



Educational Ambitions in History

Childhood and Education in an Expanding Educational Space
from the Seventeenth to the Twentieth Century

Jeroen J.H. Dekker

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Growing educational ambitions, today raised to a historically unprecedented level and shared by parents, the state and educational professionals, seem to not always result in happier children. With more parents apparently becoming more uncertain about their educational capacities, the variety of categories of children at risk is increasing, alongside unprecedented growth in welfare, educational investment, laws on children's protection and rights, and knowledge about children and education. This book addresses the topic of educational ambitions and spaces in a European context from the 17th century to the present, paying special attention to the Dutch case, from three perspectives. Firstly, it looks at how educational ambitions have changed from the 17th century to the present. Secondly, it looks at the role of the educational space. Finally, it addresses the issue of how the educational ambition of acting in the children's best interests is connected with the phenomenon of children at risk.

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Chapter 1

Introduction: Educational Ambitions and Educational Spaces

Introduction

Today parents have raised their level of educational ambition in a historically unprecedented way and, at least in the Western world, the state and the educational professionals share that new ambition. The state wants parents to prepare themselves for their parenting duties through courses led by professionals, while books on child rearing in the tradition of Dr Spock, websites and prime time television programmes on child rearing and education are becoming increasingly popular. The growing educational ambitions of parents, the state and educational professionals seem, however, to not always result in happier children and youths, regardless of the degree of happiness of their parents. With more parents apparently becoming more uncertain about their educational capacities, the variety of categories of children at risk is increasing, alongside unprecedented growth in welfare, educational investment, laws on children's protection and rights, and knowledge about children and education.¹

This book traces this situation historically, addressing the topic of educational ambitions and spaces in a European context from the seventeenth century to the present, while emphasizing the *longue durée* and paying special attention to the Dutch case. It will examine educational ambitions from three perspectives. Firstly, it looks at how they have changed from the seventeenth century to the present. Secondly, it looks at the role of the expanding educational space. Finally, it will address the issue of how changing educational ambitions and growing educational interventions are connected with the phenomenon of children at risk, which emerged as an educational issue in the early nineteenth century, eventually dominating educational policy and educational sciences. The structure of the book is chronological, but it has no ambition to be entirely comprehensive and there is much that is not treated. The book is based on a series of case studies, exploring three main transformations in the educational ambitions of both individuals and institutions from the seventeenth century until

today. It relies on a multidisciplinary approach, combining cultural and art history with concepts and theories from the behavioural and social sciences.²

This introductory chapter provides a brief overview of the conceptual framework, the significance of the Dutch case, the various sources used and, finally, the structure of the chronological story. Firstly, after introducing the central concepts of educational ambition and educational space, together with a brief historiographical overview, the focus will turn to two specific strategies related to educational ambition, namely cultural transmission and educational supervision and discipline. Although there are other strategies, in looking at educational ambitions in this way, the continuity of and change in educational ambitions in the context of the educational spaces available can be emphasized. Secondly, although in its historical analysis the book focuses mainly on the Dutch case as a reflection of developments on a broader North and West European level, it will also clarify some of these European developments in the history of education. Thirdly, the sources selected to recount the history of educational mentalities include unique Dutch portrait and genre painting, belles-lettres, child rearing advice books, government documents, documents from educational institutions and sources on child and educational sciences. This chapter concludes with an explanation of the chronological structure of the book, based on three main transformations in educational ambition.

Concepts, Historiography and Strategies

Educational Ambitions

Educational ambition is the will to educate children with a clear result in mind. It is the driving force for many parents and other individual educators, as well as institutions such as the Church, orphanages, philanthropic institutions, the school and the state. Educational ambition also often implies the will both to guide the development of the child and to attempt to change the child's behaviour and even character. This will to change certain behaviour might even dominate education when it focuses on children at risk, such as neglected children, children with behavioural problems, or those in other categories.³ In this book, educational ambitions are studied in their historical development. It is argued that their changing manifestations were the result of changes in the educational space – on that concept, see below – as well as changes in the intentions and goals related to and driving those ambitions.

The goals and intentions behind educational ambitions are subject to continuity and change, but they do not simply succeed each other. The goal of achieving Christian salvation, which in seventeenth-century Reformation Europe was generally accepted as the main goal, was also of major influence after that period. However, from the end of the eighteenth century it had to compete with newly emerging educational ambitions that were based on Enlightenment educational ideas, on Romanticism, with its focus on the child's world, and throughout the twentieth century, on the concern for the child's best interests and rights. Thus, the emergence of new educational goals in a context in which existing goals continued to play a role, resulted in a more diverse and competitive educational culture. Any realization of educational ambitions, however, was dependent on the educational space available. In the following, we will briefly introduce the concept of educational space and its apparent expansion over the last few centuries.

Educational Space

In this study, educational space is conceived of as a cultural phenomenon in two ways: as delineating the always restrictive availability of education and as a series of conditions that make educational ambitions possible. In approaching educational space in this way, compatibility is sought with the well-known definition of culture that emphasizes both its productivity and its potential. According to this definition, culture refers, on the one hand, to the historically and culturally limited set of results of human activity within a system of symbols, norms and values, knowledge, patterns of behaviour and artefacts, which might be transmitted in whole or in part to the next generation. On the other hand, culture refers to a series of conditions that make it possible to transform or construct culture itself, forming its potential for the future.⁴ Looking at the former dimension of the limits and boundaries of culture makes it possible to approach educational ambition as a cultural phenomenon that is dependent on the educational space available. Looking at the latter dimension of the potential of culture, it is possible to consider educational space as a set of conditions that will realize educational ambitions if the actors behind them have the competence and the will to make use of that potential. With the growth of educational space from the nineteenth century onwards, a process of so-called 'pedagogization', referring to an ever-growing societal interest in education, also developed.⁵

In this book, the historical dimension of educational space is central. Emphasizing that culture changes, both its limits and its potential are studied as

varying over time and across cultures. In this study, educational space is not limited to physically enclosed places such as urban space, a classroom or a family,⁶ although it does cover these manifestations of educational space. In linking the concept of educational space to educational culture in emphasizing cultural change and in looking at its limits and its potential, it is possible to focus on a set of educational conditions that together determine various educational spaces, including the classroom and the family.

Four elements of educational space seem to be essential to historically estimate its limits and potential: demographic space; socioeconomic and financial space; private and public space, and the resulting quest for power when confronting and using the educational space available, either through cooperation, competition or suppression, the famous examples being the French and Spanish states in conflict with the Jesuits in the late eighteenth century and Bismarck's *Kulturkampf* against the German Catholic Church in the late nineteenth century; and finally, mental space, or the competence and will to make a map of the child's world and to think and act in the best interests of the child, resulting in more knowledge and interest in that very world (Figure 1).

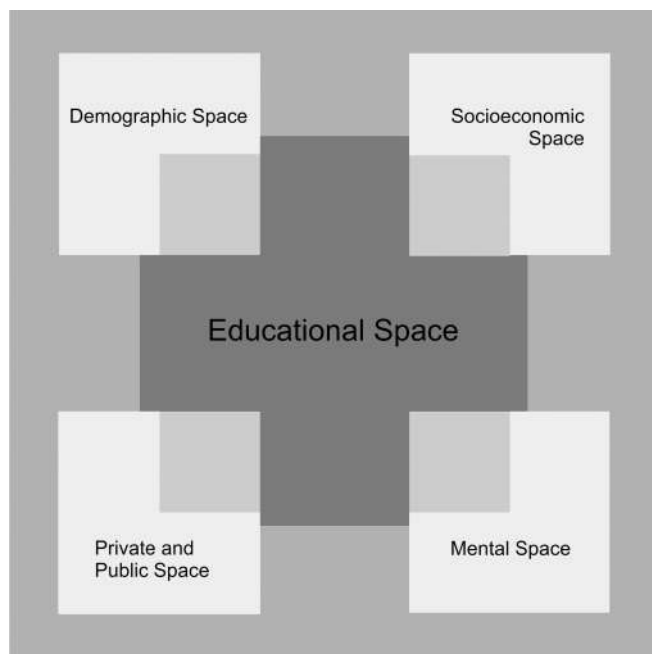


Figure 1. The Fluctuations of the Educational Space

Demographic space can decisively limit educational space through infant and child mortality and parental death. Child mortality limited the educational space in the Western world well into the twentieth century, until the discovery of penicillin and the widespread availability of antibiotics, and the introduction of vaccination programmes which addressed the primary diseases of infancy. For many other parts of the world, child mortality still restricts the educational space, as recent WHO figures show.⁷ From early modern times until well into the nineteenth century – in the Netherlands until the 1870s⁸ – the chance of reaching adulthood often remained around fifty percent due to high infant and child mortality, with this being the case for both the rich and the poor, as we shall see in the next chapters. The vulnerability of all children, with the possibility of infant mortality always present, gave child rearing an uncertain horizon; the death of a child frustrating any parental educational ambition. The parents' own vulnerability also limited the educational space. From the late Middle Ages, and increasingly in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, orphanages were founded in Italy and the Netherlands, among other countries, to compensate for this demographic limitation. These were often in beautiful buildings, representing civic pride, as for example the Ospedale degli Innocenti in Florence, or the Amsterdam Burgerweeshuis and the Utrecht Elisabeth Gasthuis in the Netherlands.⁹ Therefore, until well into the nineteenth century, demographic limits probably constituted the main restriction to educational space and consequently to increasing educational ambitions, despite the developing focus on education in Enlightenment discourse and a growing interest in the child by the Romanticists. In the debate between evolutionists and structuralists on the history of childhood, which is discussed further below, evolutionists were at least correct with respect to the demographic issue, emphasizing that there was no gradual transformation but only a radical change in mortality rates from bad to good. The 'dark legend', a term used by Rudolf Dekker in characterizing the evolutionist position in the debate, was no legend at all but stark reality.¹⁰

Socioeconomic and financial space constituted the second form of limitation and potential, with private and public educational actors depending on these when considering investments in education. Decisions concerning the overall means available for specific educational goals took place in both the private sphere, mainly involving the parents and the family, and in the public sphere, with the main actors being the Church and local authorities and from the nineteenth century onwards, the central state and philanthropic societies.

The relationship between private and public space and the question of how to face, use and divide the available educational space developed from the end of the eighteenth century, with central governments slowly becoming stronger. In the quest for educational power, private and public agencies sometimes cooperated, but

often competed with each other, sometimes even bitterly.¹¹ All across Europe, the expansion of the public educational space began, with the main public expressions of this educational aspiration being the increasing emphasis on school attendance, home visits by both Evangelical and Enlightenment-inspired philanthropists to the poor, and out-of-home placements for juvenile delinquents and neglected children. Famous examples of homes founded for such children at risk include the re-education homes of the Rauhe Haus near Hamburg, Red Hill in England, Mettray in France, Ruiselede in Belgium and Nederlandsch Mettray in the Netherlands. An international network of philanthropists belonging to the European elite and including the Dutch philanthropist Willem Suringar, the founder of Nederlandsch Mettray, cooperated with the state authorities in taking their part in the educational space and thus power.¹² As a result, around 1900, more than one hundred years after the Enlightenment idea of educational regulation and supervision by the state had been born, compulsory education was introduced in almost all European countries, with Prussia being the exception, having already introduced it one hundred years earlier. Moreover, at least in principle, the legislative regulation of educational supervision of all domestic child rearing was also achieved. The educational threshold between the private and public spheres was now crossed in a fundamental way, through the support of legislators and judges, increasing the educational space of the public educational ambition and decreasing the educational space of private ambition. A major part of child rearing and educational responsibility was now assigned elsewhere than the home: to schools for all children and to institutional homes for children of failing parents. Varying from nation to nation, agencies such as the Church and private philanthropic institutions attempted to retain part of their educational power and space in competition with the state, sometimes succeeding in taking over part of the state's formal educational responsibility, as occurred in the Netherlands.

Finally, mental space also constitutes an element of educational space. Although at first sight less specific than the elements already mentioned and perhaps even seemingly elusive, it also seems to be an important element in estimating educational space in history. In this book, mental space is defined as the will and the ability to make a map of the world of the child, resulting in greater knowledge of that world and the capacity to act to a greater degree with the best interests of the child in mind. It is true that estimating the impact of this element is more difficult than revealing the impact of changes in infant mortality, changing levels of educational investment, or a change in the relationship between private and public educational space. Nevertheless, chapter four will show that the development of a mental space accommodating the child's world had a major influence on the birth of the Romanticist image of childhood, on the birth of child sciences and, with the emphasis on the best interests of the child, on the birth of the Child Protection

and Children's Rights Acts.

Looking at the historical development of educational space along these four lines can contribute to an understanding of the continuity and change in educational ambitions. Before describing two main strategies related to those educational ambitions which were employed to make use of the educational space available, we briefly enter into a discussion of the debate on the modernity of the notions of education, childhood, the 'sentiment of childhood' as conceived by the French historian Philippe Ariès, and parenting, thus a debate about the birth or the change of educational ambitions in history. In this debate, the question is basically the following: are educational space and educational ambitions new phenomena in history, emerging in the seventeenth, eighteenth or even the nineteenth century, or do they concern structures of human behaviour and mentality that may vary over time and place but do not entail dramatic transformations such as the very birth of childhood or parenting?

The Birth of Educational Ambitions? A Debate Between Evolutionists and Structuralists

In 1960, with his publication of *L'Enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien régime*, Philippe Ariès laid the foundation for the history of education and childhood as a scientific discipline. According to Adrian Wilson: 'Few works have exerted a greater influence upon British and American social historians than Philippe Ariès's *L'Enfant*'. Indeed, Ariès's book and the subsequent debate laid the basis for a new generation of historians of childhood and education, introducing at least three new elements: new concepts, namely the 'sentiment d'enfance' in the field of family history and the notion of 'discipline' in the context of school history, as well as new sources and new topics. His statement on the re-birth, from the end of the Middle Ages, of the so called *sentiment d'enfance*¹³ launched a debate on a principal issue in the history of childhood and education. The debate raged for several decades and in essence has not finished. Many evolutionistic studies by historians such as Edward Shorter, Lawrence Stone, Simon Schama, Loyd Demause and Lea Dasberg defended what they thought was Ariès' central idea, namely that the child as *animal educandum* was a new phenomenon in history, only found among the elite at the end of the Middle Ages. The majority of people, they argue, had to wait until the end of the eighteenth century before learning to really love and educate their children. Partly in reaction to this evolutionistic historiography, a series of studies emphasizing structure and continuity were published. Historians such as Linda Pollock, Alan Macfarlane, Stephen Ozment with his emphasis on the

loving family, Harrie Peeters, Shulamith Shahar, Emmanuel Le Roy Ladurie and Jacques Gélis stressed the continuity of the idea of childhood, of affectionate relationships between parents themselves and between parents and their children, and of the idea of the child as an *animal educandum*. The structuralist turn partly based its reasoning on a biologicistic argument, such as used by art historian Jan Baptist Bedaux.¹⁴ Ariès' position in the debate, although more evolutionistic in its approach, is both more innovative and more nuanced than that of the majority of the so-called evolutionists.¹⁵

The debate between evolutionists and structuralists has been fruitful in emphasizing the importance of the history of childhood for social and cultural history. Ariès' innovative thesis on the birth of childhood and affectionate parenting encouraged new research into the history of education and childhood. In addition to establishing an institutionalized discipline of the history of education, the research resulted in a series of discoveries related to childhood and affectionate parenting within history.¹⁶ Some historians date such a discovery to the sixteenth or seventeenth centuries, when moralists dominated educational discourse. Many advice books, and in the Netherlands also many paintings, reveal this moral view on childhood and parenting. Other historians have concentrated on the educational Enlightenment, when children were looked at as future citizens and education as a preparation for citizenship. Others have emphasized the importance of the Romanticist discourse, which found in the child a sacred being. This influenced the *Vom Kinde Aus* or Progressive Education Movement around 1900 that looked at children as human beings capable of autonomous learning, which was to be fostered by schools. Finally, there was the discovery of the best interests of the child, laid down in child protection laws and dominating the children's rights movement in the twentieth century.

Rather than referring to *the* discovery of childhood, however, it seems to be more appropriate to focus on a series of discoveries concerning childhood as a structural phenomenon within European history. The challenge of this book, therefore, is to understand the history of educational ambition in its various manifestations according to time and place in a changing and expanding educational space. In the next chapters, examples of this history will be provided using genre and portrait painting which focused on teaching good parenthood, in particular motherhood; by an analysis of autobiographical sources in which parents leave numerous traces of their emotions and concerns about the welfare of their children; by looking at passionate literature about child rearing; by an analysis of the competition between the private and public spheres concerning child rearing and schooling; and by analysing the history of educational supervision in the best interests of the child.

Abundant evidence on childhood in ancient Greece and Rome leaves little room for the notion – although not defended by Ariès who referred to rebirth of the ‘sentiment d’enfance’- that the strength of educational ambitions prevalent in the Netherlands and elsewhere in early and late modern Europe had slowly grown from a dark prehistory – with no concern for the child as an *animal educandum* – into an enlightened modern era, replete with warm feelings and appropriate educational activities in the best interests of the child.¹⁷ This notion, the so-called ‘dark legend’ in the historiography of childhood, is indeed a legend, with one main exception, as we saw above, not in terms of educational ambition, but in terms of the educational space, namely the demographic limits making a short life expectancy for both parents and children often a black reality until well into the nineteenth century. Although educational ambitions seems not to increase after the early modern period, they changed fundamentally, making it a story of continuity and sometimes revolutionary changes, due to its changing focus and to the growth of the educational space. Two strategies seem to be dominant in realizing educational ambitions: that of cultural transmission and that of educational supervision and discipline.

Strategies of Educational Ambition

Although the strategies below are different in principle and actual practice, sometimes they could merge in the broader sense of historical practice, for example in the context of disciplinary styles of cultural transmission or in strategies of regulation focused on cultural transmission, as in the famous Kantian educational paradox discussed below. This should be kept in mind when reflecting on their main characteristics.

The Strategy of Cultural Transmission

Cultural transmission, characterized by Meijer as ‘the sine qua non of the phenomenon of education’, is indeed a fundamental educational strategy.¹⁸ To cover its various manifestations in history, in this book this strategy is conceived of as a continuum, a model with three main elements. Firstly, the model covers cultural transmission, from the favouring of tradition to the promotion of cultural change; secondly, the model includes a continuum from minimal to high levels of reciprocity between child and educator, connected to the developmental phase of the child; finally, the model addresses the educational issue of what is selected as

valuable for transmission to the next generation.

Firstly, cultural transmission involves dealing with both the transmission of tradition and the transformation and rebuilding of culture. According to Theodor Litt's classic *Führen oder Wachsenlassen* from 1927: 'It is incontestable that in itself, education includes a conservative aspect. Education breathes tradition' (Figure 2).¹⁹ While not denying the importance of transmitting tradition through education, Siegel emphasized another side of cultural transmission, namely its power to transform culture, considering change as a major characteristic of cultural transmission to the extent 'that what is passed from parents and teachers to students is in significant ways changed in the very educational activity of passing it on'. In relation to this aspect of cultural transmission, he preferred to use the term '[c]ultural transformation ... distinct from cultural transmission'.²⁰ However, in my view, this power of education to transform culture could be considered in terms of the potential of cultural transmission.



Figure 2. Jacques de Gheyn, *Mother and Child with a Picture Book*, c.1620.

Source: Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Secondly, by including a continuum from minimal to high levels of reciprocity between child and educator, the model fits with evidence from developmental psychology which suggests that children, including the very young, often have a strong influence on the educational behaviour of their educators, sometimes even directing them. The degree of reciprocity, apart from differences in time and place, depends, first, on nature-bounded personality characteristics such as age, sex and birth order, and second on sociocultural variables such as social class, ideology and religion.²¹ Thus, reciprocity can be seen in the context of the gradual development of both the autonomy of the child and the pedagogical relationship. According to the Kantian educational tradition, 'to educate means to put constraints on the child but only this compulsion will help him to promote his freedom'. According to Jürgen Oelkers, who attempts to find a solution to the paradox concerning these two educational strategies, 'it is legitimate to cultivate freedom and at the same time put constraints on the child if we have in mind processes of liberal education ... Knowledge forms the mind, but only in a free way; at the same time all forming of mind is a kind of bondage to cultural heritage. The result might be *new* knowledge, but all knowledge can only be educationally transmitted as a restriction of (personal) freedom. This restriction ... cannot be called coercion if it serves the freedom of judgement. If not, education is illegitimate'.²²

Although this approach to cultural transmission in education – with reciprocity being a fundamental element of the pedagogical relationship – is contested by some philosophers of education, their position ignores the empirical evidence from sciences such as developmental psychology and human capital economics on cultural transmission and the gradual development of the child. Moreover, it denies the *sui generis* character of the pedagogical relationship.²³ In psychological research into the relationship between children and their environment, cultural transmission, 'based on taking or modelling the perspective of another', is conceived of as 'a uniquely human interaction that accounts for the stability and directional development ... of human culture'.²⁴ Educational cultural transmission connects, in the sense of William James, two different worlds, that of the educators and that of the child.²⁵ While from the educators' world, culture is transmitted to the children, '[t]he child is *not* merely ignorant or an empty vessel, but somebody able to reason, to make sense, both on her own and through discourse with others'.²⁶ The child has its own ways of communicating, learning and playing, while 'children have an effect on their own environment', including parental behaviour and education.²⁷

Reciprocity as an important element of cultural transmission is also emphasized in human capital theory. In his book *Human Capital* from 1964, the economist and Noble Prize laureate Gary Becker considered culture and cultural

traditions as shared values and preferences, 'handed down from one generation to another'. According to Becker, 'individuals have less control over their culture than over other social capital. They cannot alter their ethnicity, race, or family history, and only with difficulty can they change their country or religion'. As a result, 'culture is largely "given" to individuals throughout their lifetimes'. While parents have an 'enormous influence over the experience of their children, especially during the formation early years', children play an active role in this process of cultural transmission: 'even small children look "cute" and helpless, learn how to make parents feel guilty, and develop other expressions and behaviour that can induce their parents to treat them better'.²⁸ In his Nobel Prize Lecture of 1992 he stated that behaviour is driven by a set of values, including selfishness, altruism, loyalty, spitefulness or masochism.²⁹ Looking at the family, 'the most fundamental and oldest of institutions', Becker emphasized the 'interaction between husbands, wives, parents, and children'.³⁰

Research on the *sui generis* characteristics of the pedagogical relationship corroborates this empirical research by developmental psychologists and economists. According to Spiecker and Steutel, both the structurally symmetrical and structurally asymmetrical pedagogical relationships are caricatures of the reality of education and childhood. That reality, they argue, is characterized by a gradual development that would eventually move toward a more symmetrical relationship between child and educator. When conceiving of the pedagogical relationship and cultural transmission in this way, parental authority and the development of the child's autonomy are not contradictory but compatible.³¹

Finally, cultural transmission concerns what to select from a given culture for transmission to the next generations. According to Meijer, 'educational reflection can tackle the question of *what* must be transmitted', this aspect of cultural transmission being 'the so-called "educational issue", which goes to the heart of educational theory'.³² When looking at historical processes of cultural transmission, the selection of cultural contents for transmission to the next generations should always be understood in the context of time and place.³³ Individuals and institutions, encouraged by their specific educational ambitions, and also by other interests, have to decide about what to select without being supported by an Archimedean point of view, independent of time and place, from which it is possible to decide what is ultimately worthwhile and what not. Philosophers such as Harvey Siegel, however, seem to encourage such an Archimedean point of view when engaging in the selection process, emphasizing 'education as the autonomous, independent critic of culture, whose first loyalty is not to its home culture but rather to independent ideals of rationality and free inquiry'.³⁴ Historians of cultural transmission, however, must rely on criteria dependent on time and place.

As Oelkers and the title of Litt's *Führen oder Wachsenlassen* reveal, education always seems to concern both strategies – transmission and regulation. In the following, it will be made clear that the second educational strategy, regulation, can approach or even develop into strategies of discipline and educational supervision.³⁵

The Strategies of Discipline, Regulation and Supervision

If cultural transmission must be conceived of as 'the sine qua non of the phenomenon of education', how should we regard the strategies of discipline, regulation and supervision in the light of statements such as that by Oelkers quoted above, which considers that all education that restricts personal freedom without serving freedom in the future is illegitimate? No doubt, this is a convincing way of arguing when building an educational theory for education today, with the UN Convention for the Rights of the Child as a strong supporter. However, in this book, education is examined in its historical development, with no intention of judging specific historical manifestations of educational ambition independently of their historical context, as being either legitimate or illegitimate. That the criteria for good and bad education could fundamentally change through history will be shown, for example, in Chapter Four, in relation to the topic of the maltreatment of children. History reveals that not only cultural transmission but also discipline, regulation and supervision were used as strategies of educational ambition, including those strategies that cross the border between legitimate and illegitimate education according to the laws of the period in question. The strategies of discipline, regulation and supervision will be treated here with a focus on educational agencies such as the state, the school system and philanthropic organizations, focusing on two classic writers on this issue, namely Philippe Ariès and Michel Foucault (Figure 3).³⁶

Ariès was probably the first modern historian to systematically make use of the concept of discipline in the history of education in his *L'enfant et la vie familiale sous l'ancien regime* (*Centuries of Childhood*) from 1960, but Michel Foucault received the credit for this through his analysis in *Surveiller et punir* (*Discipline and Punish*) from 1975. Although Foucault was strongly influenced by Ariès's ideas on discipline, in *Discipline and Punish* he made only one reference to Ariès.³⁷ Ariès and Foucault knew each other personally and some remarkable similarities can be observed in their academic careers. Both worked outside established French academic circles for many years, with Ariès managing his information centre for tropical agriculture, and Foucault working at universities abroad. In several journal



Figure 3. J. Linse, 'Your behaviour was so bad that I will send you to the Guardianship Board', 1905.
Source: J. Linse, Cartoon in *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1905, no.52.

articles and in interviews, Foucault demonstrated his admiration for Ariès, calling him one of the pioneers of the history of mentalities in an article entitled 'A stunning erudition'.³⁸ In an interview with Arlette Farge and others he recognized Ariès as the pioneer of various historical themes.³⁹ After Ariès' death in 1984, in his obituary in *Le Nouvel Observateur* Foucault expressed his admiration for Ariès in warm and sympathetic tones, giving credit to Ariès for the transformation of the

history of mentalities on the main life events of birth, growing up, adulthood and death.⁴⁰

Foucault's reflection on education and discipline was in many respects based on his analysis of the agrarian colony of Mettray near Tours, founded in 1839 for the re-education of delinquent boys, and one of the first in Europe.⁴¹ In the early nineteenth century, the marginal position of children became the subject of special reconsideration in relation to the realization of educational ambitions.⁴² Specific interventions for marginal and at-risk children became acceptable for the European elite that had founded a growing number of philanthropic societies which were seriously considering issues such as youth criminality and child abandonment.⁴³ Because in most cases the parents were blamed for such situations, it was considered time to take more radical measures for the benefit of both the child and society, namely taking the children away from their parents and re-educating them in residential homes far from the fast-growing, dangerous main towns of modernizing and industrializing Western Europe. This solution was applauded by the majority of well-known European philanthropists, such as Charles Lucas and Frédéric-Auguste Demetz from France, Édouard Ducpétiaux from Belgium, Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill and the Reverend Sydney Parker from England, Willem Suringar from the Netherlands and Johann-Hinrich Wichern from Germany. Many schoolmasters, priests and even parents confronted with the daily practice of managing children at risk, shared their opinion. Many institutions emerged, mostly financed by private funds, among which were the famous Mettray in France, Ruysselede in Belgium, the Rauhe Haus near Hamburg in Germany, Red Hill in England and the Dutch Mettray, mentioned above. This strategy consisted in temporarily isolating the children who were at risk and on the margins of society, with the intention of preventing lifelong social marginalization in the long term. Part of this European movement involved the inception and functioning of the French Mettray, with which Foucault was so impressed when developing his theory of discipline.⁴⁴

Mettray was explicitly pedagogical in its organization, intentions and practice, as many contemporary observers readily noted after their visits. The same was true for the majority of the ever-growing archipelago of eventually thousands of homes emerging in Europe, for which Mettray remained an icon for decades. The carceral system, symbol of disciplinary culture, was chiefly intended to be the means by which the pedagogical goal, namely the transformation of criminal and deprived children into decent adults and citizens, would be realized. Foucault, however, emphasized the meaning of this disciplinary culture as the core business of the colony – a colony characterized by disciplinary practices, strategies of discipline, regulation and supervision – while neglecting the pedagogical strategy of cultural transmission.⁴⁵ Ariès had already developed corresponding ideas on discipline in

1960 in his *Centuries of Childhood*, in which he also introduced the concept which made him famous, *le sentiment d'enfance*. Some striking similarities can be seen in the way these authors approach the concept of discipline.

Foucault relates the origins of the carceral system to the transformation of the sixteenth and seventeenth-century European school system. The Enlightenment-inspired ideas on the prison, as formulated by Jeremy Bentham for example, should thus be seen as a reworking of already existing sixteenth-century ideas and practices of school discipline. In reasoning in this manner, Foucault followed in the footsteps of Ariès and developed a key concept from the latter's *Centuries of Childhood*. According to Ariès: 'The liberalism of the 18th century was therefore offset by a contrary influence, which obtained a partial triumph, and which imposed a semi-military condition on the school population. ... during the whole of the second half of the 18th century, one can trace the rise of the military idea, at the same time as that of the liberal idea, inside school life'.⁴⁶ On the same theme, Foucault wrote: 'Historians of ideas usually attribute the dream of a perfect society to the philosophers and jurists of the eighteenth century; but there was also a military dream of society; its fundamental reference was ... not to the primal social contract, but to permanent coercions, not to fundamental rights, but to indefinitely progressive forms of training, not to the general will but to automatic docility'. This quotation reveals that Foucault followed the ideas published by Ariès fifteen years earlier.⁴⁷ This becomes even clearer with the following quotation from *Centuries of Childhood*: 'An authoritarian and hierarchical discipline was established in the college. ... The pedagogues would adapt it to a system of *supervising children* which, at least in theory, was constantly in operation, *night and day* alike [emphasis added]'.⁴⁸

Centuries of Childhood has many references to the development of discipline and supervision.⁴⁹ However, Ariès does not confine the process of discipline to school, the scope of his concept of discipline being comparable with that of Foucault: 'Schoolboys and students were organized on new principles of authoritarian hierarchy. Admittedly, this evolution was not peculiar to childhood: it extended to the whole of society, and the establishment of monarchical absolutism was one aspect of it. But at school it produced – or followed – a change parallel to the concept of childhood which is of particular interest to us'.⁵⁰ Foucault's concept, while being decisively influenced by Ariès, who first emphasized the importance of discipline in the history of education, also introduced some new elements, especially the idea of a *déblitage épistémologique*, resulting in the birth of the 'normalizing sciences', such as medicine and pedagogy.⁵¹

Why Foucault's concept made him more famous, while Ariès' concept, developed fifteen years earlier, did not attract the attention it deserved, seems due to two main reasons. The first is that Ariès' concept of childhood was so

overwhelmingly present throughout his book, and so widely regarded as an epoch-making contribution to the history of childhood and the family that his ideas on discipline were overlooked and their originality was not acknowledged. Perhaps contributing to this is the fact that despite almost half of the book being devoted to school history, which is the context in which Ariès' developed his concept of discipline, its French title, *L'enfant et la vie familiale*, or *The Child and Family Life*, fails to mention this theme. The second reason is the timing of the publication of *Discipline and Punish* in 1975, after the cultural revolution of 1968, when, by the way, Foucault was working at universities outside France. In these years, topics such as discipline and power were at the heart of student discussions across the world, not least in France. While Ariès was set aside, although not by Foucault, by several fellow historians, among them Lawrence Stone, as belonging to the right side of the political spectrum, Foucault became one of the anti-establishment symbols and was appointed to the newly founded, revolutionary-minded Vincennes University. Three years after 1968, he accepted a prestigious chair at the French intellectual establishment *par excellence*, the Collège de France.⁵²

Thus, Ariès was indeed the first modern historian to systematically use the concept of discipline in the history of education. While Ariès did not neglect pedagogical issues and fostered the concept of a *sentiment de l'enfance*, Foucault's avoidance of the pedagogical issue was the consequence of his genealogical approach and views on power. Although cultural transmission can be considered as 'the sine qua non of the phenomenon of education', and thus as a main strategies of educational ambition, the strategies of discipline, regulation and supervision through institutions such as the school, re-education homes for children at risk, and the supervision of family education, should not be neglected when examining education historically. Together, these strategies seem to cover the most important elements of the educational ambitions in action during the period examined in this book.

Europe and the Dutch Case of Educational Ambitions: Similarities and Differences

Although the European history of childhood and parenting often looks like a series of national histories – of French, Spanish or British schools, German, Austrian or Swiss family histories, Dutch, Belgian or Swedish childhood histories, histories of Italian or Greek parenting, and French, German or Dutch children's homes – this is only one side of the story. All these histories were in one way or another deeply affected and influenced, often decisively, by major

European religious, cultural, intellectual and political developments. Let us examine five of these developments.

First, Europe of the Renaissance and Reformation developed a new genre of pedagogical texts and images, inspired by classical and Christian examples, emphasizing the importance of child rearing and schooling from the point of view of religion. On a national level, for example in the emblematic books by the popular and successful Dutch educational moralist Jacob Cats, these texts and images were accommodated to the national peculiarities and needs of Dutch educational ambition.

Second, the same process of accommodating supra-national influences at a national level took place during the eighteenth-century European Enlightenment, which emphasized good parenting and school attendance for all children in order to prepare them for their role as future citizens. As mentioned above, at the end of the eighteenth century, Prussia was the first state to make education compulsory, while by around 1900 almost all European states, including the Netherlands, had introduced laws making education compulsory and realizing school attendance for all children, a clear result of the strategy of educational regulation.

Third, the Enlightenment and the Protestant Evangelical Movement, although opposed in almost all other respects, served together in the first half of the nineteenth century as the main sources of inspiration for a European-wide regulation of children and parents at risk. This regulation changed from dream to reality through the hard work of an impressive European network of philanthropists, including some from the US. These philanthropists visited each other's institutions, including youth prisons and child protection homes such as the French Mettray, the German Rauhe Haus and the Dutch Mettray. Moreover, at the end of the nineteenth century, they decisively influenced policymakers in their own countries in relation to the introduction of national child protection acts.

Fourth, European Romanticism was responsible for a turn in educational thinking, in which the child rather than the educator was placed at the centre of the educational process. In the arts and belles-lettres, new ways of exploring the world of childhood developed about a century before the birth of the empirical child sciences. This romantic way of thinking about childhood was also one of the main forces behind the Progressive Education Movement, or *Reform Pädagogik*, that took off around 1900 in several European countries, including Italy, Belgium, Germany and the Netherlands.

Fifth, alongside these religious and cultural movements, political trends at a European level were also of major influence on childhood and education; for example, the nineteenth-century process of nation-state building with its

implications for schooling and education. The big European states, France, Germany and Great Britain, emphasized their interest in making their children patriots of the nation, thus stimulating regulation and discipline in education. In the twentieth century, the European impact became even more important. The two world wars and the two competing totalitarian ideologies had a devastating impact on many children and their parents all over Europe and indeed worldwide. From the late 1940s until the late 1980s, a Europe divided by the Cold War stimulated diverging practices of education, schooling and the educational role of the state between East and West. Finally, from 1989, with the fall of the Berlin Wall, an expanding European Union, including most of Central and Eastern Europe, stimulated a convergence of practices in education.

The Dutch case offers a specific manifestation of this European history, with at least three noteworthy characteristics.⁵³ The first, to be discussed further below, concerns the quality and number of exceptional depictions of educational ambitions. The seventeenth-century depictions were grandiose and unparalleled in their quality and quantity, as well as in the thematization of all aspects of daily child rearing activities, cultural transfer and the world of the child. Around 1800, the depictions reflected the dominant instructional culture of the time, while towards the end of the nineteenth century they created their own educational arcadia. A second noteworthy characteristic involves the strong moralistic interpretation of educational aspiration in the seventeenth century, which followed on from the Erasmian satirical approach to child rearing and education and became dominant. This morally tinted educational aspiration was visible in many paintings and present in countless treatises on education, including those by Cats, and at the end of the eighteenth century in the poems by Van Alphen, which focused on the world of childhood experience. This moralizing approach placed major emphasis on family and domesticity, as well as on parental responsibility in performing these roles. The domestic interpretation of the relationship between mother and child and of the world of the family was visible even in the fifteenth century – in other words, the late Middle Ages. This tradition continued into the seventeenth century, and efforts to regulate domestic child rearing through recommendations and prescribed behaviours increased.

A third and final characteristic involves the religiously and ideologically heterogeneous foundations of the regulation of the public aspects of educational aspiration. The regulation of child rearing that was fought for in the nineteenth century was ideologically interpreted in a different way. *Verzuiling*, the ‘pillarization’ or ‘compartmentalization’ of Dutch society, to be discussed in Chapter Four, became the magic word for the acceptance of differences in the Netherlands.⁵⁴ Taken at face value, each of these characteristics is no more and no less than a specific manifestation of developments that were also taking place

elsewhere. Although paintings from other countries also portrayed parents and children, the degree to which this occurred in the Dutch Golden Age was exceptional. During the Reformation and thereafter, the children's catechisms that were created by both Protestants and Catholics as part of their catechistic offensives to win children over to their own religion, were a European phenomenon rather than a uniquely Dutch development. Moralistic writings about child rearing were also not specifically Dutch. This type of literature appeared frequently in other countries, and Dutch moralists borrowed extensively and unabashedly from foreign examples. Wittewrongel adhered quite closely to the text of the British Puritan William Gouge, Cats borrowed from nearly all of the European educational and moralistic sources that were at his disposal, and Van Alphen drew upon German examples. Almost every page of the *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*, published by Karl Philipp Moritz between 1783 and 1793, contained moralistic statements about child rearing and the behaviour of children. Given its moralistic tone, it could just as well have been published in the Netherlands.⁵⁵ Domesticity was strongly emphasized in other places as well, including England and Germany. In the late nineteenth century, the regulation of child rearing was vigorously debated throughout Europe. From the second half of the twentieth century, the increased focus on children at risk, a concern that first developed in the US, also affected the Dutch situation.

It seems that increasingly, and mostly from the 1960s, the Dutch case became less specifically Dutch and more a manifestation of European developments, with major influences from the US in the case of children at risk and child-rearing advice. In the seventeenth and the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, the Dutch case was, although perhaps not unique, more distinct from the European pattern, while in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries the Dutch case was in many aspects the national variant of the European Enlightenment. The specificity of the Dutch case was due to the combination of several factors mentioned above: unique depictions, profound moral characterizations of culture and domesticity in the seventeenth century; moralizing, domesticity and the urge to regulate around 1800; and the depiction of an educational arcadia, together with the quest for compartmentalized and regulated educational supervision around 1900 and further into the twentieth century.

The Representation of Educational Ambitions: Images and Other Sources

This book addresses the history of educational ambitions using both fictional and non-fictional sources. Although most sources on the history of childhood and parenting were produced from the perspective of the educator or educational institution, and not from the perspective of the child, traces of the child's world are also included, such as correspondence, diaries and autobiographies. Among the non-fictional sources used there are family and child-portrait paintings and drawings, family advice books, state documents on education, educational institution sources and history of science sources.⁵⁶ Among the fictional sources are the unique Dutch genre paintings, genre drawings and belles-lettres. Popular seventeenth-century Dutch genre painting does not offer us no depictions of real people, but provides models of human behaviour. This makes genre painting a wonderful source for the study of educational messages and more generally for the history of educational attitudes. Notwithstanding their fictional status, such sources can provide an insight into reality. According to Dorothée Sturkenboom in her study on emotional culture in the eighteenth century, which is based on an analysis of belles-lettres, such sources contribute to the history of educational attitudes for at least two reasons. Firstly, these sources represent general categories and patterns of education and child rearing, in which real people, either reading or looking at them, could recognize themselves, as the success of these sources makes clear. Secondly, these sources, in particular when inspired by didactics and instruction, focused on the Dutch Enlightenment and the ambition to change reality, expressing explicitly and didactically what the new reality should become and how to realize it.⁵⁷

Dutch paintings, depicting when portrait painting, real people and when genre painting models of human behaviour, often used scenes of education and childhood. This power of art in the history of educational ambitions, first explored by Ariès, was extraordinary in seventeenth-century Holland.⁵⁸ The depiction of the educational ambitions, which was exceptional in both quantity and quality, emerged in the wake of the large-scale destruction of art. During the *beeldenstorm*, a systematically introduced and orchestrated destruction of religious artworks, the Calvinists used Old Testament texts to justify depriving Dutch culture of its most important religious art. In the impressive period of art production that emerged after this iconoclasm, daily life replaced religious life as a focal point, with the depiction of children, family life and parenting playing a leading role. Although Dutch culture was not alone in maintaining a simultaneously proud and moralizing attitude towards itself in the role of child

rearer and towards its children, this attitude was more prominent than elsewhere. Education as a theme was inseparable from Dutch painting, and it was manifested in genre painting that contained educational messages and in the form of family and child-portraits that expressed familial and parental pride and affection. Individual and family virtues related to the behaviour of the child and parent-dominated Dutch genre painting. At the end of the sixteenth century, Dutch painting changed its character, adopting 'a new style ... that was more true-to-life' and with 'greater emphasis on everyday subjects and motifs'. The Dutch painting of the Golden Age was regarded as realistic, descriptive and concerned with everyday life far into the nineteenth century. However, in the twentieth century this view of Dutch painting changed. According to Francis Haskell, who refers to iconographers who regarded paintings as transmitters of messages in code form, such as Erwin Panofsky and Eddy de Jongh, 'even images formerly assumed to depict only what could have been seen by an "innocent eye" were in fact the products of conscious or unconscious manipulation: Dutch genre scenes and still lives, for instance'.⁵⁹

In response to this approach, centred on decoding the hidden messages, researchers such as Svetlana Alpers, Mary Durantini and Jan Baptist Bedaux, with his book *The Reality of Symbols*, also placed emphasis on the realistic aspects of these paintings. The decreasing significance of symbols in paintings during the seventeenth century was a Europe-wide phenomenon; rather than providing allegory, they were often reduced to decoration.⁶⁰ This painting culture was unique, or at least exceptional with respect to the rest of Europe, in focusing so strongly on everyday topics, including child rearing, parenting and education.⁶¹ The seventeenth century was remarkable in this respect, but this tradition did not emerge out of nowhere. As early as the fifteenth century, the domestic character of the Northern Dutch illuminations and representations of religious themes in Books of Hours stood out from those of other countries.

Dutch paintings from around 1800 placed primary emphasis on the didactic aspects of child rearing and learning in a completely different quantity and quality to that of the Golden Age. The elaboration of educational themes, which had often been rather evocative in the seventeenth century, was now replaced by clear and didactic moral messages that focused on the ideal of the well-behaved child. At the end of the nineteenth century, the flourishing *Haagse School* also paid considerable attention to the subjects of the family and child rearing by combining domesticity, the adult world and the world of the child. The moralistic message had disappeared, as had the requirement that children should first behave well. Emphasis was now placed on the pure happiness of the child and that of family life.⁶² According to Cunningham, the distance between the image and reality of childhood grew from the seventeenth century onwards

because of the growing influence of the ‘modern concept of childhood’.⁶³ In the arts of the second half of the nineteenth century, this concept of childhood was dominant indeed, and sometimes the image of the child was even upgraded almost to that of a sacred being.⁶⁴ Painters from the *Haagse School* often worked with such an image of childhood in mind, thus contributing to the notion of the ‘Century of the Child’.

The Changing Focus of Educational Ambitions

This book does not provide a comprehensive history of educational ambitions; rather it offers an account of some of the major changes to those ambitions, occurring in an expanding educational space. The chronology of those changes forms the structure of the book. Although the emphasis was on emerging and innovative focuses of educational ambition, the dominant focus of former periods did not disappear when a new one emerged. On the contrary, more diversity and competition between ambitions was often the result. In the Dutch seventeenth-century Golden Age, parents focusing on the main educational goal of Christian salvation considered themselves and their children to be God-fearing. Around 1800, the importance of salvation as a central goal of education decreased, partly being replaced by notions of secular virtuousness and education as a preparation for citizenship. These goals were developed under the influence of the Dutch Enlightenment and the emerging centralized state which stimulated the need for a developing sense of Dutch citizenship. As a result, the overwhelming focus on religion in the seventeenth century was now accompanied by an ambitious focus on the role of education and educators in making decent citizens of their children.

In the meantime (although arising earlier in France, Germany and Great Britain than in the Netherlands), another focus on education emerged, namely that of the uniqueness of the child. This focus, starting with Rousseau and fostered by German and British Romanticism, manifested itself in Dutch painting from the second half of the nineteenth century. This focus eventually became the main force behind the Progressive Education Movement. The focus on the child and on children’s best interests was interpreted in various ways. Many artists and schoolmasters from the Progressive Education Movement understood this as a call to create a happy world for the child. Another interpretation of the idea, which grew increasingly important among philanthropists, politicians and the emerging group of educational professionals, led to the practice of greater educational supervision of the child and the parents as the best way of

guaranteeing the child's best interests. This aspiration to educational supervision gained legal support through the Compulsory Education Acts requiring school attendance, and in the more far-reaching Child Protection Acts, covering the educational process and responsibilities as a whole. These acts came into force throughout Europe around 1900.

However, thinking in the best interests of the child might have paradoxical consequences. It is true that the emphasis on children's rights culminated in a worldwide acceptance of such rights in 1989, along with the acceptance of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child which aimed to provide a strong legal protective umbrella for children all over the world. Moreover, by ratifying this treaty, almost all UN member states have now committed themselves to promote and realize basic children's rights in their own country, while accepting the control and supervision of the UN's Geneva-based agency concerned with the rights of the child. As a result, however, the power held by the state and educational professionals in relation to supervising children and parents seems to have increased, while the educational power of parents seems to be decreasing. This apparent imbalance could paradoxically mean that despite the public concern for the best interests of the child, an increasing number of children are looked at as becoming at risk.

This chronological structure in which new educational ambitions emerge alongside influential existing ambitions without replacing them is described in the following chapters. Chapter Two will describe strategies concerning moral education in a religious world in the seventeenth century. Chapter Three will examine the educational ambition of raising children to respect values and notions of virtuousness and citizenship, which in the Dutch case resulted in a long and complex struggle between two competing focuses of educational ambition. Chapter Four will address the notion of education in the best interests of the child, firstly examining the contribution of Romanticism and the construction of a children's arcadia in the fine arts. Secondly, the chapter will look at the introduction of the Child Protection Acts and discuss a possible multiplier effect, whereby this particular expression of the best interests of the child might paradoxically increase the number of children at risk.

Chapter 2

Instruction and Seduction for Heaven: Moral Education in the Seventeenth-Century Dutch Republic

Introduction

Instruction and seduction were the main methods by which moral education was taught in the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic. It might be a surprise that in a culture characterized by a search for frugality and simplicity, and seemingly dominated by one of the most orthodox religious branches of that time, namely Calvinism, not only doctrinal instruction but also seduction using funny emblematic books and beautiful paintings became important features of the transmission of moral education. In his impressive book, *The Embarrassment of Riches*, Columbia University professor Simon Schama argued that Dutch culture in the seventeenth century was characterized by a major contradiction in which the extraordinary wealth of the Dutch burghers became an embarrassment to their Calvinistic sentiments. The hypothesis in this chapter is that these strong feelings of embarrassment, so convincingly analysed by Schama, were for many eventually overcome in the quest for an education in moral literacy through the consumption of emblematic books and beautifully and sumptuously created moralistic paintings of the family, parenting, childhood, the coming of age and education.

This is not to say that doctrinal instruction was not important. This style of education, resulting from the tested catechism tradition of the European Reformation, resulted in a series of successful books written in a straightforward manner, usually by members of the clergy. These books systematically presented clear and unmistakable doctrinal instructions concerning what should be done and what was permitted in relation to parenting, as well as other behaviour, with the ultimate aim of achieving eternity in heaven. Such works, which served the small but loyal market of Dutch orthodox Protestants, were without literary

pretention and formed the precursor to late-nineteenth and twentieth-century child-rearing advice books, in relation to which the name of Dr Spock became iconic. Emblematic books, while sharing the same educational goal of attaining a respectable and devout adulthood, used the educational power of humorous texts and enigmatic images to transmit the important values and practices of parenthood. They possessed literary pretention as part of the existing genre of emblematic art, and notwithstanding the fact that their seductive stories seemed open to diverse outcomes, ultimately brought the reader to generally accepted Christian educational values. Finally, and often closely related to the *topoi* developed in emblematic books, the style of education by seducing people to address educational topics through the power of the fine arts, in particular using genre painting, acquired a substantial market.¹

This chapter discusses the main styles involved in the strategy of transmitting the essentials of parenthood and adulthood and which became the bearers of educational ambition in a society dominated by Calvinism. The educational ambition behind these styles and the seventeenth-century educational space will be described first. This ambition was characterized by strong educational activism and involved a generally accepted belief in the potential impact of parenting and the necessity for parental responsibility and educational literacy. This occurred within an expanding educational space and a divided society characterized by religious diversity: a Dutch house divided.

The Dutch Republic: a House Divided and a Space for Education

A House Divided

Dutch society was a house divided. The title of Diarmaid MacCulloch's impressive book on the history of the Reformation, *Europe's House Divided*, fits the Dutch Republic perfectly, perhaps even more so than Europe as a whole.² The overwhelming majority of European countries and regions had one specific religion generally imposed by the state, be it Roman Catholicism in France, Calvinism in Geneva, Zwinglianism in Zurich, or Lutheranism in many German states and Scandinavia – to mention the most important branches of Christian faith in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe. Moral education in these countries was based on religious homogeneity because of the principle of *cuius regio cuius religio* introduced at the Augsburg summit of 1555 in a desperate attempt to prevent a Europe-wide religious war.³ At first glance, Dutch society was also religiously homogenous, it was the 'Protestant north' with an

‘established Protestant Church’. The reality, however, was different. According to MacCulloch, ‘that Church found much to its chagrin that it could not create a monopoly of recognized religion on the normal western European model’, namely dominating society, with almost all believers within the one Church.⁴ Already in 1919, in his *Dutch Civilization in the Seventeenth Century*, the historian Johan Huizinga denied that Dutch civilization was homogeneously Calvinist, even refusing to regard the Republic as a Protestant nation. A large part of the population had remained Roman Catholic, and although political roles were not open to them, Catholics made their influence felt in culture and the economy. Several of the greatest Dutch artists were Catholics, including the architect Philip Vingboons (1608–1675), the poet Joost van den Vondel (1587–1679) and the painters Johannes Vermeer (1632–1675) and Jan Steen (1626–1679).⁵

Thus, the Dutch Republic was an exception in Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe in being a religiously heterogeneous society. On the eve of the seventeenth century, no more than 10 percent of its population belonged to the Calvinist Reformed Church, while about 90 percent were either adherents to other Protestant religions or were Roman Catholic, with a small Jewish minority.⁶ Some decades later, about 40 percent were Calvinist, with a minority of them being strictly orthodox, 40 percent were Roman Catholic, and the remaining 20 percent mostly belonged to Protestant minorities such as Lutherans and Anabaptists, plus a small Jewish minority. This situation remained stable for the next few centuries. The orthodox Protestant minority failed to establish a religious monopoly for two reasons. First, the great majority of local politicians were pragmatic and accepted religious differences, and as citizens of a country that was an ‘economic miracle’ and ‘one of the wonders of seventeenth-century Europe’ they were ‘well aware of the continuing religious diversity of their territories’. Second, the orthodox Protestants had to accept that conversions to Calvinism had stagnated and the resulting reality of a *modus vivendi* with other religions.⁷

While religion was the foundation of all world-views in the Dutch Republic, the churches did not have equal social authority, with heterogeneity not bringing equality with it.⁸ The house was divided and there was hierarchy in the quality of the rooms, with one specific Church, the Calvinist Reformed Church, claiming the best. This Church became dominant and was favoured, without becoming a formal state religion – as occurred in Great Britain and the Nordic countries – with political appointments only open to Calvinists.⁹ Religious groups such as Roman Catholics, equal to the Calvinists in number, were only tolerated on condition that they did not make public displays of their religion and did not rebuild their own ecclesiastic system, with its so greatly feared links to Rome. Thus, on the one hand, with one single Church being privileged, the Dutch

Republic also became, notwithstanding its religious heterogeneity, ‘a variety of the common European Form of the confessional state. The magistrates supported the public church, both financially and morally, and guaranteed its monopoly on public worship. Political power and public office in general were reserved for members of the Reformed Church’.¹⁰ On the other hand, religious pragmatism ruled daily life. Though without formal freedom of worship, there was freedom of conscience, which had been laid down in the 1579 Union of Utrecht, the ‘constitution’ of the Dutch Republic. Even non-Calvinistic worship was tolerated on the condition that it was hidden from public view. This is not to say that this religious pluralism was always benevolent. According to Colas, in terms of religion, Dutch society was a ‘multiplication of intolerances and fanaticisms within the different religious groups’.¹¹ This divided house showed unity when threatened from outside, in wars against Spain, and later England, France and several German states, but was characterized by major internal tensions. Several times, this almost resulted in civil war: during the Twelve Year Truce, in 1649, and in 1672, the Year of Disaster, which saw the murder of the most powerful politician in the country, Grand Pensionary Johan De Witt, and his brother Cornelis, and the country attacked by France, England, Cologne and Munster.¹²

A Space for Education

When looking at the educational space of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic and attempting to estimate its limits and potential, striking differences seem to be present between the four elements distinguished in Chapter One, with a very limited and restrictive demographic space, a relatively broad financial and economic space, a limited public space, with the focus almost entirely on the family and, finally, room for the mental space of the child’s world, combined with an emphasis on moral development.

Demographic Space: Ancien Régime Mortality Figures

The bitter realities of the *ancien régime* demography created major limitations to the Dutch educational space through high infant and child mortality figures. One-parent families were also common and there were a great number of orphans. While in France under Louis XIV less than 50 percent of children born in the countryside reached the age of ten, the situation in what was probably the richest country in the world was hardly any better.¹³ About 50 percent of children did not reach the age of eighteen, with 80 to 85 percent of these dying before the age of five.¹⁴ The rapid increase in the population, from less than one million to almost two million by the end of the seventeenth century, was therefore almost

completely due to immigrants attracted by the labour market in the booming economy. Some conditions were better than elsewhere, for example, the territory of the Dutch Republic was less affected by warfare than neighbouring countries – the Dutch preferring to conduct their wars outside their own territory and at sea – and food was more readily available than elsewhere due to the Amsterdam grain market and a modern and productive agrarian sector.¹⁵ This, however, did not prevent child and infant mortality from remaining high, caused by regular epidemics of the plague, smallpox, typhoid and dysentery, amongst other factors, and resulting in much uncertainty and the frequent grief of parents, both rich and poor, regarding their children; these feelings sometimes being recorded in personal documents.¹⁶ The average Dutch family was a small nuclear family, consisting of parents and children; an extended family that included grandparents was unusual due to the low life expectancy. The number of children was usually limited to three or four, due to low birth rates and high infant and child mortality, notwithstanding the high standard of living in the Golden Age and the popularity of breast-feeding.¹⁷

Economic and Financial Space: the World's Richest Society

The seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, a confederation of independent regions with a joint foreign policy and army, was the richest country in the world, one of the superpowers, and the world's economic, financial, scientific and technological centre. This position was reached after a turbulent period, including a long war against Catholic Spain.¹⁸ Investing in education was a core business for Dutch parents and, when necessary, civil authorities and the Calvinist Church took the responsibility to care for orphans.¹⁹ The Dutch Republic was an urban society, with the majority of the 1.8 million inhabitants around 1650 living in mostly flourishing cities, and the countryside economically and culturally focused on supplying these cities.²⁰ This level of urbanization was exceptional, occurring elsewhere only in the Southern Netherlands and northern Italy.²¹ The citizenry had dominated this urbanized society since the late Middle Ages and this was even more the case following the birth of the Republic, with a preference for a humanism that was focused on the bourgeoisie, as developed by Thomas More (1478–1535) and the Rotterdam-born Desiderius Erasmus (1466–1536).²² Not all members of society belonged to this group, citizenship not being inclusive. Nevertheless, a broadly based bourgeoisie, rather than a small noble elite, dominated a relatively free and safe society.²³ According to Erasmus and his adherents in humanistic pedagogics from the sixteenth century, education for citizenship in this period meant the teaching of general and Christian virtues, as well as developing knowledge. This moral education was behind most seventeenth-century books on educational instruction and seduction, notwithstanding their great doctrinal differences.

Private and Public Space: Families First

In the seventeenth century, families came first. However, parents had to be encouraged to provide their children with the benefits of education. Without a central government, institutions such as the Church and local authorities, as well as moralists and even painters, became their supporters and sometimes instructors, with schooling in general as well as the care of orphans becoming the responsibility of the Calvinist Church and local authorities. Preparing for adulthood, considered in terms of citizenship and societal participation – required learning proper behaviour, described by moralistic writers such as Jacob Cats as being ‘well-mannered, honourable, modest and decent’. Ultimately such virtues prepared one for heaven, and while decent behaviour could also be learned in school and in the workplace, its teaching was primarily the responsibility of the family.²⁴ The family was to be founded on a good marriage, an institution which was regulated in the late sixteenth century for Protestants and Catholics alike. For Catholics, marriage had become a sacrament in 1139, while its regulation was the result of the Counter-Reformation Council of Trent in 1563.²⁵ For Protestants, who abolished the sacraments, marriage came under the control of the Protestant-based state.²⁶ From 1580, with the *Politieke Ordonnantie* (Political Order), issued by the States of Holland, stipulated that marriage was only possible by either appearing before a magistrate or a minister of the public Calvinist Reformed Dutch Church. This system was grounded in law by Hugo de Groot (1583-1643) in his *Inleiding tot de Hollandse Rechtsgeleerdheid* (Introduction to Dutch Law) of 1631, and morally justified by the politician Jacob Cats, who was also a lawyer.²⁷

It was considered that marriage should result in a family fulfilling two main roles: functioning as both a small church and an educational institution. The first task was the most important. Simon Oomius (1628–1706), an adherent of the Further Reformation, a Calvinist movement propagating the Calvinization of daily life, described the family as a small church in his family advice book of 1661.²⁸ This small church was to introduce children to the truth of religion, teaching the realization of a Lutheran-inspired direct connection with God to be achieved by reading the Bible – *Deus ipse loquens* according to Calvin – and present in almost all Dutch homes.²⁹ The doctrinal instruction advice books written by the Protestant clergy, including those by Petrus Wittewrongel and Jacobus Koelman, encouraged parents to undertake Bible readings in their tractates about the duties and tasks of family members.³⁰ That the task of the small church was religious education could not be made more clear than in the title of one of the most popular advice guides based on a doctrinal instruction style, Koelman’s *The duties of parents to education their children for God* from 1679, to be discussed below.

The second task of the family, education in general, was reserved for well-to-do families. Others had the choice of either sending their children to

school, ceding this responsibility to an educational institution, or sending them to a workplace as early as possible. This was different for elite families such as the Huygens, whose family was a *Bildung* institute in itself, which hired experts to educate its male children to university level.³¹ Ultimately, this *Bildung* was focused on the court functions of the Orange family: it was a classical *honnête homme* education in the tradition of Castiglione's *Il libro del cortegiano* from 1528.³² The Huygens daughters, who were required to prepare for their role as wives and mothers, received an education in line with such a future.³³

'Families first' did not mean that public education was non-existent. On the contrary, two main institutions, the school and the orphanage, were well developed, considering the context of the seventeenth century. The Dutch school system had been expanding since the late Middle Ages and consisted of a large number of small schools.³⁴ In the mid-seventeenth century, almost every Dutch child could go to a school within walking distance.³⁵ In many towns, secondary education on Latin and French schools was also possible.³⁶ The expansion of schooling and the resulting growth in literacy, which was at a higher level than in most other European countries, was the result of at least three different factors. Firstly, emergent commercial capitalism required a labour force with additional skills, especially expertise in bookkeeping and advanced arithmetic, and in order to acquire technical knowledge it became increasingly necessary for people to be able to read.³⁷ Secondly, the catechetical offensive, due to the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, stimulated the expansion of the school system, as everyone was required to be able to read the Bible. Finally, in addition to traditional skills concerned with hunting and knowledge of games and sports, the guidelines on the proper behaviour of the Renaissance *gentilhomme* now also included knowledge of belles-lettres and rhetoric. Thus a higher rate of literacy was also required here, as Castiglione's book, well known among the Dutch elite, made clear.³⁸ Thus, literacy became a condition for participation in Dutch culture and society, with schooling and education becoming the main mechanisms for achieving this in the new generation.

A second important public educational institution was the orphanage. These were run by the Protestant Church and local authorities. While the high mortality of infants often put an end to parental educational ambition, the high mortality of parents encouraged such public institutions to impose civic or religious educational ambitions that could replace those of the parents. This was apparent in the fact that orphanages existed in almost every town, occupying buildings whose beauty often expressed civic pride, as shown below.³⁹ In this period, major tensions between the private and public spaces concerning educational issues were not yet apparent: that the private space, or the family, should dominate, was a matter of course.

Mental Space: A Culture of 'Sentiment d'Enfance'

Educational thinking and acting based on making a map of the world of the child seems to be modern, or at least something which did not develop before the Enlightenment. Nevertheless, despite the lack of concepts such as 'the best interests of the child', under the influence of the Renaissance, Humanism, Reformation and Counter-Reformation, greater attention was paid to the education of children, showing an often strong 'sentiment d'enfance'. Successful authors on education, such as Cats, encouraged parents to accommodate their education styles to the various phases of the development of their children, notwithstanding that education would always ultimately focus on the particular goal of educating children to become well-behaved, decent, devout adults focused on attaining a place in heaven. Attempts to map the world of the child were also manifest in phenomena such as providing more space for children, which occurred in the houses of the well-to-do, more children's toys and more learning space for children in schools, which is not to say that schools were primarily focused on improving the conditions of children.⁴⁰

One aspect of the parents' mental map of their children's world is apparent in the well-documented attention paid to sick children and the grief felt on their death. In the debate between evolutionists and structuralists, discussed in Chapter One, evolutionists considered that because of the high infant mortality rates, parents insured themselves against the grief felt when their children died by not becoming overly attached to their children. In addition to evidence from other countries, many Dutch sources, both texts and images, reveal the opposite. Care for children is a popular topic in Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting, for example, the iconic *The Sick Child* by Gabriel Metsu, to be discussed below. It was also often the subject of personal documents, for example in the texts by the Huygens' fathers, who were extremely concerned by even minimal complaints, to the point of panic.⁴¹ While as pious Christians they accepted the reality and were resigned to the will of God, the parents' strong attachment to and affection for the beloved child is evident, as is their grief.⁴² This is shown in the tradition among well-to-do parents of having portraits of their children painted while they were very young because of their poor life expectancy. According to art historians, almost half of the children in Dutch seventeenth-century child portraits were aged between 0 and 12 months, revealing both the affection of the parents and their realistic fears for the child.⁴³

Many other personal documents show the same care concerning children and the deep grief felt when they died.⁴⁴ Grief and affection for children was the major force behind the genre of child funeral portraits, with some dozens of these still existing. Examples include paintings by Nicolaas Maes (1634–1693), Johannes Thopas (c.1620–c.1682) and Bartholomeus van der Helst (1613–1670),

with his *Young Boy on his Deathbed* from 1645 showing the child on a bed of straw, so that his soul would not attach itself to the bed.⁴⁵ Other iconographic evidence of attachment to young children can be found in the genre of family portraits, which often included children who were already deceased, emphasizing that they continued to be part of the family. This is shown in the anonymous portrait from 1638 of the family of Jan Gerritsz. Pan, a shipowner from Enkhuizen, which depicts the father, mother and two living children, as well as nine children who had died, thus ensuring they remained part of the family (Figure 4).⁴⁶



Figure 4. Anonymous: *Family Portrait*, probably the *Family of Jan Gerritsz. Pan*.

Source: Collection Stichting Portret van Enkhuizen / Thade van Doesburgh.

Educational Ambition and Cultural Transmission: Parental Impact, Educational Literacy and the Best Learning Styles

Education in this divided house built on religion was explicitly moralistic, instructing human beings on how to behave. This emphasis on religious and moralistic education was the Dutch variation of Reformation and Counter-Reformation Europe, including its many Protestant and Catholic catechisms for children.⁴⁷ Educational ambition in this society was overwhelmingly strong, with the education of future generations in the right religious beliefs being the core business for each religious group. The topic of education therefore dominated seventeenth-century Dutch moralistic literature and genre painting, the latter constituting a large proportion of the massive production of paintings in

seventeenth-century Holland, which amounted to millions.⁴⁸ The Dutch educational discourse of the seventeenth century was present in various bearers of educational messages, including doctrinal instructional advice books, emblematic books and the fine arts. Notwithstanding major differences in style and content, and apart from the overriding prevalence of religion, the discourse rested on one common belief: the significance of parental impact.

A Strong Belief in Parental Impact

Although also present in other urbanized parts of Europe, in the Dutch Republic parents in bourgeois families – proud of their children – were approached by moralists, medical doctors and the clergy with educational messages, seemingly more than elsewhere, creating a republic of educators. Parents and other educators showed a strong desire to educate, and moralists and other senders of educational messages were eager to encourage them to pursue this in the right direction, believing strongly in the impact of parents.⁴⁹ Cats formulated this belief as follows: ‘When the youth is no good, do not blame the youth. The father himself, who did not educate them better, deserves punishment’.⁵⁰ This focus on parental impact and responsibility, which seems to be rather modern, was widely present in moralistic advice literature, in emblematic books, in genre painting and in various personal documents. The impact of parenthood, in relation to having children, feeding them, caring for them and educating them, was clearly formulated in the well-known proverb ‘As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young’. The proverb formed the basis of Cats’ child-rearing advice and was frequently referred to in his work.⁵¹ The proverb also inspired many painters, with Jan Steen (1626–1679) being its most famous interpreter.⁵² In his many genre paintings, he always emphasized the contrast between good and bad behaviour, along with its consequences for the education of the children, and this is also the case in his representation of ‘As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young’. The children on the canvas mimic the bad habits of their parents and other adults, including various meanings of ‘piping’. Children are depicted with wind instruments, as well as smoking and drinking, with some of them drunk, while their parents and other adults sing, play the violin, drink and incite the children to even worse behaviour. This is a message about bad behaviour and lack of self-control, but above all it shows the effect of poor adult behaviour on children: it depicts parental irresponsibility. To make the message of the painting even more explicit, in one of his versions Steen included the text of the proverb attached to the chimney. The message could not be more clear: bad habits, learned in infancy and transmitted by parents to their children, will continue throughout life: blame the parents and not the children (Figure 5).⁵³ Steen’s paintings represented one of the

three most influential forms of instruction which aimed to develop educational literacy in parents. And belief in the impact and responsibility of parents also meant belief in the necessity of educational literacy.



Figure 5. Jan Steen, *The Merry Family* ('As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young'), 1668.

Source: Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.

Educational Literacy and the Best Styles of Learning

It was generally assumed that future Dutch parents, both mothers and fathers, had to be instructed about their duties and responsibilities in order to acquire educational literacy. While literacy firstly means the 'practice of reading and writing' and 'the knowledge of reading and writing', there were also 'analogical literacies', in other words, extensions of literacy beyond the strict sense of reading and writing. Holme refers to a number of such literacies; for example, 'historical literacy', 'emotional literacy', 'citizenship literacy', artistic literacy', 'scientific literacy' and 'geographical literacy'.⁵⁴ Moral literacy, concerning the

practice and knowledge of how to behave in relation to moral rules, and educational literacy, concerning how to educate, are other analogical literacies. In the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, moral literacy was considered the foundation of the other literacies, with education being explicitly approached moralistically. Moral literacy was vital for good parenting. Moral education, more specifically the development of virtues, occurred as a matter of course in a society in which people lived ‘in an age of moral certainty’.⁵⁵ In order to acquire that literacy, many texts, paintings and other images were produced containing moral educational messages, filtered through the diversity of the religiously divided house of the Dutch Republic, and assuming a high literacy rate in relation to the three Rs, or, classical literacy. In the following, we discuss the three main bearers of educational messages which employed two main styles to encourage and teach educational literacy: the doctrinal or instructional style used in advice books, a style of seduction specific to emblematic books, and the seductive use of beauty in fine art.

Doctrinal Instruction Books

Doctrinal educational instruction continued the catechistic offensive of the Reformation designed to achieve specific educational goals. According to Martin Luther, belief in God was only possible through reading the Bible, and therefore, in addition to writing a catechism for adults, he published *Der kleine Katechismus* for children in 1529, 100,000 copies being sold before 1563. Other reformers, such as Melancthon with his *Catechismus puerilis*, Calvin with his *Formulaire d'instruire les enfants en la Chrestienté* from 1541, and the Catholic Counter-Reformation *Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum* by Canisius from 1558, also published such works.⁵⁶ Child-rearing advice books were published in the same doctrinal style. The Dutch Protestant educational instruction books, while part of this Reformation movement, accepted the Erasmian idea of children as a *tabula rasa*, with, of course, the exception of original sin. Erasmus' influential *De civilitate morum puerilium* from 1530, based upon the idea that the young child was flexible and could be bent in any desirable direction, remained a basic text for an education in good manners for more than three centuries in both Catholic and Protestant Europe.⁵⁷ The Dutch Reformed Rev. Willem Teellinck (1579–1629), who belonged to the vanguard of the above-mentioned Further Reformation, described the child as ‘a blank sheet of paper’, moving inevitably in the wrong direction because of its ‘natural depravity should parents fail to intervene’.⁵⁸ With Cats, the popular moralist, using almost the same words, namely ‘A child is like a blank sheet of paper’, it is clear that John Locke's (1632–1704) concept of the child as a *tabula rasa*, to be found in his *Some Thoughts Concerning Education* from 1693, was not only present in the context of the optimistic Enlightenment educational discourse.⁵⁹ The pessimistic

Calvinist dogma of 'natural depravity' did not result in educational fatalism but, on the contrary, educational activism. This was the reason why so many doctrinarian instructional Protestant books on education were published, encouraging the family to become a small church, with children participating in religious exercises at home at as early an age as possible. While Johannes de Swaef's (1594–1653) *De geestelijcke queeckerije* (The Spiritual Nursery) from 1621 was the first one,⁶⁰ the most influential were Petrus Wittewrongel's (1609–1662) *Oeconomia christiana* from 1655⁶¹ and Jacobus Koelman's (1631–1695) *The Duties of Parents to educate their children for God*, from 1679. Koelman's *Duties*, reprinted even today, emphasized strict education, starting with the breaking of the disobedient child's will.⁶² While these books had a major impact, they did not attract readers outside their own religious circle. This was not the case for the popular emblematic books on education by Jacob Cats.

The Emblematic Books by Jacob Cats (1581–1660)

Cats' books were, after the Bible and Thomas à Kempis's *De Imitatione Christi*, the most popular within the Republic, with almost every middle-class family, including Catholic families, possessing at least one of his works. The main topics dealt with, such as what constituted a good marriage, the necessity of good family life for education, the duties of parents and the religious focus of their educational ambition, did not differ substantially from those in the doctrinal instructional books and thus cannot explain his great success. It seems that there were three other reasons why his style and strategy of seduction was successful: his Christian-humanist way of thinking, his clear and attractive writing style and his use of the power of images. Firstly, while a Calvinist, and in later life even moving in the direction of the Further Reformation, Cats always remained a Christian-humanist moralist, emphasizing that life should be lived according to the three Christian virtues of faith, hope and love, and the four so-called cardinal virtues, namely wisdom, justice, fortitude and temperance. He considered that learning these virtues and applying them should be the focus of all education. Using generally accepted virtues and avoiding doctrinal formulas made Cats' works, despite him being a Calvinist, attractive to a broad readership, which spanned the various religions of the Republic's divided house, all searching for an attractive and practical educational discourse attuned to their moral values.

Secondly, as a didactic writer his use of easy-to-learn rhymes became highly successful. Moreover, he wrote both for readers who had no knowledge of Latin or other languages, for example the Dutch-language *Houwelick* (*Marriage*), from 1625, which was perhaps his most important book, as well as for readers with more extensive knowledge of languages in books such as *Siegel* (*Mirror*), which

contained more than 1,600 proverbs in Dutch, Italian, French, German, Greek, Latin and even Turkish, and *Sinne- en minnebeelden (Images of Passions and Love)*.⁶³

Thirdly, Cats combined word and image, making use of the existing, well-known genre of emblems – which combined an image, a caption and a maxim – which in Cats's books often developed into a text of several pages. Focused on enhancing the educational literacy of his readers, Cats adopted the framework of the classic *ars amatoria* in the style of Dutch writers such as Daniël Heinsius (1580–1655) and Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581–1647) for his moralistic and didactic mission. Perhaps the best example of this transformation of the *ars amatoria* into a moralistic emblematic style is his work, *Images of Passions and Love*, with each of the 52 emblems first seducing the reader with an explicitly erotic story about love. Subsequently, the second part suddenly confronts the reader with a dramatic change of style and topic concerning the many risks of the behaviour so seductively described, and then offers advice on how to follow the path of virtue and remain virginal. In the third and last part of the emblem, the central topic is life after death, far removed from both the *ars amatoria* and warnings against erotic behaviour.⁶⁴ Cats thus transformed the emblematic tradition into a highly useful vehicle for teaching about parenting and coming of age. Being a wealthy man, he invested his own money in his first important emblematic book, *Images of Passions and Love*.⁶⁵ Because of the success of his books, however, he was soon earning money from them, with books such as *Images of Passions and Love*, *Marriage* and *Mirror of the Ancient and New Time* becoming long-standing bestsellers with several tens of thousands of copies being sold.⁶⁶

Seduction by Beauty using Fine Art

While Cats successfully used humorous language games and emblematic enigmas to seduce his readers into educational literacy, painters attempted to seduce people to examine their paintings using a combination of fun and pure beauty. The pictures, drawings, etchings or emblems of children engaged in education still evoke the seventeenth century and a particular reception of the educational messages for which the Dutch bourgeoisie was willing to pay at that time.⁶⁷ The messages transmitted through the paintings are not different from those present in the emblems on education and alongside the other products of educational ambition are part of an evangelical, sometimes even propaganda-like movement in the cultural transmission of family values and educational advice during the seventeenth century. The main criteria for transmitting propaganda using art as formulated by Ross did accord with the general Dutch strategy of promoting educational literacy through the fine arts. These criteria were the intention to persuade, aiming at a significant group of people – in this case a broad cross-section of the bourgeoisie – and a focus on a major cause, in this case teaching as many Dutch

parents as possible how to raise their children properly. However, this seventeenth-century strategy to teach morality was not merely a form of propaganda.⁶⁸

The main reason for this seems to be the role of the art market and the freedom of consumers to buy or not to buy, and to see or not see moral messages in these paintings and drawings. The same was true for buying or not buying emblematic books, although this was at a different financial level. It was up to potential consumers to make the decision to spend their money on paintings or drawings containing moral messages about parenting and education, or, as Jan Basse did, to buy something more frivolous – in his case, a naked Venus which he bought at an auction of the Amsterdam Orphan Chamber.⁶⁹ Looking at the world through paintings or drawings was an important aspect of the Dutch mentality, or *habitus*. Viewing and owning paintings was not just a privilege of the aristocratic elite, but part of the normal lifestyle of the broader Dutch bourgeoisie.⁷⁰ To make that lifestyle possible, it was necessary to have a well-functioning art market and a huge level of production of paintings and drawings, and this became the reality.

Around 1650, about 700 painters were at work in the Republic, producing about 70,000 paintings annually. According to the economic historian Van der Woude, the number of paintings produced in Holland as a whole during the Republic can be estimated at between five and ten million, the majority sold at a price which the average citizen would find affordable.⁷¹ An important part of this huge number consisted of genre paintings and drawings, many of them conveying moral messages. Because of the freedom of the potential receivers of moral messages to buy the paintings or not, their success ultimately depended on a combination of content and aesthetics which mirrored the consumer's opinion and taste as much as possible. Although the art market, in contrast with the propaganda originating in the Church or the central, local or regional levels of the state in early modern Europe, could not dictate but only attempt to seduce potential buyers, in seventeenth-century Holland it was very successful. As a result, the strategy of moralizing through funny texts and images, using the popular emblematic books, found its complement in the power of fine art for those who could buy and view it. While modern educational studies emphasize the potential of art to function as a major means of cognitive transference, in this specific case, the visual literacy of the seventeenth-century Dutch consumers was focused on the transmission of moral messages concerning education.⁷²

In the following, these styles of promoting educational literacy are looked at in relation to two main topics: firstly, parenting, with attention being paid to what was considered a good marriage, good family life, and the roles to

be played by the mother and father, including how they should understand the young child; and secondly, the child's coming of age safely and decently.

Educational Literacy for Parents

The Fundamentals of a Good Marriage

Learning about parenthood began with learning about the fundamentals of a good Christian marriage, considered by all religious groups to be the foundation of a good education. Koelman therefore started his doctrinal advice book with advice on how to choose one's partner. Firstly, it was advised that such a partner should be of the same Christian Church, so that couples would have the same basic religion and morality. A religiously mixed marriage was considered to be a source of confusion for the children and thus rejected for pedagogical reasons.⁷³ Secondly, in addition to warnings against differences in religion and morality, differences in age, social class and wealth were also to be avoided. Couples with large age differences were often ridiculed in emblems and in genre paintings from the sixteenth century, by artists such as Hendrick Goltzius (1535–1609) and Jacob Goltzius (1558–1617).⁷⁴ Jan Steen (1626–1679), son of a Catholic brewer, pupil of Adriaen van Ostade (1610–1685), and the most important Dutch genre painter of the Golden Age, depicted the theme of age differences in *The Garden Party* from 1677. Two boys, blowing bubbles, emphasizing the transitory character of love, abruptly interrupt what is apparently an idyllic scene of romance which is visible in another part of the canvas. On the left-hand side of the painting, a young, voluptuous woman flirts with an elderly man while pointing at an orange, a symbol of fertility incompatible with the probable infertility of this loving couple should they marry.⁷⁵ As in most of his genre paintings, Steen's moralistic style is a mix of ambiguous humour and an elegant didactical teaching of virtues which highlighted opposing vices.⁷⁶ Cats followed this iconographic tradition and advised that men over sixty should not desire women under thirty, while a woman aged forty should not marry a man aged thirty-five.⁷⁷ In *Images of Passions and Love*, Cats, himself a widower who never remarried, ridiculed the old man who desired to marry a young woman. The subject occurs in various emblems within his book, including the first, *Quod perdidit, optat*, or 'One desires what has been lost' (Figure 6). An eel cut into two pieces symbolizes man and woman, longing for each other. Because it was considered to be both improper and damaging for an old man to fall in love with a young woman, the man earned the following epitaph: 'She who received me in her womb, has killed me for love'.⁷⁸

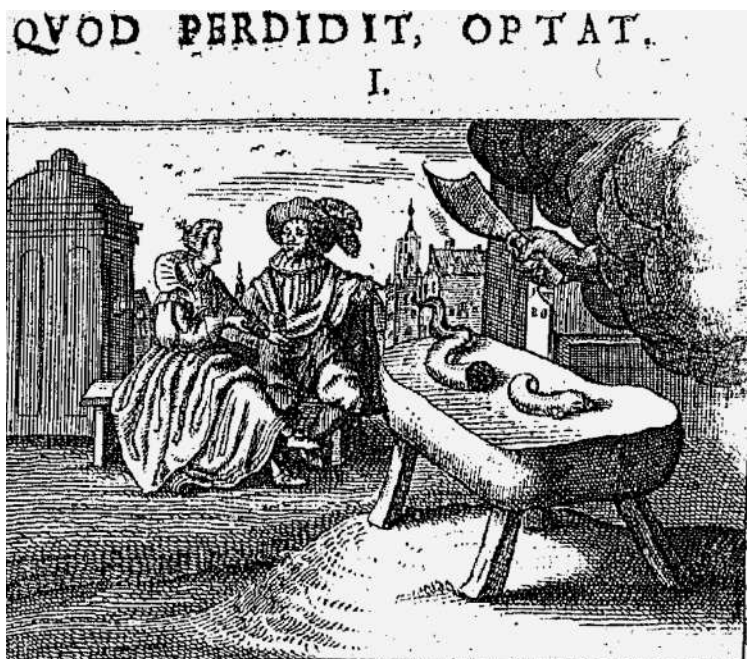


Figure 6. Jacob Cats, *Quod perdidet, optat*, Emblem I from *Images of Passions and Love*.
Source: Jacob Cats, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam: Schipper, 1665).

A marriage with no major differences in religion and age was not sufficient: partners should also love each other. The evolutionistic idea that before the Enlightenment romantic love was absent and that a marriage of convenience and without affection was the rule is not supported by the numerous books on marriage and education of this period.⁷⁹ Many personal documents also show how important affection and personal preference were in the process of choosing a marriage partner, notwithstanding the importance of the interest of elite families in perpetuating the family estate or retaining important public functions within the family.⁸⁰ In summary, the ideal marriage for raising children, as advised by Cats in *Marriage* from 1625, involved a couple of roughly the same age, with the same religion, morality and sociocultural status, and who loved one another.⁸¹ Such a marriage made a good family life possible, which was essential for successful child rearing.

A Good Family Life

The popularity of the family portrait, which developed from the individual portrait in the sixteenth century, demonstrates how necessary a good family life was for education. In the beautiful *Portrait of a Family* by Rembrandt van Rijn (1606–1669) from 1668, depicting a father, mother and three children, the parents of this anonymous family present themselves as the successful founders of a happy family (Figure 7). The basket with fruit or flowers in the hands of one of the girls refers both to a fertile marriage and a good upbringing. Fruit and flowers, together with trained dogs, formed the most popular pedagogical metaphors among the incidental elements occurring in sixteenth and seventeenth-century family portraits.⁸² According to Bedaux, in their formative period during the sixteenth century, these portraits were profoundly influenced by Psalms 1 and 128, which contain the metaphors of women as fertile grapevines and children as olive branches. In these paintings we can see the self-presentation of proud citizens as pious founders and heads of their family and the message that good education is necessary.⁸³



Figure 7. Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Family*, c.1668.

Source: Braunschweig: Hertzog Anton Ulrich-Museum.

Family portrait painting was popular in the Dutch Republic and painters such as Jan Mijtens and Gabriel Metsu produced dozens.⁸⁴ In these paintings, father and mother present their progeny with pride and affection. While some of these paintings were explicitly Christian, for example *Let Come the Children to Me: Pieter Braems and His Family*, painted in 1663 by the Haarlem painter Jan de Bray (1627–1697), with the couple depicted with Christ, most family portraits were secular.⁸⁵ Gabriel Metsu (1629–1667) depicted the family pride of the elite in *The Family of the Amsterdam Burgomaster Gillis Valckenier*, which included Valckenier's four young children, his wife Jacoba and her unmarried sister Anna. The portrait has a gender configuration, the left-hand side showing the father with his son Wouter aged seven, who is depicted as a prince, the right showing the two women with the three girls, four-year-old Rebecca sitting on the ground with a well-trained dog before her, another metaphor for good education.⁸⁶ Often, a man would have himself portrayed with his wife and children as a close-knit and pious Christian family at the table, a secular variant of the Holy Family seated around the table. Such paintings were produced in great numbers within the Republic, with an example being the anonymous *The Family at Dinner* from 1627, showing an average Dutch seventeenth-century family with four children, the youngest child sitting on her mother's knee with a twig in her hand, the other three sitting next to each other in an atmosphere of devotion, all with their hands joined in prayer.⁸⁷

Jan Steen, the ironic moralist, also produced non-moralizing paintings, for example *Grace before a Meal* from 1660. In this canvas, the parents thank God for their simple meal, while the mother, with a pious expression on her face, embraces her child. This small family, preferring simplicity and affection, wants no 'abundance of the treasure of richness', as a passage from the Book of Proverbs, 30: 7–9, depicted on the canvas, tells us.⁸⁸ Steen also painted this subject some years later, depicting a wealthy family, but in this case with the warning that grace before dinner, an important element of Christian cultural transmission and an opportunity to teach obedience, virtuousness and piousness, could also be less pious. While the father, his hands piously joined, and his son are attracted to the food and perhaps the maid, the mother is teaching her youngest child how to pray. A fifth person, who only shows her back, and who is ignored by those around the table, is a girl or woman dressed in distinguished clothes, her identity remaining a mystery. With this painting, Steen put piousness into perspective in a manner which emphasized gender, contrasting the mother and child with the irreligious desires of the father and son.⁸⁹ A good marriage and good family life ensured that the conditions of good education were present. It was then up to the parents to act as good educators, with specific tasks for the mother and father.

Motherhood and How to Avoid the Main Pitfalls

According to Cats in his book *Marriage*, the care and education of children until the age of seven was the mother's task. Learning practical virtues by following your mother's example was the best method, and Cats advised young Dutch mothers to take into consideration the capabilities of the child and not ask too much. Favouring one child over another was found to be poor pedagogical practice and could result in problems. The responsibility of the mother was immense, for a child 'absorbs all things like a blank piece of paper'. Chastisement was also to be limited as much as possible, for according to Cats, the misbehaviour of the child resulted from the misbehaviour of the parents. It was also a mother's responsibility to warn her children against contact with bad peers, while boasting about the children should be left to the father.⁹⁰

However, good motherhood required one thing above all: breast-feeding one's children. If this was not possible, a wet nurse should be sought. Physicians and moralists applauded breast-feeding by mothers and criticized those who failed to do so – in particular those in higher circles of society.⁹¹ Cats was definite about this essential aspect of motherhood in his *Marriage*: 'A woman who gives birth to her children is half a mother, only when she breast-feeds them is she a complete mother'.⁹² Fine art also sent out this message, with Steen's *The Fat Kitchen* from c.1650 showing a well-fed mother breast-feeding her baby while giving another child porridge with a spoon amid a group of voracious children and adults. In the counterpart to this painting, *The Lean Kitchen*, the mother is a bag of bones, as are all of the other people depicted, and cannot offer her child anything.⁹³ In reality, however, women of the upper class normally did not breast-feed their own children and were criticized for this choice by moralists who, by the way, were all men. Constantijn Huygens (1596–1687), the famous poet and father of Christiaan, the scientist, was proud of being the only child of six to be breast-fed by his mother. He considered that this special motherly care resulted in a special relationship between him and his mother. As for his own children, however, he emphasized the good relationship between the baby and the wet nurse.⁹⁴ While clear about his ideal, Cats remained realistic, mentioning the precise requirements that a good wet nurse should meet should breast-feeding by the mother herself not be an option.⁹⁵ Frans Hals (1582/83–1666), the famous portrait painter, depicted such a wet nurse in a beautiful portrait from c.1620, *Catharina Hooft with Her Nurse*. This portrait was inspired by the tradition of painting the Virgin and Child, as is apparent in the configuration of the nurse and child and by the act of presenting an apple (Figure 8). This painting was exceptional in being a portrait of a child and her nurse, whose identity is not known, rather than of a child with its mother. The one-year-old girl is the only daughter of Geertruyd and Pieter Jansz. Hooft. She was born on 28 December 1618

in Amsterdam and at the age of sixteen was married to Cornelis de Graeff, then aged thirty-five, who would become the mayor of Amsterdam and thus one of the most powerful officials of the Republic. Catharina does not show any interest in the apple, but plays with a golden instrument with bells. While in Christian iconography the apple is a symbol of the forbidden fruit eaten by Eve in Paradise, here it signifies the promise of redemption from sin in a non-religious painting of a happy child with her happy nurse.⁹⁶



Figure 8. Frans Hals, Catharina Hooft with Her Nurse, c.1620.

Source: Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

Following Cats and other educational moralists, many paintings depicted both good and bad motherhood in a didactic style.⁹⁷ Good motherhood involved having children, breast-feeding and caring for and educating them until the age of seven, an

example being *Mother with Child on Her Arm* by Nicolaas Maes (1632–1693), which represented the affection of mothers for the very young.⁹⁸ Gerrit Dou (1613–1675), a fine painter from Leiden admired for his impressive technique, depicted both good and bad motherhood. His *Young Mother* from 1658 shows good motherhood and affection for the very young, with an additional message about family life. A young mother, from society's elite, is depicted sitting on a chair, her shoes off, a sign that she will not leave the house, and she has needlework on her knees, a symbol of the virtues of domesticity and diligence. She is the exponent of these virtues and an example to her children. In front of her is a crib with her baby. Her elder daughter leans over the crib and gives the child a tender look. The father is not at home, but symbols such as a globe, a sword and a coat refer to his responsibilities elsewhere. A cupid refers to the erotic relationship between the spouses.⁹⁹ *Mother with Child in a Crib* from 1670 by Samuel van Hoogstraten (1627–1678) also glorifies domesticity and motherly love, emphasizing 'the caution with which the two women look into the crib'.¹⁰⁰ Motherly care illustrated by hair-combing formed a popular theme for seventeenth-century painters such as Ter Borch, Van Brekelenkam, Dirck Hals and Pieter De Hoogh. The message of domestic virtue was expressed in the image of a mother checking her child's hair for lice, with a famous example being *Motherly Cares* by Gerard Ter Borch (1617–1681).¹⁰¹ In *Woman Combing a Child's Hair* by Quirijn Van Brekelenkam (1620–1668), this theme is combined with another popular one, namely preparation for school.¹⁰² It shows that the guidance provided by a virtuous mother allows for a proper transition of her child from private to public space.¹⁰³ Almost a classic is Gabriel Metsu's *The Sick Child*, depicting the theme of motherly care as a domestic virtue using a Madonna-like configuration.¹⁰⁴

Genre painters also invited their public to look at examples of poor motherhood, depicting the opposite of behaving according to the domestic virtues. Alongside his paintings on the ideal *Young Mother*, shown above, Gerrit Dou also depicted a *Young Mother* who had failed, although not catastrophically. In a well-furnished bourgeois interior, a mother sits in a chair in front of an empty crib, trying to breast-feed her child. The baby, however, is distracted from the breast, probably by her sister holding a shiny rattle, with the result being that the baby and her sister determine the events rather than the mother. Although this could be explained by modern developmental psychological insights which reveal that even very young children partly direct the adults around them – primarily their parents – this form of behaviour was not acceptable according to the seventeenth-century educational discourse.¹⁰⁵ In addition to being a statement on the influence of children on their educators, this depiction of a child preferring the pleasure of a toy to the natural necessity of feeding conveyed a message concerning a mother's responsibility to

correct the child's natural inclinations. While toys such as rattles distract a child, it is the mother's task to gain their attention. Dou, a fine painter, added an extra message to this painting by putting a doctor in the background inspecting a small bottle while an elderly patient leans towards him, in this way contrasting youth and health with old age and disease.¹⁰⁶ Caspar Netscher's *Motherly Cares* is concerned with the same topic. The painter didactically teaches the principles of good education and makes clear that good education is not a natural process but something parents have to work on very hard. The mother, combing the hair of one of her children, demonstrates the domestic virtue of cleanliness, and the maid in the doorway with her bowl and jug for washing is also a symbol of that virtue. In contrast with this good behaviour is the negative behaviour of the other child, who is making funny faces in the mirror, while the toys and cat are added to emphasize the vice.¹⁰⁷ Rembrandt shows a mother doing much worse, according to the moral standards of seventeenth-century Holland, than mothers who merely allowed their young children to become distracted. In his pen drawing *The Naughty Child*, a mother grabs her struggling and crying toddler by the hair and drags him out the door. An older woman, perhaps his grandmother, points at him with a warning finger. However, the toddler is fully preoccupied, struggling and crying, as well as pulling his mother's ears and kicking away his slipper. In the background, two children are watching the scene (Figure 9).¹⁰⁸

While these painters taught good motherhood, they also demonstrated a consciousness of the child's potential to engage in autonomous behaviour, which foreshadows late-twentieth-century developmental theories on young children's behaviour, and which according to the seventeenth-century educational discourse required correction. However, this discourse was not only concerned with the duties and pitfalls of being a mother, but also addressed the father's duties in numerous texts and images concerned with educational literacy.

Fatherhood

The father of a household was also predominantly portrayed, but mostly as the head of the family together with his wife and children, and not solely with his children, as was frequently the case with mothers.¹⁰⁹ Fathers were required to exercise authority and to teach and mould their children. Cats's *Mirror of Ancient and New Times* gave advice to fathers concerning how to direct youngsters towards virtue. This book of emblems, containing hundreds of proverbs in various languages, including Latin, addresses well-educated fathers, while *Marriage*, written in Dutch, was intended for mothers and future mothers. The more literary fathers were expected to take pleasure in reading proverbs in French and Latin while at the same time

absorbing Cats's moral lessons and consequently acquiring moral literacy.¹¹⁰ One fatherly duty was emphasized above all, namely finding good partners for one's



Figure 9. Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Naughty Child*.

Source: Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz.

children, in particular one's daughters. In *Marriage*, Dutch mothers could read that their husband's main child-rearing duty was to find partners for his daughters, for 'it is only the father who can marry off his daughters'.¹¹¹ In *Images of Passions and Love*, intended for the fathers, Cats developed this theme further in an emblem entitled *Iam plenis nubilis annis*, or, 'In the fullness of the nubile years'. While father and mother deliberate with their future son-in-law concerning the marriage of their daughter, Cats advises them to allow their daughter to move from being an extension of her father to becoming an extension of her future husband.

While perhaps unusual today, it was usual in the iconographic tradition of seventeenth-century marriage proposals not to depict the bride-to-be, emphasizing that she was solely the object of the negotiations (Figure 10). While Cats did not refer to the Bible to justify this advice, orthodox moralists of course did. The Rev. Wittewrongel, author of a voluminous book on domestic conduct, *Oeconomia Christiana*, published between 1655 and 1661 and inspired by William Gouge's *Of Domesticall Duties* from 1622, referred to Jeremiah 29: 5-6: 'Plant gardens and eat what they produce. Marry and have sons and daughters; find wives for your sons and give your daughters in marriage, so that they too may have sons and daughters'. The message was no different from that of Cats: fathers should take responsibility for the marriage of their children.¹¹²

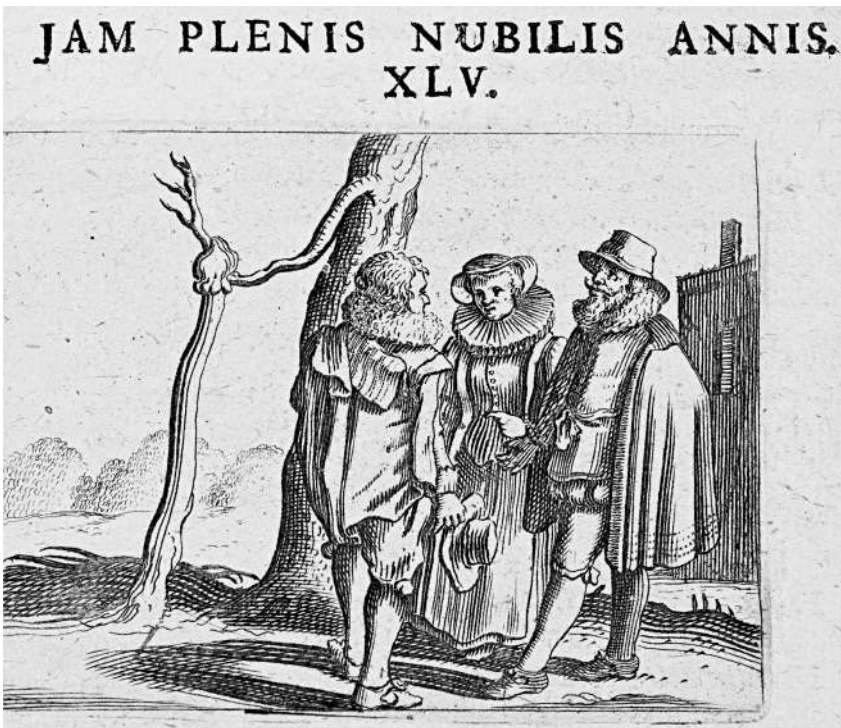


Figure 10. Jacob Cats, *Iam plenis nubilis annis*, Emblem XLV from *Images of Passions and Love*
Source: Jacob Cats, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam: Schipper, 1665).

Educational Literacy Concerning the Child's World

Cats was a good observer of parental behaviour and of the child's world. He considered that well-to-do families generally either pampered the child or paid it too little attention, concluding that children from families with less financial means but with a better relationship with their children had a major advantage. In particular, he observed the mother-child relationship, applauded breast-feeding and concluded that affection for infants should be, and often was, normal. He considered that punishing children should be avoided as far as possible and that physical punishment, when necessary, should be limited to beating on the buttocks.¹¹³ The reason why punishment should be avoided was that the misbehaviour of children and youth was regarded as being the result of bad parenting.¹¹⁴ Rather than a need to punish children, he emphasized the need for more educational literacy. Breaking the will of the child, if necessary by force, while propagated in doctrinal instructional books such as those by Wittewrongel and Koelman, did not seem to be frequently practised. According to Groenendijk, this was because such thinking, associated with the Further Reformation, had been surpassed by the Erasmian impact on educational discourse.¹¹⁵ Therefore, for moderate Calvinists such as Constantijn Huygens and Jacob Cats, and even for orthodox moralists such as Koelman and Wittewrongel, educators acting in a child-oriented manner was in fact a matter of course.¹¹⁶ In addition to the topics concerned with caring, part of the mother's duty (treated above), and central to the educators' ideas on childhood were the competing activities of play and learning, the role of feasts, learning at school and, finally, coming of age in an acceptable and appropriate way, which meant remaining chaste.

Children at play was a normal aspect of Dutch family and public life.¹¹⁷ In the Northern Netherlands, most children had toys from the late Middle Ages. Parents considered the play of their children not only as normal, but even as necessary for their development. Evidence for this can be found in the mention of various toys in many texts, their occurrence in many images found in the fifteenth-century Dutch books of hours, in paintings and drawings, and from archaeological discoveries.¹¹⁸ It seems perhaps remarkable that one of the most prominent representatives of the puritan wing of Dutch Calvinism, the Rev. Wittewrongel, emphasized the important role of play in the development of children, in particular the youngest, who needed 'considerable pleasure'. This orthodox Calvinist recommended playing on the street, referring to the Bible, Zach. 8: 5, adding that 'the limits of Christian moderation and decency were not exceeded'.¹¹⁹ While moralists were aware that children should play for the sake of their development, they thus expressed warnings, calling for moderation, decency and a balance between play and learning.¹²⁰

Celebrations for children could lead to strong local disputes in the religiously divided house of the Dutch Republic, with the various religions having opposing ideas on their educational impact. Orthodox Protestants opposed many existing feasts which had originated from either Catholicism or paganism. *Kermis*, the seasonal fair, and the feast of St Nicholas drew special protests.¹²¹ While forbidding those feasts was part of the Further Reformation's strategy of the Calvinization of daily life, forbidding the celebration of St Nicholas proved to be too difficult a task. This feast, rewarding children for their good behaviour, had a long tradition, as evidenced by documents from as early as 1360 in an account of the city of Dordrecht, which stated that children received a day off school and some money to celebrate the feast. It was also in Dordrecht that three hundred years later, in 1657, the orthodox Protestants, having a political monopoly, succeeded in forbidding the celebration of this 'remainder of Catholic traditions'.¹²² While the movement against this feast was guided by texts containing the main objections to St Nicholas, among them the anti-papist text by the Rev. Abraham Magyrus (1634–1702), the tradition was stronger than the movement's power to forbid it.¹²³ The celebration not only continued, which is evidence of the heterogeneous character of Dutch society in the seventeenth century, but remained the main children's feast. Jan Steen (1626–1679), the Catholic genre painter, produced no less than four impressive paintings of it. In the painting below, he depicted the main elements of the festivity: the gifts and the traditional sweetmeats of St Nicholas, or *Sinterklaas*, for those who were good, and Black Peter's birch for those who were not. The pedagogical warning in the painting, showing the negative consequences of favouritism for one child, the happy girl, at the expense of another child, the crying boy, is a restatement of the ideas of moralists such as Cats and Wittewrongel (Figure 11).¹²⁴

Moral Literacy When Coming of Age

Childhood ended between the fourteenth and eighteenth years. In the transition from adolescence to adulthood, and influenced by both the family and peers, it was considered that a life companion should be sought.¹²⁵ Girls were advised to wait their turn in the house of their own family. As we have seen above, it was the responsibility of the fathers to take an active role in searching for life companions for daughters and sons and to attempt to realize a balance between affection and family interests, as can be seen in the story of how Constantijn Huygens came to marry Susanne. On 14 January 1623, Constantijn's father Christiaan (1551–1624) wrote a letter to a niece, Susanne van Baerle (1599–1637), bringing to her attention



Figure 11. Jan Steen, *The Feast of St. Nicholas*, c.1665–1668.

Source: Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum.

the option of marrying his son. To be honest, however, this son was not Constantijn, but his older brother, Maurits, who had been interested in her for a year. Eventually Maurits was turned down, as was the famous poet Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581–1647). Fathers may have had their responsibility, but girls also had their preferences. Even before being turned down, but not at all convinced of his own success, out of brotherly love but perhaps also out of family interest, Maurits wrote to his younger brother encouraging him to try himself. Three years later, Constantijn fell in love, and through poetry, one of his strengths, attempted to win Susanne's heart. During these years, Susanne probably behaved similarly to many of the girls depicted in paintings by Ter Borch, Vermeer and many others, full of expectation and curiosity viewing the proposals of their lovers, but perhaps more than these paintings seem to suggest, directing the course of events in accordance with their own preferences.¹²⁶ Constantijn was not turned down, and he married Susanne on 6 April 1627, three hundred years to the day that Petrarch and Laura, lovers from the Italian Renaissance made famous in Petrarch's writings, had met. It appears that Constantijn, who had been educated as a *honnête homme*, knew his classics.¹²⁷

In taking an active role in the search for life companions for their children, fathers were conscious of the fact that for the sake of the family, chastity, a girl's main asset, should be preserved during the period of coming of age.¹²⁸ Cats's emblematic books dedicated much space to this subject. In his *Images of Passions and Love* he used a scheme to describe the cycle of life which was already a classic in ancient times.¹²⁹ He transformed this scheme into a model for teaching moral literacy during the coming of age, using elements of a classic educational discourse that was well-known among humanistic educational thinkers. While youth was a phase of learning, of being educated and, as he often emphasized, of trial and error, adulthood was a phase of the 'natural human being', who demonstrated a well-developed social competence. During the final, highest phase of life, the human being left the world and hoped ultimately to be admitted into heaven.¹³⁰ Education aimed to turn children into such adults, and a central message in Cats's emblematic works was that the bourgeoisie's educational efforts should result in developing their children's marriage prospects.

In the phase before marriage, seduction was not a problem as such, but was to be pursued only with marriage in mind, rather than pleasure.¹³¹ Parents were expected to teach their sons and daughters to curb licentiousness before marriage. Many emblems show how things could go wrong. The emblem 'Qui captat, capitur', or 'Who chases is caught', from Cats's *Images of Passions and Love*, shows a blackbird, the symbol of a lustful boy, stuck in an oyster shell, the symbol of the seductive girl (Figure 12).¹³²

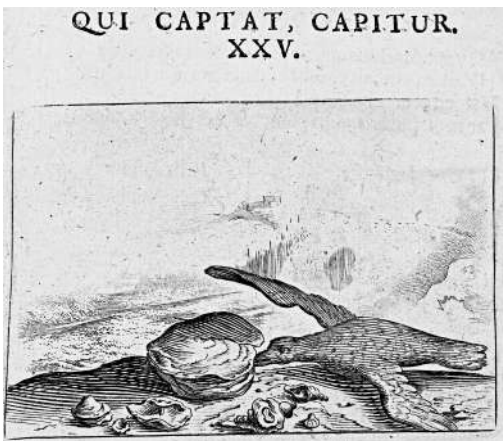


Figure 12. Jacob Cats, *Qui captat, capitur*, Emblem XXV from *Images of Passions and Love*
Source: Jacob Cats, *Alle de wercken* (Amsterdam: Schipper, 1665).

Many seventeenth-century genre painters, while sharing Cats's message, replaced the straightforward, didactic style of Cats with more subtle suggestions on love.¹³³ The most famous genre painter, Jan Steen, in his *Girl Eating Oysters*, depicted the subject of seduction as a Freudian *avant-la-lettre*. A girl sprinkles salt on the oysters while looking seductively towards the viewer, with the suggestion of offering herself. In the background, a man and a woman are preparing even more oysters. Steen's depiction of the topic used a painting tradition in which oysters were a symbol of seduction. The author of a popular medical advice book from 1651, Johan van Beverwijck, also wrote about the positive sexual benefits of eating oysters, thus corroborating everyday beliefs from a medical point of view (Figure 13).¹³⁴



Figure 13. Jan Steen, *Girl eating Oysters*, c.1658–1660.

Source: The Hague: Mauritshuis.

Cats, however, played two different roles in the writing of his emblematic books, that of a connoisseur of the *ars amatoria* and that of the chastened moralist, in this way making pleasure part of his style of educating his public in moral literacy. At first sight, he seemed to understand how difficult it was for young people to reserve their chastity and, with youth considered as a period of trial and error, he did not

condemn the imperfections of the young. He seemed to even sympathize with their sexual needs, using an explicit *ars erotica*, encouraging youth to enjoy that phase of life, which he considered to be unique and over too quickly, quoting one of his favourite proverbs, *Quand on est jeune, on aime en fol*, or ‘When young, one loves foolishly’.¹³⁵ However, he combined these remarks on sensual pleasure with clear advice on how to become a respectable adult.¹³⁶ In the first part of every emblem in his *Images of Passions and Love*, Cats wrote as a connoisseur of the *ars amatoria*, seemingly an adherent of the classic *ars amatoria* practised by poets such as Pieter Cornelisz. Hooft (1581–1647) and Johan Van Heemskerck (1597–1656). The latter’s *Art of Loving*, written in 1622, when the poet was aged 25, was inspired by Ovid’s *Ars Amatoria*. Cats could use erotic suggestions in his moralistic text as his audience was used to explicit erotic writing by others, for example, the popular writer G.A. Bredero (1585–1618).¹³⁷ Songbooks with explicitly sensual contents were also produced especially for youth. In this genre, adolescents were encouraged to temporarily explore a world distinct from that of adults, dominated by the sensual pleasures involved in looking for a partner, and during their journey to adulthood, permitted to be morally immature and imperfect.¹³⁸ For example, writing for a wider audience but in a style similar to that of *ars amatoria*, Cats emphasized the advantages of the maturity of nubile girls in the eleventh emblem of *Images of Passions and Love*, entitled *Mite pyrum vel sponte fluit*, or ‘A soft pear falls by itself’.¹³⁹

With this explicitly erotic writing, Cats differed fundamentally from the authors of doctrinal instructional advice books associated with the Further Reformation, such as Teellinck (1579–1629), one of its leaders. Teellinck left little room for the imperfections of youth in his *The Mirror of Chastity* from 1620, in which readers were warned that the very inception of voluptuousness was already sin.¹⁴⁰ However, as the readers of Cats’s emblem books suddenly became aware halfway through the emblem, Cats employed another style which contrasted with the *ars amatoria*. The next section of the emblem offered moral messages written by an experienced and full-blooded moralist. After the seductive erotic section, every emblem was transformed into a moral message emphasizing the dangers of the loss of virginity and female virtue, before, in the third and final section, the reader is advised to follow the three Christian and four cardinal virtues. Thus, with an educational ambition that he shared with Teellinck, Cats called on his readers to open the door to God.

In addition to the warning given to fathers and young men in *Images of Passions and Love*, warnings were expressed directly to girls and young women in *Marriage*. In the latter, prudent Anna first warns bold Phyllis, the latter representing promiscuous youth.¹⁴¹ Moreover, to preserve chastity girls should stay at home as much as possible, which was considered the safest way to reach adulthood; Anna

therefore advised Phyllis on this basis: ‘Remain at home, that’s the virgin’s court’.¹⁴² Cats taught moral literacy to both girls and boys, as well as young women and young men.¹⁴³ Girls were taught to be conscious of the value of their chastity, and boys to strive for a harmonious marriage rather than a wild erotic life. According to Cats, youth was only the very beginning of a long path to moral progress, which only ended with death. In his lessons on how to remain on the right path, he combined, as did many painters in the seventeenth century, sensual pleasure or *ars amatoria* with clear advice on how to become a respectable adult.¹⁴⁴ Coming of age could be pleasant, on the condition that one controlled one’s sensual and sexual desires.

Different Teaching Styles but the Same Belief in the Impact of Parenting

In the divided house of the seventeenth-century Dutch Republic, the ultimate educational goal was almost the same for everyone – it was thoroughly religious and ultimately focused on the passage to heaven, notwithstanding major religious differences. The same was true of the educational ambition behind the various styles of teaching educational literacy and behind the ultimate goal, namely a strong belief in the potential impact, both positive and negative, of parenting, and consequently an emphasis on parental responsibility and on their educational literacy. Education took place in an educational space characterized by contrasts, such as major demographic limitations, with high infant mortality and a great number of orphans on the one hand, and increasing economic and financial means, an emphasis on the family as the main agent of education and much evidence of affection being shown to children, on the other hand. Two main styles served to transmit the essentials of parenthood and the coming of age, namely teaching by seduction or by doctrinal instruction. This did not mean that the books and the images in question were always perfect examples of one or the other style. On the contrary, the emblem books by Cats were no doubt also very instructional, and the same can be said of a great number of genre paintings on education and the family. However, they were not doctrinal, and this principle difference made it possible for Cats, along with other moralists and genre painters, to deliver their message by seduction, an option not available to adherents of the doctrinal instructional books, such as Wittewrongel and Koelman.

Both styles were successful, since the market for educational literacy was vast. However, one style was more successful than the other. Although the doctrinal instruction books were very successful within their own religious

group, with the above-mentioned book by Koelman being reprinted today, the greatest success went to the emblematic style used by Jacob Cats, in particular his book *Marriage* for women and *Images of Passions and Love* for men. He presented his moral messages in a manner as refined and enjoyable as possible, based on the belief that people had to be seduced to pursue chastity and frugality through their very enjoyment of his texts. His strategy has shown itself to be successful, as the broader middle classes preferred books that were both moralistic and enjoyable with respect to the development of educational literacy. The same was true of the use of the fine arts for teaching educational values, although understandably applying to a much smaller group, with paintings more expensive than emblem books. Nonetheless, in seventeenth-century Holland, because of the huge production of paintings and the well-organized art market, paintings were hung in more homes than elsewhere. In buying paintings with messages about parental behaviour, many Dutch parents wanted to be seduced to chastity and frugality through beauty, and painters offered them this possibility, fully aware of the power of beauty.

This was possible, notwithstanding that in many respects Calvinism dominated a culture that seemed characterized by its search for frugality and simplicity. Because the Further Reformation did not succeed in dominating Dutch society, it was not possible to prevent moralists from using seduction in their writing, or consumers from buying their books. It is apparent that there was a wide market, consisting of Protestants and Catholics who were eager to be reminded, when reading moralistic books, about how to behave according to the rules and regulations of their respective religions, while at the same time enjoying well-written and illustrated texts. In doing so, they created a private world in which morality and pleasure, seriousness and fun went together. Cats became the most successful author because he wrote books that were acceptable and attractive to both Protestants and Catholics, avoiding the very doctrines that were so characteristic of the doctrinal instructional advice books. Moreover, he used an effective and pleasant writing style, as well as ingeniously combining word and image in the context of a culture which, given its exceptional painting and drawing tradition, could be called an image culture. As a result, he had a major influence on two major themes of his time, namely the duties of parents and how to become a respectable, Christian adult: for as an adolescent or as a future parent, having read these books, you knew how and how not to behave. Johan Huizinga (1872–1945), the great Dutch historian and advocate of poets and writers such as Vondel and Hooft did not have any aesthetic affinity with Cats at all, yet had to admit that it was Cats and not Vondel or Hooft, or any other poet, who was the most widely read author in the Dutch Republic.¹⁴⁵

The singular focus on educational ambition disappeared at the end of the eighteenth century with the emergence of a new and strong focus, namely instruction for citizenship for all. The next chapter focuses on these issues and on the long struggle that took place between adherents of the new focus and those of the old focus on Christian salvation that had been dominant for several centuries.

Chapter 3

Instruction in Virtues for Citizenship for All: The Pitfalls of a New Educational Culture around 1800

Introduction

With a new focus on educational ambition based in the notion of instruction for citizenship for all, an ambitious educational culture was born.¹ From the second half of the eighteenth century, the focus on Christian salvation, the predominant goal of educational ambition throughout Europe, was challenged by this new Enlightenment-inspired educational agenda. Its adherents initially had great expectations and expressed optimism, but at the end of the day, to their own chagrin, they came to the conclusion that most of their expectations were illusions, or at least expectations for a far-distant future. The Enlightenment-inspired educational paradise they had dreamed of faced the reality of tough negotiations with the adherents of the former dominant educational agenda – the orthodox Protestants – who from the 1860s were also joined by the re-emergent Roman Catholics. This situation eventually resulted in a diverse and competitive educational theatre with no dominating star.

This chapter concerns the birth of this new educational culture, its educational ambition focused on citizenship and resulting in both an explicit and a didactic style of cultural transmission, and also leading to the design of and initial measures to establish a system of regulation and supervision of children and parents. The chapter also tells the story of the collision of the overarching expectations of the Educational Enlightenment with the limits of the educational space, and of the increasing power of those opposed to the Educational Enlightenment. This opposition to Enlightenment-inspired educational plans turned into a struggle for educational power which only ended a century later in a compromise between the religious and liberal parties. The chapter starts with a brief outline of those changes in the educational space that facilitated the birth of new educational ambitions, but at the same time substantially limited their realization.

New Citizens for the New Nation in an Ambiguous Educational Space

In the second half of the eighteenth century, a group of mainly Protestant dissenters, adherents of the eighteenth-century Dutch Enlightenment, longed to establish a single, centrally governed nation-state to replace the decentralized and economically stagnating Dutch Republic in which they lived and which was modelled politically on a sixteenth-century idea of local and regional autonomy. To establish this new nation, they promoted patriotism and citizenship for all, thus an inclusive form of citizenship, in contrast to the exclusive and locally based citizenship common to the Dutch Republic. Because many were not ready for such a patriotic form of citizenship, there was a need to provide education to achieve this goal. Indeed, the adherents of the Dutch Enlightenment saw education as the main strategy for realizing their ideals. On the basis of this patriotic spirit, Jan Hendrik Swildens (1745–1809), the principal ideologist of the influential philanthropic society, The Society for the Common Good, to be discussed further below, stated in his *Patriotic A-B Book for the Dutch Youth* from 1781 that every Dutch child should love his or her country more than any other.² In one of his three volumes of *Poems for children*, Hieronijmus van Alphen (1746–1803) wrote a poem entitled ‘Patriotism’ (1778), which introduced his young readers to the new patriotism expected from them: ‘Although I am only a Child, / My Fatherland is the one most loved by me; ... When coming of age, / I hope to be as useful as possible to my country’. In the drawing adjacent to this poem, a Dutch boy stands before a pillar incorporating the Dutch Lion, expressing his patriotism and promising that with the support of national education he would be useful to his country (Figure 14).³

To realize the new nation and the new state, regime change seemed inevitable, with a civil war far from unlikely in a society disrupted by the struggle between patriots longing to establish a unified, centrally governed and Enlightenment-inspired country and adherents of the Prince of Orange who understandably were against such change and ready to defend their Republic. In his anonymously published pamphlet of 1781, *To the People of the Netherlands*, the famous patriot Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol (1741–1784) blamed the Prince of Orange and his adherents for the suppression of Dutch freedom and even incited the population to revolution, offering the help of the patriots’ militias.⁴ While revolt occurred in some regions, it did not come to all out civil war, for after their unsuccessful revolt against the prince and his adherents in 1787, supported by the Duke of Brunswick and his army, the patriots fled to France without becoming involved in any real fighting. They returned eight years later after having



Figure 14. Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Patriotism*.

Source: Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Poems for children*, Vol. III.

experienced the French Revolution, including its most bloody phase of Jacobin terror. Now backed by French troops, they were able to triumph without any bloodshed. The prince, in turn, fled to England, while the patriots enjoyed their Batavian revolution, and in 1795 the Batavian Republic became the first centralized state in the history of the northern Netherlands. After some preparatory years, in 1798 the new constitution came into force, with the regional autonomy of the *ancien régime* ending. The result, according to Van Sas, was a metamorphosis of the country.⁵ As the success of the new nation depended on its citizens and many members of society were not yet ready for the huge responsibility of citizenship, it was considered that education might make citizenship for all more than a beautiful dream. Therefore, the development of educational plans received priority in the

agenda of the new political elite, who worked in an atmosphere of euphoria, enthusiasm and belief in their political and educational visions.

Notwithstanding the political and cultural modernization of Dutch society in the late eighteenth century, there remained serious limits to the educational space. Dutch figures for infant and child mortality remained at their *ancien régime* level until the last quarter of the nineteenth century, even increasing in the 1840s–1870s. These levels were also apparent in the well-to-do families, as the example of the Van Eck family shows. This wealthy family, one of the most convinced supporters of the Dutch revolution, with the father actively involved, prepared themselves extremely well for the education of their ten children, reading almost all of the principal educational texts of the time. Despite educating their children with love, as we know from their personal documents, they had to watch five of them die before adulthood. Infant mortality frequently rose above 200 per 1000, with an average life expectancy of 30 to 35 years. While the deadly effects of dysentery and diseases causing gastroenteritis in the very young continued, in some years the situation became even worse. At the end of the eighteenth century, smallpox was responsible for at least an additional 10 percent of deaths.⁶

Van Alphen, mentioned above, who with the great popularity of his texts heralded a new Dutch educational culture, was aware of this demographic reality. In response, he frequently addressed the subject of death, including that of the very young, and in this way made children familiar with the reality of life and death. In a poem entitled ‘Complaint of little William on the death of his little sister’, he tried to evoke the world of the child of his time: ‘Ah! My little sister has died, / only aged fourteen months / [...] Ah! Her eyes are closed / I must cry with grief. / ... For me too the danger of dying is strong. / ... Yesterday, she played with me; / Yesterday! And now, already dead!’ (Figure 15).⁷ Van Alphen also wrote about the dead body in a poem entitled ‘The Body’, to familiarize children with death in a non-doctrinal Protestant discourse typical of the Dutch Enlightenment.⁸ As death was a frequent occurrence in Dutch families, demographic limits remained the major restriction to educational ambitions, with the Enlightenment not putting an end to the demographic reality of the ‘dark legend’ in the history of education, as discussed in Chapter One.

In contrast to these demographic limits, social and political conditions seemed to encourage the success of the political revolution and the new world it aimed to create. However, the Dutch economy was already in decline, becoming even worse around 1800, and with the radical Enlightenment euphoria soon evaporating, the political and social conditions, although at first encouraging, now became limiting factors in realizing the new educational ambitions. The day after the night before, the adherents of the Patriotic Revolution already faced the harsh reality.



Figure 15. Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Complaint of Little William on the Death of His Little Sister*.

Source: Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Poems for children*, Vol. I.

reality. In addition to the increasing economic crisis and the slackening of political support, this reality became manifest in an unexpected struggle for control of the educational space, and thus educational power, against their ideological opponents, the orthodox Protestants. Later this struggle would also involve the Roman Catholics, who, as a result of the constitution of 1798 which abolished the special position of the Dutch Calvinist Reformed Church and provided freedom of religion to all Churches, would start the process of emancipation, with the educational dimension being seen as an essential part.

During this period, the notion of overcoming the educational primacy of family and parents arose. From 1801, with the first national school acts, the process of the regulation of education by the central state began. However, other examples of institutional interventions in the educational space were not state-driven, among

them home visits to the poor and out-of-home placements for juvenile delinquents and neglected children. In adopting these measures the Netherlands moved in the same direction as elsewhere in Europe, with famous examples being the model school at Dessau, home visits by both Evangelical and Enlightenment-inspired philanthropists, including the Dutch philanthropist Willem Suringar, and re-education homes, including the Rauhe Haus near Hamburg, Red Hill in England, Mettray in France, Ruiselede in Belgium and Nederlandsch Mettray. In addition, special youth prisons were opened, such as La Petite Roquette in Paris and the prison for boys in Rotterdam in 1833, resulting from the involvement of an impressive international network of philanthropists, including Suringar, who were ready to intervene in family and educational matters. In contrast to France, for example, which had a strong state-based educational ambition, the role of the Dutch state in these activities remained modest, with the low level of state intervention a product of the failing realization of Enlightenment educational plans.⁹

In relation to the project of realizing the new educational ambition of creating new citizens for a new nation, the educational space became a paradox. On the one hand, in the first years of the Dutch Batavian Republic, political and social conditions, together with the birth of a new morally coloured map of the world of the child, as found in the popular poems by Van Alphen, encouraged such ambitions and strategies. On the other hand, with economic and demographic restrictions remaining at the same level or even becoming worse, and with political conditions being positive for only a very short period, realizing these new educational ambitions became an impossible task. With the increasing competition between ideologically opposed groups and the virtual bankrupting of the country during the Napoleonic Wars, the educational space eventually became more restrictive and even frustrated, rather than seeing the implementation of, the proposals which were an expression of Enlightenment educational ambitions. In the following, we will take a closer look at how these strategies were renewed in order to realize the new educational ambition. It is apparent that the idea of 'families first' continued from the seventeenth century but with a different focus on education, families now becoming the main bearers and enactors of an educational ambition that aimed to make citizens of their children.

New Ambitions and New Strategies

A New Educational Culture

The new pedagogical culture's quest for virtuousness and citizenship for all was inspired by those within and beyond the Netherlands. Books by John Locke (1632–1704), and later by Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) and the German pedagogues Johann Bernhard Basedow (1724–1790) Joachim Heinrich Campe (1746–1818) and Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744–1811) were soon translated into Dutch. In addition to the concept of *tabula rasa*, Locke's emphasis on child play was also very influential in Dutch pedagogical discourse.¹⁰ This was not the case with Rousseau's radical pedagogical ideas as expressed in *Émile, ou de l'Éducation* from 1762. However, the didactic adaptation and putting into practice of these ideas by the German *Philanthropinists*, in particular Basedow and Campe, through the design and inauguration of their educational experiment the Philanthropium in Dessau in 1774, became a source of inspiration.¹¹ Although popular among Dutch mothers, the reason why Rousseau did not have a major influence on the Dutch Enlightenment school reformers seems to be twofold. First, the emerging Romanticism in Germany, England and France did not have much influence on the late eighteenth-century Dutch educational debate culture and, secondly, Dutch pedagogical culture was pragmatic, less philosophical and less interested in the radical philosophical experiments so characteristic of *Émile*. Dutch culture was focused on proven practical ways of educating children in the virtues of good citizenship, and these methods were seen at Dessau and not in Rousseau's *Émile*.¹² While the writings of the founding father of the Philanthropium, Basedow, were not very well known in the Netherlands, the opposite was true of those of his successor, Campe, and of Salzmann, whose main works were soon translated into Dutch.¹³ Salzmann, whose moral books were of special interest to the morally oriented Dutch educational culture and which were reprinted several times, was of the opinion that children could be educated in the virtues most efficiently by having them read books on virtuous men and women.¹⁴ Swildens, the above-mentioned ideologue of the Society for the Common Good, was a convinced adherent of the Philanthropists, his *Patriotic A-B Book for the Dutch Youth* inspired by Salzmann's texts. He filled his book with examples of the social virtues that should be learned by the youth to help them become good citizens and patriots.¹⁵

Dutch Enlightenment educational culture was also inspired by Dutch educational traditions, in particular that of Christian-humanism. The main authors in this field were Cats in the seventeenth century and Justus van Effen in the early eighteenth century. The latter was also the editor of the Dutch *Spectator*

and was inspired by the English *Spectator* authors Addison and Steel. Both Van Effen and Cats can be considered to be supporters of a major part of the educational ideas discussed above. Cats's idea of the child as a 'plant that could be formed by soft force' was perfectly compatible with Locke's concept of a *tabula rasa*, while Van Effen complemented Cats' ideas on parenting and becoming an adult with the eighteenth-century ambition of education for citizenship for all. The Dutch *Spectator* was characterized by its explicitly moral intentions¹⁶ and fuelled by the vanguard of Enlightenment-inspired writers. In addition to Justus van Effen, Betje Wolff, Aagje Deken, Hieronijmus van Alphen and Petronella Moens all emphasized virtuousness as the main element of the ideal citizen's behaviour.¹⁷ The Dutch educational tradition laid down in the doctrinal instruction books produced by Wittewrongel and Koelman, among others, was understandably not a source of inspiration for Enlightenment adherents. Thus, with the introduction of the new Enlightenment educational culture, adherents of the tradition began their struggle against modernity. This occurred in a series of new critical texts, such as *Salomon's Advice to the Youth* from 1724 by the Rev. Jacobus Fruytier, which was soon to become popular in pietistic and puritan circles, and which attempted to refute Locke's concept of a *tabula rasa*, with reference to the Bible and original sin as an article of faith.¹⁸ Looking back, it can be said that these initial texts already heralded all the major problems that would arise in the attempt to impose Enlightenment-inspired educational ambitions on the population as a whole.

With the inspiration of famous foreign examples, and encouraged by the Dutch Christian-humanist educational tradition represented by Cats and Van Effen, the adherents of the new educational culture focused on the two major educational institutions to be utilized in making good citizens of all Dutch children: the family and the primary school. As the family was seen as the core instrument of the new educational ambition, a renewal of the strategy of cultural transmission was necessary to focus this educational institution on the new educational ambition, with the *Domestic Book for Dutch Families* from 1793, written by the moderate Protestant Rev. Johannes Martinet (1729–1795), becoming, in the words of Kloek and Mijnhardt, the 'icon of the ideology of domesticity'.¹⁹ For the first time in Dutch history, in addition to their other tasks and duties, families had to work for the nation. However, the primary school would become the main instrument of the state in realizing the new educational goals, resulting in the first national school acts of 1801 and 1806.

Children of the Family or the State?

Although seemingly continuing the tradition of the Dutch family-based educational discourse expressed in the emblematic books by Jacob Cats, the Enlightenment-inspired writers on education changed the goal of family education from that of a preparation for a religiously proper life to that of the formation of virtuous future citizens. They reflected on how the family and the state should contribute to this education and considered which should be the dominant agency. These debates were facilitated and powered by a great number of literary contests on educational issues, organized by the many learned societies that were established from the 1750s. Examples of these societies, such as the Dutch Society of Sciences founded in 1752 in the city of Haarlem, and the above-mentioned Society for the Common Good, organized hundreds of contests on societal issues, with many on education and the family. In this way they encouraged many citizens to contribute to the national debate.²⁰

Two main agendas developed from this typically open Enlightenment debate culture. One considered that the family should be the main educational institution, which therefore should be supported by the state through regulations and encouragement. The aim of this growing group was to make primary education compulsory. The other agenda had a fundamental distrust of the competence of the family and parents in relation to the education of their children. For a wide majority, however, following Cats, who cherished the family values that had been glorified for centuries in emblem books, genre painting and doctrinal instruction child-rearing books, distrusting the family in such a fashion could never be a winning strategy. While Dutch parents had to be encouraged to gain educational literacy and be taught the virtues, and in some cases had to be forced to send their children to school, a fundamental distrust of their overall competence was not an option. Enlightenment writers emphasized preparation for citizenship as the new and main goal of family education. However, moderate writers such as Van Alphen with his child-oriented poems, Martinet with his *Domestic Book for Dutch Families*, Justus van Effen with his plea for the education of girls in 1731 – which had in mind their future duties as wives and mothers²¹ – and many other authors of texts on education published in the *Spectator*, including female writers such as Wolff, Deken and Moens, continued the Dutch tradition, existing for many centuries, of praising the superiority of the family in the realm of education. Such writers left little room for radical ideas that expressed a mistrust of the family and advocated an educational monopoly of the state, and these family-oriented ideas could easily have won the debate.²²

Although the more radical ideas on education seemed to remain a curiosity, during the open Dutch debate on educational ambitions which occurred

around 1800 they did provide some insight into how state educational responsibility might develop. The most outspoken advocate of such ideas was Gerrit C.C. Vatebender (1759–1822), the Rector of the Latin School of Gouda in the province of Holland. He won second prize in 1793 for his ideas on state education in a contest on the following topic: ‘Which kind of education is preferable, a publicly directed, or family directed one?’ The competition was organized by one of the many learned societies, the Utrecht Provincial Society of Arts and Sciences, with the first prize going to an anonymous submission.²³ Vatebender, an adherent of the radical Enlightenment – and incidentally, a teacher of Otto van Eck, Enlightenment adherent Lambert van Eck’s eldest son, who was to die young – imagined an almost totalitarian state with overwhelming power over the education of the youth.²⁴ According to Vatebender, youth did not belong to a private space, but was ‘the public property of the state’ and ‘should not be protected by any other agency’, including parents. This radical rector deeply mistrusted the educational abilities of parents and argued in a lengthy discourse that family education, with the many quarrels between parents and a unfavourable atmosphere at home, was bad for children, the country’s future citizens. In comparing the pros and cons of public and family education, he had to admit that there were some negative elements in state education, such as inferior school buildings and poorly paid and incompetent teachers; however, these negative elements, according to Vatebender, were nothing compared with the terrible results of family education. In addition, he argued that while state education could be quickly improved by an effectively realized master plan, improving the education provided by each individual family was impossible. In proposing one general director of state education for all future citizens – even more powerful than the Soviet Commissioner for Education in Stalin’s time – Vatebender’s plans exhibit similarities to the *Plan d’éducation nationale* by Lepeletier, which was defended in the National Assembly by Robespierre in 1793 during the most radical, Jacobin phase of the French Revolution.²⁵

Like Rousseau, Vatebender was a radical thinker who distrusted the cultural environment. As well as achieving no fame at all, he also differed from the author of *Émile* in proposing to change this environment not, as the latter proposed, by presenting a philosophically derived concept of nature, but by advocating that another cultural agency altogether should replace the family, namely the state. He seemed to believe strongly in his ideas and was convinced that if children were educated outside the family and taught civil virtues, they would make the world a better place. Thus, his educational ambition was to make the world more virtuous through good education: ‘when educated more adequately in youth, you will become better citizens on reaching adulthood’. Vatebender envisaged all girls and boys being taken from their parents at the age of six and put into state-run national institutions, where they would all be clothed, fed and educated in the same way,

returning to the family for only a couple of weeks a year. For girls, this state education would end at the age of ten, because they had to learn, under the supervision of their mothers, 'female virtues and skills' for their future roles as wives and mothers. Boys would remain in the state institutions until the age of 12 before being allowed to return to their families. For a limited number, further institutional education would be organized within the existing system of Dutch, French and Latin schools. Vatebender realized that many would reject his ideas – 'crying about the harshness of taking the children away from their parents' – and showed no concern at all for those opposed to them, referring to such parents as 'tenderness-obsessed fathers and mothers'.²⁶

Vatebender did not stand alone in his praise of the state and his distrust of the family. No less than the first so-called 'Agent of National Education' – comparable with a Secretary of Education today – T. van Kooten, appointed in 1798, stood behind Vatebender's plans and attempted to realize them. Van Kooten, a convinced patriot, and like Vatebender a former rector of a Latin school as well as a professor at the University of Franeker from 1784, had fled to France in 1787 after the failure of the patriotic revolt. He returned in 1795 and participated in the Batavian Revolution, representing, with Vatebender and others, the radical branch of the patriots. He made Vatebender an additional member of the first state committee for the organization of the school system. Though supporting Vatebender's plans as the Agent of National Education, he did not receive support from any of the other members of the committee. By first delaying an assessment of the plan, and in the meantime encouraging the Society for the Common Good to develop moderate and realistic alternatives, as well as explicitly warning against Vatebender's 'Idle dreams of unattainable and chimerical perfection', the political machinery of the young Batavian Republic effectively neutralized his and Van Kooten's radical plans.²⁷ In 1799, Van Kooten had no other option than to resign, thus ending the year of radical Dutch Enlightenment educational ambition. After his resignation, moderate forces under the leadership of his influential and pragmatic successor Van der Palm took over and introduced plans prepared by the Society for the Common Good, which only covered school education.²⁸ While making plans for a new school system was important for the Dutch educational Enlightenment and a manifestation of a European-wide move to develop such plans, it was not school reform that seemed to be typically Dutch but the role and responsibility of the family in the preparation of the young for citizenship. One of the main educational strategies, namely cultural transmission, was renewed for the sake of that goal.

Innovating Strategies of Educational Ambition I: Cultural Transmission as Didactic Instruction

In the eighteenth century, Cats's emblematic books remained so popular that Rhijnvis Feith (1753–1824), editor of a new edition of Cats's *oeuvre*, could appraise it as the 'handbook for the youth', as 'really Dutch', even as 'the sanctuary'. He interpreted Cats' works in terms of modern Enlightenment citizenship ideals such that, according to Kloek and Mijnhardt, Cats' old emblematic books now became 'the bible of the new citizen ideal'.²⁹ Cultural transmission now intended to change culture, with a focus on civic values and using a direct, didactic teaching style, which in the poems of Van Alphen also became more child-oriented. This didactic approach appeared in both texts and images. The painting culture, although not comparable with the Golden Age, flourished both in quality and quantity and produced didactic paintings that relayed a clear message about how to behave according to the new tenets of the Enlightenment. The child-oriented turn was present in poetry for children by Hieronymus van Alphen. The following sections discuss the power of those poems and paintings to create the new educational focus with its different approaches to the mother, father and the child.

The Power of Poems to Educate Parents in a New Educational Literacy

Hieronimus van Alphen (1746–1803) became one of the most popular representatives of the Dutch variant of the European educational Enlightenment.³⁰ His *Little Poems for Children*, intended for children and their parents, put the new pedagogical culture into words in a very effective way. A pietistic patriot from Utrecht, he obtained his doctorate in 1768 at the University of Utrecht and afterwards worked as a lawyer. On the death of his wife in 1775, he was left a young father with three small sons, who were one, two and three years old,³¹ for whom he originally wrote his poems.³² The poems became even more popular through a combination of his text with didactic illustrations by Jacobus Buijs (1724–1801), and his popularity was sustained for more than half a century. However, around 1850, after strong criticism from the Rev. Petrus de Génestet (1829–1861) for being too moralistic and old-fashioned, their popularity waned and never recovered.³³

Around 1800, however, Van Alphen's poems were very popular and were read by both children and parents, with parents also often reading them to their children as we know from the autobiography of Willem van den Hull (1778–1858).³⁴ The poems were even formally recognized by adherents of the Dutch Enlightenment and, as the 'laudable Enlightenment Pedagogics by Hieronimus van Alphen', gained a central place on the so-called *General List of Books for Primary*

Schools in the Northern Provinces of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, published in 1815, which had the educational ambition of determining what Dutch children should read, and what not. This list, based on a typically rationalistic Enlightenment approach, omitted tales and stories about Catholic saints, including the highly popular St Nicholas, and all other texts that preserved a relationship to an illusory world rather than dealing with realistic situations. In this way it advised schoolteachers about which stories should be read by their pupils.³⁵ While part of the Dutch culture, Van Alphen's poems represented a European genre that originated in eighteenth-century Germany, where poems by Christian Felix Weisse and Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann assisted parents and other educators in their educational tasks.

While the moral content, so criticized by De Génestet, was more child-oriented than usual, it was not this that made Van Alphen's poems appear modern, but a child-oriented style which made them *Vom Kinde Aus* poems *avant-la-lettre*.³⁶ One of the reasons why Van Alphen succeeded in writing them in this way was probably the affectionate and intense relationship between him and his sons. In writing for children and trying to put himself in the position of the child, he was an exception in the Dutch pedagogical Enlightenment, the texts of which, for example by Wolff and Deken, were intended for parents and other adults and not for children.³⁷ His style was also more successful due his use of rhythm and his choice of words, which made the poems memorable. While Wolff and most other representatives of the Dutch educational Enlightenment did not change their style to appeal to children, Van Alphen belonged to a group of authors, including the above-mentioned German authors who inspired him, who attempted to engage with the world of the child while at the same time describing this world. Van Alphen, as a prisoner of his own culture, could only make use of an image of the child within that culture, and that was the image of a well-behaved, good child with the desire to develop into a decent citizen. It is understandable therefore, that after more than fifty years, as the image of the child changed fundamentally, the popularity of his poems inevitably decreased. Van Alphen gave his poems a combination of childish rationality and sensibility, with examples such as the above quoted poem in which Willem weeps for his dead sister, or that in which Claartje weeps before the portrait of her dead mother.³⁸ As a result, Van Alphen became a true representative of the Dutch Enlightenment in being a moderate Christian, a patriot and a pedagogic innovator at the same time.³⁹ His poems explicitly described parenting roles, often from the point of view of the children themselves. As we will see below, this was also the case with painting.

Praising the Role of the Mother

The central role of the mother in doctrinal instructional books, emblem books and genre painting of the seventeenth century received a new impulse in the late eighteenth-century combination of domesticity and citizenship.⁴⁰ While Van Effen pleaded for a good education for girls in preparation for their future roles as mothers and wives, his argument was often also used in other articles published in the *Spectator*, and his position was shared by well-known female authors such as Wolff, Deken and Moens. According to Wolff in her popular book *A Proof on Education* from 1779 – with its dedication to ‘The Dutch Mothers’ implicitly following in the footsteps of the seventeenth-century work, *Marriage*, by Cats – children could become decent citizens only through family education and through the efforts of well-educated mothers.⁴¹ The eighteenth-century message about motherhood not only differed from the seventeenth-century message in its emphasis on good education for girls, but also in its didactic and explicitly moralistic style.

In addition to writers and politicians, artists also became enthusiastic about the new ideals on citizenship and education, one example being the Frisian painter Willem Bartel van der Kooi (1768–1836). Van der Kooi, a moderate Protestant and adherent of the Dutch Enlightenment, was an autodidact inspired by portraits by Van Dijck and other famous seventeenth-century portrait painters, which he studied during his travels to Düsseldorf in 1804–1805. He was an active participant in the 1795 Dutch revolution, became a substitute member of the Provincial Executive of Friesland, and voted for the unified state at the famous National Assembly. In 1798, he became a lecturer in drawing at the University of Franeker, where Van Kooten had been a professor some years earlier. He became a successful portrait and genre painter, with his life-size genre paintings expressing the didactic and educational spirit of the Dutch Enlightenment and containing explicit and didactic messages that differed from the complex and often implicit messages of seventeenth-century Dutch genre paintings on the topics of education and childhood. While he had a good reputation as an artist during his lifetime, this declined around 1900, as had already happened to Van Alphen, and over half a century passed before his work came to be appreciated once more. Today some of his paintings hang prominently in the Amsterdam Rijksmuseum, the national showcase of Dutch art.

His painting from 1826 of a *Breast-feeding Mother*, depicting a Frisian country woman,⁴² contributed to the propaganda which advocated breast-feeding among upper-class bourgeois mothers. Depicting his model in traditional Frisian clothes, he sent the message that elite women should follow the example of such Frisian country women, becoming good mothers by choosing to breast-feed their own children. Although this was a popular message in the Enlightenment and formulated explicitly by Rousseau, in the northern Netherlands breast-feeding was already common among the majority of mothers, in contrast to countries such as

France. Thus, Van der Kooi followed the seventeenth-century moralist Jacob Cats in emphasizing the relationship between good motherhood and breast-feeding, finding it wise to renew this propaganda using the didactic power of painting. In addition to his optimistic ideas about improving society by improving its children, the high infant mortality around 1800 probably also played a role in his considerations (Figure 16).⁴³



Figure 16. Willem van der Kooi, 1826, *Breast-feeding Mother*.

Source: Leeuwarden: Fries Museum.

Van Alphen's poems addressed mothers in a different way, using the voices of their children to praise them. Moving into the world of the child and mother, in 'The Tender Child', the boy praises his mother. The accompanying image shows the boy in an adoring attitude, while his mother, seemingly unaffected by the vocal praise from her son, remains seated in a chair by the window reading a book.⁴⁴ Van Alphen also emphasized the mother's role as the moral compass for her children and taught children about morality in his poems; for example, that children should consider bad weather and thunder and lightning as presents from God,⁴⁵ and that

nature should be treated respectfully, for example, by not disturbing birds' nests.⁴⁶

Father: a Friend of Children or a Pedagogical Friend?

A father was also to be praised by his children, at least in Van Alphen's poems. His poem entitled 'Child's Love' from 1778 is a classic in Dutch cultural history and concerns a child whose misbehaviour might not only trouble his father but also harm him, even bringing him to tears when having to physically punish the child. The child, and not the father, is advised to ask God for forgiveness. The moral message of this poem is the opposite of Cats's message in the seventeenth century, in which the parents were ultimately to blame for the misbehaviour of their children (Figure 17). With a change in the child's image developing after the 1850s, it is no wonder that, leaving aside the child-oriented style of such poems, the content of the



Figure 17. Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Child's Love*.

Source: Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Poems for children*, Vol. I.

poems was considered unfriendly to children, and as showing no evidence of engagement in the child's world.⁴⁷ While the accompanying engraving by Buijs shows a father educating his son, the text of the poem focuses on the boy, who says that he would never harm his father or sadden him. The child is given an enormous responsibility, which would not be recommended today by any developmental psychologist, pedagogist or counsellor.

'Little John once saw plums hanging', one of the best-known lines in the Dutch collective memory, opens the first verse of the classic poem 'The Plum Tree. A Story'. In a manner oriented towards children it tells of the struggle between virtues and vices, of childish temptation and fatherly supervision, the acquiring of a moral insight into children, the love of children for their parents and, finally about the ultimate reward of virtue. This poem provides a perfect summary of how Dutch Enlightenment parents were to educate their children in the virtues of good citizenship. The poem deals with temptation and the rewards should it be successfully resisted, telling the story of little John, who appears alone in a garden, sees the plums and is tempted to take one. Meanwhile his father stands hidden behind a hedge and, happy to see that his son is eventually able to resist temptation, suddenly emerges and rewards his son with a hat full of plums. Until the 1850s, the accompanying engravings generally depicted the reward scene, with the father shaking the plum tree while little John stands below catching the plums. However, after the 1850s the temptation scene was chosen as the subject for the engraving. As a result, the story became less didactic, creating rhetorical tension about whether or not little John should resist temptation. The poem reveals the unique talent of Van Alphen in developing a theme which implicitly refers to original sin and yet is adapted to the world of the child at this time. He packaged the biblical story in language that was easy for children to understand, relating the subject of temptation to the child and the subject of reward to both father and son (Figure 18).⁴⁸

In another poem, entitled 'Real Friendship', the fatherly role that is recommended is understandably not that of modern friendship, but that of a father who speaks 'the language of the friend'. With this is meant a friend who seldom praises but frequently punishes the child and always for the benefit of the latter – the concept of the best interests of the child was not yet invented. This poem, inspired by 'Friendship' from *Lieder für Kinder* by Christian Felix Weisse of 1767, makes it clear that Van Alphen considered the father as a pedagogical friend rather than simply being friendly to children. Such a friend took his educational responsibilities very seriously, including physical punishment when necessary. Such an image of the father can also be seen in a painting of father and son by Van der Kooi.⁴⁹



Figure 18. Hieronijmus van Alphen, *The Plum Tree: A Story*.

Source: Hieronijmus van Alphen, *Poems for children*, Vol. I.

Thus, it seems that apart from some exceptions, such as the drawings and texts by Jacob de Vos which will be discussed further below, the image of the ideal Enlightenment father around 1800 was not that of a child's friend or a father who enjoyed the child's world, but a pedagogical friend. This pedagogical friend would, if necessary, punish his children, despite this causing him sadness. Furthermore, he was aware that ultimately it was the punished child and not himself that made both of them sad. This pedagogical friend provided moral advice to his children on all issues – with almost all issues being approached morally at the time – and guided them safely and effectively to the path of virtuous citizenship. It was no wonder, therefore, that in such an educational culture the child should be honest, learn about the virtues and never harm or sadden his or her parents.

The Honest Child, Educated in the Virtues

In texts inspired by the Enlightenment, adults generally looked at the child's world from an educational point of view, emphasizing the child's need for education and supervision if it were to develop into a virtuous adult citizen. Most Dutch poems, paintings and other sources on education around 1800 therefore depicted the child as honest and ready to be educated in the virtues as well as revealing the results of an excellent education by parents who were always supportive. Sometimes there was also interest in the emotional world of the child, in particular in some poems by Van Alphen. Also of note is the collection of drawings and texts by Jacob De Vos (1774–1844), an Amsterdam insurance broker, whose father also wrote a book on the family and education inspired by Rousseau. Jacob De Vos produced a series of booklets from 1803–1809 with drawings and brief texts on the lives of his four young sons, Willem (1799–1876), Gerrit (1800–1831), Jacob (1803–1878) and Christiaan (1805–1880).⁵⁰ His drawings and texts pay extraordinary attention to the world of his children, with the father enjoying watching their play and sometimes joining in, without the usual moral advice that characterized the educational discourse of the time. However, De Vos had not intended to influence contemporary discourse through his drawings and texts, instead keeping them within the family and thus never publishing these booklets, which demonstrate such a remarkably modern child-oriented view on children. Only two hundred years later would the manuscript be discovered by chance and then published.⁵¹

The voluminous diary of Otto van Eck, numbering many hundreds of pages and also only published more than two hundred years after it was written, at first sight looks like the actual diary of a child, and as such one of the first providing direct information on the child's world around 1800. However, this diary was in fact the result of a typical Enlightenment educational project initiated by his loving parents, in which Otto, their eldest son, who they hoped would become an influential citizen of the new Batavian Republic, had to record the daily events of his life. This diary, although written by the boy himself, was written for his educators and read almost daily by his mother and often also by his father or even close friends of the family. Thus, the diary was not the introspective enterprise of a boy trying to discover himself, but followed Van Alphen – whose works he knew well – in being a way of pleasing his parents each day, with the entries relating to educational achievements structured according to a plan developed by his parents. The project of making a true and virtuous citizen out of their son ended sadly due to the harsh demographic reality of the period. Otto never became a citizen, he died at the age of 17.⁵²

How adults looked at the world of the child became even more apparent when they dealt with the topic of play and learning. With the exception of De Vos, almost all Enlightenment-inspired educational writers – Van Alphen being

the most child-oriented – systematically linked play to learning in their texts, and while perhaps also enjoying playing with their own children, placed learning first on the basis of a moralist point of view. Children's play always had to be focused on its utility and from the age of six aimed at improving behaviour, gaining more knowledge or learning the virtues. In other words, playing was never for pleasure alone, but always had to serve the learning process. From the end of the eighteenth century this was encouraged by a new toy industry.⁵³ In his *Vaderlandsch A-B Boek voor de Nederlandsche Jeugd*, Swildens went so far as to link children's play directly with professions which would be undertaken in the future. In emphasizing that children's play should contribute to the creation of sensible and useful citizens, he agreed with Van Alphen's utilitarian approach to children's play.⁵⁴ As with other topics of childhood, however, Van Alphen was again unique in attempting to engage with the world of the child, writing about the tension between play and learning – between the child's heart and head. Children had to be taught that the virtues were only accessible through knowledge and that becoming complete citizens without sufficient knowledge was not possible.⁵⁵ At first sight, Van Alphen's famous poem entitled 'Joyful Learning' is an expression of this idea. A boy, sitting behind his desk with a quill in his hand, a symbol of learning, points to his toys, a peg top and hoop, symbolizing an inclination to play, and makes the following famous declaration: 'My playing is learning, my learning is playing, / So why should learning be boring? / Reading and writing is fun. / I will swap my top and hoop for books; / I will pass my time with my prints, / Wisdom and virtues are what I long for'.⁵⁶

Van Alphen was also unique to this generation in emphasizing the humorous side of learning, thereby following Cats's strategy of teaching the virtues through fun. While the combination of learning and play was frequently treated as a topic in moralistic Dutch literature, the late eighteenth-century educational discourse differed from the seventeenth century in two ways. Its style was explicitly didactic, with its content emphasizing the priority of learning, making play as such a negative form of behaviour to be avoided by children. When Otto van Eck wrote in his educational diary that 'first learning and then play is preferable', he demonstrated to his parents that he was a good pupil of Van Alphen. However, in some places in his diary he hesitates, writing that he would prefer to be playing with his goat instead of reading all of the learned books recommended by his parents, which, he confesses, he finds completely boring. The distance between Enlightenment educators – including dedicated parents such as Otto's – and their children could perhaps be greater than was thought by those hoping and even expecting that while their sons were reading a book they were also thinking: 'I will learn my lessons, / I will honour my schoolmasters, / then I will become a man'.⁵⁷

Innovating Strategies of Educational Ambition II: Regulation of Education for All

To initiate children into culture and educate all of them for citizenship, education had to be regulated. State supervision of family education was not an option, with Vatebender eventually standing alone with his radical plans. It is true that, as we saw above, much was invested in teaching parents modern educational literacy through the didactic and explicit style of late eighteenth-century and early nineteenth-century cultural transmission. However, schooling was another story. Enlightening and civilizing all citizens – a goal explicitly mentioned in the revolutionary constitution of 1798 – would only be possible by giving the central state a monopoly over primary education.⁵⁸ At the request of the state, a private organization, the Society for the Common Good, founded in 1784, Enlightenment-inspired and dominated by moderate Protestant minorities such as the Anabaptist, Remonstrant and Lutheran Churches, developed a plan to realize the state's educational ambition.⁵⁹ According to the Society, learning was a right and a duty and in emphasizing their argument for a new national school they purposefully exaggerated the negative aspects of the existing school system, despite it having substantially improved during the eighteenth century.⁶⁰ The ambitions of the school system no longer matched the new educational ambition, which meant that new national schools should not only focus on the traditional three Rs, Reading, Writing and Arithmetic, or vocational literacy, but should above all focus on social literacy by teaching children how to become good citizens. An additional advantage of social literacy was the reduction of poverty, with well-educated citizens no longer dependent on poor relief. This was important in a country which was almost financially bankrupt.⁶¹

The Society for the Common Good dominated school reform in the Batavian Republic, which occurred through the school acts of 1801, 1803 and 1806, based on a report entitled *General Ideas on National Education* published in 1798, the same year as the inception of the first Dutch constitution. The report's initial claim – that education and schooling should be 'a state affair and not a Church affair' – was revolutionary in a country where schooling had been the affair of the Calvinist Church for centuries.⁶² For the Society and the new government alike, this starting point was necessary in order to reach the main goal of their political and societal plans, namely making every member of society a good citizen and therefore teaching the relevant elementary knowledge to all boys and girls in primary school.⁶³ By stating that '[t]he general happiness is the main law for everybody', the report implied that society could ask its members to cooperate with each other in order to reach the goal of general happiness, while the state had a duty to prepare all citizens for this task by providing a sufficient level of schooling. The report offered

a detailed proposal for school policy. It outlined the requirements that future schoolmasters should fulfil, and specified the introduction of class teaching rather than individual teaching, meaning that children were to be divided into groups according to age and should form a homogenous class rather than the heterogeneous classroom of the *ancien régime*.⁶⁴

These school reformers did not work in a national vacuum. While inspired by foreign examples, principally from Germany, the specificity of the Dutch variant lay in its focus on primary education, compared to countries such as France where the reform of secondary education received the most emphasis.⁶⁵ With a national primary school system based on general Christian and Enlightenment virtues and, according to the school reformers, thus rational and non-dogmatic, it should be possible to assist all children, both Calvinists and Catholics, to become good Christians and respectable, useful citizens of the new Dutch Batavian Republic.

The men behind the first national school acts of 1801, 1803 and 1806 were pragmatic adherents of the Enlightenment. Together, Johannes Hendrik van der Palm (1763–1840), professor of oriental languages at the University of Leiden, a confirmed patriot and Secretary of Education from 1799, and Adriaan van den Ende (1769–1846), first assistant to Van der Palm and Inspector of Elementary Education from 1806 to 1833, embarked on their dream of building a national school system, governed and financed by the central government.⁶⁶ The dream was soon shown to be unrealistic, partly because of financial problems, and Van der Palm modified the plan, delineating a number of achievable stages.⁶⁷ As a result, the 1806 School Act, named after Van den Ende and surviving until 1857, increased the influence and responsibility of the central government in relation to the quality of primary schools by introducing a centralized system of school inspection which encouraged them to improve their performance. It was also thought that the same would happen with the introduction of special school buildings, separate classrooms with rows of school desks and class teaching rather than individual teaching, all of which contributed to the establishment of a very different and innovative form of schooling compared to that of the Dutch Republic. Moreover, although failing to introduce compulsory primary education, which was not realized until 1901, the reformers succeeded in having primary education generally accepted as a moral necessity, with the idea that all children had to go to school in order to become good citizens soon becoming the norm in the Netherlands.⁶⁸ However, the School Act did not introduce a state monopoly. Alongside public schools, private schools opposed to Enlightenment values were also opened, undermining the dreams of the radical school reformers. Ultimately, their ambitions met challenges which they were unable to resolve.⁶⁹

Challenges to Enlightenment Ambitions and the ‘Wendung zur Religion’

Although the national school system did not have a monopoly, it still drew opposition from both the Catholics because it was ultimately Protestant-based rather than neutral, and from the orthodox Protestants because it was not orthodox.⁷⁰ In the constitution of 1848, the liberal politician J.R. Thorbecke (1798–1872) attempted to resolve the problem by guaranteeing freedom of education, on which principle the following School Act of 1857 was built. While Groen van Prinsterer, the leader of the orthodox Calvinists, pleaded for orthodox Calvinist state schools, the moderate Calvinist Van der Bruggen, who was the man behind the School Act of 1857, pleaded for the separation of Church and State, and the changing of the existing state schools into religiously neutral schools. The School Act of 1857 served various interests, among them those of the liberals, who wanted freedom of education, the orthodox Protestants, who at least in the main accepted that Groen van Prinsterer’s ambition for an orthodox Protestant state school system could only fail, and the Roman Catholics who now gained greater opportunities to create their own schools. In fact, the School Act of 1857 confirmed the defeat of the educational ambitions of two different groups: the Enlightenment-inspired adherents of national moderate Protestant schooling for all, and the orthodox Protestants, who wanted national orthodox Protestant schooling for all. With the ambition of the School Act of 1806 now lost and the freedom to establish schools on any ideological basis guaranteed, and with the national school system now becoming truly neutral, the first phase of the battle over the Dutch primary school was over. However, the second phase soon started, based on money rather than principles: the issue of financing private, mostly denominational schools, as will be seen in the next chapter.

Thus, the nature of educational ambitions around 1800 seems ambiguous. While a major change took place in the focus of educational ambition, moving from Christian salvation to instruction for citizenship for all, this new ambition soon confronted a much more restrictive rather than encouraging educational space. It is true that the innovations in strategy were influential, becoming manifest in an explicit and didactic style of cultural transmission – with the moral and child-oriented style characterized by Van Alphen the most popular – and through the design and partial establishment of a new system of regulation and supervision of children and parents in schools for all.

During this period, the topic of children at risk was not central to debates, which generally concentrated on the family and the school system. However, supervision of children and parents soon became an issue across Europe in the move towards residential education and child protection. Around

1900 this resulted in child protection acts. It seems that the theoretical foundation which held the state responsible for children, and which was formally laid down in acts from around 1900 and further developed in the twentieth century, had its origins in the changing focus of educational ambitions around 1800, for the Netherlands as elsewhere. However, the high expectations of the educational Enlightenment immediately collided with economic, demographic and political limits to the educational space. This was partly due to the emergence of fierce anti-Enlightenment competition for the educational space from orthodox Protestants, later joined by Roman Catholics. This opposition was an expression of a European-wide development, the *Wendung zur Religion*, or Religious Turn, the expression with which Thomas Nipperdey referred to the phenomenon of religious renewal in Europe after 1800.⁷¹ This religiously based opposition led to a struggle for educational power which only ended a hundred years later with a compromise between the religious and liberal parties in the early twentieth century.

Chapter 4

Raising Children in Modern Times: the Best Interests of the Child

Introduction¹

Around 1800 the focus of educational ambition seemed to be directed towards the interests of the nation and the state. However, another focus was emerging, which originated in Rousseau's theoretical and philosophical experiments in *Émile*, was expressed by Romantic artists and received empirical treatment by German pedagogues such as Pestalozzi and Fröbel in their innovative ideas on the young child. This focus of educational ambition was directed towards the child itself. In an expanding educational space at the end of the nineteenth century, it evolved into a new concept, namely that of 'the best interests of the child'. From that time on it was increasingly used by pedagogues and educational counsellors, becoming a powerful criterion, laid down in Child Acts, to justify educational interventions. Thus, on the threshold of the twentieth century, history brought three seemingly contradictory focuses of educational ambition together: Christian salvation, the preparation for citizenship and the best interests of the child.

That the dominant educational ambition was now more focused on the child than before did not mean that consciousness of the *sentiment d'enfance* had not been strong in the past. Although contemporaries such as Ellen Key considered themselves to belong to the vanguard of those who thought in the best interests of the child and its world, as shown in Chapter One there is convincing evidence to suggest that there was a consciousness of the special status of children, of their specific development and behaviour, which was based in what seems to be a biologically framed point of view for the various educational cultures, whether humanistic-Christian, doctrinal Protestant and Roman Catholic, or Enlightenment inspired. Nevertheless, much changed due to the increased focus on the child through the concept of 'the best interests of the child'. From then on it was considered that educational theories, diagnostic practices and therapy, parental behaviour, school practices and child policies should be and

increasingly were justified in terms of this notion, with other goals such as religious salvation and citizenship also being considered. Increasingly, the question of whether an action was 'in the best interests of the child', or at least not harmful to these interests, was asked, as neglecting this criterion could have legal consequences, explicitly laid down in Child Acts throughout Europe, Canada and the US. Thus, the child's interests were upgraded to the level of the law.

The new focus on the child was interpreted in at least two seemingly contradictory ways. The first interpretation considered working in the best interests of the child to entail the creation of a happy world for the child, whether at school, in the family or elsewhere, for example family trips to the beach. According to this interpretation, present in the world of art and in much Progressive Education, the focus was on the child as the discoverer of its own world and a co-manager of its own educational process, and on an interactive notion of cultural transmission rather than solely on the role of the educator. Without this focus on the child, the happiness and thus the best interests of the child could be disturbed. The second interpretation saw working in the best interests of the child in terms of caring for children, involving intervention in the educational process and where necessary supervising children and their parents, or even taking over responsibility for the education of the child. This perspective focused on protection, supervision and intervention, and became dominant among philanthropists, politicians and the emerging world of educational professionals, being increasingly corroborated by the new child sciences.

By connecting this new focus with the early forms of educational ambition, it was possible for those involved in major interventions aimed at child protection to continue their work in relation to delinquent and neglected children, which had been carried out since the 1830s, but could now proceed under the legal umbrella of the Child Acts. In addition, the development of new and special institutions and methods to deal with children physically at risk because of their handicaps, and psychologically at risk because of their lower intellectual capacities was increasingly justified by the notion of the best interests of the child.

The history of educational ambition in the twentieth century seems in many ways to be a history of these competing interpretations of the best interests of the child. On the one hand, there was an emphasis on the rights of the child, which began at the end of the nineteenth century, was considered on a global level from the 1920s and 1930s by committees of the League of Nations, and culminated in 1989 in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child. With this Convention, according to Stearns 'a familiar roster, but now conceived in terms of a global approach', almost all UN member states, by ratifying it,

committed themselves to promoting and realizing the main rights of the child in their own countries, while also accepting regulatory control and supervision by the UN. On the other hand, the idea of supervision as the most effective means of guaranteeing the best interests of the child, which resulted in a legal infrastructure for educational supervision under the Compulsory Education and Child Protection Acts, meant a dramatic increase in the educational power of the state and, after the Second World War, also that of educational professionals.²

When looking at the three main questions of this study concerning continuity and change in educational ambitions, the role of educational space, and the connection of educational ambition with the phenomenon of children at risk, it can be said firstly that the notion of the best interests of the child became the dominant focus of educational ambition. Secondly, this took place, at least in the Western world, in the context of a dramatically expanding educational space with, however, major demographic results only being achieved from the end of the nineteenth century, thus indicating that for many decades the optimistic Enlightenment educational culture had little success demographically. Finally, it seems that the best interests of the child was increasingly connected with the phenomenon of at-risk children. From the Second World War, and increasingly from the 1960s, both the categories and the numbers of children at risk increased dramatically. In the West this trend occurred in a period of almost constant growth of the welfare system, notwithstanding limits to this growth during periods of economic crises such as that beginning in 2008. At first sight, this trend towards higher numbers of children at risk is difficult to understand. However, the fact that, compared with one hundred years ago, parents, educational professionals and the state seem to have raised their educational ambitions to a historically unprecedented level, might partly explain the unprecedented growth in the numbers of at-risk children, who were now actively and formally sought out.

In this chapter, we will first look at the child-focused interpretation of the concept of the best interests of the child, which sought to create a happy world for children. In this regard we will examine the contribution of the world of art and the Progressive Education Movement in the second half of the nineteenth century within the Netherlands. The focus will then shift to how the best interests of the child became the guiding principle behind pre-existing intervention practices in relation to deprived, neglected and delinquent children, and behind the new and legally supported institutional infrastructure of protection, intervention and supervision of at-risk children and their parents from around 1900. Finally, the chapter will address the question of how and why the categories and the numbers of children at risk increased so dramatically in the so-called Century of the Child.

The Best Interests of the Child: the Child's Happiness

Representations of the Child's Happiness³

Romantic poets such as William Blake (1757–1827) and William Wordsworth (1770–1850) expressed the idea of the divine child, while at the same time, as is clear from Blake's poem 'The Chimney Sweeper', being aware of the contrasting realities of childhood in industrializing England. Wordsworth, in his 'Ode on Intimations of Immortality from Recollection of Early Childhood', placed the child on a throne of innocence, with childhood considered to be the best part of life, and the child itself almost a divine human being.⁴ Both were influenced by Jean-Jacques Rousseau's (1712–1778) image of childhood developed in *Émile* (1762), which focused on the child as an innocent being, to be brought up in a natural way, preferably by his or her mother. German Romantic writers such as Johann Gottfried Herder (1744–1803), Johann Wolfgang Goethe (1749–1832), Johann Christoph Friedrich Von Schiller (1759–1805), Friedrich Schleiermacher (1768–1834) and the pedagogue Friedrich Wilhelm August Fröbel (1782–1852), the latter in his *Die Menschenerziehung* (1828), joined this trend of seeing children as virtually divine beings.⁵

In the second half of the nineteenth century, this Romantic image of childhood also became prominent in Dutch paintings and drawings. The virtues of parents and children, dominating didactic paintings from around 1800 by artists such as Van der Kooi and Van Strij, were now exchanged for notions of children's happiness. A new group of Dutch painters, called the Haagse School due to their concentration in the city of The Hague, including Jozef Israëls (1824–1911), Jacob Maris (1837–1899), Willem Maris (1844–1910), Anton Mauve (1838–1888), Paul Gabriël (1828–1903) and J.H. Weissenbruch (1824–1903), developed a new style, influenced by realists such as Gustave Courbet (1819–1877) and François Millet (1814–1875). As a consequence of their new method, such painters usually did not paint *en plein air*, with Israëls, in the last phase of his career following in Rembrandt's footsteps, building a highly realistic village dwelling in his atelier, so that he could spend most of his time at home in The Hague while painting scenes of the fishing village of Scheveningen. For indeed, fishing life and peasant scenes were dominant among Haagse School painters until well towards the end of the century.⁶ After a stay at the Dutch seaside village of Zandvoort to recover from an illness, Israëls made his successful debut in the fishing-family genre in 1856 with his painting *Passing Mother's Grave*, to be discussed further below. His paintings attracted top prices and received many awards in the Netherlands, France, and Great Britain. Israëls became the highest paid Dutch painter of the century, having a good relationship with the British art market, in particular with his best customer, James

Staats Forbers (1823–1904). This railway magnate, who had lived in the Netherlands for a couple of years before returning to Great Britain in 1861, owned a country house south of London which had plenty of space to hang Israël's paintings.⁷

The Romantic idea of childhood was central to the Haagse School paintings, which depicted the virtual 'holiness' of children, following an expression used by Ellen Key in her book *The Century of the Child* (1900).⁸ In preferring to paint children in the countryside or on the beach, places considered to be an extension of family space, and in doing so attempting to move into the world of the child, they contributed to the image of childhood as a period of happiness in *fin-de-siècle* Europe. In his watercolour *Little John in his Chair* from 1873, Israël tried to imagine how a child approaches the world while sitting in a chair. This boy is successfully directing that world from his chair, with the cat and the dog doing exactly as he wants.⁹ As we saw in Chapter Three in the poems by Van Alphen, at the end of the eighteenth century, children's play was always connected with learning, which was dominant. A new approach to children's play now arose, with it considered to have its own intrinsic value. In *The Butterflies* from 1871 by August Allebé, a boy and a girl, probably brother and sister aged around eight and ten, relax on the grass, while a book towards which they display no interest lies next to them upside down. They are not morally criticized for such behaviour, as would have been the case around 1800. It seems clear that for Allebé such activities as lying on the grass and putting one's books aside should be part of the child's world.¹⁰

Possibly the most striking examples of the representation of the child's world in Dutch late-nineteenth-century painting are a series of paintings and drawings by Matthijs Maris (1839–1917), the most innovative of the three Maris brothers who became painters, and whose works are deeply influenced by symbolism. From the late 1850s, he attempted in both his paintings and drawings to evoke the inner world of dreams and fairytales experienced by young girls, as well as the innocence of the child, who inhabited a world he considered a paradise lost to adults, something which he frequently referred to in his letters. In this way, he anticipated the representation of the child's world in Dutch belles-lettres by writers such as Louis Couperus in *Extase* and Frederik van Eeden in *Little John* (1877), amongst others. Maris's *Sleeping Girl with Butterflies*, as well as *Butterflies* from 1874 and *The Little Head of a Child* from 1858 when he was aged nineteen, all show the unconstrained world of children, reposing in nature, surrounded by plants, flowers and butterflies, and not only enjoying this world completely but observing it with great curiosity. The same applies to his small canvas *Woman with Child and Little Goat* from around 1866, which shows a mother allowing her almost swaddled child to feed a young goat a blade of grass, in a representation that seems to anticipate in its schematization and simplification Dick Bruna's engagement with

the child's world in his world-famous picture books for children published almost one hundred years later (Figure 19).¹¹



Figure 19. Matthijs Maris, *Woman with Child and Little Goat*, c.1866.

Source: The Hague: Gemeentemuseum.

Probably the most popular topic for the Haagse School painters who depicted the Romantic image of childhood was children on the beach. According to Alain Corbin in his classic *Le territoire du vide*, between 1750 and 1840 Europeans developed a collective desire to go to the beach, with Scheveningen becoming one of the first beach destinations in Western Europe, as were Calais and Dieppe in France, Brighton in England, Rügen in Germany and Oostende in Belgium. Scheveningen, originally a fishing village, became the beach for the nearby city of The Hague, which was booming in the nineteenth century.¹² As the seat of government and the Crown and with a greater presence of the upper classes, the pastime of visiting the beach developed earlier here and on a broader scale than elsewhere on the Dutch coast.¹³ The painters of the Haagse School considered there might be a large market for paintings that emphasized and romanticized the traditional Scheveningen fishing

culture. This view of Scheveningen arose in the first decades of the nineteenth century in 'costume' books and physiologies; studies on the nature of humanity which were in vogue at the time. It became important in building a stronger national identity, suggesting that moral decay was present almost everywhere except the Scheveningen fishing community, a viewpoint adopted by contemporary writers such as Rhynvis Feith (1753–1824), Jan Ten Kate (1819–1889), Johannes Kneppelhout (1814–1885) and Nicolaas Beets (1814–1903). They connected bourgeois family values pre-eminently with fishing communities in their Romantic, picturesque and anecdotal poems, ignoring the more realistic image of fishing life which included hardship and poverty.¹⁴ From around 1850, this Romantic view of fishing culture became a popular literary genre, spreading among Dutch popular literature in family magazines, almanacs and pictorial books. The literary genre carried the message that one should learn from the moral behaviour of the fishing community, especially their putting into practice the predominant bourgeois moral values of piety, domesticity, maternal love, conjugal fidelity, hard work and contentment with one's way of life.¹⁵ Without presenting such an explicit message, painters now rediscovered Scheveningen, which had so often been painted in the Golden Age by famous painters such as Simon De Vlieger (1600–1653), Jacob van Ruysdael (1628–1682), Jan van Goyen (1596–1656) and Adriaan van de Velde (1636–1672).¹⁶ Four of them, Bernardus Johannes Blommers (1845–1914), Philip Sadée (1837–1904), Willem Maris (1844–1920) and Jozef Israëls (1824–1911), made Scheveningen probably the mostly painted location in the Netherlands, with a focus on childhood and Romantic and bourgeois family values. They further developed the Romantic fishing genre – originating in England around 1800 among painters such as George Moreland (1763–1804) and introduced into the Netherlands by Cornelis Kruseman (1799–1839) – into a realistic and naturalistic, monumental and dramatic style. The resulting expansion of the market led these painters to specialize in the genre, often staying in the fishing villages for extended periods.¹⁷

These painters depicted children on the beach using two contrasting images of childhood – on the one hand, children as members of the fishing community, with its highly valued virtues, and on the other hand, children as developing human beings in a phase of 'ignorance, incapacity and innocence', with play being their core activity.¹⁸ Blommers excelled in painting beach scenes, both of children alone and together with their mothers. In his *Summer Evening on the Beach* a happy mother is depicted on Scheveningen beach with her three children. The little girl, between her mother and an older brother, is paddling in the sea possibly for the first time, and as such is symbolically undergoing a renewal of life.¹⁹ Such paintings by Blommers represent a new social life, so beautifully described by Corbin, although this painting depicts a family of modest means. However, there is no explicit message, as would have been the

case around 1800: this is simply a painting about family happiness on the beach. In *Paddling in the Sea*, the mother stands at the water's edge, holding her children's doll, while the girls paddle in the sea.²⁰ In his painting *Sailing in a Boat*, from around 1885, Blommers shows a toddler playing with a boat in a pool on the beach, with his slightly older sister nearby, while in the distance other children are doing the same.²¹ *Children Playing on the Beach* shows three little children, the smallest in the middle, bathing in the sea, facing the waves – a much cherished theme.²² *Children on the Beach, Sailing in a Boat* from around 1880, on the same subject and again on Scheveningen beach, depicts five children playing with boats in a pool (Figure 20).²³



Figure 20. B.J. Blommers, *Children on the Beach, Sailing in a Boat*, c.1880.

Source: Dordrechts Museum.

Painting children and the family on the beach also became one of Israëls favourite themes around 1867, when his first painting on the theme, *Children of the Sea*, from 1863, received a positive review at the World Exhibition in Paris.²⁴ As the market for paintings of children playing with a toy boat on the beach expanded, in particular in England, Scotland and later the US, Israëls responded to the avid interest with other canvasses, for example, *Children of the Sea* (1872).²⁵ Israëls also

attempted to increase the price of his paintings by reproducing them in almanacs, family magazines and other mass media. The best example of his marketing policy is probably the album *Children of the Sea. Sketches After the Life at our Dutch Beaches*, published in 1861 (and reprinted several times) as the result of a project initiated by the publisher A.C. Kruseman. The title, *Children of the Sea*, referred to both children and adults, and the work included twelve engravings by J.H. Rennefeld (1832–1877) along with reproductions of Israëls' paintings and text by Rev. Beets.²⁶ The readers of this album were warned, using the popular fishing-genre of the day, that although moral decay threatened, good bourgeois moral values could still be found in the fishing communities. While Beets, a contemporary of Israëls and well known for his *Camera Obscura* from 1839 (a series of sketches on daily life written in a humorous style), was not pleased that Israëls had the dominant role in the project, critics almost unanimously praised the engravings by Rennefeld and Israëls while sharply criticizing Beets's poems.²⁷ The final message of the album, expressed in its final sentence, favours the moral purity of the fishing community's way of life in opposition to the modern behaviour of the well-to-do on the beach. In the first child-focused engraving, called *The Cot*, a reproduction of a painting from 1858, two children are playing at the seaside, while a small boat and a cot float on the water (Figure 21).

Here the image and text are about the start of life, represented by the first attempts to commence a sea journey.²⁸ *Dolce far niente*, the second engraving of a child and a reproduction of a painting that was also hung under the title of *Dreams*, is about what average modern people have in mind when at the beach on a sunny day. A girl lies stretched out in the dunes looking at the sea, daydreaming, while two black birds dot the horizon: 'I should prefer to lie flat on the water / rocking to-and-fro / So she speaks and lies flat on the sand / and watches the sunlight playing'.²⁹

The fifth engraving is about childhood and parenthood. *The First Trip*, according to a painting exhibited by Israëls in 1860 under the title *Little John*, shows a toddler taking his first steps, from mother to father, in a beach setting and watched by a seagull sitting on a fence. In his text, Beets refers to a first trip to the sea when describing the first steps of a young boy, emphasizing the difference between boys and girls. Here, he writes, 'a boy is no girl', referring to the fear of falling, and repeating in each verse, 'walk like a man, small John'. The difference between the mother and the father is also expressed, with the father being the symbol for the vast new world and the mother both the starting point for and a safe haven before the big journey (Figure 22).³⁰



Figure 21. Jozef Israëls, *The Cot*.

Source: Jozef Israëls, *Children of the Sea. Sketches After the Life at our Dutch Beaches*, 1872.



Figure 22. Jozef Israëls, *The First Trip*.

Source: Jozef Israëls, *Children of the Sea. Sketches After the Life at our Dutch Beaches*, 1872.

Limits to the Educational Space

Israëls was an exception among the Haagse School painters in not only depicting children's happiness, but also the limits to the educational space. He was a Romantic painter with a realistic view of the demographic restrictions on a child's life, in particular within the fishing community. Life expectancy in the Netherlands did not improve until the 1870s, for men it was about 37 and for women about 39 years. It then increased to about 50 around 1900, mainly because of decreasing infant mortality, which had increased between the 1850s and 1870s from about 180 to above 200 per 1000.³¹ *Passing Mother's Grave*, the ninth engraving, was a reproduction of a famous painting exhibited for the first time in 1856. The original was a huge painting, 224 x 178 cm, well known in the nineteenth century through its many reproductions as the depiction of the sad event of a mother's death. It marked the start of Israëls' career as a fishing-community genre painter. In changing the style and size of his work when creating this realistic painting, Israëls was influenced by European realism after visiting the Paris World Exhibition of 1855.³² In the painting and the engraving, a young Zandvoort fisherman, together with his two children, a son aged about 10 and a toddler, grieving over the death of his wife and their mother, walk past a cross marking the woman's grave, while the older son unsuccessfully attempts to catch the eye of his father. In Beets's poem, the son tells his father, back from a spell at sea and aware that his wife is dead, that they must visit the grave of his mother rather than taking the usual way home (Figure 23).³³

Divorce, increasing in recent times and thus becoming a major potential threat to the educational space, did not occur frequently in the nineteenth century. However, its incidence slowly increased after the introduction of the French civil code, which made it possible in principle. In the big cities in the west of the country, divorce only occurred in about 3 marriages per 1000, and almost never in the Catholic regions to the south and east. In reality, however, a considerable number of people were separated, as was made clear by research into the dossiers of children admitted to re-education homes. In many cases, the father had been absent for several years, although with no formal divorce. The painter J.H. van de Laar (1807–1874) recognized the position of children of divorced parents remarkably early. In 1846, he produced *The Divorce* after reading a poem by Hendrik Tollens (1780–1856). The painting depicts a father and mother, their child between them firmly holding on to his parents before the judge, focusing on what Iwan Nagy more than one hundred years later would describe as the loyalty conflict, or dilemma, of the child of divorcing parents. The conflict involves the child feeling unable to act as it would like with respect to both parents and being forced to choose one over the other. In the poem, Tollens has the judge ask the child to decide which parent is



Figure 23. Jozef Israëls, *Passing Mother's Grave*.

Source: Jozef Israëls, *Children of the Sea. Sketches After the Life at our Dutch Beaches*, 1872.

preferred. The child, however, asks the judge to prevent his parents from divorcing, saying, 'They do not mean it. / Let me hold my parents'. Then, according to the poem, 'He grabbed his mother by the hand / He pulled his father to the house by his coat / Then he pushed their hands softly together / Clamping them with his kisses' (Figure 24).³⁴

The most important writer of the second half of the nineteenth century, Multatuli (Eduard Douwes Dekker, 1820–1887), was also in search of a happy world for the child. His *Woutertje Pieterse*, a compilation of texts from his *Ideas* concerning a boy named Woutertje Pieterse, tells the story of Wouter, growing up in Amsterdam between the ages of 12 and 16.³⁵ In this book Multatuli emphasizes two main family types, one living according to the virtues of the above-mentioned Enlightenment-inspired Society for the Common Good, focusing on the production of decent citizens, the other a typical *Vom Kinde Aus*



Figure 24. J.H. van de Laar, *The Divorce*, 1846.

Source: Rotterdam: Historisch Museum Rotterdam.

family, although the concept did not yet exist. While Wouter, together with his brothers, sisters and mother – his father was dead – lived in a family inspired by Enlightenment values, Multatuli also introduces the family of a medical doctor named Holsma, which was Romantic and child-oriented. Encountering this family after thanking the doctor for treating him after an accident, Wouter suddenly becomes conscious of the enormous gravity of the atmosphere within his own family compared with the lightness and relaxed, child-oriented atmosphere of the Holsma family.³⁶ Multatuli is explicit about his own preference for the child-oriented Romantic educational ambition over a learning-oriented Enlightenment educational ambition, the latter being ridiculed in many places in his *Ideas*. However, his concern was not only for the creation of a happy world for the child, since he also saw the child as a means to improve the world as he moved into that world himself. In this sense he is similar to Ellen Key, who will be discussed further below.³⁷ Wouter's story is a tragic one, however, because he never realizes his ideal, and the painful consciousness of the cultural and social distance between the two families is too much for him. Thus, he becomes an outsider to his own family, into

which he was born and which educated him, and to the family culture he so strongly desires.³⁸ The story of Woutertje Pieterse was later classified as a *Bildung* novel and a predecessor of Dutch Progressive Education.³⁹

A School in the Best Interests of the Child

The educational approach of the progressive medical doctor Holsma in Multatuli's *Ideas* was in many ways similar to the Progressive Education movement present around 1900, which focused on the child rather than the curriculum, and aimed to place a happy child in a happy classroom. Progressive Education, usually called *Reform Pädagogik* in Europe, was a movement encompassing many different, sometimes even incompatible ideas on education, all having undergone the Rousseau-inspired so-called Copernican educational turn which focused on the child rather than education and the educator. This focus clashed with existing educational approaches and resulted in a call for the new century to be the century of the child. In a brilliant act, in 1900 the Swedish pedagogue, feminist and socialist Ellen Key (1849–1926) proclaimed the Century of the Child in the best interests of the child, in her book entitled *The Century of the Child*. In emphasizing the best interests of the child and the importance of educators in promoting that interest, Key's book became one of the few educational bestsellers in the world, in this respect comparable with *Émile* by Rousseau and Dr Spock's child-rearing advice book. While very eclectic, making use of such diverse sources as Spinoza's pantheism, Darwin's evolutionism, Galtung's eugenics and Nietzsche's *Übermensch*, Key borrowed her basic ideas about the natural development of the child and the central position of the mother directly from Rousseau's *Émile*, and under his influence announced that: 'The age of the holiness of the child will arrive'.⁴⁰

In Progressive Education circles, Key achieved special status through her aggressive attack on the so-called Herbartian school system.⁴¹ Both schoolmasters such as the Dutch Jan Ligthart (1859–1916), whose school in The Hague was visited by Key, and progressive artists such as the famous poet Rainer Maria Rilke (1875–1926), who corresponded over many years with Key, were very enthusiastic about her ideas for school reform. Her adherents often were attracted by unifying idealistic, socialist-like utopian ideas focused on the child, with the 'holy' dimension lying outside institutionalized religion. Moreover, they expected the century of the child would arrive soon. However, the First World War destroyed that illusion.⁴² Key based her utopia of the century of the child, the main topic of the first chapter of her book, on social-Darwinist ideas which had influenced many writers and intellectuals of the day. Some of them, including Key,

proposed eugenics programmes.⁴³ Dutch Progressive Education adherents, however, less interested in Key's long-term utopian ideals, were mainly inspired by her chapter on the school of the future. Schoolmasters such as Scheepstra and the above-mentioned Ligthart focused on organizing practical school reforms. They developed Progressive Education as a practice rather than a system such as the Montessori approach, which was also popular in the Netherlands.⁴⁴ The bestseller, *Moral Education* by Ietje Kooistra (1861–1923), can similarly be considered a contribution to Progressive Education, with her copious child-rearing advice focusing on the child and her applauding of Multatuli's ideas on the child and education.⁴⁵

In the world of art, painters from the Haagse School seemed to have prepared the way for the upgrading of the image of childhood in the direction of holiness, which was formulated many decades later by Key.⁴⁶ The process of the distancing of the image and reality of childhood, which according to Hugh Cunningham started in the seventeenth century, now accelerated.⁴⁷ The image of the child based on the principal virtues of the bourgeoisie, dominating the Enlightenment-inspired focus on citizenship, and as formulated by Hieronijmus van Alphen, now became an image based on happiness and innocence. At the beginning of the twentieth century, a popular Dutch children's book, *Pietje Bell*, by Chris van Abkoude, supplemented this image with a little innocent misbehaviour, Pietje Bell becoming iconic as the apparently naughty boy who develops into a responsible adult.⁴⁸

However, holy children, not to mention holy parents, were not the subject of the other concern for the best interests of the child, which was focused on the recognition of children at risk, the topic of the next sections of this chapter. First, we will look at the transformation of the late nineteenth-century private network of re-education homes for neglected children across Europe – which were based on educational ambitions focused on salvation and citizenship – into an early twentieth-century public system of child and parent supervision and intervention, based on the educational ambition of working in 'the best interests of the child', and corroborated by law. Following this, we will look at the late twentieth century, when education in the best interests of the child evolved into the paradoxical combination of incentives for better care, more children at risk and a new power play in the field of education.

The Best Interests of the Child at Risk

‘The True “Land of Promise” for Salvation and Citizenship

During the first decades of the nineteenth century, the marginal position of many children became the subject of special reconsideration by a newly formed and influential group of philanthropists.⁴⁹ Various intervention methods were introduced, including the improvement of the school and family patronage systems. However, in relation to delinquent and seriously deprived children the risks were all too apparent and thus a radical solution was proposed by the principal European philanthropists, among them Charles Lucas and Frédéric-Auguste Demetz from France, Édouard Ducpétiaux from Belgium, Mary Carpenter, Matthew Davenport Hill and the Reverend Sydney Parker from England, Willem Suringar from the Netherlands and Johann-Hinrich Wichern from Germany. It was considered that only by removing children from the dangerous environment of large towns and placing them in residential homes in the isolated and healthy environment of the countryside would a healing process be possible. As a result, residential care for delinquent and at-risk children was born, with the foundation of famous homes such as the above-mentioned Rauhe Haus, the French Mettray, Red Hill and others.

Many of the founders of these homes were deeply influenced by Protestant ideas about saving children, such as Johann Hinrich Wichern (1808–1881), who founded the Rauhe Haus in 1833, herald of the ‘internal mission’, a nineteenth-century Lutheran version of Christian charity. Wichern’s Rauhe Haus was intended as a rescue home for children at risk, and received enthusiastic praise in reports by foreigners such as Horace Mann (1796–1859), Secretary of the State Board of Education in Massachusetts, and by many of the above-mentioned European philanthropists such as Demetz, Suringar and Carpenter. It became an model of residential education and a major destination for philanthropic pilgrimages.⁵⁰ In 1880, the American visitor E.C. Wines was just as enthusiastic as Horace Mann and the latter’s contemporaries, writing that the Rauhe Haus ‘has a world-wide reputation’.⁵¹ Other homes combined discipline with Romantic ideas of childhood and education.

According to Foucault, the ultimate paradox of this Romantic discipline was the agrarian colony of Mettray near Tours. For Foucault, who made the colony famous in his classic *Surveiller et punir* (1975), although the word ‘discipline’ was not to be found in the statutes of this institution for delinquent children, the colony was ‘the disciplinary form at its most extreme, the model in which are concentrated all the coercive technologies of behaviour’.⁵² The colony was, at least for Foucault, the example *par excellence* of carceral institutions for children, focused on discipline rather than the child. However, those visiting the colony in great numbers

as part of the customary philanthropic journey saw Mettray very differently. The colony, as well as similar institutions, belonged, in the words of Wines, to the *civilized* world, one that cared about its children at risk. According to testimonies by many visitors, among them the British Rev. Sydney Turner, who emphasized the element of love, and the British reformer of criminal law Matthew Davenport Hill (1792–1872), the colony was a child-oriented home for the re-education of delinquent children. The combination of love and discipline was not a paradox, at least for them.⁵³

Also among the pilgrims to the colony was the Dutch philanthropist Willem Suringar (1790–1872). After his visit in 1845, he was so impressed that he immediately decided to found a similar institution in his own country. Suringar belonged to the moderate Protestants, influenced and inspired by the Dutch Educational Enlightenment, and was the most prominent Dutch philanthropist of the nineteenth century. He first focused on penitentiary care, being responsible for the foundation of the boys' prison in Rotterdam in 1833. In the 1840s, however, as with so many European philanthropists, Suringar was sadder and wiser about the benefits of the penitentiary option, and his eyes were opened to the rural solution after his visit to Mettray. In 1851, he founded his *Nederlandsch Mettray* for neglected boys.⁵⁴ Although scientific methods of diagnosis would not emerge until the end of the nineteenth century, from the start, this institution employed a standardized approach in determining children at risk, using a printed form with more than twenty questions that were to be filled in as part of the admissions procedure. This method was part of a trend in nineteenth-century Europe towards the use of standardization techniques to cope with various social issues including poverty, criminality, psychiatric problems and children at risk. According to Peter Becker, 'quod non est in actis, non est in mundo' (It does not exist if it is not in the records).⁵⁵

While Suringar, as a moderate Protestant, attempted to make decent citizens of the boys at Mettray, orthodox Protestants and Catholics, following him in preferring the countryside as a location for their children's homes, did so in line with their own educational ambitions.⁵⁶ The orthodox Protestants, focusing on the salvation of those who had fallen furthest, preferred to look, in their own words, for 'the most wretched and most deeply fallen',⁵⁷ with the Rev. Otto Gerhard Heldring their driving force. During his activities as a minister in the dark years of depression in the 1840s, he became convinced of the power of education to solve social problems. He founded homes for the re-education of fallen girls and neglected boys, and after a pilgrimage to Wichern's Rauhe Haus in 1850 he 'spent the last ten years of his life working for his institutions', becoming the director of the girls' homes in Zetten. Heldring was very influential in Dutch re-education practice, evidence of the fact that educational ambitions

originating from before the Enlightenment remained strong. On the basis of his Old Testament-derived educational doctrine of re-education – differing from Wichern’s conviction that intensifying the ties between the child and its environment could save the entire family and not only the individual child – he preferred the girls in his homes to remain in the countryside far from their families and the perils of the big cities. His approach consisted of ‘Saving Love’ for all children, with obedience, as ‘laid down in the Bible’, the end goal to be achieved through discipline and by reaching into the child’s inner world. The re-educator’s most difficult task was ‘breaking the children’s unbroken will ... which has become so strong that it is not the children who are in control but evil will. The child ... cannot break its own will. ... The re-educator’s wisdom is his ability to choose the softest, most tender means to break the evil will while not shrinking from meting out the strictest forms of punishment in order to reach his goal. ... The child must ... follow the will of his parents or educators. ... It must bow. If it does that, there is hope’.⁵⁸

The Catholics took part in the re-education process as an act of charity, taking advantage of their greater capacity to organize, which was granted in the 1848 constitution. In 1853, the Church hierarchy, absent since the Reformation, was restored, resulting in the founding of a network of charity institutions under the responsibility of the bishops, among which were hospitals and homes for handicapped and neglected children. The road to salvation, the focus behind their educational ambition, was, in the Catholic re-educational doctrine of the mid-nineteenth century, combined with the Enlightenment goal of citizenship. In developing this doctrine, Father Bekker, the director of one of the first agricultural Catholic homes for boys, De Heibloem in Heythuizen in the province of Limburg, distinguished between ‘general education’ and ‘special education’. ‘General education’ should raise the boy to be a ‘firm man, a precise follower of religious, ecclesiastical and human laws, a faithful pupil of Christ’, while becoming ‘a good citizen of the state’ could be attained through ‘special education’, thus making ‘out of these boys Christian Farmers and Workers in subservient positions’. Dutch Catholics were in a stronger position than the German Catholics, whose ambitions were frustrated by Bismarck’s *Kulturkampf*, or the French Catholics who had to deal with the Republican policy of laicization. One notable result was that in the early 1870s several monastic orders left Germany for the Netherlands, which also resulted in the establishment of several children’s homes.⁵⁹

The state’s ambition remained limited to founding homes for delinquent youngsters, a state monopoly throughout Europe. The issues that dominated the early nineteenth-century European juvenile justice discourse were the mingling of delinquent youth with adult criminals, and the mixing of convicted juvenile

delinquents with other children. Although some Dutch juvenile prisons had been open since 1833, their capacity was limited, such that the majority of delinquent children were placed in prisons with adult criminals.⁶⁰ From the 1850s, therefore, the government set up homes for correction and re-education, and after 1886, with the Code Penal being replaced by Modderman's Criminal Code, the titles of these institutions was changed to State Education Homes.⁶¹ While private institutions made extensive investments in after-care in order to contribute as much as possible to the favourable development of their former pupils, state-run institutions left the children to fend for themselves and they often ran into difficulties after returning home.⁶²

As a result, at the beginning of the twentieth century, just prior to the introduction of child welfare legislation in December 1905, there were 79 homes, growing to 106 over the next ten years, with the number of places available increasing from 8,757 in 1905 to 11,998 in 1915, and together with places in youth penitentiaries increasing from 8,820 to 12,156 over the same period. This meant that about twice as many children and youngsters, until 1905 almost often placed without a juvenile justice decision, remained in a 'total institution', to use Goffman's famous concept, as adults in prisons with their number of places increasing from 4,727 in the period 1874–1896, to 5,349 in the period 1896–1905 and 5,776 in the period 1905–1915.⁶³ With 8.5 percent of boys and 10.5 percent of girls not attending school before the introduction of formal compulsory education in 1901, after its introduction it rapidly became apparent which children were not attending school because they were working, or were not sent by their parents, or simply loitering on the streets. In the 1830s and 1840s, dominated by poverty, many children did not attend school, and it had been extremely difficult to determine exactly which children needed to be re-educated. This now became easier. A normal child between 6 and 12 was now a schoolchild, with problems of neglect and crime now becoming clearly visible and stimulating educational ambition.⁶⁴ However, it was not only educational ambition that drove the huge private investment made in residential re-education before the Child Protection Acts came into force in Europe around 1900 and the Netherlands in 1905. The great expansion of the orthodox Protestant and Dutch Catholic children's homes was closely connected with the social emancipation of these groups, the extension of power in the field of education being of great interest to both Catholics and Calvinists. Other political issues of the day, such as the extension of suffrage and the social question, served as means for wheeling and dealing with powerful liberals about the main educational issue: state funding of denominational education – the so-called school-funding controversy.⁶⁵

The Netherlands was no exception. Following his visit to the Dutch Mettray, Wines referred to this home as ‘one of the model reformatories of Europe’, belonging to ‘the true “land of promise” in which to labour for the diminution and the extinction of crime’.⁶⁶ That ‘land of promise’ was now a huge archipelago of several thousand re-education homes in Western Europe, founded from 1848 onwards. The educational ambition to change the child, the dream of a European network of philanthropists in the 1830s and 1840s, now seemed to be realized, with many thousands of children temporarily isolated from the world to prepare them for a return to society. This ‘land of promise’, in which the lower classes were shown how to behave by the upper classes, and which was mainly the work of private philanthropy and charity, was in its first phase primarily the result of two educational ambitions: the Enlightenment-inspired preparation for citizenship and the Christian-inspired focus on rescuing the child. It is true that in the pioneering phase, a Romantic focus on the child seemed to be important in some iconic institutions, such as the Rauhe Haus and the Dutch Mettray, but this had disappeared by the 1880s.⁶⁷

Around 1900, however, a new focus in the field of residential re-education emerged, which would eventually become the primary focus of educational ambition for the next hundred years – overruling all others – the best interests of the child. It seemed inevitable that this new focus, supported legally through the Child Protection Acts, and with philanthropy concerning children being transformed into the social policy of child protection, would become the main educational and legal justification of all educational practices, goals and policies, including those concerned with children at risk.

Protection and Supervision by the Law in the Best Interests of the Child

At the end of the nineteenth century, the liberals, the main force behind modern philanthropy, abandoned their non-interventionist policies and frequently took the initiative in social policy, as was the case in the Netherlands and Belgium. In Germany, under the leadership of Bismarck, the Conservatives took the leading role, creating the world’s first social interventionist state, partly to counter the strong German Socialist Party. Finally, the reticence towards state intervention within religious political circles in France, Belgium and the Netherlands, whose members were proponents of Christian philanthropy, also diminished, with Pope Leo XIII’s 1891 encyclical *Rerum Novarum* making social issues of primary concern to the Catholics, and with the increasing political power of Dutch orthodox Protestants lessening their perception of the hostile character of the state.⁶⁸ As a result, major areas of private philanthropy became social policy and a new generation of

philanthropists, often with a legal or medical background, used their positions as members of parliament or ministers to achieve their objectives.⁶⁹ In the area of child welfare, the Belgians Jules Lejeune, Henri Carton de Wiart, Arthur Levoz and Ovide Decroly, the Frenchman Théophile Roussel and the Dutchmen J. Van Hamel and J. Simon van der Aa belonged to this group.⁷⁰ In terms of finance, greater levels of state intervention became possible due to favourable economic circumstances. The economy boomed and towards the end of the nineteenth century the long crisis in agriculture also came to an end.⁷¹ As a result, the prosperity of an increasingly large segment of the European population grew, with real income increasing in the Netherlands between 1885 and 1901 by an estimated 30 percent.⁷²

Economic growth resulted in an improvement in the living conditions in the growing cities, with sanitation programmes and new residential areas for workers as well as the creation of improved medical facilities, including the establishment of infant health clinics. Young children immediately benefited from these improvements, with an increasing educational space the main result. Infant mortality, while increasing in the third quarter of the nineteenth century due to growing cities with bad sanitary conditions – often in combination with decreasing rates of breastfeeding which resulted in the prevalence of deadly gastroenteritis – now dramatically decreased. In France and England, the figures dropped from about 160 per 1000 to about 100 per 1000 live births, in Germany from about 200 to 160, in Belgium to 130 and in the Netherlands there was a dramatic decrease from between 200 to 250 around 1873 to 87 per 1000 in 1912.⁷³

Children at risk were among the key issues addressed by the new social policies, with laws introduced on compulsory school attendance, child labour and child protection, while the state's educational budget also increased.⁷⁴ Thus, the state prevented children working and made it compulsory for them to go to school, while delinquent behaviour was dealt with within an educational framework rather than by simple punishment. Moreover, the state had to protect children against neglect or maltreatment by parents. In principle, therefore, the educational ambition of the state encompassed all children and their parents. As a result, within a period of less than 25 years, from the French Child Protection Law of 1889 to the Belgian law of 1912, the already existing impressive private archipelago of re-education homes finally received state support in all Western European countries. Parents were now legally obliged to bring up their children properly, which is to say, according to general educational criteria as laid down in the law, with the risk of losing their children to the state if they did not comply.

The focus of these laws was the best interests of the child. Notwithstanding other goals, such as protecting the community against the consequences of poor education, and those of the powerful network of child-

saving and re-educating institutions opposing parents who wanted their children back before the re-education process had been completed, protection of the child in the best interests of the child seemed to be the driving force. From this time on, hundreds of thousands of European children were taken from their families and re-educated in 'their best interests'. Because of the power of the law behind this ambition, it soon became dominant and was also incorporated in other agendas, such as the salvation of sinful children and education for citizenship. We will now take a closer look at the building of a specific structure of educational supervision in the best interests of the child in the Netherlands, which resulted from the new laws.⁷⁵

Legal Supervision in the Best Interests of the Child: the Dutch Case

In 1898, the philanthropic and liberal Society for the Common Good once again played a decisive role in a national educational issue, just as they had with the school issue around 1800, but this time in the area of child protection and juvenile justice. The Society presented a thoroughly prepared report entitled *The Issue of the Care of Neglected Children* to the Minister of Justice with a list of recommendations, including the restriction of parental authority, compulsory education, pedagogical support for parents whose children were deprived or recalcitrant, the establishment of reformatories, and other proposals emphasizing care and education rather than punishment. With these recommendations soon becoming law, the report contributed decisively and efficiently to the creation of a new structure of child protection and juvenile justice. This was possible because of its perfect timing, following increasing calls for a separate law for juvenile offenders and a legal tool to limit parental authority coming from both the religiously founded re-education homes and liberal members of the legal profession.⁷⁶ Moreover, a great number of doctoral theses and other academic publications on juvenile criminality and on how state intervention and schooling could prevent it, supported these calls.⁷⁷ With reference to France and England, where new legislation had already been introduced, the adherents of child protection laws stated that there was a causal connection between the good care and education of the child, and a decrease in delinquency. The question to be answered in the report was what happened 'to children whose physical and moral needs were being neglected by those entrusted with responsibility for them', or of whom 'greater care needed to be taken', and 'what would these measures, if any, consist of'? The report mentioned two main motivations, namely 'the ill-effects on the community as a whole of child neglect', and the child's own interests, for 'the most important thing is to rescue and protect children, and thereby remove the evil before it has a chance to grow', thus

emphasizing the report's child-oriented educational ambition.⁷⁸ When introducing the bills on parental authority and juvenile justice in parliament in 1901, P.W.A. Cort van der Linden (1846–1935), the liberal Minister of Justice, endorsed these motivations.⁷⁹ As a result, in 1901, three child protection acts were passed unanimously and brought into effect in 1905. They concerned civil legislation, criminal legislation and legislation dealing with the implementation of these measures.⁸⁰

Unanimity on such far-reaching state intervention into family life seems unbelievable in a society which so emphasized family autonomy. However, it arose due to a process of lobbying and negotiation in parliament within a political and social context characterized by increasing social pillarization. Referring to the social structure through which major religious and ideological differences were accommodated by constructing a balance between state and private initiative, 'pillarization' became an almost magical term for the acceptance of ideological differences within the Netherlands concerning nearly all aspects of life, including politics, religion, school and education, sport and the media. The structure included four main pillars, Catholic, orthodox Protestant, socialist and liberal, the latter expressing a certain hesitation because, as the real descendents of the Dutch Enlightenment, they considered themselves to represent the genuine national interest rather than just one pillar. However, after dominating the Dutch political scene for most of the second half of the nineteenth century, they now had to deal with the increasing power of the religious parties, who, after 1918, gained a dominant position.⁸¹ Each pillar, consisting of members of all social strata, had its own political party – in the case of the Catholic and Protestant pillars their own churches – its own schools, youth organizations, newspapers, sport clubs, associations, trade unions, micro-economic structure, broadcasting corporations and, from the 1950s, television corporations. At the top of this system, the elite brokered the necessary compromises to protect national unity, while giving each pillar as much autonomy as possible.⁸²

At the beginning of the twentieth century, the main political issues of the nineteenth century, the school issue, general suffrage and the social issue, were resolved within this emerging structure of pillarization. After one hundred years, the illusion of the Batavian Republic of a homogenous educational culture for all citizens was destroyed. This occurred through a series of political deals in relation to, among others, the Child Acts of 1905 and the full state financing of all primary education in 1917, with Catholics and orthodox Protestants, once fierce opponents, now joining forces in their battle against the liberals. Paradoxically, the nation could remain unified on the basis of this ideological division over educational issues. The system of pillarization dominated both the societal and political structure as well as the collective mentality of many

citizens until well into the 1960s, when it collapsed, resulting in a dramatic diminishing of the power of the Catholic and Protestant organizations in many fields, but not in the school system where they maintain a dominant position even today.⁸³

The regulation of pedagogical supervision, resulting in the Child Acts of 1905, turned out to be the first major step in the Netherlands becoming a pillarized society. It increased the power of the Catholic and Protestant pillars, while also operating as part of the pillarization system until the 1960s. On the one hand, this regulation entailed a national system, with the law equal for all its citizens, but on the other hand, the implementation of child protection and juvenile justice measures was realized within the pillarized system and was differentiated along religious and ideological lines. These educational laws, combined with compulsory schooling for all children and institutional homes replacing the family for children at risk, encouraged the state to enter into the private domain of education. However, this development, which reflected the international context, was counteracted in the Netherlands by the necessity to accommodate the different ideological groups and make the deals required for their cooperation. In order for all to be willing to accept a state-level child-protection system, the state also had to guarantee each pillar the opportunity to undertake most of the protection work for children within their group.

This explains the political unanimity in relation to the Child Acts, despite far-reaching powers to enter private family life and even more surprising since, in the same year, 1901, the compulsory education act was passed with only the smallest majority, as the religious parties voted against it because it did not include state financing of their schools. This would only occur in 1917. State supervision of children and their parents by law was accepted because of its pillarized manner of implementation, meaning that this supervision was undertaken by Protestant, Catholic, socialist and liberal institutions under their own control but paid for by the state. Moreover, a newly founded agency, the Guardianship Board, with its decision-making body, the Council, consisting of citizens from the main religions and ideological movements, allocated all child cases along religious or ideological lines. This agency stood between the juvenile court and the pillarized re-education and child protection institutions and included professionals such as psychologists and educationalists, soon to be part of child protection practice, and other pressure groups working along pillarized lines. The following will show how the framework of a system which would protect children through educational supervision in their best interests and in the context of pillarization took shape and as such guaranteed the balance between state and private initiative, first through the Child Acts of 1905 and subsequently through two important supplements in 1922.

Apart from an implementation Act, the 1905 Child Acts consisted of two regulations on child protection with respect to civil and criminal law. The far-reaching civil law on parental authority, passed unanimously and without a parliamentary debate because of the broad consensus, introduced two new measures: the possibility of dismissing parental rights, until now part of the criminal code, or the suspension of these. These measures could be applied in cases where the obligation to educate one's children properly was not being fulfilled, either because of an inability to do so which led to the suspension of parental rights, or because of negligence, which led to their dismissal. The major difference from the French law of 1889, the first on this subject in Europe and the world, was the absence of state guardianship. The reason for this was that the homes run by religious organizations and represented by the religious parties in parliament requested that they take up the parental rights when these were taken away, in order to guarantee that children continued to be educated in the religion of their parents.

To meet this request, the Minister firstly amended the originally proposed legislation and introduced the above-mentioned Guardianship Board as an intermediary between government authorities and the private sector. This board, to be found in each court district, could take the initiative in child protection cases and request that particular measures be taken. It always had to be consulted before a judge could take measures of any significance, and it could have temporary authority over children. In short, it should and would become a powerful player in the world of child protection and its pillarized composition guaranteed the interests of the religious institutions. Secondly, the law was made acceptable to the religious parties by allowing existing residential homes for neglected children or the societies governing them the opportunity to take custody of the child when parental rights were removed.⁸⁴

The new child legislation relating to the Criminal Code, although also passed unanimously in 1901 and coming into force in 1905, went through an intense political debate between the religious parties and the Social Democrats. When the Minister advocated education rather than punishment in cases in which the criminal deed was 'the consequence of lack of insight or an undeveloped sense of moral responsibility', the orthodox-Protestant spokesman, A.F. De Savornin Lohman (1837–1924), opposed this extension of the educational power of the state. The Social Democrats, however, following in the footsteps of the left-wing Liberals, supported the Minister although requesting that the persons involved, including the judges, have the required educational background. Eventually, both parties agreed with the law, though the orthodox Protestants were basically opposed to it because it was based on modern notions rather than Christian principles. The reason why they did not vote against the law was that the Minister was willing to 'also call on the help of Christians and their

institutions in applying this law', meaning that, as was the case with children whose parents had lost their authority, private institutions could assume responsibility for children from the commencement of their term of re-education and punishment.⁸⁵ The negotiators' dealings with the Minister resulted in a very attractive arrangement for the religious parties, by which children who had been committed to the custody of the government could be immediately handed over to the *de facto* custody of private sector institutions. Consequently, it was not so difficult to accept the restriction on parental authority, although this had been against their principles, once the guardianship of the children had been largely handed back to their particular pillar and with the Guardianship Board guaranteeing a positive balance between state and private initiative. With the Child Acts, the Dutch state gained the right to countermand parental authority, with the option of placing the child, in its best interests, either in an institution or a foster family, generally organized by private, that is, confessional initiative, which was often also granted custody.⁸⁶

In December 1905, with the introduction of these Child Acts, G.A. van Hamel, co-founder of the Dutch Association for Child Protection, founder of Pro Juventute in Amsterdam and law professor at the University of Amsterdam, articulated the general feeling of pride in saying that no other country had 'such an important system of child protection'.⁸⁷ However, after only two years' experience of these new laws, a need was felt for both a less severe measure for cases which did not involve the dismissal or suspension of parental rights but instead called for more supervision, and for a special juvenile judge. The debate was encouraged by examples abroad, in particular Great Britain and the United States. To ensure the backing of all pillars of society despite the supervision of education being so controversial, the new legislation was not prepared by the government or parliament but by a non-governmental committee. While comparable with the preparation of the Child Acts of 1905, this committee was closely linked with state institutions and had as its president a member of the Supreme Court of the Netherlands, J.A.A. Bosch. The committee itself also consisted of members of parliament and of the Executive Committee of the Dutch Child Protection Federation. As in 1901, the Minister of Justice, accepting the proposals of this Committee, presented them without major changes to parliament on 18 March 1920, where they were unanimously accepted. As a result, two new child protection laws came into force on 1 November 1922: the law on family supervision for minors and the creation of the position of juvenile judge, both contributing to a framework of more child protection and more supervision of the educational process. These innovations in child protection were closely connected. The supervision measure, or OTS, part of the civil code, was seen as a preventive measure, firstly, in supporting parental authority and

thus avoiding stronger measures that could result in the separation of children from their parents, and secondly, in supporting parents in preventing their children from becoming delinquents and criminals.⁸⁸ Imposing supervision became the responsibility of the juvenile judge, an institution founded in 1922 which for many years remained pivotal to the Dutch Juvenile Justice Protection system. Calls for a juvenile judge from the socialists had already been heard during the parliamentary debates on the Child Acts in 1901, and as those Acts did not mention such an institution, the discussion soon started once again, with the Dutch Lawyers Association lobbying for the appointment in 1917. It was argued that there should be a single juvenile judge whose tasks would include penal and civil cases, and whose role would be exceptional in its involvement in both the investigation and the sentence.⁸⁹ In combining both tasks, the juvenile judge was to become better acquainted with the case and better aware of the consequences of any decisions. High personal standards, among them, exerting a fatherly influence on the child, flexibility and accessibility, and broad knowledge of the educational system were required to ensure that the juvenile judge acted in accordance with the pedagogical character of the child protection law. The juvenile judge soon became the pivot of the pillarized child protection network and at the end of the day took the final decision. Because the juvenile judge was the sole decision-maker in determining the extent of supervision, supervised children were referred to as ‘children of the juvenile judge’. Other child protection and juvenile justice measures were taken by a full court consisting of three judges, among them the juvenile judge. Because of the increasing popularity of the supervision measure, almost immediately after its introduction it surpassed the existing child protection measures, further increasing the power of the juvenile judge.

Dutch child protection became an institutional network, fitting Eisenstad’s classic definition of institutionalization as a ‘processes of exchange between different persons, groups, organizations, and spheres within a society’.⁹⁰ A network of interest or pressure groups emerged, interrelated through the exchange of children, and sometimes also parents, money, knowledge and experience. The boards of already existing re-education homes now became Guardianship Boards in order to gain legal custody of the children accommodated in their institutions. While the juvenile judge was pivotal, an intermediary role was granted to the Guardianship Boards, which in 1956 became Child Protection Boards and the juvenile judge’s most important partner. Present in each of the 21 court districts, with the big cities of Amsterdam, Rotterdam, The Hague and Utrecht having two, the Guardianship Boards acted as brokers between private institutions and the state, regulating the process of exchange. The Boards consisted of five to eleven citizens working as volunteers under the formal supervision of the Minister of

Justice and appointed by Royal Decree. Intended to reflect the upper classes of the pillarized society, they consisted of Protestant and Catholic clergymen, headmasters, local politicians, doctors and psychiatrists. Only the secretary, often a lawyer, was paid. Some of these secretaries, for example M.C. Nijland from Rotterdam and J. Overwater from Amsterdam, became leading figures in the field of Dutch child protection. This situation of the Boards almost totally depending on volunteers changed from 1956, with the Child Protection Boards increasingly operated by an expanding office consisting of the secretary and a rapidly growing group of professional social workers, thus diminishing the role of volunteer citizens. Although their role was questioned from the late 1960s, when child protection as a whole came under fire and the pillarized structure of society wavered and then imploded, it was only in 1995 that the role of volunteer citizens formally ended and the Boards put directly under the supervision of the Ministry of Justice.

Although the law said that the main justification for taking legal child protection measures should be ‘the best interests of the child’, that same law did not stipulate clear educational criteria on how to work in those best interests. The juvenile judge had the task of relating the educational situation of each case to the legal justification – the best interests of the child – and was thus required to use legal measures and act as a child-oriented pedagogue.⁹¹ It is true that the law mentioned a legal ground for issuing a family supervision order, namely that ‘the child is raised in such a way that it is threatened by moral and physical destruction’, but this broad formulation left considerable discretionary space for the judge. While from the beginning there was criticism of a system which decided on the most important aspects of the lives of parents and children without respecting their rights, the legal position of parents and children only improved in the last decades of the twentieth century. This was the result of lawyers placing much more emphasis on child and parental rights, culminating in an international movement on the rights of children which eventually resulted in the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989.

Around 1900, things were different. With the birth of a legal structure to supervise family education in the early twentieth century, educational ambition attained greater potential power than ever before in history. While interventions in family education were now to be justified in law through the concept of ‘the best interests of the child’, a series of other interests were also involved, among them those of members of the rapidly expanding child protection network. However, initially its pioneers, for example the Dutch and the Belgian Ministers of Justice, considered that the power of this legal network should only be used in a limited way. On 2 April 1912, the Belgian Minister of Justice, Henry Carton de Wiart (1869–1951), proposing the bill that was to become the child welfare law

that year, emphasized that ‘we should respect and be devoted to the family’, adding that the state should only intervene in the affairs of dysfunctional families, meaning working-class families. In the same way, in 1901 the Dutch Minister of Justice, Cort van der Linden, assured members of parliament that ‘the State should intervene only when it is made clear that the child is being educated badly ... In that sense, this bill is not to prevent but to reverse [bad education]’.⁹² It seems, however, that the restrained approach of the new child-focused educational ambition would not prevail in a culture with increasing incentives for better care of children and more interests at stake. Such a culture, developing after the Second World War, is the subject of the following section.

Educating in the Best Interests of the Child: Incentives for Better Care, More Children at Risk and Competing Powers in the Field of Education

‘Today, we find ourselves in the midst of difficult and uncertain times. Circumstances place some at greater risk than others’. Thus began the foreword to a series of seven booklets on how to deal with Children at Risk of Emotional or Behavioural Disorders (E/BD) in 2004, the editors all being child psychologists. Although the times are difficult, uncertain and high-risk, the authors provide us with some light at the end of the tunnel with the following words of hope: ‘In light of mounting challenges to serving children and youths with ... E/BD ... it is good to know that there are a growing number of practices that have compelling empirical evidence for their effectiveness’.⁹³ Considering all children to be potentially at risk would be even more effective, according to Maureen Conroy, editor of one of the booklets. She states that there is ‘a startling increase in the number of young children who demonstrate challenging behaviors in early childhood settings’, many of them being ‘at risk for later being identified as having E/BD’ and that ‘it may be more appropriate and proactive for us to broaden our perspective of functional assessment to meet the needs of all students and promote positive behavior’. Therefore, she recommends acting ‘to prevent and remediate the needs of young children who exhibit or are at risk for behavioral disorders’.⁹⁴

Such recommendations were usually focused on the best interests of the child, which was to be served through diagnosing and intervening in order to ‘prevent and remediate’ in relation to children at risk. However, when looking at this phenomenon historically, acting in the best interests of the child seems, in addition to resulting in incentives for better children’s care, to also have had other unintended consequences, among these an increasing number of children at

risk, and, while all agreed on the power of education, this led to a power play in the field of education. The following section examines this paradox, which arose in the twentieth century in the context of attempts to act in the best interests of the child. We will start with an examination of the intended goal of better care for children at risk, paying special attention to the phenomenon of child maltreatment.

Incentives for Better Children's Care

Consideration of the best interests of the child lay behind the increasing degree of attention paid to various categories of risks, namely certain kinds of families and parents, certain behavioural and developmental characteristics of children, and finally certain genotypes. In 1997, an alarming book entitled *A Generation at Risk: Growing Up in an Era of Family Upheaval* was published by the American sociologists Paul Amato and Alan Booth. This book was based on their long-term 'Study of Marital Instability', which they commenced in 1980 with the interviews of about 2,000 people, who were again interviewed in 1983, 1988 and 1992. The book concluded that growing up in an American family had become highly dangerous. One reviewer recommended the book 'without reservation to all professionals interested in the ongoing *drama* [my italics, JD] of the family'. According to Amato and Booth, 'parental marital quality is the key variable' for the wellbeing of their offspring and much more important than protective variables such as increasing the educational levels of parents and families or having fewer children, or other variables such as a declining standard of living and financial stress. This is because the protective and positive effects of modern society are far from compensating for the negative effects resulting from a decline in parental marital quality which they find to have occurred since the 1970s. With marital quality not likely to improve soon, 'the outlook for future generations of youth may be even more pessimistic', with young children particularly vulnerable to the effects of declining marital quality. They recommend a policy which prevents low-conflict marriages from ending in divorce and which should 'be based on creating incentives for parents to act in the best interests of their children'.⁹⁵

The maltreatment of children in the family has become one of the most studied topics in the field of child protection in recent decades. Although the Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children was founded in 1874 in New York City, cruelty to children was to become a central topic almost a hundred years later in 1962, with the publication of the famous article on battered child syndrome by the American doctor C. Henry Kempe. From this time on the

maltreatment of children as an educational problem was placed on the agendas of doctors, policymakers, educational professionals and educational researchers. Through the work of Kempe and his colleague, child abuse became, according to Giovannoni, 'a common household word'.⁹⁶ 'Medicine Discovers Child Abuse' is therefore a telling title to Carole Jenny's 2008 account of how Kempe's article became a JAMA (*Journal of the American Medical Association*) classic because it established the idea 'that physicians have a special responsibility to children – a responsibility to help keep them safe, sometimes even from their own parents'. The major effects of Kempe's article included legislation which made the reporting of child abuse mandatory being passed in every state of the United States between 1963 and 1967, numerous scientific articles concerning abused and neglected children, and an institutional framework of diagnosing and preventing child maltreatment, with Kempe playing an active role.⁹⁷ According to Jenny, child maltreatment occurs frequently, with 'overwhelming numbers of children [being] abused physically and sexually'. With the National Child Abuse and Neglect Data System reporting that in 2006, 905,000 children in the United States were considered 'by social service agencies to be survivors of child abuse or neglect' and with a meta-analysis from 1999 reporting that '30% to 40% of women and 13% of men experienced sexual abuse during childhood', Jenny states that although 'there is no evidence that the actual prevalence has increased, these numbers would have been unbelievable in the 1960s'.⁹⁸ Most studies, however, seem to point to an increasing prevalence in the last decades.

Since 1979, David Finkelhor, one of the most renowned experts on the subject after Kempe, has claimed that the prevalence of child abuse and neglect has been growing almost continuously. In 2005, Finkelhor and his team published alarming figures on a representative sample of American children and youth aged from 2 to 17 years. They concluded that 'more than one half ... of the children and youth had experienced a physical assault in the study year', 'more than 1 in 8 ... a form of child maltreatment, 1 in 12 ... a sexual victimization, and more than 1 in 3 ... had been a witness to violence or experienced another form of indirect victimization', with only 'a minority (20%)' without 'direct or indirect victimization'.⁹⁹ Many publications from the 1990s and early 2000s, published in academic journals such as *Pediatrics*, *Child Maltreatment*, the *European Journal of Criminology*, *Child Abuse & Neglect*, *Child Development* and *Science* support Finkelhorn's data and the alarming thesis of Amato and Booth that there is a generation at risk. Studies in other countries such as Great Britain resulted in figures comparable to those in America.¹⁰⁰

Comparative research by Douglas and Straus on the corporal punishment experienced by university students from 19 countries as children resulted in the conclusion that although differences among countries were

considerable, ‘over half of the students did not “strongly disagree” that they were “spanked or hit a lot” by their parents as child (under age 12)’. Similar research by Straus on neglectful behaviour by parents in the context of the life history of university students in Europe, North America, Latin America, Asia, Australia and New Zealand, resulted in the conclusion that ‘half of the students experienced at least one of the eight neglectful behaviors as children’.¹⁰¹ Recent research in the Netherlands seems to corroborate this increasing trend. With the prevalence of child maltreatment until recently only being estimated by extrapolating from US figures, resulting in the estimate that about 40,000 to 80,000 Dutch children were being maltreated each year, new research carried out in 2007 at the request of the Dutch government has resulted in substantially higher figures. These figures vary, however, with 107,200 cases according to the report by Leiden University, compared to 160,700 according to the report by VU University in Amsterdam, the large difference being due to the research method used.

VU University made use of a self-report by children aged 11–18 years, roughly following the Straus method, combined with questions on child maltreatment and questions on other annoying and unpleasant events in the lives of these children. The method used in the Leiden report, rather than asking the children, obtained data from professionals working at schools and child protection institutions, acting as monitors of possible child maltreatment. As Straus had already shown, the method of self-reporting normally results in higher figures.¹⁰² Apart from much research into the topic, and the setting up of an impressive institutional framework for diagnosis and prevention in response to Kempe, from the end of the 1980s new international legal standards came into being through the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child. This obliged the ratifying states to do more to prevent child abuse and neglect and made clear how wide the gap could be between the intention laid down in the UN Convention and the tough reality of children at risk. On this basis, Hart called for ‘support for the State to assume its higher than usual legitimate rights and responsibilities to intervene – intrude – in the lives of families and children’.¹⁰³

Apart from facing the risks created by parents and families, maltreatment being one of the main problems, children themselves seem to have become increasingly at risk through their behaviour, their nature or genes, as shown at the beginning of this section. While in the seventeenth century, Cats and his colleagues were outspoken in blaming major forms of child misbehaviour on the inadequate education of their parents, from around 1800, the Enlightenment educational discourse frequently blamed the children themselves for their misbehaviour. In the second half of the nineteenth century, with its expanding system of child protection homes and the emerging discourse on child behavioural problems, to be discussed

further below, more attention was paid to the reasons behind the misbehaviour of children considered at risk, with, however, the family being increasingly blamed. Following the Child Acts coming into force, this way of looking at child misbehaviour led to the belief that the best solution was to remove children from their parents. In recent decades, in addition to examining the competences of parents, more attention has again been paid to the risks children pose to themselves, either through behaviour or by nature. According to Ron Nelson, in an article published in 2007 in the book *Exceptional Children*, the 'study of risk factors is part of a relatively new discipline of developmental psychopathology' and 'based on the belief that significant exposure to key risk factors is associated with negative, long-term life outcomes'. For a child with difficult temperament, the most important risk factor is characterized by 'impulsiveness, distractibility, inflexibility, and attention deficit problems'.

These characteristics resemble the definitions found in a long tradition of morally systematizing child deficiencies, which occurred even before the birth of the child sciences in works such as *Krebstuchlein oder Anweisung zu einer unvernünftiger Erziehung der Kinder* (1780) by Christian Gotthilf Salzmann (1744–1811), as well as those by Friedrich Heinrich Christian Schwarz (1766–1837), Friedrich Eduard Beneke (1798–1854) and, although less moralistic and more empirical, the Dutchman Jan Geluk (1835–1919). At the end of the nineteenth century, the emerging child science partly built on this systematization of child deficiencies with a so-called pedagogical pathology developed by Von Strümpell (1812–1899) in his *Pädagogische Pathologie* (1890), which seemed to be more interested in 'is' rather than 'ought' concerning good child behaviour and good parenting styles, or at least remained more implicit on moral issues. This was the case with other emerging theories in the field of the child sciences, such as those developed in France by J. Philippe, G. Paul-Boncour, Alice Descœdres, Alfred Binet and Théodore Simon, in Great Britain by Thomas Clouston and others, and last but not least in the US by Granville Stanley Hall (1844–1924), considered the father of the child sciences.¹⁰⁴ It is remarkable that in the last decades, the moral dimension of child science has become more explicit. The recent emphasis on the study of risk factors is part of this development. In 1996, Celia Fischer and other psychologists sketched the changing roles of developmental psychologists, from scholars to clinical professionals, from the 1980s onwards, confronted with 'the current risk-opportunity imbalance in the lives of urban adolescents', referring to problems of poverty, drugs and alcohol, violence, depressive symptoms, high-risk sexual activities and other health problems. They advised maintaining a good balance between 'is' and 'ought', or between 'scientific responsibility and participant welfare', to contribute both to the 'continued development of our science and the individuals whose participation make this science possible'.¹⁰⁵

Finally, focusing on nature as a determinant of risk factors influencing child behaviour has always been cyclical, increasing in significance with Lombroso's heredity studies of the criminal child, and decreasing in the 1970s with the ideological protests against any form of biological study of deviant behaviour. In the last decades it has again been increasing. In weighing the possible effects of parental risk factors on child behaviour, A. Caspi, in an article in *Science*, concluded that although childhood maltreatment by parents forms a universal risk factor, 'most maltreated children do not become delinquents or adult criminals'. The key factor in determining why children become criminals, according to Caspi, is a deficiency of MAOA (Monoamine Oxidase A), related to a gene located on the X chromosome, thus strongly focusing on nature as an explanation of human behaviour. According to Caspi, children are at major risk of becoming adult criminals only when having both a history of childhood maltreatment and insufficient MAOA. He suggests influencing the genotype using pharmacological treatment.¹⁰⁶ Therefore, determining the risk factors in the best interests of the child in relation to risk-creating parents and families, risk-taking children, and risks arising from genotypes, seems, in the world of child protection, to be generally seen as a powerful, efficient and desirable means of better diagnosing children at risk. If the diagnosis of children at risk of developing eating disorders, emotional or behavioural disorders, ADHD, autism, or even becoming a criminal, occurs as early as possible, it should be easier to either prevent or to mitigate such developments.

More Children at Risk

It seems, however, that focusing on the best interests of the child has not only contributed to better care for children at risk but also, although unintentionally, to the discovery of more and more children who are potentially at risk. Even the early nineteenth-century initiatives, explicitly aiming at substantially reducing the numbers at risk, were accompanied by a growing incidence of at-risk children, with this paradoxical phenomenon becoming stronger in the twentieth century in the context of an educational ambition focused on the best interests of the child. In addition to more care for children, this ambition also seemed to encourage the creation of new categories of children at risk, followed after some time by new measures and institutions to tackle these new risks. Among these categories were children exhibiting criminal behaviour, suffering deprivation and neglect, nervous children, children with personality problems, children at risk of maltreatment and sexual abuse, children suffering war trauma, children with eating disorders, children at risk of Emotional or Behavioural Disorders (E/BD), children with Attention Deficit Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD), autism, and

even highly talented children now increasingly being considered to be at risk. The focus here is on these categories because they seem to play a major role in the likelihood of an expansion of the definition of children at risk.¹⁰⁷ A convincing explanation for this increase seems to be the continuous and explicit raising of educational ambitions by the state and supranational organizations and by educational experts, with the criteria of good education and good development now being laid down in laws, in international conventions and as starting points for professional diagnosis and therapy. In the following, this hypothesis will be examined, with special attention being paid to children at risk in relation to juvenile justice systems, and as a result of maltreatment.

The introduction of Child Protection Acts made it mandatory for all parents to act according to fixed educational standards, the possible consequence of not acting in this way being the loss of parental power.¹⁰⁸ Parenting became 'a duty that implies a right, which can be lost when the duty is neglected', according to G.A. van Hamel in 1905. It is true that in 1901, during the parliamentary process associated with the Dutch Child Acts, the liberal Minister of Justice, Cort van der Linden, considered behaviour by parents which put their children at risk to be exceptional, with intervention only being acceptable after negative effects had been observed, for: 'Only reversing, not preventing is the responsibility of the state'.¹⁰⁹ However, this restrained attitude towards intervention in the best interests of the child changed after the Second World War. In 1955, at a celebration for the fiftieth anniversary of the Child Acts, J. Overwater (1892–1958), president of The Dutch Association for Child Protection, a children's court magistrate and a leading figure in the world of child protection, emphasized the growing need for child protection to an audience of key figures in the field, with the Queen also present. While child protection had initially been related to the 'major shortcomings of parents', it was found to now be 'dominated by cases of various sorts of education problems and behavioural problems'. It was no longer 'limited to one single social group', but was exercising a 'bad influence upon society as a whole'.¹¹⁰ This implies that despite or even because of the implementation of the Child Acts, more families and children were now at risk, and the tackling of these risks required the streamlining and professionalization of the child protection organization with the increasing influence of psychiatry, psychology and special educational sciences.

This multiplier effect based on working in the best interests of the child became even stronger with the international movement for children's rights, beginning around 1900 and eventually resulting in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child in 1989. As Baartman and Hart emphasize, the subject of the maltreatment of children is an example of this development: with children's rights and the UN convention frequently used as a juridical basis for broader definitions, the unavoidable result is a higher prevalence. According to Hart there are now

international standards ‘that establish a universal imperative for protecting children from child abuse and neglect. The UN Convention (treaty) on the Rights of the Child is the pre-eminent international philosophical and legal base in regard to children’s human rights’. Indeed, article 19 of the Convention calls on the ratifying states to not only ‘take all appropriate legislative, administrative, social and educational measures to protect the child from all forms of physical or mental violence, injury or abuse, neglect or negligent treatment, maltreatment or exploitation, including sexual abuse, while in the care of parent(s), legal guardian(s) or any other person who has the care of the child’, but also requests signatories to combine such protective measures with ‘effective procedures for the establishment of social programmes to provide necessary support for the child and for those who have the care of the child’, including ‘identification, reporting, referral, investigation, treatment and follow-up of instances of child maltreatment described heretofore, and, as appropriate, for judicial involvement’. Hart correctly concludes that through this convention, ‘a new level of heightened awareness and commitment to child protection has been established’.¹¹¹

Increasing care for children, partly enforced by law, was accompanied by increasing degrees of expertise and numbers of experts. With the exception of schoolmasters, who were the only professional experts in education who were required to raise their level of expertise in 1806 by the Dutch national school acts, educational expertise was acquired through daily experience. The example of re-education homes shows that until the end of the nineteenth century a military background was considered to be an outstanding qualification for re-educating neglected children. At this time, encouraged by the introduction of the Child Acts and compulsory education, and as part of a broader European development, professional expertise grew in relation to three different levels of child protection, namely the juridical, the diagnostic and therapeutic, and finally the social-worker level.¹¹²

The first professionals in the child protection system were legal experts, among them the juvenile judge – the key professional in the system in its early days – the public prosecutor, and the secretary of the Guardianship Board. The juvenile judge was outspoken from the start. As mentioned above, Troelstra, a member of parliament, called for a specialized juvenile judge in 1901, and the function was created in 1922. The judge was given broad responsibilities and a wide range of tasks. In 1955, during the fiftieth anniversary of the Child Acts, juvenile judge Dorhout explained that the ideal juvenile judge should above all be a jurist, with extensive knowledge of the law, jurisprudence and of national and international literature on the subject. Along with juridical knowledge, juridical experience was necessary, as well as life experience. This was not the complete list of competences. The profile also mentioned specific personality

elements: a need to be sympathetic, to have good judgement of human nature and be able to communicate with all kinds of human beings, from a pin-up girl to a lady, and from a young thief to a degenerate prostitute. The juvenile judge had to have a personality that everybody could trust. There was also a need to engage with the family supervisors, to visit the homes in which the children were placed and to read all relevant reports critically. Finally, according to Dorhout, the juvenile judge should remain informed about the latest developments in child psychiatry, developmental psychology and educational sciences, and be able to apply this knowledge.¹¹³

Knowledge about the behaviour of children at risk began to develop in the Netherlands with the birth of pedagogical pathology at the end of the nineteenth century. Its German and Dutch founders emphasized the fact that it was neither medical pathology nor psychiatry or psychology, but specifically pedagogical pathology, with its own concepts and theories, its own textbooks and journals.¹¹⁴ The Dutch pioneers were K. Andriessse, A. J. Schreuder and Jan Klootsema. The latter was the author of the first Dutch textbook on special education, *Underprivileged Children. An Introduction to Pedagogical Pathology and Therapy*. Klootsema saw children's deficiencies as 'disturbances that occur in those parts of the child that the upbringing addresses ... but [whose] ill-effects can be kept to a minimum by means of educational measures', revealing a strong belief in the power of education. He developed twelve diagnostic measures for determining to which category, either neglected or delinquent, a child belonged, including cranial measurements and an analysis of the moral defects accumulated by the child.¹¹⁵ In the first years after the introduction of the Child Acts in 1905, such methods were used in the observation units of the State Educational Homes, with Klootsema gaining practical experience as a director of such homes for many years. From the late 1920s, more sophisticated methods replaced these, as part of a wider process of professionalization.¹¹⁶

Also important in changing the way children at risk were defined was the development of Dutch child psychiatry from the 1920s, with influential psychiatrists such as E.A. Carp and H.C. Rümke, who were convinced of the value of special attention being paid to children and youth, thus encouraging the use of psychiatric diagnostics in observation homes from the late 1920s. Child protection policy now increasingly employed a process which accommodated the legal distinction between delinquent and at-risk children to the diagnosis made by the new experts, who defined the child in terms of pedagogical, psychological, or psychiatric categories, and in this way served the best interests of the child. The legal expertise of the juvenile judges was increasingly complemented with psychiatric expertise. In the early years, the latter focused on a psycho-hygienic point of view, and then for many years, until the late 1960s, used a predominantly psychoanalytic style of

approach, evident in reports concerning children under supervision.¹¹⁷

Pioneers of pedagogical pathology such as Von Strümpell, Andriesse and Klootsema were critical of the amateurish methods employed in the homes, arguing for more competent and professional personnel. This resulted in the creation of new professional positions such as 'Group Leader for At-Risk Children in Residential Care'.¹¹⁸ In the Netherlands, the first training course in institutional care was devised in 1899, when the Amsterdam School of Social Work was founded. In pillarized Holland, the Union of Christian Philanthropic Institutions in the Netherlands did not wish to be left behind and created its own training course for 'Co-workers in Christian Institutions for Residential Care of At-Risk Children'. The appointment in 1909 of the first state-subsidised child-welfare law officer in the Amsterdam department of Pro Juventute, founded in 1896 by G.A. van Hamel, also contributed to the professionalization of the field.¹¹⁹ While Protestant and state-run homes were quick to follow, the Catholic homes did not. According to Van Toorenburg, in 1918, 'the age of charity as a hobby' had passed in the field of child protection and 'the regular administration and more challenging jobs were being handed over to permanent and well-paid staff'.¹²⁰ Juvenile justice, however, remained another story, with volunteers continuing to do most of the educational work in the first decades, including Guardianship Board members and almost all family supervisors. Only in 1956, when the Guardianship Board was transformed into the Board for Child Protection, were an increasing number of social workers and family supervisors employed, all of them now trained according to professional standards and being paid for the job.

In the late 1960s, the number of children being re-educated as a result of juvenile justice measures, such as the supervision measure, sharply decreased and only reached its high mid-1950s level again in the 1990s because the whole system of child protection became unpopular and was considered to intrude on the family and children's lives. This trend provides evidence for the fact that the numbers of children at risk did not increase in a straightforward linear progression, as at this time, in the best interests of the child, relatively few children were being diagnosed as being at risk in accordance with legal criteria. Nevertheless, another category of children at risk were receiving greater attention: maltreated children.

When Dr Kempe invented the battered child syndrome in 1962, he focused on the physical maltreatment of children. Emotional abuse was soon included and the broadening of the definition of child maltreatment continued, with Finkelhor and his colleagues including categories such as witnessed and indirect victimizations. Self-reporting studies by Straus and Savage resulted in the alarming conclusion that 'high rates of neglectful behaviour in both

developed and underdeveloped countries and among a privileged sector of those countries' were normal. Their definition included such behaviour as parents not helping their children with homework and not helping the child when it had problems, with the 'most frequent neglectful behavior [being] "not helping with homework"', which according to this study was reported by 29 percent of pupils.¹²¹ While narrow definitions of child maltreatment generally focus on physical abuse and, more recently, partly due to attention by the feminist movement, on sexual abuse, broad definitions are increasingly related to the optimal development of the child. Following this way of thinking, in the 1970s the Child Welfare League of America defined child abuse as 'the denial of normal experiences that produce feelings of being loved, wanted, secure and worthy'.¹²² Baartman observed a broadening of the definition in three directions. Horizontally, even more aspects of treatment of children were being considered forms of maltreatment; vertically, the interpretation of, for example, the physical treatment of children as maltreatment went further; finally, not providing an environment in which the child felt safe became a central element of child maltreatment, with, for example, a child observing violence between its parents also considered to be a form of maltreatment of the child itself, despite the violence not being directed at the child.¹²³ Different definitions used by different professional groups such as doctors, social workers and lawyers, together with different research methods, resulted in extremely divergent prevalence figures. The diverging figures from the recently published Dutch prevalence studies, varying from 107,200 to 160,700, are not an exception to the rule. This brought Giovannoni, who reported a range of 652,000 to 6 million cases annually in the US, to the following conclusion: 'It all depends on to whom you are talking and what they are talking about'.¹²⁴

Thus, from the 1970s, the battered child syndrome, clearly defined by Kempe, became only one of many categories of a now broadly defined notion of child maltreatment. This resulted in a much higher incidence of children at risk than even Kempe would have believed. The main reason behind this increase seems to be the huge amount of attention paid to child maltreatment after the 1960s, which increasingly developed as a new mission in the best interests of the child. The combination of educational and medical professionals focusing on child maltreatment and lobbying politicians to develop policy to prevent this, the international regulations such as the Convention for the Rights of the Child further encouraging such policies, and the raising of educational standards for parents and educators which resulted in expanding definitions of maltreatment laid down in national laws, produced a paradox. On the one hand, more expertise and mechanisms of support for children and their parents developed, while, on the other hand, prevalence figures continued to increase. However, as Baartman

emphasizes, the definition now covered a wide variety of more or less blameworthy behaviour patterns rather than being a clear concept developed into quantifiable variables.¹²⁵

As mentioned above, it was not only the prevalence of maltreatment of children that increased through this broadening of definitions and the growth of more expertise and research.¹²⁶ Other at-risk categories also saw increasing numbers, as Hermanns has recently made clear for the Dutch case. On the one hand, the situation of Dutch children seems to be very serious indeed: 491,290, or 14 percent of the group aged 0–18, make use of a form of special care, there has been a massive increase of about 10 percent annually over the last 10 years, and about 20,000 are being educated in a residential setting. On the other hand, recent epidemiological research on the welfare situation of Dutch children and youth refutes this impression, making clear that the overwhelming majority feel content. In attempting to explain this puzzle, Hermanns first refuted the idea that the increase was the result of a lack of appropriate educational standards in earlier years, or that the relatively good welfare condition of children was the direct result of increased professional support. After concluding that less high risk families and children were making relatively more use of care arrangements and support programmes than typical high risk families, he gives three reasons for the growth in the numbers of children at risk that seem to confirm the multiplier thesis developed above.

Firstly, the decreasing tolerance level of adults in coping with the behaviour of children and youngsters makes people increasingly reluctant to attempt to solve minor problems themselves, and they turn to professionals instead, automatically increasing the number of children in one of the many at-risk categories. Secondly, the psychopathological, or special educational method of interpreting children's behaviour in general, including the diagnosis of rather minor problems, often resulting in a specific treatment, seems to have multiplier effects, such as increasing the prevalence of ADHD and autism. Finally, in increasingly interpreting behaviour as being potentially criminal, and in using the criminal justice machinery to solve problems much more than before, the number of at-risk children is further increasing. This development is not limited to the Netherlands but typical for the Western world, as was made clear recently by Kauffman: 'We need to be preventive, to intervene early and effectively', emphasizing 'early identification and intervention' and warning against those who oppose such a strategy. According to Hermanns, the increasing availability of educational support and care was mainly responsible for the increasing number of children at risk and this was due to a lowering of trust in parental competences and increasing trust in the competences of professionals. This in turn is the result of a belief that parenthood should be taught by professionals and learned by parents, while, according to Hermanns, the great majority of parents should be competent at their task because

of their genetic and social background, with further parenthood capacities developing in their interaction with their children, without need for professional support.¹²⁷

Power Play over Education

While the focus on the best interests of the child became more influential and was eventually laid down in child protection laws around 1900 as the most important criterion to be used when taking child protection measures, this did not mean that other interests were no longer at stake. On the contrary, once working in the best interests of the child became a state duty, a new power play in the field of education began. The story of the birth of the Dutch Child Acts mentioned above showed that while building up a new system of child protection, private organizations succeeded in controlling the major part of the legal duty towards children in the context of a pillarized system of child protection. They thereby protected the interests of their religious re-education homes and even used the child protection institutions to further develop a pillarized society. Nevertheless, the power play of the religious parties in parliament in their negotiations with the liberal Minister of Justice did not prevent either the minister or the political parties from also attempting to serve the best interests of the child. Soon after the introduction of the Child Acts, the interests of educational professionals emerged. As is normal in the development of professions, in their case, serving the best interests of the child went together with not neglecting their own interests as experts working in the field. While acting in the best interests of the child, they therefore also developed other interests, among them their jobs, job status, salary and respect for their expertise.

It seems that as educational ambitions with respect to the best interests of the child continued to rise, the power play intensified. While for politicians such as Cort van der Linden, this ambition was clear and limited, ‘only reversing, not preventing [being] the responsibility of the state’, Overwater in 1955 formulated a much broader ambition, stating that the problems were now educational and psychological and not just limited to one single social group, and thus he called for greater power to prevent these problems. Overwater had no way of knowing that temporarily, in the 1970s, belief in institutionalized and legal forms of child protection would almost disappear, with the state becoming much more modest in its educational ambitions than he would have preferred. The seventy-fifth anniversary of the Child Acts in 1980 was not a triumphant celebration. Speakers indulged in self-criticism and in criticism of the system of child protection, with the Minister of Justice, J. de Ruiter, remarking that talk of

child protection should be avoided in a culture characterized by more liberties being granted to the youth, as had occurred since the late 1960s. He also warned that an increasing distance was developing between professionals and citizens in the field of child protection, while finally expressing the wish that legal forms of child protection, made possible by the Child Acts and now being celebrated, be resorted to even less than was already the case.¹²⁸ His wish reflected an existing trend, as the imposition of supervision, the most frequently used child protection measure, had fallen from 16.7 per 10,000 in 1950, when Overwater had called for more measures, to 9.0 in 1960 and 5.5 in 1970. However, perhaps ironically, this trend came to an end soon after his speech, and with the educational ambition of the state, encouraged by professionals in the field of child protection, slowly recovering, the figures reached 13.6 per 10,000 minors in 1995, close to the peak reached in 1950.¹²⁹

Recently, a new instrument was added to the machinery of the educational ambitions of the state and educational professionals: the Electronic Child Dossier. This addition was proposed by professionals and accepted eagerly by a government looking to the development of such instruments. This innovation, recently accepted by the Dutch parliament and to be introduced for all children aged 0–18 on 1 July 2010, will make possible the supervision of all children and their parents from birth – or even earlier – to adulthood. The intention behind the instrument is to reduce the number of children developing into risk-creating adults and preventing parents from bad parenting, thus making children happy and society safe. The idea behind this strategy is that all children are potentially at risk, both due to their own behaviour and genotype and to the educational behaviour of their parents.¹³⁰ The report advising the introduction of the instrument was produced by a private organization, the Inventgroep, at the request of the government, and was entitled ‘Helping with growing up and educating: earlier, faster, and better’. It was published in September 2005 and written by professional pedagogues, psychologists and doctors. Their ideas were heavily based on American empirical research and they advocated the necessity of monitoring all children and their parents longitudinally by introducing the Electronic Child Dossier. According to the authors, the dossier should be kept ‘as long as the interests of the child are served’, and be centrally controlled. The situation was considered so critical that even major collateral damage was accepted: that ‘through this strategy a considerable number of families and children will be considered as potentially problematic, including this being accompanied by negative results such as stigmatization and unnecessary costs are accepted’.

This proposal for a Electronic Child Dossier was eventually transformed into Dutch law, bringing all children and their parents under the supervision of

the state and professionals without asking them. It is remarkable that this principle issue was not a major part of the debate between professionals and members of parliament, with most attention being paid to the issue of access to the dossier, technical issues of digital storage and how detailed the dossier could and should be. While the government remained hesitant about providing access to professionals other than those from the Municipal Health Service, with other professional groups only authorized to add information but not to consult the information already present, several professionals behind this prevention and supervision strategy seemed to advocate almost open access. In addition to this dossier, the government, again supported by professionals, considered introducing compulsory screening for parental risk for all parents of children aged 0–4 in relation to variables such as divorce, one-parent families, unemployment, foreign origin and other so-called risk factors. With such information in the Electronic Child Dossier, it will become possible to monitor all children and their parents until the child is 23 years old.¹³¹ With this instrument, the state seems willing to transform itself into an educational Big Brother, perceiving all children as potentially at risk and all parents potentially risk-creating, and in this way realizing its educational ambition in the best interests of the child.

This policy was not only a state affair. It was encouraged and strongly advised by other players in the field of children at risk, as was the case one hundred years earlier. In 1901, with the birth of the child protection acts resulting in the supervision of neglected and delinquent children, as well as parents who did not educate their children adequately, the main players in the field of child protection at the time, namely private child-help organizations and liberal legal professionals, encouraged this child protection policy. Today, once again, other players, namely professional practitioners and scientists in the field, support the current state policy to introduce the Electronic Child Dossier. However, over the course of its introduction, some have changed their minds, with J. Hermanns, one of the authors of the 2005 report, probably the most significant. In 2009, he was explicitly sceptical about the positive effects of the Electronic Child Dossier and critical about the dangers of perceiving all children as potentially at risk. While stating that ‘there seems to exist a hunt for so-called at risk families that are not yet a problem, but may possibly become a problem in the future’, he also claimed that the Electronic Child Dossier was ‘mainly intended to map these risks’. Moreover, according to Hermanns, by linking the Electronic Child Dossier to the so-called Reference Index Children at Risk, the Big Brother potential of the Electronic Child Dossier, introduced in the best interests of the child, might even increase. The Reference Index connects data on children at risk, which is provided by professionals, to the child’s Citizen Service Number, a

unique number given by the state to each Dutch citizen from birth, allowing the possibility to combine various sets of data.¹³²

Negative reactions to this supervision of parenting also came from clinical psychologists, fearing for the privacy of their patients, and from the influential internet site, *Ouders on line* (Parents online). This site advised parents to be careful about reporting possible educational problems to the personnel of the long-standing so-called Infant Health Offices. It seems that for the first time in their history, these Infant Health Offices – now being integrated into local Centres for Youth and the Family, with a history of more than one hundred years of childcare, visited frequently by most Dutch parents along with their young children – are openly distrusted by parents.¹³³ The reason mentioned by the parents online site is the introduction of the Electronic Child Dossier. According to them, the linking of the Dossier with the Reference Index Children at Risk which can map parents as being a possible risk could make any visit to a doctor at the Infant Health Office suddenly less confidential than before, with the information provided by the parents being stored in the dossier. It is feared that the distrust of parents apparent in the idea behind the Electronic Child Dossier – since it approaches all parents and all children as potentially at risk for the sake of the best interests of the child – could damage the long-standing trust built up by this organization, which was established around 1900 to assist in the care of young children and to practise its task in the same best interests of the child.

The Mantra of Modern Education

‘In the best interests of the child’ became the mantra of modern education. It started with Romanticism and was modelled in various forms by writers, painters and some pedagogues, with Fröbel probably being the most child-oriented. A threshold was passed when, in focusing on the issue of children at risk, the idea of the best interests of the child was laid down in Child Protection Laws throughout Europe, thus becoming, in addition to the mantra of pedagogues, also the main juridical criterion for justifying educational interventions. This resulted in the continuous raising of the level of educational performance, making it even more difficult for parents to fulfil the expectations of their own or the state’s educational ambition, notwithstanding the non-linear expansion of educational space. It also resulted in greater intensity in the power play concerning education, with professionals and the state gaining more power and parents and children becoming more monitored than ever before. Finally, education in the best interests of the child led to the multiplication of the categories of children at risk. Thus, the paradoxical result of approaching childhood in the best interests

of the child was that more expertise concerning and more appropriate care for children at risk was available on the one hand, while on the other, a view of childhood developed which saw more risks for children and more potentially damaging kinds of risks everywhere.

Chapter 5

Epilogue: The Power of Educational Ambitions

Educational ambitions are the main forces behind cultural transmission and educational regulation and supervision, and their history is one of the continuity and change of their focus; of their realization being encouraged and restricted by the educational space enclosing them; of happy children and children at risk. Although educational ambitions were not born in early modern times, they passed through major transformations, and, powerful as they were, they would decisively influence the lives of many generations of European citizens. It is striking how much energy, dedication, money and political power play was invested in educational ambitions in the period examined in this book.

In the seventeenth-century world of the Reformation and Counter-Reformation, it was generally accepted that achieving salvation in heaven should ultimately be the main driving force behind any educational ambition. To attain sufficient educational literacy for this final goal, inside the religiously divided house of the Dutch Republic, two main forms of teaching and gaining educational literacy were available, one based on instruction, the other on seduction by humour or beauty. The instructional and doctrinal books on educational literacy by the Rev. Teellinck, the Rev. Koelman and the Rev. Wittewrongel, as well as others, were written in an earnest style and showed similarities with the style of catechisms emerging under the influence of Reformation Europe. These instructional books gained a loyal and faithful, but rather limited market, with the family and child-rearing advice book by Koelman even being reprinted today.

The teaching of educational literacy by seduction was more popular. The best examples of this style were the emblematic books about growing up, marriage, the family and education by Jacob Cats, which combined morally coloured educational messages with pleasant stories using humorous and often seemingly frivolous but also didactic emblems. These books were bestsellers over a long period, for three main reasons. Firstly, the orthodox Calvinist hard-liners ultimately did not succeed in dominating Dutch culture and could not prevent moralists from presenting their message in pleasant stories with funny

emblems and placing them on the book market. Secondly, a considerable demand for these books developed among a broad section of the bourgeoisie who were dedicated to learning how to behave according to the rules and regulations of their respective religions, but also eager to enjoy well-written and humorously illustrated texts. In this way, these authors could create a private world in which the serious learning of educational literacy was coupled with pleasure and fun. Finally, there was a strong belief in the effectiveness of combining the teaching of serious topics with fun. Moral messages associated with pleasure were found to have a strong effect, and the success of *Cats* is evidence of the fact that this style was effective in the book market. In combining the learning of virtues with pleasure, *Cats* influenced Dutch educational literacy probably to a greater extent than anyone before or since in Dutch educational history.

The pursuit of educational virtues was also taught through the fine arts. Genre painters, with Jan Steen the most influential, presented beautiful messages about parental behaviour and produced a great number of paintings and drawings depicting growing up, education and domestic virtues. In this way, such painters contributed to overcoming the embarrassment felt in enjoying pure beauty by those who aspired to the virtues of frugality and simplicity, an embarrassment so seductively described by Schama. A well-developed art market made it possible for a broadly based middle class to buy emblematic books and also create a private world in which they could develop their educational literacy by enjoying the beauty of paintings depicting marriage and the family, parenting and the coming of age. Thus, a strategy of moralizing by beautifying, practised for centuries in the Roman Catholic Church but abandoned in the Calvinist churches, made a comeback in the Dutch Republic of Educators.

The Enlightenment caused a radical transformation in the focus of educational ambition, moving from Christian salvation to instruction for citizenship for all, and this transformation led to major changes in the strategies of cultural transmission and regulation and supervision. Styles of cultural transmission now became explicit and didactic, as the successful child-oriented moral poems by Van Alphen revealed, and in designing a school for all, Dutch Enlightenment-inspired politicians shaped a new strategy for the regulation and supervision of education. However, this strategy did not result in an easy victory. The expectations of the Educational Enlightenment soon collided with the restrictions placed on the educational space, which were economic, demographic, political and cultural. The educational ambitions of the Enlightenment faced resistance from a fierce competitor in the guise of the orthodox Protestants, who were later joined by the Roman Catholics. This fascinating struggle, spanning more than one hundred years, concerning educational power in relation to

cultural transmission and educational supervision, was the Dutch manifestation of a European-wide phenomenon of a religious turn around 1800, in which there was a renewed attempt to enforce the rule of religion. In the meantime, although not until the end of the nineteenth century, the supervision of at-risk children and risk-creating parents, mainly undertaken by private residential institutions and without the mandatory power of the law, became a popular option throughout Europe in coping with delinquent and neglected children. This practice of educational supervision of what by the end of the nineteenth century amounted to hundreds of thousands of neglected children in thousands of homes without any mandatory power of law, eventually demanded the exercise of such power.

The legal control of educational supervision first occurred in 1900 with child protection acts coming into force in Western Europe and North America. These Child Acts not only brought the power of law to the world of child protection, but also placed a specific focus of educational ambition at the top of the educational hierarchy: the best interests of the child. It is true that this focus was not born in the context of child protection. It had been modelled on the ideas of Romantic writers, painters and pedagogues such as Fröbel, and became the driving force behind the school reform movement known as *Von Kinde Aus*, which intended that schools be organized with the focus on the child's world. However, a decisive threshold was passed when the focus on the best interests of the child attained legal force. While immediately becoming the main legal criterion for justifying juvenile justice interventions, it also soon turned out to become the main principle behind all educational practices and all educational interventions: it became the mantra of modern education, with at least three far-reaching consequences.

Firstly, making the best interests of the child the primary educational ambition resulted in a continuous, legally driven upgrading of the level of educational performance, more difficult for parents to achieve, even in a society where the limits to the educational space had diminished substantially, although not linearly. Secondly, the new legally powered focus of educational ambition resulted in an interminable power play over education, with professionals and the state attempting to gain more power in relation to supervising parents and children, and with various interests becoming involved in the educational debate. Finally, education in the best interests of the child could and sometimes would result in the multiplying of the categories and numbers of children at risk, with two contradictory effects. On the one hand, the increasing approach to childhood from the point of view of the best interests of the child led to greater diagnostic knowledge, more forms of intervention, more child-oriented school facilities, and thus more child-oriented care for at-risk children. On the other hand, acting in the best interests of the child could and did result in childhood increasingly being seen in terms of more risks and more potentially damaging risks. The history of education in the best

interests of the child, a powerful educational ambition born more than one hundred years ago, thus seems to have become an ambiguous force, pushing for more appropriate care for children at risk and their parents, but also pulling the state towards higher levels of supervision of children considered more at risk and parents considered more likely to create risks.

NOTES

CHAPTER 1

- 1 On parenting, see Maccoby & Martin, 'Socialization in the context of the family'; and Maccoby, 'The Role of Parents'.
- 2 See Braudel, 'Histoire et sciences sociales. La longue durée'; Sewell, *Logics of History*; id., 'A theory of structure'; cf. Steinmetz, 'Logics of History'.
- 3 Cf. Dekker, *The Will to Change the Child*. The use of the term 'education' in this book includes both child rearing and schooling.
- 4 On the use of 'space' in cultural history, see Steinmetz, 'Logics of History', 548; Rogge, *Der Weserraum*. On culture, see Frijhoff, *Cultuur, mentaliteit*; Dekker, *Het gezinsportret*, 12–13; Grafton & Blair, *The Transmission*; Siegel, 'Education and Cultural Transmission', 28, 37–38; Dekker, 'Cultural Transmission'; Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 13–15; Ginzburg, *Miti Emblemi Spie*.
- 5 In Depaepe, *De pedagogisering achterna*; cf. De Vroede, 'Inleiding'. See also Smeyers & Depaepe (Eds.), *Educational Research: The Educationalization of Social Problems*.
- 6 See Peng, 'On Transnational Curriculum', 301, 315; Breidlid, 'Sudanese migrants ... fighting for educational space'; Burke, 'Inside out'; Burke et al. (Eds.), *Containing the School Child*; Grosvenor, 'Seen but not Heard'; Grosvenor & Watts (Eds.), *Urbanisation and Education*. On the family as educational space: Richardson, 'The Home as Educational Space'; Loughman & Montias, *Public and Private Spaces*.
- 7 For statistics from the World Health Organisation, see <www.who.int/child_adole scent_health_/data/en>. Cf. Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 55.
- 8 Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly raising', 43–60.
- 9 Gavitt, *Charity and Children*; Meischke, *Amsterdams Burgerweeshuis*; Engels, *Burgerweeshuis*; Dankers & Verheul, *Als een groot particulier huisgezin*.
- 10 R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 31.
- 11 Steinmetz, 'Logics of History', 546.
- 12 Dekker, *The Will*, 41–55; Dekker, 'Philanthropic Networks'.
- 13 Ariès, *L'Enfant*; Wilson, 'The Infancy'; Burton, 'Looking forward from Ariès?'; Dekker & Groenendijk, 'The Republic of God'; Bedaux, 'Introduction'; Dekker, *Verlangen*, ch. 1.
- 14 Bedaux, *Sociobiology*; Bedaux, 'Introduction', 12–13. See on the evolutionist side, among others: Shorter, *The Making*; Stone, *The Family*; Badinter, *L'amour en plus*; Dasberg, *Grootbrengen* (on Dasberg: Dekker & Levering, *Het grote Dasberg-debat*); R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*. See on the structuralist side, among others: Houlbrooke, *The English Family*; MacFarlane, *Marriage*; Pollock, *Forgotten Children*; Hill, *Society and Puritanism*; Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*; Arnold, *Kind und*

- Gesellschaft; Shahar, *Childhood in the Middle Ages*; Alexandre-Bidon & Lett, *Les enfants au Moyen Âge*; Woods, *Children Remembered*; Jolibert, *l'Enfant au XVIII^e siècle*; Orme, *Children in the Middle Ages*. Cf. Dekker & Groenendijk, 'The Republic of God?', 317–335, Dasen et al., 'Dix ans de travaux sur l'enfance'.
- 15 Cf. R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*. See also Ariès' editorship of part of *L'histoire de la vie privée*.
 - 16 History of education developed into an institutionalized academic discipline in the 1960s with national societies and with the International Association for the History of Education/International Standing Conference for the History of Education, ISCHE, founded in 1978, and since 2000 an Affiliated Member of CISH (International Committee for the Historical Sciences). See Lüth, 'Entwicklung'. The first specialized journals were founded in 1960, with the pioneering *Paedagogica Historica* and *History of Education Quarterly*.
 - 17 See Huber & Dasen (Eds.), *Politics of Child Care in History*; Schulze, *Ammen und Pädogen*; Laes, *Kinderen*; Mustakallio et al., *Hoping for Continuity*; Bradley, *Discovering the Roman Family*; Cohen et al., *Constructions of Childhood*; Corbier, 'La petite enfance à Rome'; Dixon, *The Roman Family*; Eyben, *Restless Youth*; Golden, *Children and Childhood*; Hummel, *Das Kind*; Neils et al., *Coming of Age*; Rawson, *Children and Childhood*.
 - 18 Meijer, 'Cultural Transmission', 185. The following is partly based on Dekker, 'Cultural Transmission'; cf. Sturm et al., *Education and Cultural Transmission*.
 - 19 Litt is quoted by Meijer, 'Cultural Transmission', 184 (translation by JD), 185; Jacques de Gheyn, *Mother and Child with a Picture Book*, c.1620, drawing, 17.3 x 14.8 cm (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 138. On picture books for children, see Mooren, *Het prentenboek als springplank*.
 - 20 Siegel, 'Education and Cultural Transmission', 28, 37–38.
 - 21 Scarr, 'Developmental Theories for the 1990s'; Scarr & McCartney, 'How People Make Their Own Environment'; Slater & Gavin Bremner, *Theories of Infant Development*; Slater & Gavin Bremner, *An Introduction to Developmental Psychology*; Breeuwsma, *Het vreemde kind*.
 - 22 Oelkers, 'Freedom and Learning', 71, 81. For criticism of this point of view see Biesta, 'Education as practical intersubjectivity', 313–314, n. 24 on Habermas, and n. 71 against Oelkers, 'Pädagogische Anmerkungen'. According to Meijer, 'Kant's appeals to use one's reason and be free of the lack of autonomy ... were not directed to children, but towards adults'. Referring to Herbart, Meijer states that 'Herbart does not consider [the Kantian concept of freedom] useful within educational theory. Its unhistorical character makes it unfit to help understand how education might realistically contribute to the gradual development of free, autonomous thinking and judgement, Meijer, 'Cultural Transmission', 185–187; cf. Benner, *Allgemeine Pädagogik*. See on Herbart: Meijer, 'Die Gedanken warten lernen'.
 - 23 According to Biesta, 'Education as practical intersubjectivity', 311–312, the educational relationship should not be seen as 'inherently asymmetrical' in the Kantian

- tradition, but as 'a structurally symmetrical relationship'. The 'problems, paradoxes, and mysteries' resulting from a Kantian way of reasoning could be solved by conceiving of education 'as a co-constructive process'. Cf. Biesta, *Beyond Learning*.
- 24 According to Tomasello, 'Emulation learning and cultural learning', 703: 'Cultural transmission, the prototype being human cultural transmission'. Olson and Astington, 'Cultural learning', 531, conclude that cultural and historical differences are decisive for the way cultural learning and cultural transmission are related. Cf. Tomasello, Kruger & Ratner, 'Cultural learning', 500–502; Gabora, 'Cultural learning', 519. In *The Cultural Origins of Human Cognition*, Tomasello emphasized the intersubjectivity of the mother-child relationship and communication in contrast with the apes' passive sharing. Cf. Tomasello, *Origins of Human Communication*, and id., *Why We Cooperate*.
 - 25 Harris, *The Nurture Assumption*, 56, 65, quoting William James, *The Principles of Psychology*. Cf. Gardner, 'Do Parents Count?'.
 - 26 Bruner, *The Culture of Education*, 57.
 - 27 Scarr, 'Developmental Theories', 2–3; Scarr & McCartney, 'How People Make Their Own Environment'; Plomin et al., 'Nature and Nurture'. Homer, 'Transmission of Human Values', 348.
 - 28 Becker introduced the concept of cultural capital before Pierre Bourdieu, see Becker, *Accounting*, 7, 10, 16; Becker, *Human Capital*; Bourdieu & Passeron, *Reproduction*, 99, 73. Cf. Baedlie, 'Education, Social capital and state formation'.
 - 29 Becker, 'Nobel Lecture'; Becker, *Accounting for Tastes*, 156, 139.
 - 30 Becker, *A Treatise on the Family*, 151–152; Becker & Tomes, 'Human Capital and the Rise and Fall of Families'.
 - 31 See Steutel & Spiecker, 'Authority in Educational Relationships'; Meijer, 'Cultural Transmission', 186; Meijer, 'Die Gedanken warten lernen', on Kant and Herbart; Spiecker, 'The Pedagogical Relationship'; Steutel, *Deugden en morele opvoeding*.
 - 32 Meijer, 'Cultural Transmission', 185. Cf. Dekker, *Het gezinsportret*; Meijer, 'General Education'; Meijer, *Stromingen in de pedagogiek*.
 - 33 Nóvoa, 'On History'; Cohen, *Challenging Orthodoxies*; Cohen & Depaepe, 'History of Education'; Böhme & Tenorth, *Einführung*; Frijhoff, 'Education's memory'.
 - 34 Siegel, 'Education and Cultural Transmission', 44.
 - 35 On regulation, see Steinmetz, 'Logics of History', 546; and Fecteau & Harvey, *La régulation sociale*.
 - 36 The following is partly based on Dekker & Lechner, 'Discipline and Pedagogics in History'. Ariès, *L'Enfant* (quotations from the 1973 reprint); Foucault, *Discipline*; Dichy & Fouché, *Jean Genet*, 7. Genet's novels *Miracle de la rose* and *L'Enfant criminel* were inspired by his stay at Mettray. Cf. Dekker, 'Éduquer et punir'. Cartoon by J. Linse on the introduction of the Dutch Child Protection Acts, with the full caption: 'Your behaviour was so bad that I will send you to the Guardianship Board. Perhaps next year something might go well for you', *Nederlandsche Spectator*, 1905 no. 52.
 - 37 Foucault, *Discipline*, 141 (*Surveiller*, 143, n. 3).

- 38 Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, III, 503 (or 1978, *Le Matin*, 20 January, 'Une érudition étourdissante').
- 39 Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, IV, 650 (or 1984, *Le Matin*, 21 February).
- 40 Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, IV, 646–649 (or *Le Nouvel Observateur*, 17–23 February 1984). Cf. interview with J.-P. Barou and Michelle Perrot on Ariès' ideas on architecture in relation to discipline, *Dits et écrits*, III (or 1977), 192.
- 41 See Dekker, *The Will*, 61–68.
- 42 See Woolf, *The Poor*.
- 43 See Cunningham, *Charity*; Bec et al., *Philanthropies*; and Dupont-Bouchat, Pierre et al., *Enfance et justice*, for an overall view on philanthropy and education in nineteenth-century Europe.
- 44 Dekker, 'Transforming the Nation and the Child', 139–142.
- 45 See further Dekker & Lechner, 'Discipline and Pedagogics in History'.
- 46 Ariès, *Centuries*, 267 (*L'Enfant*, 295).
- 47 Foucault, *Discipline*, 169 (*Surveiller*, 171).
- 48 Ariès, *Centuries*, 284 and 333 (*L'Enfant*, 316 and 373).
- 49 Ariès, *Centuries*, 173 (*L'Enfant*, 185).
- 50 Ariès, *Centuries*, 252 (*L'Enfant*, 278).
- 51 Veyne, *Comment on écrit l'histoire*; Brieler, 'Foucaults Geschichte'.
- 52 Foucault, *Dits et écrits*, IV, 647, in his obituary for Ariès, opposed this trend of setting him aside. His inaugural lecture at the Collège de France was published in Foucault, *L'ordre du discours*. Cf. on supervision and educational politics: Dahlberg & Moss, *Ethics and Politics*.
- 53 See George & Bennett, *Case Studies*; Schama, *The Embarrassment*, 486, emphasized the uniqueness of the Dutch child-oriented society. See, however, Dekker & Groenendijk, 'The Republic of God'; Dekker, 'A Republic of Educators'; Becchi & Julia, *Histoire de l'enfance en occident*; Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly Raising', 59, n. 7; and Cunningham, *Children*, 4–18.
- 54 On societal compartmentalization elsewhere in Europe, see Righart, *De katholieke zuil*.
- 55 Moritz, *Magazin zur Erfahrungsseelenkunde*.
- 56 On the use of personal documents in history, see Baggerman & R. Dekker (Eds.), *Het dagboek van Otto van Eck*; R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*; R. Dekker & Baggerman, 'De gevaarlijkste van alle bronnen'; Schippers & Schmitz (Eds.), *Ik is anders*; Misch, *Geschichte der Autobiographie*; Roberts, *Through the keyhole*; Romein, 'Het probleem der waarheid'; Groenendijk, 'De spirituele (auto)biografie'; Ruberg, 'Children's correspondence'; Spigt, *Het ontstaan*.
- 57 Sturkenboom, *Spectators*, 84 (n. 202), 86, 88. Cf. Jouhaud, 'Littérature et histoire'; Chartier, *Les usages*; Chartier, 'Le monde comme représentation'. For twentieth-century children's fiction, see Dane et al., 'For Religion, Education and Literature'.
- 58 On images as a source, see Haskell, *History and its Images*; Hardtwig, 'Der Historiker und die Bilder'; Brown, *Sources of Everyday Life*; Imhof, *Im Bildersaal der Geschichte*; Laarmann, *Het Noord-Nederlandse familieportret*; Greep, *Een beeld van*

- het gezin; Owen Hughes, 'Representing the Family'; Rabb & Brown, 'The Evidence of Art'.
- 59 Bruyn, 'A Turning-Point', 112; Haskell, *History and its Images*, 5; De Jongh, 'Jan Steen', 40; De Jongh, *Tot lering*; Panofsky, *Studies*. Cf. Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly raising'.
 - 60 Alpers, *L'art de dépeindre* [or. 1983], 11; De Jongh et al., *Tot lering en vermaak*; Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*; cf. Gombrich, *Norm and Form*; Durantini, *The Child*; P. Hecht, 'Dutch seventeenth-century genre painting'; De Jongh, 'Real Dutch art'; Dekker, 'A Republic of Educators', 159–160; Sutton, *Masters*, LXIII, n. 49; Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*; De Jongh and Luijten, *Mirror*, 71. Ripa's *Iconologia* was translated into Dutch in 1644 as *Iconologia, of uytbeeldinghen des verstands*. Cf. Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 458, 100–102; Bedaux, 'Introduction', 22, 19–20; Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 112–113.
 - 61 Portraits by the Southern Dutch painter Cornelis de Vos (1584/85–1651) are among the numerous examples of paintings on child rearing and childhood emerging outside the Dutch Republic, but their existence does not alter the fact that the quantity and quality of Dutch seventeenth-century genre paintings on child rearing and child and parental portraits was greater than anywhere else. Cf. on De Vos: Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 137–139, 142–143, 144–145; Von Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 158–159.
 - 62 The paintings used in this book are part of a sample of approximately 500 paintings and drawings, see Dekker, *Het verlangen*, ch. 1. Cf. on images in the history of education, Depaepe & Henkens (Eds.), *The Challenge*.
 - 63 Cunningham, 'The History of Childhood', 34.
 - 64 Dekker, 'The Century of the Child'.

CHAPTER 2

- 1 See Freedberg, *The Power of Images*. This chapter is partly based on J.J.H. Dekker, 'Beauty and Simplicity. The Power of Fine Art in Moral Teaching on Education in 17th Century Holland', *Journal of Family History. Studies in Family, Kinship, and Demography* 34, no. 2, 2009, 166–188, and J.J.H. Dekker, 'Moral Literacy: the pleasure of learning how to become decent adults and good parents in the Dutch Republic in the seventeenth century', *Paedagogica Historica* 44, 2008, 135–149.
- 2 MacCulloch, *Reformation*; Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*.
- 3 See Julia, 'L'enfance', 312–315, for the catechisms for children by Martin Luther (*Der kleine Katechismus*, 1529), by Jean Calvin (*Formulaire d'instruire les enfants en la Chrestienté*, 1541) and by the Catholic Petrus Canisius (*Parvus Catechismus Catholicorum*, 1558). Cf. Heijting, *De catechismi*, and Verboom, *De catechese*, on the Dutch situation.
- 4 MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 367, 370.
- 5 Dekker & Groenendijk, 'The Republic of God', 319–321; Schama, *The Embarrassment*; Brown, '... Niet ledighs', 51–60; Sutton, *Masters*, 51–60; Haak,

The Golden Age; Sutton, *Masters*, lxvii–lxxxv; Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation*; Haks & Van der Sman, *Dutch society*.

- 6 MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 371. See on the Dutch Republic; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*; Frijhoff & Spies, 1650; Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, Van Deursen, *De last van veel geluk*; Schama, *The Embarrassment*; Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*. On economic developments, see De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*. A classic on the Dutch Golden Age is Huizinga, *Dutch Civilisation*. On Huizinga and Schama, see Spies & Frijhoff, 1650, 62–69. On the Republic's dominant bourgeois character, see Blom, 'Burger en Belang'.
- 7 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 389; Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart*; MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 370, 371; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 389.
- 8 Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 608.
- 9 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 368.
- 10 Spaans, 'Reform in the Low Countries', 130–131.
- 11 Colas, *Civil Society*, quoted by MacCulloch, *Reformation*, 373.
- 12 Prak, *Gouden eeuw*, 10; Van Deursen, *De last van veel geluk*, 264–269.
- 13 Julia, 'L'enfance', 287; Schmidt, *Overleven na de dood*.
- 14 De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 97; Van der Woude, 'Demografische ontwikkeling', 146–147.
- 15 De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 68, 72.
- 16 Noordegraaf & Valk, *De gave Gods*; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 97–97; Schama, *The Embarrassment*; Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*; Bedaux, 'Funeraire kinderportretten'; Roberts, *Through the keyhole*, 213.
- 17 See De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 97; Vandenbroeke, 'Zuigelingensterfte'; Vandenbroeke et al., 'De zuigelingen- en kindersterfte'; Van der Woude, 'Demografische ontwikkeling van de Noordelijke Nederlanden 1500–1800', 146–147, 156–168; Van der Woude, 'Variations', 299–318. On breast-feeding, see Groenendijk, 'Piëtisten en borstvoeding'; Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*; and id., *Wet Nursing*; cf. Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, 113. On schooling and literacy, see Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 17–21.
- 18 See Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 253; Frijhoff & Spies, 1650; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*; Lesger, *Handel in Amsterdam*.
- 19 Groenveld et al., *Wezen en boefjes*.
- 20 Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 154; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 71, 82–84; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 619–622, 357; Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, 150.
- 21 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 116.
- 22 Tilmans, 'Republikeins burgerschap', 83, 96–97.
- 23 Jean de Parival wrote in 1669: 'On peut voyager librement par toute la Hollande ... seul et en compagnie sans crainte d'estre detroussé', quoted by Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 677, 678, 685. Roodenburg, *Onder censuur*; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 680–682; cf. Van de Pol, *Het Amsterdams hoerendom*.

- 24 Meijers Drees, ‘‘Burgerlijke’’ zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur’, 133–153, 148; Schenkeveld, *Nederlandse literatuur*, passim; Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, 137.
- 25 On the sacraments, see McBrien, *The HarperCollins Encyclopaedia of Catholicism*, 1146–1147. See Storme, *Die trouwen wilt voorsichtelijck*, on the Counter-Reformation marriage offensive in Flanders. On Calvinistic marriage opinion, see Bakhuizen van den Brink, *Handboek*, vol. 3, 147–150, 169.
- 26 See Cats, *Verhalen uit de Trou-ringh* (Koppenol edition), 6–8; Cats, *Huwelijk* (Marriage) (Snekker & Thijs edition), 137–142.
- 27 Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, 115; Cats, *Huwelijk*, 139.
- 28 Simon Oomius, *Ecclesiola. Dat is, Kleyne Kercke*; see also Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*, 47, 58, n. 57.
- 29 Kootte, *De bijbel in huis*. On toys for children in Dutch homes, see Willemsen, ‘Speelgoed in beeld’; Willemsen, ‘Uit kinderhanden’.
- 30 Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*, on Wittewrongel.
- 31 Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*, 51.
- 32 Although never explicitly mentioned in the autobiographical texts of the Huygens’ fathers.
- 33 Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 191–192; Dekker & Groenendijk, ‘The Republic of God’; Ozment, *When Fathers Ruled*.
- 34 See Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 17–21. Cf. De Booy, *Kweekhoven der wijsheid*; id., ‘Naar school’, 427–441; id., *De weldaet*. For the ‘Generaliteitslanden’, i.e. the southern provinces of North Brabant and Limburg, see Roosenboom, *De dorpsschool*. Cf. Kuiper, *De hollandse ‘Schoolordre’*. On the relatively extensive school system in the Middle Ages, see Post, *Scholen en onderwijs*.
- 35 Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 46–47; Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 20–21; Frijhoff, & Spies, 1650, 239–240.
- 36 Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 240.
- 37 Baxandall, *Painting and Experience*, ch.1; Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 46–47. The most famous Dutch book on arithmetic was Bartjens, *Cijfferinge* from 1604. Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 237; Holme, *Literacy*, 4; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 686; Frijhoff, ‘Calvinism, Literacy, and Reading Culture’, 252–265.
- 38 Julia, ‘L’enfance’, 333–334; Castiglione, *Il libro*.
- 39 Cf. Dekker, *Verlangen*, 169–178; Groenveld et al., *Wezen en boefjes*, 134–151; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 356.
- 40 Collomp, ‘Familles. Habitations et cohabitations’. On children’s toys, see Willemsen, ‘Speelgoed in beeld’; id., *Kinder delijt*.
- 41 Constantijn Huygens, ‘De jongelingsjaren’, 79–8, 91.
- 42 Becchi, ‘Humanisme’, 161; Klapisch-Zuber, ‘L’enfant, la mémoire et la mort’, 208–217.
- 43 Bedaux, ‘Introduction’, 23, 32 n. 29.
- 44 Cats, *Verhalen uit de Trou-ringh*, 9. Examples of personal documents expressing grief when children died include Gerbenzon, *Het aantekeningenboek van Dirck*

- Jansz., 140, and Blaak, *Hermanus Verbeeck*, 91–92, 159–160, 209. See R. Dekker, *Uit de schaduw*, 47–54; Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 138–146. Cats, who married Elizabeth van Valckenburgh in 1605, lost five out of seven children at a very early age.
- 45 Bedaux, ‘Funeraire kinderportretten’. Johannes Thopas, *Girl from the Van Valkenburg Family on her Deathbed*, c.1682, oil on panel, 58 x 71.5 cm (Van Valkenburg Foundation); Bartolomeus Van der Helst, *Young Boy on his Deathbed*, 1645, oil on canvas, 63 x 90 cm (Gouda: Stedelijk Museum Het Catharina Gasthuis, in loan from the Instituut Collectie Nederland); see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 292–293, 192–193. Cf. Knipping & Gerrits, *Het kind*, I, 116. See Groenendijk & Van Lieburg, *Voor edeler staat geschapen*, 71 and *passim* on pious children on their deathbeds having exceptional knowledge of their religion and trust in God; Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Trotse opvoeders’, 56–57. Cf. Woods, *Children Remembered*. On children on their deathbed in England, see Summer, ‘Venetia Digby on her Deathbed’.
 - 46 Anonymous, *Family Group, probably the Family of Jan Gerritsz. Pan*, 1638, panel, 87 x 178 cm (Collection Stichting Portret van Enkhuizen / Thade van Doesburgh); see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 162–163. Cf. Stiggers, *Naar het lijk*.
 - 47 Revel, ‘Les usages de la civilité’, 169–209.
 - 48 On Dutch seventeenth-century art production, see Van der Woude, ‘De schilderijenproductie in Holland’, 223–258.
 - 49 See Becchi, ‘Humanisme’, 1998, 66. Influential Dutch medical advice books were S. Blankaarts *Verhandeling van de opvoeding en ziekten der kinderen* from 1684 and Johan van Beverwycks *De schat der gezondheid*; see Roberts, *Through the keyhole*, 84–87.
 - 50 Cats, *Alle de wercken*, III, 173, and V, 55, quoted by Kluiver, ‘Het gezin’, 94, n. 61. Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 464–466; Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd*, 36–39.
 - 51 See Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden* (Images of Passions and Love) (edition Luijten), 56, Emblem IV, ‘Amor, formae condimentum’.
 - 52 Jacob Jordaens (1593–1678), a painter from the southern Netherlands, was probably the first to paint it; see also Schelte à Bolsward, *So D’oude Songen, Soo Pepen De Jongen*, engraving, 33.3 x 45.5 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum). See De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 253–256 and n. 12, on Cats and Jordaens.
 - 53 Jan Steen, *The Merry Family* (‘As the Old Sing, so Pipe the Young’), 1668, oil on canvas, 110 x 141 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum); see Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 172; Durantini, *The Child*, 59–61; Chapman, ‘Jan Steen’s household revisited’; Brown, ‘... Niet ledighs’, 83–88. On proverbs and education, see Palacios, ‘Proverbs as Images’, 79, 94. Cf. Jan Steen, *Soo voer gesongen, soo na gepepen*, c.1663–1665, oil on canvas, 134 x 163 cm (The Hague: Mauritshuis); see Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 172–175.
 - 54 Holme, *Literacy*, 1–2.
 - 55 According to Carr, *Educating the Virtues*, 1, 6, ‘some definite initiation into those virtues ... must lie at the heart of the moral education of *all* children’. Cf. Carr & Steutel, *Virtue Ethics*; Steutel, *Deugden en morele opvoeding*, 13; Cf. De Ruyter,

- 'The Importance of Ideals in Education'; Dekker, *Het gezinsportret*, 14–15; Peeters, *Over deugden en ondeugden*.
- 56 Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly Raising', 45–46; Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 370; Julia, 'L'enfance', 286–373.
- 57 Revel, 'Les usages de la civilité', 172–173; cf. Becchi, 'Humanisme et Renaissance'; Bierlaire, 'Colloques scolaires', 257–280; Groenendijk, 'De humanistische achtergrond', 11–118; Todd, *Christian Humanism*; Julia, 'L'enfance', 342–361. Erasmus' book was translated into Dutch in 1546. Cf. Groenendijk, *Jong gewend, oud gedaan*, on Erasmus's *De pueris statim ac liberatliter instituendis* from 1529.
- 58 Teellinck quoted by Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly Raising', 44; Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*, 20, 23, 25–34.
- 59 Cats, *Alle de wercken* (edition Amsterdam, 1655), 55, quoted by Kluiver, 'Het gezin', 94, n. 61.
- 60 Groenendijk, 'Piëtistische opvoedingsleer in Nederland'; Roberts, 'Jacob Cats (1577–1660)', 19–20; Groenendijk, 'Continuïteit en verandering', 137–142; Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd*, 37, 41–42.
- 61 Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*.
- 62 Koelman, De pligten der ouders. Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly Raising', 10; Wubs, Luisteren naar deskundigen, 203; Groenendijk, 'De worsteling Jacobs'. For a historiographical overview see Groenendijk, 'Piëtistische opvoedingsleer in Nederland'. On the influence of Koelman in the late twentieth century, see Wubs, Luisteren, 203; Groenendijk & Roberts, 'Vader Cats', 81. Cf. Marnix van Sint-Aldegonde's *Ratio instituendae iuventutis* from 1583. On this educational advice book, see Frijhoff, 'Marnix over de opvoeding', 59–75. See Groenendijk on Marnix's catechism for children, 'Marnix' kindercatechismus', 76–86.
- 63 Cats' *Alle de wercken*, 281, quoted by Drees, "'Burgerlijke" zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur', 151. On Cats and education, see Van Deursen, 'De raadspensionaris Jacob Cats'; Grootes, 'Literatuurhistorie en Cats' visie op de jeugd'. On the revival of Cats's reputation in the nineteenth century, see Kloek, 'Burgerdeugd of burgermansdeugd?'; Cats, *Spiegel*; cf. Van den Broek, *De spreekwoorden van Jacob Cats*; Kluiver, 'Het gezin', 56–61; Van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven*, 133.
- 64 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 2, 56–75, 79–88. On the birth of the emblem genre in Italy, see Van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven*, 129.
- 65 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 2, pp. 8 and 11. The first parts were already published in 1618 as *Silenus Alcibiadis*.
- 66 Jansen, 'The Emblem Theory and Audience of Jacob Cats'.
- 67 Bedaux, *The Reality*, 155.
- 68 Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*; Groenendijk, 'Kerk, school en gezin'; Groenendijk, 'Die reformierte Kirche'; Kruithof, *Zonde en Deugd*, 19–59. Tuttle Ross, 'Understanding Propaganda', 16; F.C. Bartlett, *The Aims of Political Propaganda* (1940), quoted by Tuttle Ross, 18.

- 69 The classic study of the Dutch art market is Montias, *Artists and Artisans in Delft*. For the art market and the individual buyer, see Montias, *Art and Auction*, 242.
- 70 Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 496, 637; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 147, 701; De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror of everyday life*.
- 71 Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 48, 98, 548, 873; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 404; Van der Woude, ‘De schilderijenproductie’, 239.
- 72 Brown, ‘The Meaning of Transfer’, 83, 85. Nissley, ‘Arts-Based Learning’, emphasizes the meaning of pictures and of visual competence, stating ‘we are moving from a script-based to an image-based marketplace’, 27, 29, 45. The Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century was in many respects an image-based marketplace in which visual competence was high among many citizens, cf. Alpers, *The Art of Describing*.
- 73 Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 51. From around 1650, religious mixed marriages were the exception, see Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 358, and Knippenberg, *De Religieuze Kaart*, 9–62.
- 74 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 134. See for iconographic examples of this popular theme; De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 80–84. Cf. Peeters et al., *Vijf eeuwen gezinsleven*.
- 75 Jan Steen, *The Garden Party*, 1677, oil on canvas, 67 x 88 cm (Belgium: Private collection); see Perry Chapman et al. (Eds.), *Jan Steen*, 257–259. For the interpretation of the orange, see Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 48. On Steen, see Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 515; Bok, ‘Het leven van Jan Steen’; and Westermann, ‘Steens komische ficties’, 55.
- 76 Westermann, ‘Steens komische ficties’, 64–65; De Jongh, ‘Jan Steen, dichtbij en toch veraf’, 50. Cf. the emblem book by Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 2, 56–75, 79–88. In Diderik van Leyden and Alida Paets’s *Children*, 1679, oil on canvas, 178.3 x 156.3 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum) by Daniël Mytens II (1644–1688), these virtues are related to education in an allegorical portrait, with each child representing a specific virtue according to the well-known rules of Ripa’s *Iconologia* from 1611; see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 286–288. The Dutch translation was published in 1644 as *Iconologia, of uytbeeldingen des verstands* (Amsterdam: Dirck Pietersz. Pers, 1644).
- 77 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 134.
- 78 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, 39, vol. 2, 157–169.
- 79 See chapter 1. Cf. Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 59, n. 7.
- 80 Dekker & Groenendijk, ‘The Republic of God’, 317–335; Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 51. On seventeenth-century family life by studying personal documents, see Roberts, *Through the Keyhole*; Kooijmans, *Vriendschap*, 220–238; and the diaries by the Huygens’ fathers: Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn jeugd*; Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen*; Christiaan & Constantijn Huygens, *De jongelingsjaren in Eyffinger*, *Huygens herdacht*, 75–165. Cf. Ozment, *Ancestors*.

- 81 See the anonymous *Family Portrait with Mother who Reads in Houwelick* by Jacob Cats, 1650, oil on canvas, 85.5 x 107.5 cm (Budapest: Szépművészeti Múzeum); see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 50.
- 82 Rembrandt van Rijn, *Portrait of a Family*, c.1668, oil on canvas, 126 x 167 cm (Braunschweig: Hertzog Anton Ulrich-Museum). See Dekker, 'A Republic of Educators', 167–170; Schama, *Rembrandt's Eyes*, 663–664; Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 519–521; Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 71–108; Bedaux, 'Introduction', 21. On Dutch family portraits, see Laarmann, *Families in beeld*, and id., *Het Noord-Nederlandse familieportret*.
- 83 Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, 83–84, 89–93, 103, 127–132, 104. Art historians disagree on the meaning of the fruit in family portraits. According to De Jongh, referring to a bunch of grapes in the *Family Portrait* from 1678 by Emmanuel de Witte (on which see also Steingraber, *Alte Pinakothek*, 571, and Alpers, *L'art de dépeindre*, 379–386), which he relates to two emblems by Cats, the fruit is a symbol of chastity. See Cats, *Huwelijk*, 106–107, and Emblem V from Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, 64, vol. 2, 207, entitled 'Quod non noris, non ames', or 'Do not love what you do not know'. Bedaux, *The Reality of Symbols*, refuted this interpretation, considering the grapes a symbol of fertility visible in the offspring of the De Wittes, who as pious Christians would have appreciated references to Psalm 1 and Psalm 128, 1–3: '1. Blessed are all who fear the Lord, who walk in his ways. 2. You will eat the fruit of your labour; blessings and prosperity will be yours. 3. Your wife will be like a fruitful vine within your house; your sons will be like olive shoots around your table'.
- 84 De Jongh, *Portretten*; Smith, *Masks of Wedlock*. On Mijten's family portraits, see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 221–223.
- 85 Jan de Bray, *Let Come the Children to Me: Pieter Braems and His Family*, 1663, oil on canvas, 136 x 175.5 cm (Haarlem: Frans Halsmuseum); see Bedaux & Ekkart, *Pride and Joy*, 258–259. Cf. Andries van Bochoven (1609–1634), *Portrait of the Painter Andries van Bochoven and His Family*, 1629, oil on canvas, 130 x 186 cm (Utrecht: Centraal Museum).
- 86 Gabriel Metsu, *The Family of the Amsterdam Burgomaster Gillis Valckenier*, c.1657, oil on canvas, 72 x 79 cm (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); see Von Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 86–87.
- 87 Cf. Durantini, *The Child*, 3, 53–54, on family meals. The numerous drawings and paintings on this topic are generally related to Psalm 128, 1–3, as quoted above. Cf. De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 124–128, on a drawing by the Calvinist Claes Jansz Visscher from 1609. Anonymous, *Family at Dinner*, c.1627, oil on panel, 122 x 191 cm (Utrecht: Rijksmuseum Het Catharijneconvent); see Bedaux, *The Reality*, 85–87; and De Jongh, *Portretten*, 295–299.
- 88 Jan Steen, *Grace before a Meal*, 1660, panel, 52.7 x 44.5 cm (Sudeley Castle, Gloucestershire: Walter Morrison Collection); see Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 139–141, who compares Steen's painting with Adriaen van Ostade's *Prayer before Dinner*, 1653, etching (Washington: National Gallery of Art). The passage from the Book of

Proverbs in Dutch: 'geen overvloed van Ryckdoms schat'. Cf. Gruschka, *Der heitere Ernst*, 85–86.

- 89 Jan Steen, *Grace before Meat*, c.1663–1665, oil on canvas, 98.4 x 79.4 cm (Belvoir Caste, Grantham: The Duke of Rutland); see also Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 190–192; Gruschka, *Der heitere Ernst*, 82–85.
- 90 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 118–120.
- 91 Marnix van St. Aldegonde, in his *Ratio instituendae iuventutis* from 1615, 35, advised mothers to breast-feed their children for several reasons: it was 'according to nature' and it 'cherished and strengthened the natural loving relationship between parents and children'. Cf. Duits & Van Strien, *Een intellectuele activist*; Frijhoff, 'Marnix over de opvoeding', 59–75; Groenendijk, 'Marnix' kindercatechismus', 76–86.
- 92 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 113–114.
- 93 Jan Steen, *The Fat Kitchen*, c.1650, oil on panel, 71 x 91.5 cm (Private collection); Jan Steen, *The Lean Kitchen*, c.1650, oil on panel, 69.7 x 92 cm (Ottawa: National Gallery of Canada); see also Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 103–108.
- 94 See his autobiography, written for his sons: Constantijn Huygens, *Mijn leven verteld aan mijn kinderen* (Blom edition), Volume 1, 21–22, 140–143; Constantijn Huygens, 'De jongelingsjaren', 89, 91, 93.
- 95 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 114–115.
- 96 Frans Hals, *Catharina Hooft with Her Nurse*, c.1619–1620, oil on canvas, 86 x 65 cm (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); see Luijten et al., *Dawn of the Golden Age*, 601; Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 162.
- 97 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 118–120. Cf. Franits, *Paragons of Virtue*.
- 98 Nicolaas Maes, *Mother with Child on Her Arm*, pen drawing, 7.5 x 5.6 cm (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); see Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 31.
- 99 Gerrit Dou, *Young Mother*, 1658, oil on panel, 73.5 x 55.5 cm (The Hague: Mauritshuis); see Wheelock, *Gerrit Dou 1613–1675*, 106–107, 140, 145. On the painter's technique, see Boersma, 'Dou's Painting Technique'.
- 100 Samuel van Hoogstraten, *Mother with Child in a Crib*, 1670, oil on canvas, 69.8 x 56.5 cm (Springfield, Massachusetts: Museum of Art); see Brown, '... *Niet ledighs of Ydels*', 140–141.
- 101 Gerard Ter Borch, *Motherly Cares*, c.1652–1653, oil on panel, 33.5 x 29 cm (The Hague: Mauritshuis); see Wheelock, *Gerard Ter Borch*, 90–91; Dekker, 'A Republic of Educators', 164; Durantini, *The Child*, 29; Brown, '... *Niet ledighs*', 143–147; De Jongh et al., *Tot lering en vermaak*, 42. On Dirck Hals, see Sutton, *Masters of Seventeenth-Century Dutch Genre Painting*, 143.
- 102 Quirijn Van Brekelenkam, *Woman Combing a Child's Hair*, 1648, oil on panel, 57 x 53 cm (Leiden: Museum De Lakenhal); see Durantini, *The Child*, 47; Sutton, *Masters*, 158. On hair-combing in drawings, see De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 257–259, n. 5. The combination of hair-combing and preparation for school is the subject of Jan Saenredam (1565–1607) after Hendrick Goltzius (1558–1617), *Dawning*,

- engraving, 21.3 x 15 cm (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz/Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum); see De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 71–74; Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 136.
- 103 Cf. Pieter de Hooch, *The Pantry*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 64 x 60 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum); see Brown, ‘... *Niet ledighs*’, 143. Pieter de Hooch, *The Mother*, c.1661–63, oil on canvas, 92 x 100 cm (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); see Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 19. On engravings by Geertruyt Roghman (1625–c.1651–1657) on female domestic duties (Amsterdam: Rijksprentenkabinet, Rijksmuseum) see De Jongh & Luijten, *Mirror*, 268–271.
 - 104 Gabriel Metsu, *The Sick Child*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 32 x 27 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum); see Brown, ‘... *Niet Ledighs*’, 147; De Jongh, *Tot lering en vermaak*, 171; Haak, *The Golden Age*, 489: ‘in its handling of light and color this painting [is ...] sublime’.
 - 105 See chapter 1.
 - 106 Gerrit Dou, *Young Mother*, c.1660, oil on canvas, 49.1 x 36.5 cm (Berlin: Gemäldegalerie Staatliche Museen Preussischer Kultuerbesitz). See Durantini, *The Child*, 7–11, on the rattle as a symbol for earthly enjoyments in seventeenth-century emblems. Cf. Sutton, *Masters*, 185–186; Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 14–16; Dekker, ‘A Republic of Educators’, 165–166.
 - 107 Caspar Netscher, *Motherly Cares*, oil on panel, 44 x 38 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum); see De Jongh, *Tot lering en vermaak*, 197–199; Durantini, *The Child*, 231.
 - 108 Rembrandt van Rijn, *The Naughty Child*, pen drawing, 20.6 x 14.3 cm (Berlin: Kupferstichkabinett Staatliche Museen Preußischer Kulturbesitz); see Gersdorff, *Kinderbildnisse*, 20.
 - 109 An exception is Jan Steen’s *The (So-called) Burgomaster of Delft*, 1655, oil on canvas, 82.5 x 68.6 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum) on a proud citizen of the city of Delft together with his daughter. See Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 119–121, pp. 12 and 72. De Jongh, ‘Jan Steen, dichtbij en toch veraf’, 40, refutes the interpretation by Schama, *The Embarrassment*, of the citizen as the burgomaster of Delft. Cf. Gruschka, *Der heitere Ernst der Erziehung*, 115–124.
 - 110 Cats, *Spiegel*, 1–3, 10–11.
 - 111 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 24.
 - 112 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, Emblem XLV, *Iam plenis nubilis annis*, 300–305, vol. 2, 671–683. On Wittewrongel, see Groenendijk, *De Nadere reformatie*.
 - 113 Cats, *Alle de wercken* (edition 1655), III, 127, III, 173, V, 57, quoted by Kluiver, ‘Het gezin’, 95, n. 119 and 120.
 - 114 Cats, *Alle de wercken* (edition 1655), III, 173, V, 55, quoted by Kluiver, ‘Het gezin’, 94, n. 61. Frijhoff & Spies, 1650, 464–466; Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd*, 36–39. Cf. Morel & Rollet, *Des b  b  s et des hommes*.
 - 115 Groenendijk, ‘De vaderlijke kastijding’.
 - 116 Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, ‘Proudly Raising’, 50–51.
 - 117 Durantini, *The Child*, ch. 2; Peeters, *Kind en jeugdige*, ch. 2; Schama, *Embarrassment*, 497–516; Eiselin, *Iene miene mutte*.

- 118 Willemsen, *Kinder delijt*, 295–296, 298. On children in books of hours, see Dekker, ‘Dutch Images of Parental Love’; Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 30–36. Apart from referring to child’s play, in the sixteenth century, toys are often also used for religious or allegorical themes, with the painting *Children’s Games* from 1560 by the Flemish painter Pieter Brueghel (1525–1569) as the apogee of this phenomenon; see Durantini, *The Child*, 179, 181–183; Brown, ‘... *Niet ledighs of ydels*’, 152; Snow, ‘Meaning’ in *Children’s Games*, 27–60; Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin der Zeventiende Eeuw*, ch. 9; Peeters, *Kind en jeugdige*, 113; Manson, ‘La poupée et le tambour’; Hindman, ‘Pieter Bruegel’s Children’s games’.
- 119 Wittewrongel based his text on a book by the English puritan William Gouge; see Groenendijk, *De nadere reformatie*, 145.
- 120 Van Deursen, *Mensen van klein vermogen*, 154–157.
- 121 Dekker, ‘A Republic of Educators’, 387.
- 122 Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin*, 193, 196. On Magyrus and his *Almanachs heiligen*, see Mooij et al., *Kinderen van alle tijden*, 138.
- 123 Rooijackers, ‘De rituele wereld van het Zuid-Nederlandse kind’, 71.
- 124 Jan Steen, *The feast of St. Nicholas*, c.1665–1668, canvas, 82 x 70.5 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum), one of the four painted versions of this subject by Steen. See Chapman et al., 197–199; Brown, ‘... *Niet Ledighs of Ydels*’, 156; Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin*, 193–199; Durantini, *The Child*, 80–85; De Jongh, ‘Jan Steen, dichtbij en toch veraf’, 42. On the history of this feast in the Netherlands, see Dane, ‘Kleine psychologie van Sint Nicolaas’. On Wittewrongel’s condemnation of educational favouritism, see Groenendijk, *De Nadere Reformatie*, 154.
- 125 Nevitt, *Art*, 9–10; cf. Groenendijk & Roberts, *Losbandige jeugd*.
- 126 Sutton et al., *Love Letters*.
- 127 Constantijn Huygens, *Dagh-werck*, quoted in *Mijn leven*, vol. 2, 259–264.
- 128 Nevitt, *Art*, 9–10. Cf. Griffiths, *Youth and Authority*; Groenendijk & Roberts, *Losbandige jeugd*.
- 129 Van Vaecck & Verberckmoes, *Trap op trap af*.
- 130 Quoted by Meijers Drees, “‘Burgerlijke’ zeventiende-eeuwse literatuur”, 151. Cf. Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1; cf. Nevitt, *Art*, 225–226. See chapter 1 on the importance of the educational discourse from the ancient world.
- 131 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, 138–143, vol. 2, 363.
- 132 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, Emblem XXV, ‘Qui captat, capitur’ (Who chases is caught), 180–185, vol. 2, 439–445.
- 133 See, for example, Isack Elyas, *Marriage Company*, 1620, oil on panel, 47 x 63 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum); see De Jongh, *Tot lering en vermaak*, 114; cf. Nevitt, *Art*, 101, 140–150. For the belles-lettres background, see Van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven*, 140–148.
- 134 Jan Steen, *Girl Eating Oysters*, c.1658–1660, oil on panel, 20.5 x 14.5 cm (The Hague: Mauritshuis); see Perry Chapman, *Jan Steen*, 126–128, 126 (on Van Beverwijck). Cf. Gruschka, *Der heitere Ernst der Erziehung*, 51. Other examples are *The Oyster Meal*, 1661, by Frans van Mieris (Den Haag: Mauritshuis), in which the man is the seducer (id.,

- 128), and *The Oyster Meal* by Jacob Ochtervelt; see De Jongh, *Tot lering en vermaak*, 236–239. Cf. Luijten in Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 2, 448–449, on the emblem *Qui captat, capitur*, vol. 1, Emblem XXV, 180–185, and vol. 2, 439–445.
- 135 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, Emblem I, *Quod perdidit, optat*, 39, vol. 2, 160.
- 136 Groenendijk & Roberts, ‘Vader Cats’, 82; Nevitt, *Art*, 8, 18; cf. Dekker, ‘Moral Literacy’, 148–151.
- 137 Nevitt, *Art*, 101; Van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven*, 140–148.
- 138 An example of such a songbook for the youth is *Den Nieuwen Lust-Hof*; see Nevitt, *Art*, 7–8, 227.
- 139 Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, Emblem XI, ‘Mite pyrum vel sponte fluit’, 97, vol. 2, 275 with reference on pp. 280–281 to Cats’ *Spiegel*.
- 140 Willem Teellinck, *Den spiegel der zedicheyt*, 1620; see Groenendijk & Roberts, ‘Vader Cats’, 82; Nevitt, *Art*, 8; Groenendijk, ‘Jeugd en deugd’, 95–115; Schotel, *Het Oud-Hollandsch Huisgezin*, 214–248.
- 141 ‘Be not fast in love, but restrain your stupid passions’, for ‘When the bride is in the boat, / the lovely words are over’, in Cats, *Huwelijk*, 16, 18.
- 142 Cats, *Huwelijk*, 21. Unmarried men are warned explicitly against trying to seduce the bride at wedding parties, Nevitt, *Art*, n. 156 on p. 258.
- 143 See Emblem XXI, entitled ‘Reperire, perire est’, or, ‘To be found is to be lost’; Cats, *Sinne- en minnebeelden*, vol. 1, 156–161, vol. 2, 398–400, 404, and see vol. 3, 124–125 for iconographic examples on the same topic.
- 144 Nevitt, *Art*, 226, 18.
- 145 Huizinga, *Nederland’s beschaving*, 89–91. Cf. Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 50.

CHAPTER 3

- 1 Cf. Dekker, ‘From Imaginations to Realities’.
- 2 Jan Hendrik Swildens, *Vaderlandsch A-B boek voor de Nederlandsche Jeugd*, 1781, quoted by Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 72–75. On Swildens see Hake, ‘Between patriotism and nationalism’.
- 3 Van Alphen, ‘De Liefde voor het Vaderland’ [Patriotism], *Tweede Vervolg*, 129, 215. Cf. Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 69–171; Van Sas, ‘De vaderlandse imperatief’, 275–308; Van Sas, ‘Nationaliteit’, 83–99.
- 4 Joan Derk van der Capellen tot den Pol, ‘Aan het Volk van Nederland’; see Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 238–241; Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 1098–1099.
- 5 Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 175–194; Kloek & Mijnhardt 1800, ch. 3; Schama’s *Patriots*. Cf. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 1098–1112, Kossmann; *De Lage Landen*; Beliën et al., *Nederlanders*. For local developments, see Prak, *Republikeinse veelheid*; Streng, *Stemme in staat*; Van Wissing, *Stokebrand Janus 1787*. For the international context, see Frijhoff et al., ‘Revolutie en contrarevolutie’.
- 6 Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen*, 114; De Vries & Van der Woude, *Nederland 1500–1815*, 67–70; Vandenbroeke, Van Poppel & Van der Woude, ‘De zuigelingen- en kindersterfte’, fig. 2, 464; Hofstee, ‘Demografische ontwikkeling’, table 1 (64–65), 82–

89. Until the 1870s there were important regional differences between the western part of the country which had higher figures, and the sandy eastern and southern parts with lower figures; see Van Poppel & Mandemaker, 'Differential infant and child mortality'. On smallpox, see Rutten, *De vreselijkste aller harpijen*.
- 7 For examples in Dutch iconography, see Willem Bartel van der Kooi, *Isaak de Swart*, 1816, oil on panel, 41.8 x 32.1 cm (Velp: Private Collection); see Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, 67 and 211; J. A. Kruseman, *Dead Baby in Crib*, 1830 (Utrecht: Centraal Museum); Van Alphen, 'Klagt van den kleinen Willem op de dood van zijn zusjen' (Complaint of Little William on the Death of His Little Sister), *Proeve*, 33.
 - 8 Van Alphen, 'Het lijk' (The Body), *Tweede vervolg*, 155. See Buijnsters, in id., 218; Baggerman, 'Lezen tot de laatste snik', 77; Van Alphen, 'Claartje bij de schilderij van hare overledene moeder' (Claartje at a Painting of her Deceased Mother), *Tweede vervolg*, 135; cf. Koolhaas-Grosfeld, *Vader & zoons*, HS. 74 F. 12, on De Vos and how he explained death to his young sons.
 - 9 Dekker, *The Will*, 9–68; Dekker, 'Philanthropic Networks'.
 - 10 Buijnsters, 'Nawoord', 178; Cunningham, *Children & Childhood*, 62–67; Los, 'Locke in Nederland', 173–186.
 - 11 Buijnsters & Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 10; Grandière, *L'idéal pédagogique*; Py, *Rousseau et les éducateurs*; Rosenberg, 'Rousseau's Emile'; Dekker, *The Will*, 43; Van Crombrugge, 'Emile en Sophie'; Van Crombrugge, 'Rousseau on family and education'; Lüth, 'Staatliche und private Erziehung bei Rousseau'.
 - 12 Gobbers, *Jean-Jacques Rousseau*. An exception was the Rousseau adherent Johannes Kneppelhout (1814–1885), see Dane, 'Meer en meer paedagoog geworden', 199–217. Cf. Rosenblum, *The Romantic Child*; Willinsky, *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*.
 - 13 Campe, one of the first professional German authors of children's books, published *Robinson der Jüngere* in 1799–1780, a moralizing version of Defoe's original work and the only book Rousseau permitted Émile to read. Cf. Parlevliet, *Meesterwerken*. See Rosenberg, 'Rousseaus Emile', 20; Buijnsters & Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 11–12, n. 5 on p. 424, for the daily readings by Otto van Eck, then 10 years old, from 'Basedows *Elementarwerk*' in a French translation. Cf. Baggerman & Dekker, *Het dagboek van Otto van Eck*, 50. See Rietveld-van Wingerden, *Voor de lieve kleinen*, on periodicals for children.
 - 14 See Buijnsters & Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 23–25, on German authors of moralistic children books. Cf. Parlevliet, *Meesterwerken*. On the influence of the early nineteenth-century German educational discourse on the Dutch situation, see Bakker, N., H. Van Crombrugge & M. Rietveld-van Wingerden (Eds.), 'Naar Duits model'.
 - 15 In 1813, Swildens published his Booklet on Virtues (*Deugden-boekje*), inspired by Campe. Cf. Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 106–107 on Swildens; Terlinden, *A is een Aapje*.
 - 16 Sturkenboom, *Spectators*, 52; Buijnsters, *Spectatoriale geschriften*, 12–14, quoted by Sturkenboom, 51, manages to find 70 original Dutch *Spectators*, while Sturkenboom found 61, 373–376.

- 17 Sturkenboom, *Spectators*, 57, based on Buijnsters, *Nederlandse literatuur*, 183–199.
- 18 See Koolen, *Jacobus Fruytier*, 209–227, on Salomons *Raedt aan de Jeugt*. On the pietistic educational culture in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, see Groenendijk, ‘De spirituele (auto)biografie’, and id., ‘Die reformierte Kirche’.
- 19 On Martinet’s *Huisboek*, see Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 200; Paasman, *J.F. Martinet*. Cf. Van Tilburg, *Hoe hoorde het*; Huussen, *De codificatie*. On Betje Wolff and Aagje Deken, see Buijnsters & Buijnsters-Smets, *Lust en leering*, 10. Cf. Mathijssen, *De gemaskerde eeuw*, 201–210; Krol, *De smaak der natie*, on the family in nineteenth-century Dutch literature.
- 20 Mijnhardt, *Tot Heil*.
- 21 Van Effen, *Hollandsche Spectator*, no. 17 (1731), quoted by Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 249.
- 22 Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 250–252; Sturkenboom, *Spectators*.
- 23 G.C.C. Vatebender, *Verhandelingen Provinciaal Utrechts Genootschap* IX, 61, edited by Noordman, ‘Onderwijsdemokratisering’, 533–550, 524–527.
- 24 Baggerman & Dekker, *Kind van de toekomst*, 278.
- 25 Noordman, ‘Onderwijsdemokratisering’, 529.
- 26 Vatebender in Noordman, ‘Onderwijsdemokratisering’, 533–550. Cf. Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 252; Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 300, n. 21; Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 7–8.
- 27 Noordman, ‘Onderwijsdemokratisering’, 530.
- 28 Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 7–10. See N. Beets, *Leven en werk van Johannes Henricus van der Palm* (Leiden, 1842), Stilma, ‘De Leidse agent’, 14–17; Noordam, ‘De “christelijke en maatschappelijke deugden”’.
- 29 Kloek & Mijnhardt, ‘De verlichte burger’, 166–167; Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 584; Kloek & Tilmans, ‘Inleiding’, 9–10; Prak, *Gouden Eeuw*, sect. 17.
- 30 Van Alphen wrote three volumes of *Little Poems for Children*, published in 1778, 1778 and 1782. For an extensive account of this new educational culture, see Los, *Opvoeding tot mens en burger*. On its explicit style, see Van Tilburg, *Hoe hoorde het*. Cf. Baggerman, ‘Keuzecompetentie’. Cf. Sobe, ‘Concentration and civilisation’.
- 31 Buijnsters, *Hieronymus van Alphen*, 43, 8–10, 54–57, 94–99; Van Stipriaan, *Het volle leven*, 304–305.
- 32 Buijnsters, ‘Nawoord’, 174, 181–182; Buijnsters, *Hieronymus van Alphen*, 64. Van Alphen was deeply influenced by Christian Felix Weisse (1726–1804) and Gottlob Wilhelm Burmann (1737–1805), see Buijnsters & Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 16. Van Alphen, ‘Aan mijn kleine lezers’, *Tweede Vervolg*, 117.
- 33 Buijnsters, ‘Nawoord’, 189–190, 186, 192–193.
- 34 See Dane, ‘Zwarigheid’, who refers to the autobiography of Willem van den Hull (1778–1854), 83.
- 35 Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 46–47; Buijnsters, ‘Het eeuwenoude storiegoed’, 39–40.
- 36 Buijnsters, ‘Nawoord’, 176–177.
- 37 Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 390, emphasize the moral elements of Van Alphen’s poems.

- 38 Buijnsters, 'Nawoord', 186.
- 39 Sturkenboom, *Spectators*. Cf. Israel, *The Dutch Republic*, 1062.
- 40 See Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 30–178; Dekker, 'Message', 397–425; Dekker, Groenendijk & Verberckmoes, 'Proudly raising', 43–60.
- 41 Kloek & Mijnhardt, 1800, 250–252; Sturkenboom, *Spectators*.
- 42 See Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, 12, 14–21, 62, 75, 77–81; Van Tilborgh & Jansen, *Op zoek*, 121–122; Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, *Fries Museum-Leeuwarden*.
- 43 Willem Bartel van der Kooi (1768–1836), *Nursing Mother*, 1826, oil on canvas, 89 x 72 cm (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum); see Brandt Corstius & Hallema, *Moederschap*, 17. Cf. the drawing from c.1826, *Nursing Mother*, 44 x 30.4 cm (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum); see Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, 74, 296–297. See De Mooij, *Kinderen van alle tijden*, 88, on Van der Kooi's Frisian models. On breast-feeding, see Fildes, *Breasts, Bottles and Babies*; Fildes, *Wet Nursing*; Lett & Morel, *Une histoire de l'allaitement*; Groenendijk, 'Piëtisten en borstvoeding'. Cf. Willem Bartel van der Kooi, *Mother's Happiness*, 1818, oil on canvas, 102 x 113 cm (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum, on loan from Museum Boymans Van Beuningen); see Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, 74, 294. Cf. paintings by Abraham Van Strij, J. Jelgerhuis (1770–1836) and Ary Scheffer (1795–1858): Abraham van Strij, *Interieur met een vrouw die een kind te drinken geeft* (Interior of a Kitchen with Woman and Child), 1811, oil on panel, 58 x 53.4 cm (Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum); see Koolhaas-Grosfeld, 'Op zoek naar de Gouden eeuw', in Van Tilborgh & Jansen, *Op zoek naar de Gouden Eeuw*, 28–49, 30, 32; and Dumas, *In helder licht*. Johannes Rienksz. Jelgerhuis, *Mother Cradling a Child*, 1817, watercolour, 32 x 41 cm (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum); Wright, *Paintings in Dutch Museums*, 201; see Brandt Corstius & Hallema, *Motherhood*, 130. Ary Scheffer, *The Young Mother*, 1824, oil on canvas, 41 x 33 cm (Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum); see Brandt Corstius & Hallema, *Moederschap*, 131.
- 44 Van Alphen, 'Het tederhartige kind' (The Tender Child), *Vervolg*, 109; id., 'Het geschenk' (The Present) and 'Welkomgroet van Claartje voor haar kleine zusje' (Welcome to her Little Sister), *Proeve*, 35 and 37.
- 45 Van Alphen, 'Het onweder' (Thunder), *Tweede vervolg*, 133.
- 46 Van Alphen, 'Het vogelnestjen. Eene vertelling' (A Bird's Nest: A Story), *Tweede vervolg*, 157–158.
- 47 Van Alphen, 'De kinderliefde', *Proeve*, 19.
- 48 On the critical reception of Van Alphen's poems in the 1850s by De Génestet: Buijnsters; see 'Nawoord', 192. Van Alphen, 'De pruimeboom. Eene vertelling' (The Plum Tree: A Story), *Proeve*, 57. Cf. Buijnster, 'Nawoord', 189. Cf. Goedegebuure, 'Saul en David', on the adaptation of Bible stories for children; and Parlevliet, *Meesterwerken*, on the adaptations of classical stories for children.
- 49 Van Alphen, 'De waare vriendschap' (Real Friendship), *Proeve*, 61 and 207. Willem Bartel van der Kooi, *Father's Happiness*, 1816, oil on canvas, 101 x 111 cm

- (Leeuwarden: Fries Museum, on loan from the Museum Boymans Van Beuningen); see Boschma, *Willem Bartel van der Kooi*, 73–74.
- 50 His father, Willem de Vos (1739–1823), wrote *De beste middelen om het huwelijk gelukkig te maken* (The Best Means to Make a Marriage Happy) in 1771; see Koolhaas-Grosveld, who published Jacob's booklets, *Vader & zoons*, 11, 17. Cf. Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 203–204.
 - 51 Koolhaas-Grosveld, *Vader & zoons*, 7.
 - 52 Otto's diary was published thanks to the project on personal documents by Rudolf Dekker. See Baggerman & Dekker, *Het dagboek van Otto van Eck*; Baggerman & Dekker, *Kind van de toekomst*; Baggerman & Dekker, 'Otto's horloge'; Baggerman, 'Lezen tot de laatste snik'. On correspondence between children and parents, see Ruberg, 'Children's correspondence'; and id., 'Je n'écris'.
 - 53 Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 602–603, 390.
 - 54 Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 292. Cf. Van Sas, *De metamorfose*, 74–75, 106–107.
 - 55 Buijnsters, 'Nawoord', 183.
 - 56 Van Alphen, 'Klaartje en Keetje', *Vervolg*, 73; 'Het vrolijk leeren' (Joyful Learning), *Proeve*, 25.
 - 57 Baggerman & Dekker, *Het dagboek van Otto van Eck*, 48. Van Alphen, 'De naarstigheid' (Misery), *Proeve*, 29. Baggerman & Dekker, *Kind van de toekomst*, 149.
 - 58 Article 60 of the 1798 constitution, quoted by Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 5; Van Hamelsveldt, *Zedelijke toestand*, 506, quoted by Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 264, cf. 264–266.
 - 59 On the Society, see Mijnhardt & Wichers, *Om het algemeen volksgeluk*; Mijnhardt, *Tot Heil*; Buijnsters & Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 14; Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 22–23; Schama, *Patriots*; Dekker, 'Transforming the Nation', 13; Dekker, 'Philanthropie'; 50–52; Dekker, *The Will*, 29; Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd*, 60–95; Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 17.
 - 60 Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 14–15. Cf. Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*; Cf. Frijhoff, 'Van onderwijs naar opvoedend onderwijs', tables on 24–25, charts on 27; cf. Frijhoff, 'La réforme'; Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 268–270.
 - 61 Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 80, 83–84.
 - 62 Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 96.
 - 63 Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 576.
 - 64 On this report, see Dodde, *Een onderwijsrapport*; Van Essen & Imelman, *Historische pedagogiek*, 70–75. On the inspection, see Dodde, 'Een speurtocht'. Cf. Boekholt et al., 'Tweehonderd jaar onderwijs'.
 - 65 See Savoie et al., 'Secondary Education'; Lundgreen, *Sozialgeschichte*; Kloek & Mijnhardt, *1800*, 283; Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 120–122; Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 14; De Booy, *Kweekhoven*, 122; Frijhoff, 'Crisis of modernisering', 37–56; Frijhoff, 'Van onderwijs naar opvoedend onderwijs'; Amsing, *Bakens verzetten*; Buijnsters, *Lust en leering*, 17.

- 66 Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 7–10; Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 98–99; Boekholt, *Een onderwijsrapport uit 1808*; Noordam, ‘De christelijke en maatschappelijke deugden’, 299; Kloek & Mijnhardt, 1800, 564.
- 67 Kloek & Mijnhardt, 1800, 264–265.
- 68 Boekholt, *Het ongeregelde verleden*, 10–12.
- 69 Kloek & Mijnhardt, 1800, 575–576. On school attendance, see Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 117–118. On the regional implementation of the School Act of 1806, see Boekholt, *Het lager onderwijs in Gelderland*; Boekholt, *Het onderwijs in Drenthe*; Smeding, *School in de steigers*; Verhoeven, *Ter vorming*; Visser, *Vernieuwing*. Lenders, *De burger*, emphasizes the compromises involved in setting up the Dutch primary school system in the early nineteenth century.
- 70 See Boekholt & De Booy, *Geschiedenis van de school*, 142; Rietveld-van Wingerden, ‘De Nederlandse wetgeving’, 4–10. On school policy and the constitution of 1848, see De Haan, ‘Het onderwijs in de Grondwet’; Kruithof, ‘Toegankelijk’; Kuiper, ‘Antirevolutionaire partijvorming’; Schutte, ‘Nederland in 1848’; Van Zuthem, ‘Tegen de teloorgang’. On Europe in 1848, see Mommsen, 1848.
- 71 Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1800–1866*, 405; McLeod, *Religion*, 1–21, 75–97; Dekker, *The Will*, 19–24.

CHAPTER 4

- 1 This chapter is partly based on the argument developed in J.J.H. Dekker, ‘Children at Risk in History: A Story of Expansion’, *Paedagogica Historica* 45, 2009, and J.J.H. Dekker, ‘Family on the beach. Representations of romantic and bourgeois family values by realistic genre painting of 19th-century Scheveningen beach’, *Journal of Family History. Studies in Family, Kinship, and Demography* 28 no. 2, 2003, 277–296.
- 2 See Dekker, ‘The Century of the Child Revisited’. Cf. Groot et al., *Het kind van de eeuw*; Fuchs, ‘The Creation of New International Networks in Education’; Stearns, *Childhood in World History*, 122. See *The International Journal of Children’s Rights*, started in 1992, three years after the UN Convention.
- 3 On Happiness and education, see Hodgson, ‘European Citizenship and Evidence-Based Happiness’; a general overview in McMahon, *Happiness: A History*.
- 4 Baader, *Die romantische Idee*; Cunningham, *Children & Childhood*, 73–74.
- 5 Hwang et al., *Images of Childhood*; Cunningham, *Children & Childhood*, 65–78; Andresen & Baader, *Wege aus dem Jahrhundert des Kindes*, 91; Rosenblum, *The Romantic Child*; Heiland, ‘Fröbel en de Fröbelbeweging’; Willinsky, *The Educational Legacy of Romanticism*; Doorman, *De romantische orde*.
- 6 Tempel, ‘Ingewijden in de kunst’, 90–92. On Israël’s and Rembrandt, see Dekkers, *Jozef Israël’s*, 25. De Leeuw, ‘Inleiding’, 7–10: Vincent Van Gogh (1853–1890) admired the *Haagse School* and was influenced by Jozef Israël’s, although hard living dominated his early peasant paintings.
- 7 Dekkers, *Jozef Israël’s*, 24, 35–39, 139–140; Janssen & Van Sinderen, *De Haagse School*, 132–139; Dekker, *Het verlangen*, 320–322; De Gruyter, *De Haagse school*;

- De Leeuw et al., *The Hague School*; Jansen, *De Haagse School*; Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*.
- 8 Cunningham, 'The History of Childhood', 34; Dekker, 'The Century of the Child'.
 - 9 Jozef Israëls, *Little John in his Chair*, 1873, watercolour, 43 x 31 cm (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans-van Beuningen), De Gruyter, *De Haagse school* 1, 48.
 - 10 Augustus Allebé, *Butterflies*, 1871, oil on panel, 35 x 50 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum), Van Heteren, *Poëzie der werkelijkheid*, 128–129.
 - 11 Pioneer of this genre was Ary Scheffer (1795–1858) with *Sleeping Child*, c. 1850 (Dordrecht: Dordrechts Museum), Knipping & Gerrits, *Het kind* II, 45. Cf. Kemperink, *Het verloren paradijs* on Dutch literature at the *fin de siècle*. On Matthijs Maris, see Veth quoted by Loos, *Aquarellen*, 44; Blotkamp et al., *Kunstenaren der idee*; De Gruyter, *De Haagse School* II, 32, 38; Knipping & Gerrits, *Het kind* II, 93, 100; on the influence by English Pre-Raphaelitism, cf. Wildman, *Visions of Love and Live*. Matthijs Maris, *Sleeping girl with butterflies*, s.a., drawing, 14 x 20 cm (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum), Janssen, *De Haagse School*, 123; Matthijs Maris, *Butterflies*, 1874, oil on canvas, 64 x 97 cm (Glasgow: Glasgow Art Gallery and Museum), De Gruyter, *De Haagse School* II, Illustration 51, 39, 41; M. Maris, *Fairytale*, c.1875–1877, oil on panel, 18 x 38 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum), Van Heteren, *Poëzie der werkelijkheid*, 139–140. Matthijs Maris, 1858, *The Little Head of a Child*, drawing, 9.5 x 11 cm (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum), Janssen, *De Haagse School*, 123; Matthijs Maris, *Woman with Child and Little Goat*, c. 1866, oil on panel, 14.5 x 19 cm (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum), De Gruyter, *De Haagse School* II, 38, 46. See also Matthijs Maris, *The Encounter*, c.1866, oil on canvas, 14.8 x 19.7 cm (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum), with a mother who lets her baby meet a little goat. Cf. Dekker, *Verlangen*, 342/349. On Bruna, see Nieuwenhuijzen et al., *Het paradijs in pictogram*.
 - 12 Quoted by Corbin, *Le territoire du vide*, 50. Stokvis, *De wording van modern Den Haag*, ch. 7.
 - 13 On the development of Scheveningen, see Vermaas, *Geschiedenis van Scheveningen*, 428–432, and Furnée, 'Beschaafd vertier'.
 - 14 Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 36–37, 41.
 - 15 Dekkers, *Jozef Israëls*, 70–73, 83, n. 59–61.
 - 16 Haak, *The Golden Age*, 308–309; Corbin, *Le territoire*, 51–53.
 - 17 Dekkers, *Jozef Israëls*, 25, 41 and n. 4, 43–52.
 - 18 See Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 37, on the British child around 1870. Cf. Van Crombrugge, 'Rousseau', 445–480, and Dekker, 'The Century of the Child', 133–150.
 - 19 B.J. Blommers, *Summer Evening on the Beach*, s.a., 137 x 199 cm (Rotterdam: Boymans-van Beuningen).
 - 20 B.J. Blommers, *Paddling in the Sea*, s.a., 48 x 67,5 cm (Private collection). Cf. Jansen, *De Haagse School*, 151.
 - 21 B.J. Blommers, *Sailing in a Boat*, c.1885, gouache, 20 x 24.5 cm (The Hague: Gemeentemuseum).
 - 22 B.J. Blommers, *Children playing on the beach*, s.a., watercolour, 17 x 28 cm (Private collection), see De Gruyter, *De Haagse school*, vol. 1, 108 and 126.
 - 23 B.J. Blommers, *Children on the beach*, c.1880 (Dordrechts Museum), cf. Knipping & Gerrits, *Het kind*, II, 19de en 20ste eeuw, 90
 - 24 On J. Israëls, *Children of the Sea*, 1863, 82 x 70 cm (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum), see Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*, 156–158.

- 25 J. Israëls, *Children of the Sea*, 1872, 48.5 x 93.5 cm (Amsterdam: Rijksmuseum). Cf. J. Israëls, *Sailing match*, 1876, 55 x 100,5 cm (owner unknown); I. Israëls, *Sailing in a boat*, 1880–90, 37.1 x 54.5 cm (Montreal: The Montreal Museum of Fine Arts). See Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*, 93, 188–190, and 308–09. Cf. J. Israëls, *Paddling in the Sea*, 1886–1890, watercolour, 47 x 30 cm (Private collection), on two children, brother and sister, playing with small boats on the sea, the brother walking into the sea, carrying his little sister holding a string attached to a boat floating on the waves on his back - the piggyback theme, see Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*, 324–325, and Jansen, *De Haagse School*, 41.
- 26 Jozef Israëls, *De kinderen der Zee* (Children of the Sea). The reference is to the twelve engravings plus Beets's letterpress of the third edition from 1889. Dekkers, 'De Kinderen der Zee', 36–60, could be referring to nine engravings of paintings or drawings by Israëls, with no reference determined for the numbers 4, 10, and 4, Dekkers, id., 42. Cf. Dekkers, *Jozef Israëls*, 83, n. 59–61, 119–120.
- 27 Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 36–37, 41.
- 28 J. Israëls, *The Children of the Sea*, engraving 1, *The Cot*. According to Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 42, there is almost no connection between text and image. Indeed, the texts, although trying to express the symbolic aspects of the image, are mainly moralistic, in contrast with the images.
- 29 Israëls, *De kinderen der Zee*, engraving 2, *Dolce far niente*, situated on the beach and dunes of Zandvoort, see Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 42.
- 30 Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 44, on engraving 5, *The First Trip*.
- 31 Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen*, 103–104, 114–119, 122; Ekamper et al., *Bevolkingsatlas*, 93–95. Cf. Van Poppel et al., 'Differential infant and child mortality', on regional differences.
- 32 See Dekkers, 'De kinderen der Zee', 49–50; id., *Jozef Israëls*, 199–204; Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*, 137–140; and De Gruyter, *De Haagse school*, vol. 1, 49–50, on the painting *Along Mother's Grave*, 1856, oil on canvas, 224 x 178 cm (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum). Fear among children and mothers about father safely returning from the sea trip was frequently painted by Israëls, e.g. *After the Storm*, 1860, oil on canvas, 112 x 146 cm (Amsterdam: Stedelijk Museum), and *Looking far away*, 1907, oil on canvas, 121.5 x 86 cm (Amsterdam: Instituut Collectie Nederland, on loan from Rijksmuseum Amsterdam), see Dekkers et al., *Jozef Israëls 1824–1911*, 276–277.
- 33 On engraving 9, *Along Mother's Grave*.
- 34 Ekamper et al., *Bevolkingsatlas*, 88–90. On absent fathers in child protection cases in the nineteenth century, see Dekker, *Straffen, redden en opvoeden*, 362–363. J.H. van de Laar (1807–1874), *The Divorce*, 1846, oil on panel, 90 x 114 cm (Rotterdam: Museum Boymans Van Beuningen), Brandt Corstius & Hallema, *Moederschap*, 131, 39, Cat. no. 44. On the history of divorce, Phillips, *Untying the Knot*; for the Netherlands, Van Poppel, *Huwelijk in Nederland*, and Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen*. On the loyalty conflict: Nagy, *Invisible Loyalties*.
- 35 Kets-Vree, 'Een editie van Woutertje Pieterse', 7. Cf. Keijsper, 't Staat in 'n boek...', Stapert-Eggen, 'Woutertje Pieterse und kein Ende', 44. Van der Meulen, *Multatuli*, 59–60, 72–73, on the historical context of the history of Wouter. On the meaning of children's literature for history of education, see Parlevliet, *Meesterwerken*.
- 36 Van der Meulen, *Multatuli*, 91–93.

- 37 Dekker, 'The Century of the Child Revisited'; Multatuli, *Woutertje Pieterse*, 193 (Idea 1081). Van der Meulen, *Multatuli*, 81.
- 38 Multatuli, *Woutertje Pieterse*, 214–215 (Idea 1095).
- 39 For this interpretation, see Dane, 'Woutertje Pieterse', 28, 40. Cf. Lublinski, *Multatuli*. On pedagogue Ietje Kooistra, who interpreted *Woutertje Pieters* that way in her child rearing advice book *Zedelijke opvoeding*, see Bakker, *Kind en karakter*, 234–235, and Buursma, 'I. Kooistra (1861–1923)', 63–76.
- 40 Dräbing, *Der Traum*, 42–220; Andresen & Baader, *Wege*, 7–37; 't Hart, *Ellen Key*, 22–23; Key, *Das Jahrhundert*, 42; cf. Dekker, 'Demystification', 27–48; Dekker, 'The Century of the Child Revisited', 133–150.
- 41 Dräbing, *Der Traum*, 38. Although Herbart generally was blamed in Progressive Education circles for the traditional 'anti-child' school system, his texts encouraged educators to develop child-oriented didactics and curricula, see Meijer, 'Die Gedanken warten lernen', and Benner, *Die Pädagogik Herbarts*.
- 42 De Jong, *Jan Ligthart*, 187. On the Dutch situation, cf. Rang, 'Reformpädagogik in den Niederlanden', and Bakker, Boekholt et al., 'Reformpädagogiek in België en Nederland'. On the heterogeneity of *Reformpädagogik*: Oelkers, 'Break and continuity', Oelkers, *Reformpädagogik*; Depaepe, *De pedagogisering achterna*, 133–134; Andresen & Baader, *Wege aus dem Jahrhundert*, 126. A philosophical analysis of school criticism in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries in Simons, *De school*. On the innovative power of Progressive Education, see Hofstetter et al., 'New Education at the Heart of Knowledge Transformations'. On Key and Rilke, see Rilke, *Briefwechsel mit Ellen Key*; Dekker, 'Demystification'; and Dekker, 'The Century of the Child Revisited'. On the First World War ending educational illusions, see Bank & van Buuren, 1900, 443–480, and Dams, *De triomf*, on the Belgian situation.
- 43 Kemperink, *Het verloren paradijs*, 13, 26, on Dutch literature around 1900; Key, *Das Jahrhundert des Kindes*, 17, about euthanasia on 'das Leben des psychisch und physisch unheilbar kranken und missgestalteten Kindes'. See on social Darwinism and eugenics, Lowe, 'Eugenicists, Doctors and the Quest for National efficiency'; Masterton, 'Charles Darwin: Father of Evolutionary Psychology'; McLane, *Romanticism and the Human Sciences*, Rosenberg, *Darwinism in Philosophy, Social Science and Policy*; Weikart, 'Laissez-Faire Social Darwinism'.
- 44 On Montessori, see Leenders, *Montessori en fascistisch Italië*; Schwegman, *Maria Montessori 1870–1952*. Cf. Lunsingh Scheurleer-Hazenoot, *In rusteloze arbeid*, on the Dutch pedagogue Cornelia Philippi-Siewertsz van Reesema (1880–1963), also with attention to her relationship with Montessori.
- 45 Kooistra, *Zedelijke opvoeding*; Dane, 'Wouterje Pieterse', 30–34.
- 46 Dekker, 'The Century of the Child'.
- 47 Cunningham, 'The History of Childhood', 34.
- 48 Maliepaard & Zwaap, *De vader van Pietje Bell*. Cf. Dane et al., 'For Religion, Education and Literature'.
- 49 For an overview, see Dekker, *The Will*, 9–68. On marginalization, see Farge, *La vie fragile*, 321; Farge, 'Marginaux', 436–438. On philanthropy, see Bec et al., *Philanthropies et politiques sociales*.
- 50 In 1849, Wichern wrote an influential guide on the German internal mission, *Die innere Mission*. On the *Rauhe Haus*, see Lindmeier, *Die Pädagogik*, 59–60, 78, 82–100; Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, 335; Lilje, 'Johann Hinrich Wichern 1808–1881', 376–

- 388; Dekker, *The Will*, 55–61. Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, 335–336, based on a report of Mann's visit. On Mann, see Johnson & Malone, *Dictionary of American Biography*, 240–242. Gaillac, *Les maisons*, 78; Wines, *The State*, 341; Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, 335–338. Cf. Owen, *English philanthropy*, 153.
- 51 Wines, *The State*, 75. In 1898, in a report preparing the child acts of 1905, the cottage system in Hamburg was also applauded, Nolen et al., *Het Vraagstuk*, 193.
- 52 *Rapport Annuel* adressé à MM les membres de la Société Paternelle, Colonie agricole et pénitentiaire de Mettray, douzième année, Tours 1854. Foucault, *Surveiller et punir*, 300–301 (*Discipline and punish*, 293–296); on Mettray and other French agrarian colonies, see Forlevisi et al., *Éduquer et Punir*, 225–238; Petit, *Ces peines obscures*; Carlier, *La prison*; Gaillac, *Les maisons*; Perrot, *L'Impossible prison*.
- 53 Dekker, *The Will*, 61–68; Wines, *The State*. On Turner and Davenport Hill, see Carpenter, *Reformatory Schools*, 325–327. Cf. Owen, *English philanthropy*, 153. On Hill, see Stephen & Lee, *The Dictionary of National Biography*, vol. IX, 853–855. For other testimonies, see Wines, *The State*. Edouard Ducpétiaux (1804–1868), the famous Belgian prison reformer, also visited Mettray, see Dupont-Bouchat, *De la prison*, 43–44. Cf. Dekker, *Straffen*, 204–206.
- 54 Suringar, *My visit to Mettray*, 11–14, 23. On Suringar, Dekker, *The Will*, 141–143; Leonards, *De ontdekking*, 73–74, 178, n. 31. See on the Dutch Mettray, Dekker, *Straffen*. Cf. Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 51–53, 61; Groenveld, *Wezen en boefjes*, 288.
- 55 Becker & Dekker, 'Doers: The Emergence of an Acting Elite'; Petit, *Ces peines obscures*. Cf. Dekker, Van Damme, Simon & Kruithof (Eds.), *Beyond the pale*; Farge, 'Marginaux'; Farge, *La vie fragile*; Dekker, 'The Fragile Relation'; Becker, *Dem Täter auf der Spur*, 36; Siegert & Vogl (Eds.), *Europa. Kultur der Sekretäre*, 7–8.
- 56 See Dekker, *The Will*, 85–100; Nolet, *Katholiek Nederland*, vol. III, 102, cf. Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 19–21; Leonards, *De ontdekking*, 59.
- 57 Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 52.
- 58 Kluit, *Het protestantse Réveil*, 439–440, 465–468; Kok, 'Het socioculturele leven in Nederland 1844–1875', 242–243; De Gaay Fortman, *Figuren*, 129, 141–143; Van der Hoeven, *Otto Gerhard Heldring*, ch. 2; Kluit, *Nader over het Reveil*, 102–103, 105. The boys' home was founded at Hoenderloo in 1851, see Kruithof, *Zonde en deugd*, 165–197, De Vries, *Kuisheid*, 61–78, Groenveld, *Wezen en Boefjes*, 286–358. On Heldrings' educational methods, see Valeton, 'De opvoedkunde van O.G Heldring', 20, 26–29; Heldring, *O.G Heldring*; Van der Hoeven, *Otto Gerhard Heldring*. Cf. on nineteenth century Protestant education, Sturm, *Een goede gereformeerde opvoeding*, Dane, 'De vrucht', Van Belzen, *Psychopathologie en religie*.
- 59 See *Pius Almanak* (1874–1915), Lauret, *Per imperatief mandaat*, Mathias, *De congregatie*, 172–179, Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 49–55, Nolet, *Katholiek Nederland*, vol. II, 123–124, 135, Loeff, *Het Katholiek Nederland*, app.2.
- 60 Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 37; Simon van der Aa, *De Rijksopvoedingsgestichten*, 53; Leonards, *De ontdekking*, 47, figure 1.2.
- 61 Simon van der Aa, *De Rijksopvoedingsgestichten*, 58–59: the number of pupils rose from 35 in 1852 to 83 in 1859 and continued to rise. See Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 45.
- 62 Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 61; Simon van der Aa, *De Rijksopvoedingsgestichten*, 96–97, 98–107; Groenveld, *Wezen en boefjes*, 341.

- 63 Figures in Leonards, *De ontdekking*, 279, App. X. Cf. Goffman, *Asylums*.
- 64 Dasberg & Jansing, 'Het socio-culturele leven in Nederland 1844–1875', 131; Knippenberg, *Deelname*, 106–110; Dekker, 'An Educational Regime', 264, Graas, *Zorgenkinderen*, 35.
- 65 On the school-funding controversy, see Te Velde, *De eenheid*, and De Bruin, *Het ontstaan*; Gouda, *Poverty*, 181.
- 66 Wines, *The State*, 85.
- 67 See Dekker, 'Philanthropic Networks'; idem, *The Will*, 100; Gaillac, *Les maisons*, 160–165, 151, 154. On the Evangelical background of rescue homes, see Hilton, *The Age of Atonement*. Great Britain did put less emphasis on agricultural colonies in its own country because of the impressive agricultural option through emigration to its colonies of Australia, New Zealand, Canada, and South Africa with tens of thousands of children being shipped from, *inter alia*, the Barnardo Homes to work in agriculture in these colonies, see Wagner, *Children of the Empire*; Wines, *The State of Prisons*, 694. On Switzerland see Ruchat, *Les chroniques du mal*, id.: 'L'Education disciplinaire', id.: 'Nommer l'enfant vicieux'.
- 68 Gerbod, 'De l'influence du catholicisme'; Webber, *La fin des terroirs*; Woolf, *The Poor*, 36–37.
- 69 Owen, *English Philanthropy*, 211, 275; Renard, 'La direction de l'Assistance Publique', 197; Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 84, 41. Cf. Cunningham, *The Children of the Poor*, 201–217.
- 70 Dupont et al., *Enfance et justice au XIXe siècle*, 323–384. For Belgium, Velge, *La protection de l'Enfance en Belgique*, Part I.
- 71 Figures on the diminishing contribution of agriculture to national production, with France being the exception to the rule, in Mitchell, *International*, 410–412, 912–919.
- 72 For the Netherlands see Luiten van Zanden & Van Riel, *Nederland 1780–1914*, 343–419, chart 6.12, 308; Luiten van Zanden, *The Economic Development*.
- 73 Engelen, *Van 2 naar 16 miljoen*, 114–118, 122; Mitchell, *International*, 117–120. In Great Britain, Hendrick, *Child Welfare*, 94, commented that the infant mortality rate had risen since the 1880s. For the Netherlands, Ekamper et al., *Bevolkingsatlas van Nederland*, 96, 55–56, report an impressive decrease in infant mortality from 200 to 250 per 1000 around 1870 to 150 around 1900, with a continuing decreasing trend in the twentieth century. Cf. Vandenbroeke, 'De zuigelingen- en kindersterfte', Hofstee, 'Demografische ontwikkelingen', Van Poppel, 'Sociale ongelijkheid voor de dood', Van Tijn, 'Het sociale leven in Nederland 1875–1914', 309. Cf. Steverlynck, *Kleine martelaars*, 62–65, for the struggle against infant mortality throughout Europe. On the influence of medical doctors, see Houwaart, *De hygiënisten*. Extensively on the influence of medical doctors on the school, see De Beer, 'Van hoofdrolspeler tot figurant', and idem, *Witte jassen in de school*.
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- 75 Cf. Dekker, *The Will*, 104–116; Dupont et al., *Enfance et justice au XIXe siècle*, 323–384; cf. Schnapper, 'La correction paternelle', Dupont-Bouchat, 'Constructions et transformations', 46–57; Dupont, *De la prison*, 99.
- 76 Between the introduction of the *Code pénal* in 1811 and Modderman's new penal code in 1886, various proposals for regulating the position of juveniles failed, see Van Toorenberg, *Kinderrecht*, 30–32, 36; Van der Aa, *De Rijksopvoedingsgestichten*, 45, 62–67.

- 77 Van der Aa, *De Rijksopvoedingsgestichten*; Coenen, *De Fransche Wet*; Van Engelen, *De verwaarloosde jeugd*; Del Baere, *De invloed*; Asser, *Bescherming*; Büchler, *De cellulaire gevangenisstraf*; Nijland, *Rijksweldadigheidsscholen*. This production continued after the Child Acts from 1905 with e.g. De Beneditty, *Ouderlijke macht*; Schönfeld, *The Children Act 1908*; Van der Bergh, *De Belgiese wet*. Cf. Doek, *Vijftig jaar ondertoezichtstelling* and Groenveld et al., *Wezen en Boeffjes*, Ch. 13.
- 78 Nolen et al., *Het Vraagstuk*, 5, 204–219, 11.
- 79 De Vries & Van Tricht, *Geschiedenis der wetgeving op de misdadige jeugd*, vol. 1, 37. Van Toorenburg, *Kinderrecht*, 72, emphasizes ‘fear of a considerable increase in juvenile crime’ as the main motivation.
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- 81 De Rooy, *Republiek van rivaliteiten*, 144; Minderaa, ‘De politieke ontwikkeling in Nederland 1887–1914’, vol. 13, 465–470.
- 82 Lijphard, *The Politics of Accommodation*; Blom, ‘Pilarisation in perspective’, 153; Stuurman, *Verzuiling*; Stuurman, S., *Wacht op onze daden*; Te Velde, *Gemeenschapszin*; Sturm & Groenendijk, ‘Educational pluralism’, 281; De Kok, ‘Het socioculturele leven in Nederland 1895–1914’, vol. 13, 373–383. For possible roots of this system in the seventeenth century, see Groenveld, *Was de Nederlandse Republiek verzuild?*. For regional variations, see Pennings, *Verzuiling en ontzuiling*. In Belgium, a bipolar pillarization system was developed; see Righart, *De katholieke zuil*.
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- Honderd jaar Kinderbescherming*; Dekker, 'The Century', 133–150.
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 - 101 Douglas & Straus, 'Assault and Injury', 293, 302, 303, 311, 314; Straus & Savage, 'Neglectful Behavior', 124, 129, 130, 131–133, 134. For an earlier study about university students, see Berger, Knutson, Mehm & Perkins, 'The Self-report', 259 and 260, on students of the Department of Psychology at the University of Iowa. Although 'the endorsement rate from this sample yields a prevalence estimate of physical abuse close to 9 %', they cannot believe that such a relatively low percentage can be true, despite it being based on their own research.
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- 111 Baartman, *Het begrip kindermishandeling*, 8; Hart, 'Reflections', 473–477.
- 112 Partly based on the contribution by J.J.H. Dekker & I. van der Bij on the Dutch case for the collaborative project on *L'histoire des pratiques de la justice des mineurs: une perspective comparée* (The History of Juvenile Justice in the 20th Century), together with the universities of Louvain-la-Neuve, Geneva, Angers and Montreal, to be published in French at Presses Universitaires de Rennes. Cf. Nipperdey, *Deutsche Geschichte 1866–1918*, 113, on the youth problem around 1900 and the influence by psychologists, educators, physicians and criminologists. On emerging professionalism, see Zola, 'Medicine as an institution of social control'; Parry & Parry, *The Rise of the Medical Profession*; Waddington, *The Medical Profession in the Industrial Revolution*; Westhoff, *Geestelijke bevrijders*; Wooldridge, *Measuring the Mind*.
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 - 127 Hermanns, *Het opvoeden verleerd, passim*, 7 (statistics), 23, 24 (quotation). On criminalization, see Weijers, 'Het gaat niet slecht met de Nederlandse jeugd'. On psychologization, the first step to look at 'normal' problems as problematic and to be conceptualized by psychological, psychopathological, and even psychiatric concepts, from the 1970s in child rearing advice books, see Wubs, *Luisteren*. Cf. for the USA Kauffmann & Landrum, *Children and Youth*, 113; Bullock & Melloy, 'Foreword'; Conroy, *Prevention and Early Intervention*.
 - 128 De Ruiter, 'Woord vooraf', X–XI.
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 - 130 *Coalition Agreement*, foundation paper from 2007 for the centre-left Balkenende Government (2007–2010), 30. The minister for Youth and Family Affairs, André Rouvoet, from the orthodox-Protestant Christenunie, developed these ideas in the government paper *All opportunities for all children*, on 28 June 2007 sent to the Parliament.
 - 131 Hermanns et al. *Helpen*, 11, 85, 28. The screening proposal was laid down in *All opportunities for all children*. See <www.rijksoverheid.nl/onderwerpen/digitaal-dossier-jeugdgezondheidszorg-ekd>, retrieved on 28 April 2010.
 - 132 In 2005, Hermanns was quoted in a newspaper interview saying that 'everybody working with children, both professionally and volunteers, should have access to the dossier', *De Stentor*, 13 September 2005. Hermanns, *Het opvoeden verleerd*, 21. Cf. Rispens, Hermanns & Meeus (Eds.), *Opvoeden in Nederland*. In the national newspaper *NRC Handelsblad* (9 February 2008), J. Lamé, director of the Diagnostic and Therapeutic Psychological Centre of Rotterdam-Rijnmond, sharply criticized the Electronic Child Dossier, calling it 'absurdistic, Stalinistic, and an example of megalomania'. On *Ouders on line*, see the national newspaper *Trouw*, 18 February 2010, 'Beware of the Youth Health Office', and *Trouw*, 19 February 2010, in an editorial asking parents to continue visiting the health centres for young children.
 - 133 Van Lieburg, *Een eeuw consultatiebureau in Nederland*; Knapper, *Een kwart eeuw zuigelingenverzorging in Nederland*.

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Aigul Alieva

Educational Inequalities in Europe

Performance of Students with Migratory Background in Luxembourg and Switzerland

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Many foreign-born students show weak performances in Europe, educational hurdles for them seem virtually insurmountable. It is frequently claimed that the disadvantaged socio-economic situation of their families and lack of fluency in local languages are the main causes. What is frequently overlooked, though, is the role of teachers, schools, and educational systems in general. The latter effects are the main focus of this book which reviews theoretical and empirical work focused on educational inequalities and migration, and offers new insights following empirical investigation. With a major focus on Luxembourg and Switzerland, the study analyses the situation in Europe and compares it to that of immigration countries like Canada, Australia, and the USA. This book is of interest to students and scholars, practitioners and decision-makers working in the field of social inequalities, education, and immigration.

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