early eighteenth century, many of the published accounts

41 In order, the sixteen illustrations depict: the Bartholomew's Day Massacre (NS, 15), Alençon's troops leaving Antwerp (21), a French army advancing (31), French troops forcing Dutch troops into a church (33), Louis XIV handing over power to Robert and Luxembourg (41), Dutch citizens forced to pull a barge (51), two French riders pulling Dutch citizens by their horses (57), French troops shooting the air in frustration with the weather (61), two murders by sword at Bodegraven/Zwammerdam (64), Dutch citizens hanged in a chimney, while a French soldier throws a child on the flames (66), the mutilation of two Dutch citizens, one tied to a pole (71), two Dutchmen waterboarded (91), two babies impaled, with a corpse in the foreground, and a fleeing mother in background (95), two Frenchmen each holding a head of a decapitated Dutchman, with bodies in foreground (97), the burning of the feet of a Dutchman on the floor of a barn, with a murder in the background (103), the French departing with a carriage of loot, marching east (116).

of the Franco-Dutch War came under attack for their perceived fabrication, supposed to have been commissioned by William III and his circle to justify the continuation of the war that had elevated him to the Stadholdership.<sup>42</sup> The Prince of Orange was indeed celebrated in the *Nieuwe Spiegel* as a saviour of the country, but this was a much more widespread sentiment in the years following the Disaster Year. There is no hard evidence that William had any direct influence on the publication of De Hooghe's prints or the numerous chronicles of the war; Dutch outrage and fascination with the war, and the personification of the Prince of Orange with the recovery of the Republic, were in all respects genuine.

It also seems that for all its horror, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* probably did not steer far from the truth. The most gruesome episode, the devastation of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, was well documented already in the immediate aftermath of the events. The *Oprechte Haerlemse Courant* reported the attack in its issues of 31 December 1672 and the first days of January 1673. An Amsterdam militiaman recorded the attack on Bodegraven and Zwammerdam in his diary already on 29 December.<sup>43</sup> When the commissaries of the States of Holland arrived in Bodegraven in 1673 to assess the inhabitants for one of many taxes raised during the war, they found that of the 200 taxpayers, 100 had died, and another 70 were insolvent because their property and livelihoods had been destroyed.<sup>44</sup> The general scale of violence does not seem to have been exaggerated.

While individual accounts of atrocities can be more difficult to corroborate, even here we can identify sources that support the tales related by the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Consider the story of Leuntjen Chielen, a woman from Waverveen (on the border of Utrecht and Holland) told on page 86 of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Chielen had given birth an hour before a French raiding party attacked; she fled with her husband and new-born, but her husband was shot, so she rowed their small boat courageously on. When they reached safety across the water, her husband died in her arms. The story finishes by announcing that Chielen then travelled on to Amsterdam, where she baptised her child in the Zuiderkerk. Indeed, the baptism registers of the Zuiderkerk note a Leuntie Chielen from Waverveen baptising her son Cornelis on 16 November 1672, on her own.<sup>45</sup>

42 Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede*, 48-52.

43 J.F. Gebhard Jr., 'Een Dagboek uit het "Rampjaar" 1672', in: *Bijdragen en Mededelingen van het Historisch Genootschap, gevestigd te Utrecht* 8 (1885), 45-116, here 104-106.

44 For the aftermath in Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, see Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede*, 32-35, 52-55 and J.F.A. Modderman, *Bodegraven in 1672*. Woerden: Stichting Stichts-Hollandse Bijdragen, 1972.

45 NS, 86. Stadsarchief Amsterdam, Archief 5001, inv. 96: 98, 16 November 1672. With thanks to Elly Landzaat for this reference.



Figure 5. One of the sixteen woodcuts used in Bouman's 1680 *Nieuwe Spiegel*. The woodcut is very clearly modelled on the scene created by De Hooghe seen in figure 4. University Library, Amsterdam: 1520 F 26

Another story that can be partially corroborated is that of a gardener from 's-Graveland, a town ransacked by the French in October 1672 and largely burned to the ground. According to the narrative in the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, the gardener at the nearby estate at Spanderswoud was assaulted and stripped naked by French soldiers, and when he went to complain to the Duke of Luxembourg, wearing nothing but a hat to cover his modesty, the Duke ordered him to do a variety of menial jobs in the nude, before dressing him in old rags and expelling him into the winter. In the church register of 's-Graveland, the minister Cornelis van Midlum noted that Willem Harpertz van Deutecom, gardener from 's-Graveland, had died in 1673 after his abuse by the French.<sup>46</sup>

<sup>46</sup> NS, 81-82. See also F.J.E. van Lennep, 'Amsterdammers in 's-Graveland', in: *Jaarboek van het Genootschap Amstelodamum* 51 (1959), 93-169: 117.



One can suspect that many of the stories told of named individuals were largely based on the truth, but that they were also enriched with widely shared tropes of the behaviour of soldiers during war. Romeyn de Hooghe may have taken some distinct visual clues for his prints from Jacques Callot's *Les grandes misères de la guerre*, a famous series of eighteen etchings from 1633. Similarly, the writers and publishers of the accounts of the French invasion, and possibly some of the victims of these crimes, may have relied on similar tropes when filling the gaps in their stories. There existed a shared international language and understanding of military atrocities; it should not be forgotten that in 1673, William of Orange's troops also committed what we would now consider to be war crimes against civilians in German territory.<sup>47</sup>

In an age of incessant warfare and limited martial discipline, tales of the abuse of civilians by soldiers were commonplace. Nevertheless, it was rare that instances of atrocities were as widely publicised as those of the Franco-Dutch War, and that they enjoyed such longevity through a schoolbook like the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. We may identify the reason for the appeal of the text in the fact that the atrocities took place in the Dutch Republic, which had largely been spared the depredations of war since the Dutch Revolt. It is noteworthy that much of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* concentrated on atrocities in Holland and Utrecht, while most of Gelderland, Overijssel and the northern frontline in Friesland and Groningen went entirely unmentioned. That war returned to Holland after a century of peace was a profound shock to many contemporaries, who often tended to ignore the plight of those caught up in warfare in the landward provinces.<sup>48</sup> Given that Holland was also at the heart of the Dutch publishing trade, it is unsurprising that the firepower of the Dutch presses was used to institutionalise the account of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam as the emblematic experience of the French invasion and occupation.

The publication of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was also timely from an international perspective. It confirmed a broader narrative of French aggression and destruction, which resonated with contemporaries across Europe. Jan ten Hoorn had shrewdly enlarged Wicquefort's *Advis fidelle* with accounts of French atrocities in Germany; these also found their way into the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Ten Hoorn's *Fransche tyrannie* also appeared in several German translations.<sup>49</sup> War with France would be one

47 Haks, *Vaderland & Vrede*, 49.

48 Judith Pollmann, 'The Cult and Memory of War and Violence', in: Helmer J. Helmers, Geert H. Janssen (eds.), *The Cambridge Companion to the Dutch Golden Age*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2018, 87-104.

49 [Abraham de Wicquefort], *Frantzösische Tyranny. Das ist: Umständlich-waarhaffte Erzehlung der Grausamkeiten, so durch die Frantzosen in denen Niederlanden zeit hero verübet worden*. [Amsterdam: Jan ten Hoorn?], 1674.

of the leading themes of daily life in much of the Netherlands and Germany for another forty years after the publication of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Its narrative of heroic struggle in the face of French brutality, followed by the ultimate redemption of French retreat, was a narrative that could continue to inspire new generations, born in the midst of a conflict interpreted by contemporaries as a Forty Years' War.

### Producing the *Nieuwe Spiegel*

One of the distinguishing features of the various editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was uniformity. Of the fifty-two identified editions, only two can be traced that did not conform to the standard length of sixty-four leaves in octavo (requiring eight sheets of paper). The text of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* never changed; even in the 1770s, a century after its first appearance, the work still asked readers to pray for the health of Stadholder William III, who had died in 1702. It is clear that there was little incentive for publishers to amend the text, suggestive of the winning formula of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, as much as the general conservatism of the schoolbook trade. In 1674, the first publishers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* had identified a model that was so resilient that it did not require any changes, in contrast to the original Spanish *Spiegel*.

One of the reasons that the text of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* so rarely diverged from the original was that printers would compose new editions from an older copy to hand. This is confirmed by the close alignment of the layout, line endings and catchwords in different editions. Some editions share almost the same STCN-fingerprint, indicating that the compositors were working closely from a previous model. Consider the fingerprints of two editions produced by the Ratelband and Bouwer firms in the final quarter of the eighteenth century:

000008 – b1 A2 ew : b2 H5 el\$0

000008 – b1 A2 gew : b2 H5 el\$0

Or the fingerprints of two editions published by Joannes Kannevet, in 1751 and 1752:

175108 – b1 A2 op : b2 H5 l\$of

175208 – b1 A2 ope : b2 H5 l\$of\$

While the spelling of individual words could differ between editions (a common aspect of publishing in an age of unstandardised spelling) it is also striking how

**Table 1. Geographical distribution of known editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*.**

Place of Publication	Editions
Amsterdam <sup>50</sup>	30
Other Holland towns	9
Utrecht	3
Gelderland	1
Overijssel	8
Unknown	1
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>

closely the paratext of the editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* aligns. Each edition opens with a poem of twenty-four lines of verse, addressed ‘to the reader’, decrying the cruelty of the French. The only variation found is in the final line of the poem, which usually praises the Prince of Orange as the ‘restorer’ of Dutch liberty, but which is amended in the two editions published by the Van der Putte family (both undated, printed c. 1682-1716 and c. 1733-1748) to remove the mention of the prince. The opening poem was followed by a dedication, to the:

Honourable, respected, wise, prudent gentlemen, regents of boarding houses, inspectors of schools, and teachers in the powerful city of Amsterdam, as well as all other lovers of the prosperity of the fatherland.<sup>51</sup>

This dedication can be found in all editions in one of two versions; the first as above, addressed only to the schoolmasters of Amsterdam, is found in the earliest extant editions, while most later editions address themselves to the schoolmasters of the entire United Provinces.<sup>52</sup> This change provides a possible indication that the first editions were marketed mostly to customers in and around Amsterdam, while the later reprints were more broadly spread around the country. The fact that the first nine known editions were published in Amsterdam reinforces this suggestion too. It is noteworthy that unlike the

50 Five editions published by the De Groot-Keur firm in Amsterdam were printed in Friesland: in Heerenveen (3), Sneek (1) and Workum (1).

51 *NS*, 3. ‘Eerwaerde, Achtbare, Wijse, Voorsienige Heeren, Regenten van Gods-huysen, Opsinders van Schoolen, en Leermeeesteren binnen de machtige stadt Amsterdam, benevens alle andere Lief-hebbers van der wel standt des Vaderlants.’

52 The editions addressed to the schoolmasters of Amsterdam are: Bouman 1680; Lootsman 1676-1711; Konijnenbergh 1721; Van Beyeren 1718-1725; I. van der Putte 1733-1748; Strop 1725-1775; Van Beyeren and Maagh 1741-1746.

Spanish *Spiegel*, which was only printed in Holland and Zeeland, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was ultimately printed in at least five provinces and thirteen separate towns, confirming the status of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* as a text with national appeal. Most of the dedications that are addressed to the schoolmasters of the United Provinces are signed by the anonymous 'N.N.' and are undated. Again, the printers of the first editions differ slightly from one another. The preface in the oldest extant edition, published by Jacobus Bouman in 1680, is signed by him, and is dated 16 October 1676. Prefaces in two other editions, one undated and published by Casparus Lootsman and one from 1721 by Jacobus (II) Konijnenbergh, are dated to 12 July 1674. Presumably, the very first edition of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, published by Jan ten Hoorn, had a preface dated to 12 July, fitting neatly between the two advertisements placed by him in the *Amsterdamsche Courant* announcing the new text. The final paratextual difference concerns the concluding poem on the deliverance of the Dutch Republic from its enemies. The poem is usually made up of twelve lines of verse, but several editions have eight additional lines, inserted after the first four opening lines; the earliest edition with these extra lines is that of the widow of Jurriaen van Poolsum, printed in Utrecht in 1707.<sup>53</sup>

A close analysis of the woodcuts used for the title-page and the text helps us identify 'families' of editions within the corpus. This gives us some clues which previous editions woodcut artists and printers relied upon for their own edition of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. The surviving copies of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* reveal five such families, some of them with a remarkably long legacy. Although all editions depicted the same scenes in the text, there are differences between the title-pages of family groups that distinguish them from one another (see figs. 6-10). Within each family group, the illustrations are so similar that they may well have been copied by an artist who had access to the original woodblock.

Many publishers followed the model set by Jacobus Bouman, one of the first publishers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*; this included the prolific De Groot-Keur firm, as well as all known printers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* operating in Deventer, Zwolle and Haarlem.<sup>54</sup> The second family of illustrations was spearheaded by the Amsterdam Lootsmans, possibly following the first (lost) edition printed by Jacobus Konijnenbergh, given that the 1721 edition of Jacobus (II) Konijnenbergh

53 The edition by Hendrik vander Putte, published around 1761-1770, also contains an additional concluding poem, two pages in length, entitled 'On Hope' ('De Hoop').

54 According to Cillessen, the earliest woodcuts were possibly cut by Christoffel van Sichem IV: Cillessen, 'Der Spiegel der jeugd', 74.

**Table 2. Families of illustration of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*.**

Family of illustrations	Places of publication	Publishing firms	Approx. dates of use	Known editions <sup>55</sup>
1	Amsterdam; Haarlem; Deventer; Zwolle	Bouman; De Groot Keur; De Vries; Van Egmont; Van Lee; De Lange; Rampen	1680-1778	13
2	Amsterdam; Alkmaar; Medemblik	Lootsman; Van Beyeren; Konijnenbergh; Strop; Joordaan; H. van der Putte	1676-1775	7
3	Amsterdam	A. & I. van der Putte	1682-1748	2
4	Utrecht; The Hague	Van Poolsum; Van Zanten; Reers	1707-1742	4
5	Amsterdam	Kannewet; Ratelband and Bouwer	1732-1780	9

also belongs to this grouping.<sup>56</sup> The Alkmaar and Medemblik printers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* also belong to this second family, while all known Utrecht and The Hague printers belonged to a separate family altogether again. The most curious family of illustrations is that used by the Kannewet firm of Amsterdam, and also copied by the Ratelbands and Bouwers. The nine editions from this group all use a title-page arrangement that is modelled on the original Spanish *Spieghele*, rather than on any of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*s. This is especially striking given that the first edition of the Kannewets appeared only in the 1730s, almost seventy years since the last known edition of the Spanish *Spieghele* to use these images. The images used in the text by the Kannewets, however, did not deviate from the other *Nieuwe Spiegel*s.

Over time, a gradual shift can be detected in the profiles of the publishers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*. Two of the pioneers who first printed the text, Ten Hoorn and Bouman, belonged to the upper echelons of Amsterdam's print trade.<sup>57</sup> They also, like Jacobus Konijnenbergh, capitalised more broadly on the interest in the Franco-Dutch War. Ten Hoorn published the *Fransche tyrannie*, the main source text for the *Nieuwe Spiegel*; Konijnenbergh produced the *Franse, Engelse, Keulse*,

55 I was able to inspect the title-pages of 35 of the 39 surviving editions.

56 The fact that the later Bouman and Konijnenbergh editions belong to different families of illustrations offers further support to the notion that the two firms published their own editions in 1674, instead of co-operating on a joint edition.

57 I.H. van Eeghen, *De Amsterdamse Boekhandel, 1680-1725*. 5 vols., Amsterdam: Scheltema & Holkema, 1960-1978, vol. IV, 276-7.



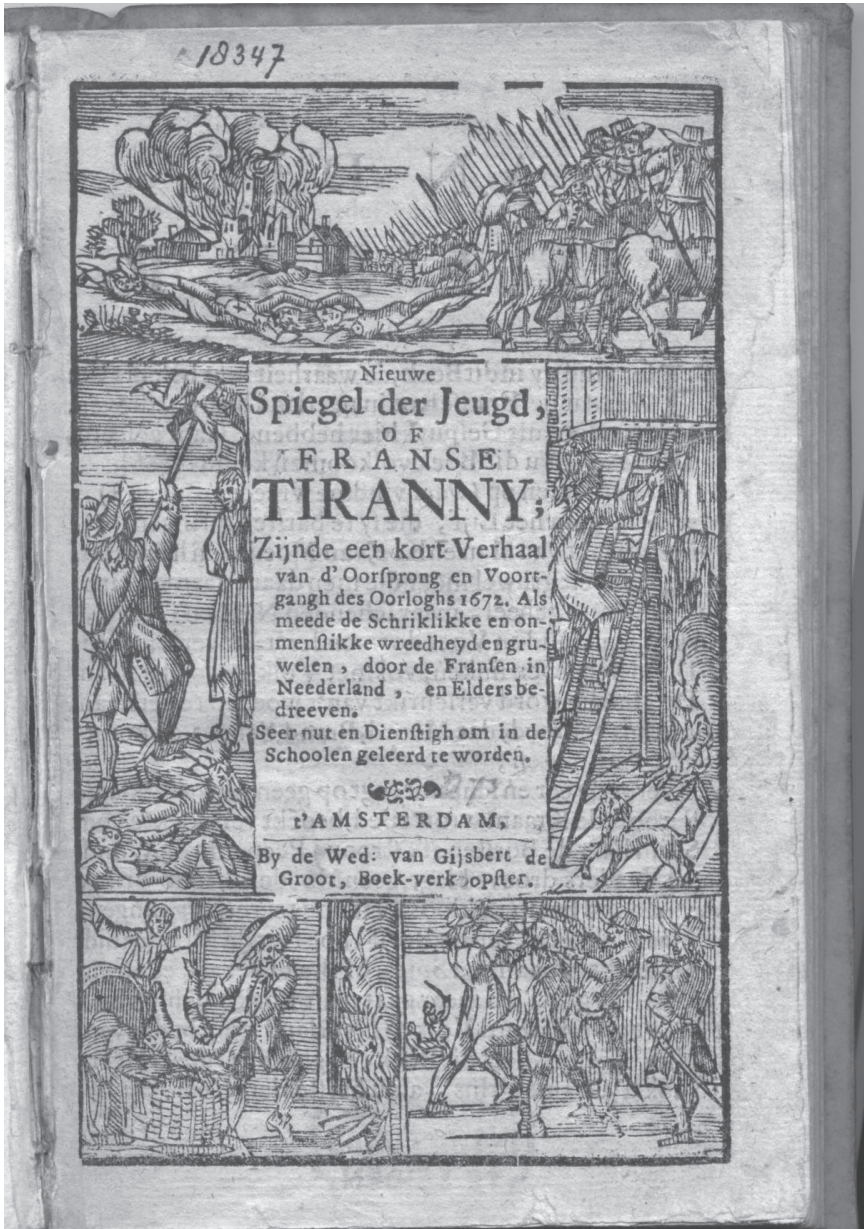


Figure 6. The title-page composition of family 1. This was the most common arrangement, pioneered by Jacobus Bouman and also adopted by the De Groot Keur firm, and by all printers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* in Haarlem, Deventer and Zwolle. University Library, Leiden: BKNOOG 347



Figure 7. The title-page composition of family 2. Families one and two closely resemble each other, but family 2 has two of the illustrations (left of centre and bottom right) mirrored. University Library, Amsterdam: O 61-553



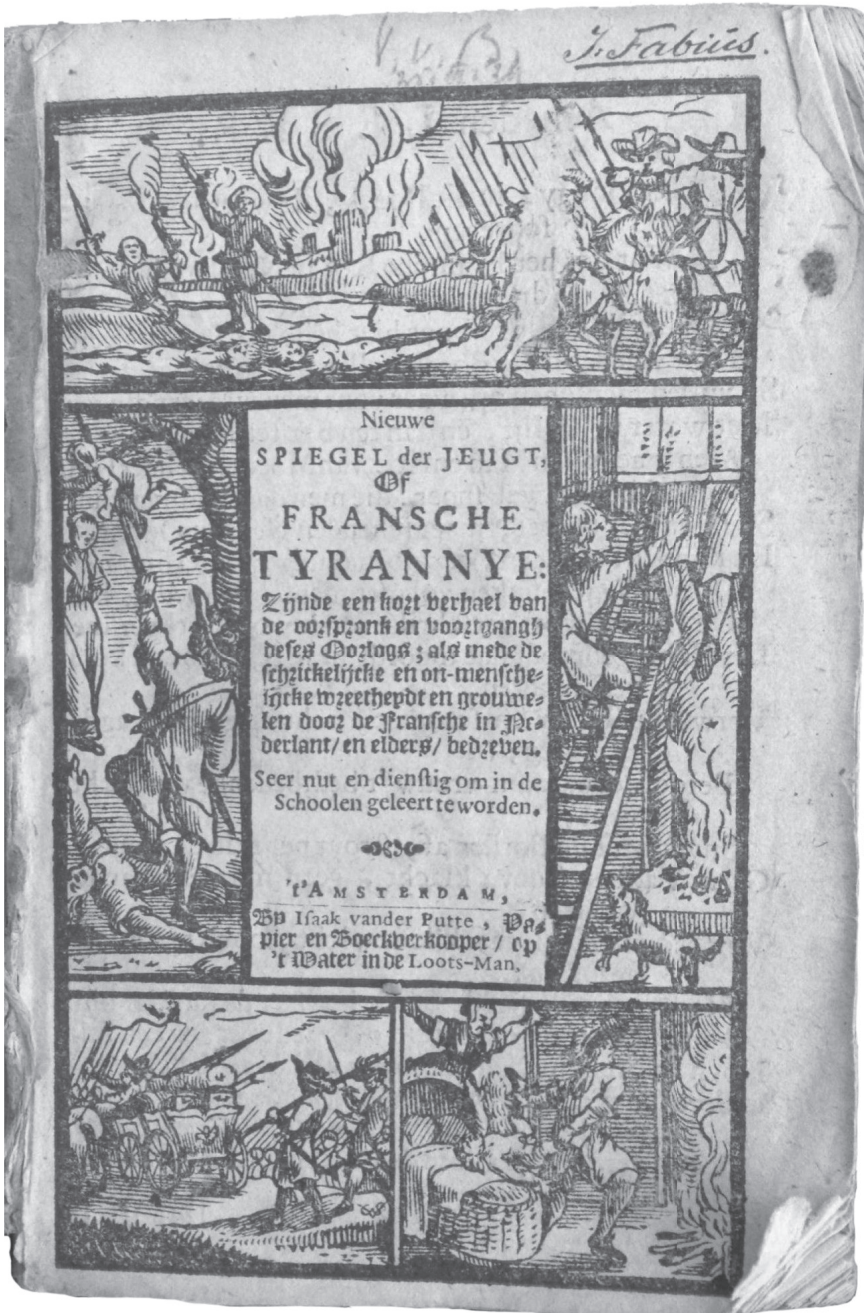


Figure 8. The title-page composition of family 3. Family 3 resembles family 1 closely as well, but the image on the bottom right of family 1 has been replaced with a new image (depicting an army on the march), while the image on the bottom left of family 1 is here placed on the right. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: 305 F 5

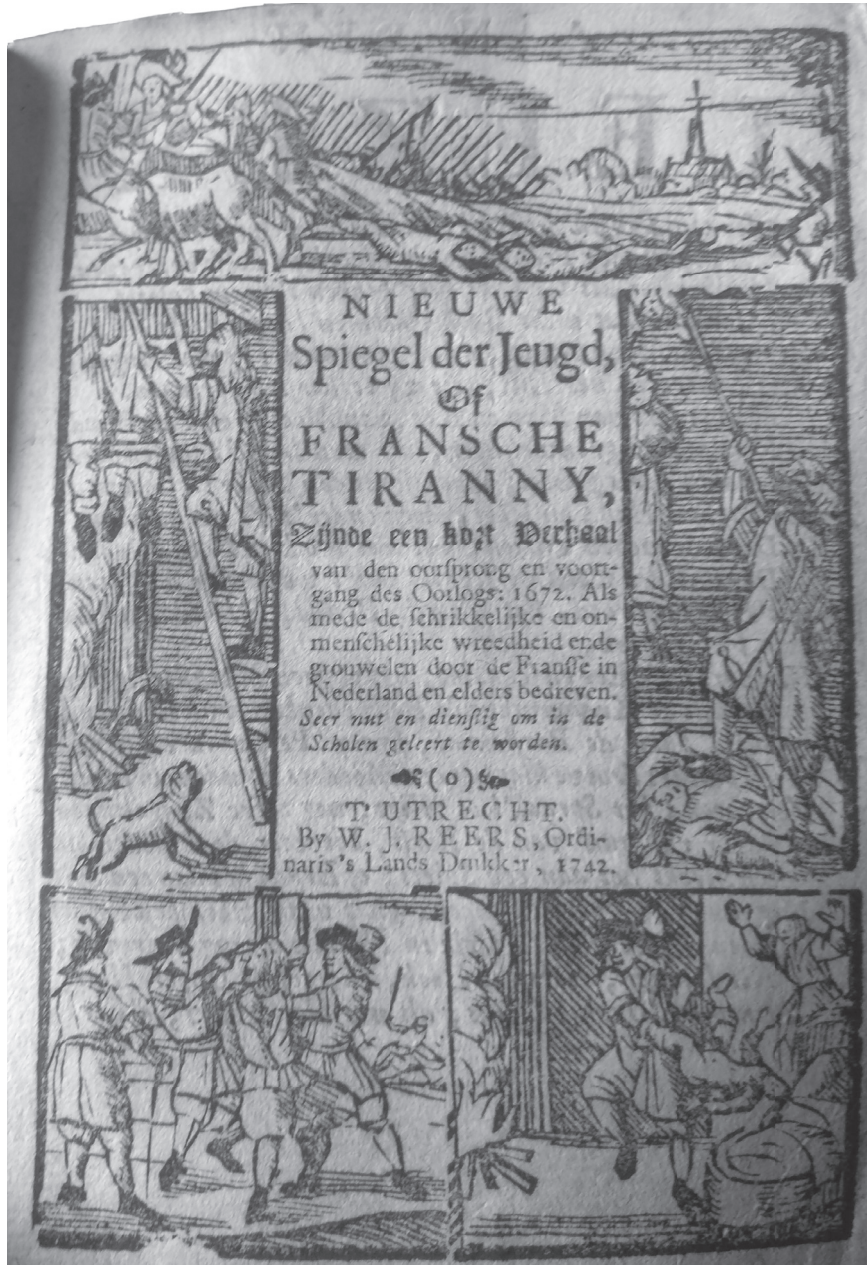


Figure 9. The title-page composition of family 4. This family is modelled on family 1, but has all illustrations in the centre and bottom reversed, and the army in the top image is marching to the west instead of the east. Private Collection, Arthur der Weduwen





Figure 10. The title-page composition of family 5, which is (confusingly) directly modelled on the title-pages of the Spanish *Spieghele* (see figure 1, above). University Library, Amsterdam: OK 84-97



Figure 11. A school print produced by Gijsbert de Groot Keur, using the same sixteen woodcuts that were included in the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd*. Rijksmuseum, Amsterdam: RP-P-1985-104

*Munsterse en Nederlandse oorloge*, several editions of which appeared in 1673 and 1674; and Bouman was also responsible in 1675 for an edition of the *Prince liet-boeck, of Trompet des oorlogs*, a song book related to the recent conflict. Yet this trio rarely printed other books for the school market. This was in direct contrast with the principal publishers of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* in the eighteenth century, many of whom produced more than one edition. They included the Egmont, De Groot-Keur, Kannewet, De Lange, Meyer, Poolsum, Van der Putte and Ratelband firms, who belonged to the most prominent group of printers in the schoolbook trade.<sup>58</sup> To these firms, publishing new editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was akin to producing new editions of ABC books, catechisms, mathematical primers and penny prints: it was simply another text supplied to schools that demanded regular reprints. This was a specialism that could pay off significantly, as demonstrated by Gijsbert de Groot Keur, one of the wealthiest Amsterdam publishers in the 1740s.<sup>59</sup>

58 Buijnsters, Buijnsters-Smets, *Bibliografie van Nederlandse school- en kinderboeken*, 304-307.

59 Hannie van Goinga, *Alom te bekomen: veranderingen in de boekdistributie in de Republiek 1720-1800*. Amsterdam: De Buitenkant, 1999, 317.



Some printing firms, including Kannewet, De Groot-Keur, Van der Putte and Ratelband, also reused the woodcuts of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* in innovative ways. There are several surviving school prints on the ‘French Tyranny’, printed by these specialists, that reproduce the sixteen woodcuts, together with their accompanying verses.<sup>60</sup> These prints were ideally suited to be hung up on the walls of a classroom, or even in the home; they represented yet another way that printers could profit from the Disaster Year.

### Circulation, use and legacy

To what extent can we determine that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was actually used in Dutch schools in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries? All editions claimed that the work was ‘suitable for use in schools’, but there was no national curriculum or standard of schooling that instructed schools to use this particular text. It was certainly not used at the Latin grammar schools, which prepared children for a university education, as these schools relied purely on Latin and Greek texts. In contrast to the Latin schools, the principal aim of most Dutch-language schools was to teach children how to read, and to educate them in basic Christian principles. History did not exist as a separate subject that would be taught at schools. Investigating multiple school ordinances issued by Dutch authorities in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries for Dutch-language schools indicates that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was rarely listed as a specific recommended book. What does become clear from the same ordinances is that the curriculum at a Dutch school was largely dependent on the initiative of the schoolmaster, supervised by the local Reformed classis; it was up to the schoolmaster to decide which works should be used at his school, and this freedom was actively encouraged by the authorities.<sup>61</sup>

It is therefore not surprising that the dedication of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was directly addressed to ‘schoolmasters’, who were told that ‘it would not be

60 Nico Boerma, et al., *Kinderprenten, Volksprenten, Centsprenten, Schoolprenten: Populaire grafiek in de Nederlanden, 1650-1950*. Nijmegen: Vantilt, 2014, 318, 332, 334-337, 508-11.

61 For some examples, see *School-Reglement, Inde Steden, ende ten Platten Lande, inde Heerlijckheeden, ende Dorpen, staende onder de Generaliteyt*. Den Haag: weduwe and erfgenamen Hillebrandt van Wouw, 1655, fol. A4v; *Schoolordre van de stad Zwolle, rakende hare Duitse schoolmeesteren*. Zwolle: s.n., 02.09.1691; *Ordre en reglement op de scholen ten platten lande*. Arnhem: weduwe Hendrik van Goor, 1744, fol. Br.

disagreeable to you to see this book in the hands of your students'.<sup>62</sup> It seems likely that the work was bought mostly by schoolmasters, who might then sell it to their students, or use it for collective teaching in classrooms.<sup>63</sup> One school ordinance that does refer to the text was the regulation issued in 1676 by the States of Utrecht (not coincidentally one of the provinces that suffered the most from the occupation). The ordinance specified the work as one of the principal texts to be used at schools, and stipulated that it was meant to be divided amongst pupils, who would read it together, after which they would orate parts of the text before the rest of the class.<sup>64</sup> The dialogue style of the book certainly lent itself to role-playing amongst students. Boekholt and De Booy have also suggested that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was a work to be used by more advanced readers, or read in front of the class by the teacher.<sup>65</sup>

De Booy's history of education in the Utrecht countryside indicates that the work remained the principal book of history that was acquired for schools in the eighteenth century until at least the 1770s. She also uncovered one instance of invoiced purchases for the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, when the deacons of Westbroek paid for the supply of the book for poor children at local schools; payments indicate that copies sold for between three and five stuivers.<sup>66</sup> We might also speculate that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was purchased by parents for their own children; this too was a fact alluded to by the writer of the text, who urged parents to acquire a copy: 'he is unworthy to be called a devoted father who does not impress these events upon his children'.<sup>67</sup>

It is unlikely that many adults bought the book for their own reading pleasure, but they might have kept a copy in their collection if they had used the book as a child. This might be the reason why the artist Johanna Koerten (1650-1715) owned a copy of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, as listed in the auction catalogue of her library.<sup>68</sup> The work is otherwise not commonly listed

62 NS, 4. '...dat het Uwe E. A. niet sal on-aengenaem wesen 't selve in de handen uwer Leerlinghen te sien.'

63 De Booy, *Weldaet der scholen*, 270.

64 *Ordre waer nae alle school-meesters ende costers ten platten lande in den Gestichte van Utrecht, haer sullen hebben te reguleren. Geapprobeert by de Staten 'slands van Utrecht den xxiiijen, martij 1676*. Utrecht: Jacobus van Paddenburg, 1699, fol. A3r.

65 Boekholt, De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 38.

66 De Booy, *Weldaet der scholen*, 63, 270-271.

67 NS, 6-7. '...en onwaardigh is hy een getrouw Vader genaemt te worden, die dese dingen sijne kinderen niet in-prent'.

68 Rindert Jagersma, Joanna Rozendaal, 'Female Book Ownership in the Eighteenth-Century Dutch Republic. The Book Collection of Paper-Cutting Artist Joanna Koerten (1650-1715)', in: *Quaerendo* 50 (2020), 109-140: 128.

in contemporary printed book catalogues, aside from a copy found in the library of the Jewish collector Aron van Joseph de Pinto, auctioned in 1785.<sup>69</sup> The absence of the text from serious scholarly libraries is not surprising, given that cheap schoolbooks such as the *Nieuwe Spiegel* would more often be found in the miscellaneous and otherwise undescribed ‘packets’ listed towards the end of auction catalogues.<sup>70</sup> Many schoolbooks will never have made it into libraries in the first place: to be thumbed frequently at school or in the home, shared amongst children, and reused for waste paper was the fate of most schoolbooks in the early modern period. It should also not surprise us that the work was never advertised in Dutch newspapers after its first appearance in 1674. Such advertisements were reserved for distinctive and new titles, not for bestselling schoolbooks that appeared regularly and were reprinted around the country.<sup>71</sup>

What remains undeniable is that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was a reliable seller, an indicator that it must have been bought, used and valued by many Dutch people. Its status as a canonical text was reinforced by the fact that even the King of France was irritated by its existence. On 4 December 1712, the Grand Pensionary of Holland, Anthonie Heinsius, received a letter in which he was notified that the French delegation at the peace congress of Utrecht had complained about the frequent printing of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*:

Published in the first war [the Franco Dutch-War] on the occasion of the burning of Bodegraven and Zwammerdam, ... this history had irritated the King [Louis XIV] greatly and ... the suppression of this book by the [Dutch] state would be most pleasing to His Majesty.<sup>72</sup>

69 *Catalogus van een extra fraaye en uitmuntende verzameling boeken*. Amsterdam: Jan Willem Smit, [1785]. My thanks to Rindert Jagersma and the MEDIANE project team at Nijmegen for this reference.

70 For a discussion of the values and uses of printed catalogues, see Arthur der Weduwen, et al., ‘Book trade catalogues: from bookselling tool to book historical source’, in: Arthur der Weduwen, et al. (eds.), *Book Trade Catalogues in Early Modern Europe*. Leiden: Brill, 2021, 3-32.

71 Arthur der Weduwen, Andrew Pettegree, *The Dutch Republic and the Birth of Modern Advertising*. Leiden: Brill, 2019, chapter two.

72 B. van der Dussen to Anthonie Heinsius, 4 December 1712, in A.J. Veenendaal jr. (ed.), *De Briefwisseling van Anthonie Heinsius, 1702-1720, deel XIV*. Den Haag: Instituut voor Nederlandse Geschiedenis, 1995, 277-278. ‘...uytgecomen in den eersten oorlog ter occasie van het verbranden van Bodegraven en Swammerdam, ende dat dese historie den coning seer had gechagrineert en dat de suppressie van dat bouck door de autoriteyt van den staat aan sijn majesteyt seer aangenaam soude sijn’. Also cited in Haks, *Vaderland en Vrede*, 48.



**Table 3. Chronological distribution of known editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*.<sup>74</sup> This should not be considered canonical, given that it is likely that many editions of the work have been lost, but it is nevertheless striking how many editions appeared during the 1740s.**

Period of Publication	Total editions	Average editions per year
1674-1713	12	0.3
1714-1739	10	0.38
1740-1748	14	1.56
1749-1800	16	0.3
<b>Total</b>	<b>52</b>	<b>0.41</b>

Predictably, the complaint went unaddressed and the work was not suppressed by the Dutch authorities. In fact, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was yet to reach the height of its popularity (see table 3). Its publishing history was greatly influenced by the continuing hostility between the Dutch and French during the eighteenth century. While the Dutch tried to avoid engaging in the War of the Austrian Succession (1740-1748), they were drawn in as part of a grand allied coalition that included Great Britain and Austria. The war was a profound failure of Dutch arms, and offered a disturbing reminder of 1672, with a French invasion of Dutch territory and the violent return of the Stadholderate under William IV. Printers capitalised on the conflict by reprinting the *Nieuwe Spiegel* and other publications that first saw the light eighty years earlier during the Franco-Dutch War. P.J. Buijnsters and Leontine Buijnsters-Smets asked in their bibliography of eighteenth-century schoolbooks why the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, a ‘fossil from the past’, could survive in the commercial marketplace for so long; the answer seems to be that for many Dutch people, the events of the Franco-Dutch War remained relevant for a long time, more so than has been traditionally assumed.<sup>74</sup>

There did come a natural point when the *Nieuwe Spiegel* lost some of its lustre. Between 1750 and 1780 the work remained widely available, but a gradual decline in its popular appeal was in progress. One of the earliest indications that the graphic violence of the text was increasingly seen as an archaic relic comes from Justus van Effen, the writer of the first great Dutch spectatorial journal, the *Hollandsche Spectator*. In 1732, he reflected on the influence of

73 I have assigned those editions that are undated to one of the four periods based on the dates of activity of the respective printers. See the appendix for a full listing.

74 Buijnsters, Buijnsters-Smets, *Bibliografie van Nederlandse school- en kinderboeken*, 146.

the *Nieuwe Spiegel* on Dutch culture. Issue 88 of the journal discussed the story of a man whom the Spectator met in a barge who never learned French at school, or during his youth,

But not because of his stupidity, no certainly not; it was because of a certain well-known school book named the *French Tyranny* that had ingrained in him such a hate for French culture, that he could not stand to hear its language being spoken.<sup>75</sup>

This was the ridicule of a cultured literary writer, and it would take several decades more until similar sentiments filtered into the broader educational system. The second half of the eighteenth century is traditionally conceived of as a watershed in the history of pedagogy and the rise of children's literature.<sup>76</sup> This was the era in which the pedagogical ideas of Locke and Rousseau began to find a broad European audience, and in which children were no longer regarded as mere vessels of future adulthood, but individuals with their own specific needs. New types of schoolbooks, epitomised by Hieronymus van Alphen's *Proeve van Kleine Gedigten voor Kinderen* (Selected Simple Poems for Children, 1778-1782), prioritised simple educational phrases and poems, accompanied by pleasant or entertaining illustrations. The writers of the new genre of children's literature offered a radical alternative to the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, which, in 1794, the teacher Martinus Nieuwenhuyzen denounced as 'unworthy to be used in schools.'<sup>77</sup>

The *Nieuwe Spiegel* was also subject to competition from other parts of the market. The Patriot-Orangist struggle in the 1770s and 1780s prompted the publication of various 'histories of the Fatherland' for children, heavily influenced by the monumental history of Jan Wagenaar, as well as competing

75 Justus van Effen, *De Hollandsche Spectator. Aflevering 61-105: 26 mei 1732 – 27 oktober 1732*, edited by W.R.D. van Oostrum. Leiden: Astrapa, 1999, 223. '...dog niet door zyn domheid, neen ganschelyk niet; 't was om dat een zeker bekend schoolboekje genaamt de *Fransche Tyranny* hem zo een haat voor de Fransche Landaard had ingeboement, dat hy haar taal niet als met eene koude grilling had kunnen aanhoren.'

76 Boekholt, De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 80-85. De Booy, *Weldaet der scholen*, 105-141. H. Pomes, *Over Van Alphen's Kindergedichtjes. Bijdrage tot de kennis van de opvoeding hier te lande in de achttiende eeuw*. Rotterdam: W.L. & J. Brusse, 1908. D.L. Daalder, *Wormcruyt met suycker*. Amsterdam: De Arbeiderspers, 1950. For an excellent case study, see also Arianne Baggerman, Rudolf Dekker, *Kind van de toekomst. De wondere wereld van Otto van Eck (1780-1798)*. Amsterdam, Wereldbibliotheek, 2005.

77 Cited in Buijnsters, Buijnsters-Smets, *Bibliografie van Nederlandse school- en kinderboeken*, 179. 'onwaardig om op de scholen te gebruiken.'

narratives.<sup>78</sup> Yet the model of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* had not yet outstayed its welcome entirely, as the eruption of the Fourth Anglo-Dutch War in 1780 demonstrated. That year saw the publication of the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd, of Britsche Tyranny* (New Mirror of Youth, or British Tyranny), followed in 1781 by a more successful rival, the *Engelsche Tieranny* (English Tyranny).<sup>79</sup> The outbreak of the French Revolution would prompt a fourth and final iteration of the tyrannical mirrors, with the publication of several Mirrors of Youth on the atrocities committed by French revolutionaries and Napoleonic forces.<sup>80</sup> These recycled similar tropes used in the *Nieuwe Spiegel*, and indeed justified their appearance on the basis that the *Nieuwe Spiegel* was no longer in fashion, but that it required updating to remind Dutch citizens of the long history of the terrifying crimes of the French and their capacity to commit similar atrocities in the present.<sup>81</sup>

The opening sentence of the *Spiegel der Jeugd of Nieuwe Fransche Tiranny* (1793) even referred to the old *Nieuwe Spiegel*: ‘Father, on your advice I read that old schoolbook about the French Tyranny once more in its entirety, and with close attention.’<sup>82</sup> If anything, the appearance of this final version of the ‘*Spiegel*’ suggests that while broader changes were afoot in the pedagogical curriculum, older habits could not be supplanted immediately. There continued to exist a discrepancy between the theories of intellectual educators and the practical considerations of the commercial market.

### ‘Hearty Sustenance’?

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* and its successors had become distant objects of fascination as much as disgust. Some Dutch writers reflected with amazement on the presence of atrocity literature in the eighteenth century. In 1875, B.L. van Albada (born in 1795) remembered with

78 For a good overview, see idem, 146–183.

79 *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd, of Britsche Tyranny*. Harlingen: wed. Klaas Jansz de Vries, [1780]. *Engelsche Tieranny*. Amsterdam: Hendrik Gartman, 1781; 2nd edition in 1782. The Gartman editions were also reprinted as facsimiles in 1915 and 1916.

80 *De Spiegel der Jeugd of Nieuwe Fransche Tiranny*. Amsterdam: P. van Leeuwen, 1793. *Der Tiranny der Jacobynsche Factie in Frankryk*. S.l.: for the author, 1793. Jan ten Brink, *Nieuwe Fransche Tiranny*. Amsterdam: Johannes van der Hey, 1814.

81 Cillessen, ‘Der Spiegel der jeugd’, 81–89.

82 *De Spiegel der Jeugd of Nieuwe Fransche Tiranny*, 1. ‘Vader, ik heb dat oude schoolboekje van der Fransche Tiranny op uw raad nog eens geheel, en met oplettenheid doorlezen.’

marvel that his mother had taught him from the 'French tyranny'.<sup>83</sup> Gilles Schotel remarked that 'It is certainly true that in their youth, our ancestors were fed with hearty sustenance instead of milk!'<sup>84</sup> Others were less generous:

Concerning the content of this work [the *Nieuwe Spiegel*], I remark that the writer was right to keep his name secret, because youths could learn nothing good from this ... If I may use the term, this was considered a *schoolbook of history*!<sup>85</sup>

As regards the discussion of the Parisian red wedding and the assault on Antwerp, which are provided first, one can only say that a number of atrocities are mentioned in an unpleasant manner and with rude words. But once the writer arrives at the chief subject of his book, there is no story nasty enough, no deed horrific enough, to be excluded. The most awful rhymes are presented as honest ditties and the most disgusting acts, whether true or fictional, are portrayed in badly made woodcuts. One would rather have no historical education than this.<sup>86</sup>

Overall, the detractors seemed to have had the upper hand in the pedagogical literature of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.<sup>87</sup> Their fierce denunciations were probably prompted in part because of the two-hundredth

83 Bekkering, *Bibelebontseberg*, 183.

84 Gilles Dionysius Jacobus Schotel, *De illustre school te Dordrecht*. Utrecht: Kemink en zoon, 1857, 122. 'Waarlijk onze vaderen werden in hun jeugd met geen melk maar met vaste spijzen gevoed!'

85 *Nieuwe bijdragen ter bevordering van het onderwijs en de opvoeding, voornamelijk met betrekking tot de lagere scholen in het Koninkrijk der Nederlanden voor het jaar 1871*. Den Haag: Van Cleef: 1871, 1127-1128. 'Aangaande den inhoud daarvan merk ik op, dat de schrijver te recht zijn naam verzwegen heeft; want voor de jeugd is er niet veel goeds uit te trekken. ... Als ik dat woord gebruiken mag, zoo heb ik bovenstaand *geschiedkundig schoolboek*'

86 J. Versluys, *Geschiedenis van de opvoeding en het onderwijs vooral in Nederland. Derde Gedeelte*. Groningen: W. Versluys, 1878, 52. 'Ten aanzien van de Parijsche bloedbruiloft en den aanslag op Antwerpen, die eerst besproken worden, kan men slechts zeggen, dat een aantal gruwelen op vervelende toon en met ruwe woorden worden meegedeeld. Maar als de schrijver aan het hoofdonderwerp van zijn boek komt, is geen verhaal vies genoeg, geen daad afschuwelijk genoeg, om buiten gesloten te worden. De meest ongerijmde bakerpraatjes worden als waarheid opgedischt en de walgelijkste bedrijven, wezenlijk of denkbeeldig, worden voorgesteld op slechte houtsnéfiguren. Liever geen onderwijs in geschiedenis dan zulk'.

87 For other examples, see Jan Hartog, *De Patriotten en Oranje van 1747-1787*. Amsterdam: G.L. Funke, 1882, 47. E. de Clercq, 'De taak der vrouw in zake kinderlectuur en kinderbibliotheek', in: C.M. Werker-Beaujon, et al. (eds.), *De vrouw, de vrouwenbeweging en het vrouwenvraagstuk*. Amsterdam: Elsevier, 1914, 106-107. Daalder, *Wormcruyt met suyccker*, 39, 53.



anniversary of the Disaster Year in 1872, which saw the reprinting, for the first time since the eighteenth century, of the *Nieuwe Spiegel*.<sup>88</sup> This period also demonstrated the growing appeal of the text in antiquarian circles. Auctions in Utrecht in 1883 and Amsterdam in 1893 saw multiple *Spiegels* sold, including some which are otherwise unknown; in the second sale the seven copies of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* for sale were all available for a single guilder.<sup>89</sup> An auction in 1913 saw the sale of six copies, including a now lost copy of the 1674 Ten Hoorn edition.<sup>90</sup> Auctions in 1934 and 1936 also brought ten copies of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* to market between them.<sup>91</sup> Today, the few copies available for sale in the antiquarian market are generally available in a price range of 200 to 2,000 euros.

The horror of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* that so offended Dutch educators is precisely the reason why the text continues to captivate scholars and interest rare book collectors. We might also identify the gruesomeness of the text as the key to its success in the late seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. In many respects, the *Nieuwe Spiegel* conforms to the European norm for the publication of popular pedagogical print: it was cheap to produce, cheap to buy, rarely altered in content and reproduced by a wide selection of printers.<sup>92</sup> Its graphic violence was nevertheless a clear outlier. While the literary tropes of the Black Legend were known across Europe, there were no cultures except that of the Dutch that granted such a distinctive place to atrocity literature in the classroom.<sup>93</sup>

We should not underestimate the influence that this schoolbook had on Dutch identity and popular culture in the long eighteenth century. The *Nieuwe Spiegel*, its forerunner and its successors emphasised above all the horrors of war, but also sought to mobilise the Dutch against a foreign enemy, against oppressors and invaders. Most of all, the various *Spiegels* sought to provide the

88 *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd of de Fransche Tyrannij in Nederland*. Utrecht: J.J.H. Kemmer, 1870. The text of the edition was modernised and it was printed without illustrations.

89 *Catalogus eener belangrijke verzameling kinderboeken, kinderspelen en kinderprenten*. Utrecht: G. van Rijn, 1883, 48-51. *Nederlandsche Letterkunde. Populaire Prozaschrijvers der XVIIe en XVIIIe eeuw*. Amsterdam: Frederik Muller, 1893, 135.

90 *Catalogue de la bibliothèque précieuse des collections de A.J. Nijland*. Amsterdam/Den Haag: De Vries and Nijhoff, 1913, 46, lots 387-388. My thanks to Merle Lammers for drawing this auction to my attention.

91 *Boekverkoopling liquidatie Firma R.W.P. De Vries*. Amsterdam: Hertzberger & Houthakker, 1934, 37, lot 530. Menno Hertzberger, *Bibliotheken – Bibliothèques*, auction 12-14 October 1936, 34, lot 555.

92 See the recent thematic issue of *Quaerendo*, volume 51, issues nos. 1-2, 'European Dimensions of Popular Print Culture', 5-215.

93 For later international examples, see Richard Cheek, *Playing Soldier. The Books and Toys that Prepared Children for War, 1871-1918*. New York: Grolier Club, 2018, especially 187-191.

peace-loving Dutch with a reason to fight. At the same time, these schoolbooks fit in a broader pattern of the commercialisation of atrocity and of a public fascination with the spectacle of violence in the Dutch Republic.<sup>94</sup> In a country with relatively few executions and little formalised state-organised violence, the public became ever more interested in images and literature of violence. That some of this violence had once been committed on Dutch soil, even a century ago, was shocking enough to be worthy of constant reiteration. Those who abhor violence can equally be mesmerised by it.

### Appendix – Bibliography of the *Nieuwe Spiegel der Jeugd* (1674-1800)

The following bibliography is organised chronologically by (earliest possible) date of publication; many editions of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* are published without a stated date of printing.

Copies of the *Nieuwe Spiegel* regularly surface in the antiquarian trade. I have included reference to these in my bibliography, even if their present location is unknown, because most editions are very rare. Sometimes a reference to the antiquarian trade provides the only known indication of the existence of an edition.

Due to the Covid-19 pandemic, I was unable to inspect copies of all extant editions in person, but thanks to the generous help of many friends and librarians I was able to see scans of almost all surviving editions. In particular I wish to thank Paul Dijstelberge, Kasper van Ommen, Suzanne Karr Schmidt, Jacob van Sluis and Steven Van Impe.

Abbreviations used:

Buijnsters – P.J. Buijnsters and Leontine Buijnsters-Smets, *Bibliografie van Nederlandse school- en kinderboeken, 1700-1800* (Zwolle: Waanders, 1997)

KBH – Koninklijke Bibliotheek, Den Haag

STCN – Short Title Catalogue Netherlands

UBA – Universiteitsbibliotheek, Amsterdam

UBL – Universiteitsbibliotheek, Leiden

USTC – Universal Short Title Catalogue

94 Frans-Willem Korsten, et al., 'Imagineering, or what Images do to People: Violence and the Spectacular in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic', in: *Cultural History* 10 (2021), 1-30. Michel van Duijnen, *A Violent Imagination: Printed Images of Violence in the Dutch Republic, 1650-1700*. PhD thesis, Vrije Universiteit Amsterdam, 2019.

1. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, ofte Fransche tyranny* (Amsterdam: Jan Claesz ten Hoorn, 1674). Presumably printed with a preface dated 12 July 1674. USTC 1532744.  
No copies known. Advertised in the *Amsterdamsche Saterdaeghse Courant*, no. 22, 2 June 1674 and *Amsterdamsche Saturdaeghse Courant*, no. 26, 30 June 1674. Also cited in *Catalogue de la bibliothèque précieuse des collections de A.J. Nijland* (Amsterdam/Den Haag: De Vries and Nijhoff, 1913), p. 46, lot 387.
2. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, ofte France tjranny* (Amsterdam: Jacobus (I) Konijnenbergh, 1674). USTC 1532745.  
No copies known. Advertised in the *Amsterdamsche Dingsdaegse Courant*, no. 35, 28 August 1674.
3. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeucht, of France tirannie* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman, 1674). USTC 1532746.  
No copies known. Advertised in the *Amsterdamse Donder-daghsche Courant*, no. 36, 6 September 1674, *Amsterdamse Saturdaghsche Courant*, no. 39, 29 September 1674 and *Amsterdamse Donder-daghsche Courant*, no. 44, 1 November 1674.
4. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Fransche tyrannye* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman, [1674-1708]). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. USTC 1570717.  
Copies known (1): Bibliothek der Franckeschen Stiftungen zu Halle, 111 F 11.
5. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Fransche tyrannye* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman, 1676). USTC 1570718.  
No copies known. Inferred from the preface signed 16 October 1676 in the 1680 Bouman edition (no. 7).
6. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Fransche tyrannye* (Amsterdam: Casparus Lootsman, [1676-1711]). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 000008 – b1 A2 b\$ic : b2 H5 \$ver  
Preface dated 12 July 1674, signed N.N. Dedicated to the regents of the schools of Amsterdam. Woodcut family 2. STCN 182288269; USTC 1570719.  
Copies known (1): Universiteitsbibliotheek Utrecht, 333 K 65 (wanting pp. 15-16 and 39-42).
7. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Fransche tyrannye* (Amsterdam: Jacobus Bouman, 1680). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 168008 – b1 A2 erl : b2 H5 och  
Preface dated 16 October 1676, signed Jacobus Bouman. Dedicated to the regents of the schools of Amsterdam. Woodcut family 1. STCN 097924105; USTC 1816334.  
Copies known (1): UBA, 1520 F 26.
8. [*Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd, of Franse tirannye*] (Amsterdam: Abraham (I) van der Putte, [1682-1716]). 8°, A-H8. STCN Fingerprint: 000008 – b1 A2 sy\$ : b2 H5 en\$  
Woodcut family 3. STCN 384114520; USTC 1830672.  
Copies known (2): UBA, OK 06-1926 (wanting title-page); copy sold on Catawiki on 1 February 2019 for €142 (present location unknown).

9. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd, of Franse tiranny* (Amsterdam: [for] widow Gijsbert de Groot; Colophon: Heerenveen, Melchisedek Olingius, [1692-1717]). 8°, A-H8. STCN Fingerprint: 000008 – b1 A2 n\$t : b2 H5 ersc  
Woodcut family 1. STCN 138982929; USTC 1570720; Buijnsters 1161.  
Copies known (1): UBL, BKNOOG 347.
10. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd, of Franse tiranny* (Deventer: widow Enoch de Vries, [1702-1750]). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 000008 – b1 A2 \$zy : b2 H5 ersc  
Preface undated, signed N.N. Dedicated to the regents of the schools in the United Provinces. Woodcut family 1. STCN 31524416X.  
Copies known (2): Deventer Athenaeumbibliotheek, DI XVIII 168; UBL, BKNOOG 346.
11. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugt, of Fransche tyrannye* (Deventer: widow Enoch de Vries, [1702-1750]). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 000008 – b1 A2 \$nu : b2 H5 ch\$  
Preface undated, signed N.N. Dedicated to the regents of the schools in the United Provinces. Woodcut family 1. STCN 303778830.  
Copies known (1): Deventer Athenaeumbibliotheek, DI XVIII 126.
12. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeught, of Fransche tyrannye* (Utrecht: widow Jurriaen van Poolsum, 1707). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 170708 – \*b1 A3 \$gep : b2 H5 \$ver  
Preface undated, signed N.N. Dedicated to the regents of the schools in the United Provinces. Woodcut family 4. STCN 329684353; Buijnsters 1162.  
Copies known (1): UBA, OG 63-1832.
13. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugt, of Fransche tyrannye* (Utrecht: widow Jurriaen van Poolsum, 1709). 8°, A-H8, pp. 128. STCN Fingerprint: 170908 – b1 A2 en\$n : b2 H5 \$ve  
Preface undated, signed N.N. Dedicated to the regents of the schools in the United Provinces. Woodcut family 4. STCN 333687485; Buijnsters 1163.  
Copies known (3): UBA, OK 63-2726; University at Buffalo (NY), DJ190.N54 1709; Bibliothèque Nationale de France (Paris).
14. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd, of Franse tiranny* (Amsterdam: [for] widow Gijsbert de Groot; Colophon: Heerenveen, Melchisedek Olingius, 1710). 8°.  
No copies known. Cited in Gerrit van Rijn, *Catalogus eener belangrijke verzameling kinderboeken, kinderspelen en kinderprenten* (Utrecht, 1883), no. 411.
15. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugt, of Fransche tyranny* (Amsterdam: [for] widow Gijsbert de Groot; Colophon: Heerenveen, Melchisedek Olingius, 1714). 8°, pp. 128.  
No copies known. Cited in *Volksvoorlezingen. Nederland in 1672* (Maatschappij Tot Nut van 't Algemeen, 1860), p. 45.
16. *Nieuwe spiegel der jeugd of Fransche tiranny* (Zwolle: François (I) Clement, [1715-1733]).  
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