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Gentle Knights

Masculinity, Teetotalism and Aid for Alcohol Abuse c. 1900¹

GEMMA BLOK

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Since 1830 there have been Dutch organisations that were concerned with fighting alcohol abuse. The Drink Law of 1881, the result of their lobby, limited the sale of drink and made the punishment of public drunkenness obligatory. Around 1900 there was renewed fervour in the Dutch Temperance Movement: teetotalers came to dominate the movement and created a system for the care of drunkards. This change from a repressive approach to a focus on treatment was accompanied by two differing variants on 'chivalrous' masculinity. Nineteenth century campaigners put their idea of masculinity – controlled, militant, protective of women and children – in the service of state politics. The chivalry of the teetotalers was more personal. They showed their solidarity with problematic drinkers by completely abstaining from alcohol and attempted to save drunkards by setting a good example. The battle against King Alcohol became a fight, man to man, in civil society.

Introduction

In 1890 the young teacher Theodorus van der Woude (1863-1946) found himself on the horns of a dilemma. He wanted to join the Dutch Teachers' Propaganda Club against alcohol (NOPC) because every day in the schools in the poor areas of Amsterdam where he worked he saw how much suffering was caused by alcohol abuse. The background of their parents' drunkenness played an important part, he wrote, in the impertinence, the impatience, 'the spiritual and moral defects' of many of the 'rascals' among the pupils.² He wanted to do something about this in the context of the association. However, membership of the NOPC meant that Van der Woude must swear never again to touch a drop of alcohol. This meant that he would never again drink a friendly

glass of bitters with his father-in-law, as was his habit. Van der Woude found this a great problem. On a walk during the midday break he discussed the question with his teaching colleague A. J. Schreuder, a teetotaller. After much consideration he made his decision: he joined the teetotallers, hoping that his father-in-law would understand his motives for abandoning the traditional male comradeship of drinking together.³ The young teacher felt that ‘there was nothing tough or manly about [taking] any sort of alcoholic drink’.⁴ A real man was also concerned for his weaker brother: he had a duty to save him.

At the time that Van der Woude embraced total abstinence a renaissance of the Dutch temperance movement was taking place. Since 1830 there have been organisations that were concerned with fighting ‘the poor man’s sin’ of alcohol abuse, but at the end of the nineteenth century – after a temporary decline – there was renewed fervour in this social movement. Membership of existing associations grew and propaganda activities were greatly increased. During the Interbellum the temperance campaign reached a peak with several hundred thousand campaigners, of whom about 50,000 were teetotallers.⁵ The Catholic umbrella temperance organisation, Sobriëtas, alone had 180,000 members around 1920.⁶

Moreover about 1900 the anti-alcohol movement altered in character. Teetotallers set the tone: people who not only abstained from spirits, but also drank no wine, beer or any other alcoholic drink. Earlier temperance campaigners were chiefly people who advocated moderate use of alcohol or ‘droppers’ who abstained only from spirits. The Drink Law of 1881 was the result of their long-time lobby for a ban on spirits. They did not achieve such a ban but the Drink Law limited the sale of drink and moreover made the punishment of public drunkenness obligatory throughout the country. During the *fin de siècle* however, teetotallers advocated a milder approach to intemperate drinkers. They wanted to save alcoholics, whom they regarded as patients, by offering them practical and moral support. The emergence of a system for the care and of drunkards around 1900, to a large extent, was due to the activities of this type of total abstainer.

How did this change from a repressive approach to drunkards to a new focus on helping and reforming alcoholics occur, and what was the function

1 I would like to thank the editorial board, the anonymous referees, and especially Stefan Dudink, guest editor for this special issue of *BMGN - Low Countries Historical Review*, for their valuable comments on earlier versions of this article.

2 Th.W. van der Woude, *Het kind eischt ons op...* (Amsterdam 1907) 9.

3 P. van der Meulen, ‘Van der Woude 80 jaar’, special edition *De Wegwijzer* (1943) 73-78.

4 Van der Woude, *Het kind*, 14.

5 A. Don and Th.W. van der Woude, *Het boek van den alcohol. De alcoholische dranken, hun bereiding, de gevolgen van hun gebruik voor individu en maatschappij, de drankbestrijding in al haar vormen* (second impression; Amsterdam 1917) 307-308.

6 Chris Dols, *De gees der eeuw. Katholieke drankbestrijding in Nederland, 1852-1945* (Zaltbommel 2007) 99.

of the rhetoric of masculinity in this change? These questions are central to this article. The history of manliness compared to that of womanliness is often relatively invisible and hidden. Explicit statements about the nature of women or rules of behaviour for women are to be found easily enough in the sources. Ideas of masculinity are often more covert. In the words of the British historian of masculinity John Tosh: 'In the historical record it is as though masculinity is everywhere but nowhere'.⁷ By analysing the rhetoric of manliness in the second period of growth of the temperance movement around 1900 explicit statements about what made a 'real' fellow or chap will be examined, and also the 'gender subtext' of the past – the more implicit assumptions about masculinity that can be read in texts or hidden behind images.

It will be argued that the transformation, which took place around 1900, from a repressive to a treatment oriented approach of immoderate drinkers went hand in hand with two different forms of 'chivalrous' masculinity. The social-liberal campaigners of the nineteenth century adopted a chivalrous rhetoric to plead for state intervention, such as the imprisonment of habitual drunkards. They presented themselves as the brave protectors of the wives and children of these alcoholics. The teetotallers who came to dominate the Dutch Temperance Movement after 1900 also presented themselves as heroic and compassionate knights. However their chivalry was more ambitious and more extensive. Drunkards also had a right to be saved, teetotallers argued. Moreover, temperance campaigners should show their solidarity with problem drinkers by completely abstaining from alcohol themselves. By setting a good example they could attempt to save drunkards (and their families). The teetotallers thus practiced a more personal form of chivalry. The battle against King Alcohol now became a fight, man to man, in civil society.

Fallen men: the 'emasculative' effect of drink

The American researchers John Crowley and William White have noted two different trends in the temperance movement. In the first philanthropy is dominant – helping drunks and their families. The second trend is chiefly concerned with national interest – public order, the improvement of 'the people' and the reduction of the economic burden that alcohol abuse entails.⁸ In the Netherlands the first trend was dominant in the beginning, during the pioneering phase from 1830-1840. The initial temperance campaigners

7 John Tosh, 'What should Historians do with Masculinity?: Reflections on Nineteenth-Century Britain', *History Workshop Journal* 38 (1994) 179-198, in particular 180.

8 John W. Crowley and William L. White, *Drunkard's Refuge: The Lessons of the New York State Inebriate Asylum* (Amherst, Boston 2004) 6-8.

put much effort into house visits and offered drunks and their families practical help and partial support, as described by Maartje Janse in her book *De afschaffers* (2007) dealing with nineteenth century social movements.⁹ In this period many alcoholics were members of temperance movements that thereby sometimes took on the character of self-help groups.

This method aimed at personal reform appeared to have disadvantages however. Many drunkards who had declared themselves ‘temperate’ returned to their old ways, which damaged the image of the associations who complained that they had become a ‘refuge’ for ‘disastrous alcoholics’.¹⁰ The Dutch Society for the Abolition of Strong Drink (NVASD) started a stricter selection procedure for her members and in the 1850s turned to another objective – the introduction of a law banning spirits. With this the temperance movement in the Netherlands moved gradually towards the second trend in which the primary aim was to influence public opinion and politics. The central theme of the associated propaganda was the idea that drink had an ‘emasculative’ effect on men.

From the beginning masculinity rhetoric played an important role in the temperance movement, both in the Netherlands and elsewhere. Naturally before the nineteenth century there were writings on alcoholics, but then they were frequently pictured as cheerful drinking companions or ridiculous rakes. The drunken servant, coachman or guard were well-known comic figures in early modern literature. The stereotype was there primarily for the amusement of the reader. That changed in the nineteenth century, according to literary historian Marita Mathijssen. Then the literary image of the drunk became the damned who can no longer free himself from his demon drink with whom he has, as it were, made a contract as Faust with Mephistopheles.¹¹ The French historian Alain Corbin also states that in the course of the nineteenth century the ‘cheerful, loquacious, extrovert and merry drinker with his red face’ made way for the ‘sombre, sometimes violent, aggressive and now and then criminal alcoholic with his pale features’.¹²

The aim of this new stereotype was to emphasise the dangers of drink and thereby the importance of temperance, but at the same time the temperance campaigners tried to promote an alternative ideal of manliness. They wanted to convince men that drinking was not manly or tough. From time immemorial alcohol was associated with all kinds of male companionship. In respectable societies and associations wealthy gentlemen

9 Maartje Janse, *De afschaffers. Publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek in Nederland, 1840-1880* (Amsterdam 2007) 35-46.

10 Janse, *Afschaffers*, 138.

11 Marita Mathijssen, *De gemaskerde eeuw* (third impression; Amsterdam, Antwerpen 2007) 179.

12 Alain Corbin, ‘Achter de schermen’, in: Michelle Perrot (ed.), *Geschiedenis van het persoonlijk leven IV. Van de Franse Revolutie tot de Eerste Wereldoorlog* (Amsterdam 1989) 406.

drank a glass of good wine. From the nineteenth century the lower classes increasingly drank spirits, bourbon in America, absinthe in France and gin in the Netherlands. For men from the lower classes, from artisans and factory workers to railwaymen and miners, the public house was linked to a feeling of reward and freedom. The pub was a bastion of freedom and pleasure in a difficult life. It offered a moment of relaxation after a day filled with physical and sometimes dangerous labour, a moment freed from employer, wife and children, being together with fellow workers and friends. Drinking was frequently accompanied by other forms of masculine recreation such as watching sport, cock-fighting or gambling. In short, alcohol was part of a masculinity that was defined in terms of sociability outside the home, amongst men.¹³

Temperance campaigners, who were usually from the middle class (including many ministers, teachers and doctors), declared war on these drinking habits. They labelled this communal drunkenness of the lower classes as rough and disorderly. They proposed instead a respectable, orderly and domestic variant of masculinity that was defined in terms of the family. Drunkards were moral weaklings, declared the temperance campaigners. Cravenly, they always put their own pleasure before the interests of their family. Moreover drink did not make men strong and free, but weak and dependent. It undermined their strength and caused them to decline physically. In prints and posters of the temperance campaigners drinkers often sprawled incapable or they shuffled along with an obviously unhealthy appearance. They were also weakened in a social sense because due to their expensive consumption of alcohol they could no longer fulfil their role as breadwinner. Against the old ideal of a crude variant of masculinity associated with drink, the campaigners set in competition an image of the respectable man who drank only in moderation. Immoderate drinking was not tough but stupid, according to them. It was showing self-control and discipline that was heroic. They attempted to make their civilising work and respectability more attractive by linking them to the illustrious label of masculinity.

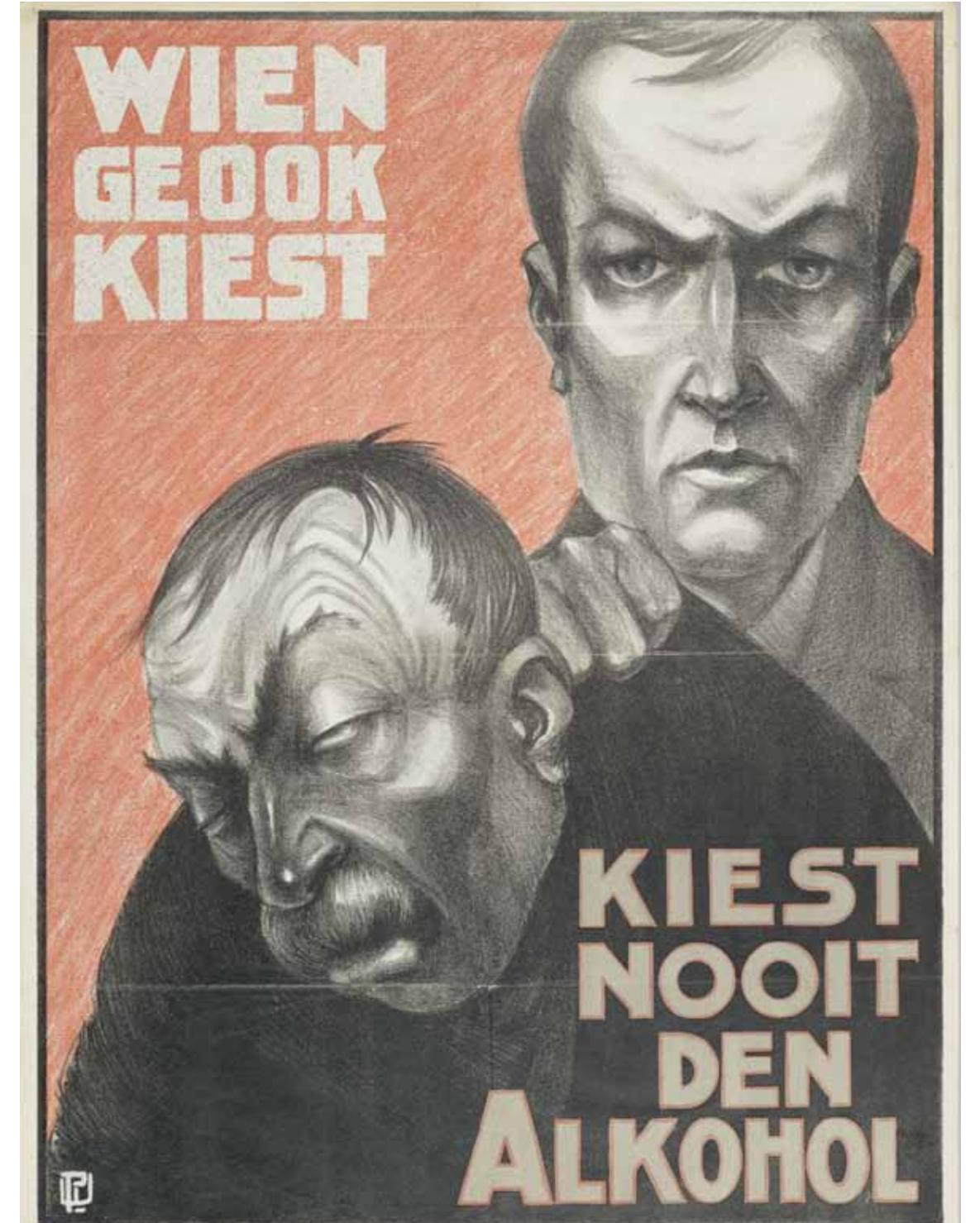
They broadcast their message in pamphlets, journals, lectures and in autobiographies of reformed drunkards, but also in influential 'morality tales'. In the nineteenth century what was known as the *drunkard narrative* developed – the prototypical drunkard's story – a specific mini-genre found in folksongs, pamphlets, paintings, picture books and the like.¹⁴ From America to Europe

13 Michael Kimmel, *Manhood in America: A Cultural History* (New York 1996) 48–51, 124–126; Paul Michel Taillon, 'What We want is Good, Sober Men: Masculinity, Respectability, and Temperance in the Railroad Brotherhoods, c. 1870–1910', *Journal of Social History* 36 (2002)

319–338, also 320–326; Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil's Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, London 2001).

14 Elaine Frantz Parsons, *Manhood Lost: Fallen Drunkards and Redeeming Women in the Nineteenth-Century United States* (Baltimore, London 2003) 157–182.

**WIEN
GEOOK
KIEST**



**KIEST
NOOIT
DEN
ALKOHOL**

**UITGEGEVEN DOOR DEN ALGEMEENEN NEDERLANDSCHEN GEHEELONTHOUDERS BOND BROCHURE DEPOT
C. REM KANAALKADE 47 VEUSEN ALG. SECRETARIAAT C. VAN EYKERN TETTERODESTR. 41 HAARLEM
LITH. KUNST&ARBEID A. DAM TEL. 50676**

the drunkard's story always followed more or less the same formula. The main character was a healthy man, often a father and breadwinner, but sometimes a promising young bachelor with his whole life before him. Under the influence of the wrong sort of friends he gradually becomes caught in the grip of the demon drink. His personality is totally transformed by alcohol. The drunkard drinks away his wages, in despair his possessions go to the pawnbroker. The young bachelor wastes his chances of a family and successful career, the family man neglects his family and beats his wife. Thus in the most influential publication of the temperance movement, the popular picture book *De Flesch* [The Bottle], the ruin of a once respectable family man forms the main story. Father discovers gin and the prosperous family end up having to beg. Finally he beats his wife to death with – what else? – his bottle of drink. The Dutch translation of the English series of prints *The Bottle* (1847) appeared in 1848, with wonderful pictures by George Cruikshank. Immediately it was a bestseller and there were countless reprints into the twentieth century. The story was also adapted for the stage.¹⁵

In such popular drunkard's tales the drinkers are the mirror image of the bourgeois ideas of manliness. The drunkard was not a free man, but a 'slave'. He was not virtuous and independent, but foolish and immoderate, not in control of himself. Alcoholics were not thrifty but spendthrift, not interested in self-improvement but on the way to self-destruction. Their work ethic and sense of responsibility were seriously lacking. Drinkers would rather be in the public house than at home with their family, something that, according to nineteenth century middle-class morality, was expected of them more and more. Domesticity became a central bourgeois value and the man was given an increasingly important moral and pedagogic role in the family.¹⁶ The 'slave of drink' must also change into a 'reliable, loving family man', according to the temperance campaigners.¹⁷ The encouragement among the lower class of this type of manliness, in the sense of self-discipline, a healthier life-style and a greater sense of social responsibility, they felt, must offer a solution to the social problem of alcoholism and the ills associated with it, such as poverty, criminality, prostitution, venereal disease and madness.¹⁸

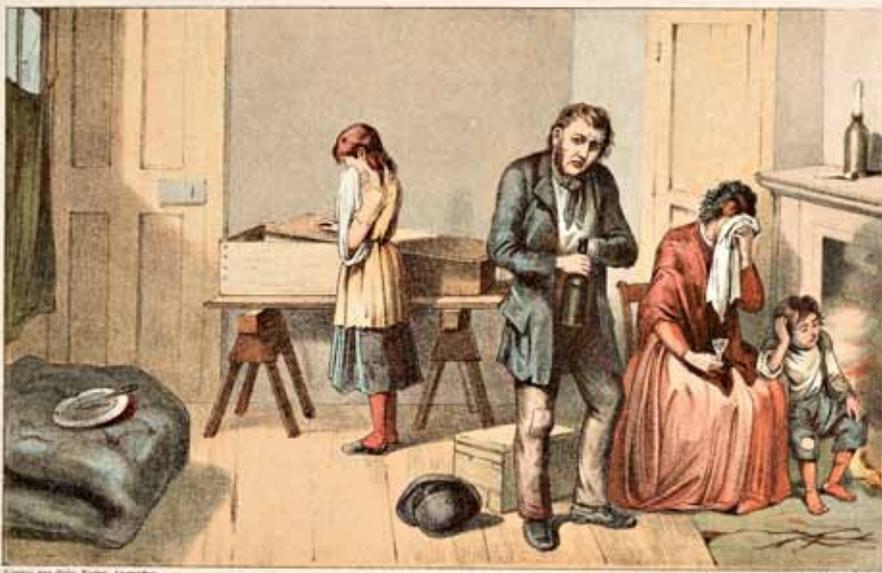
15 Janse, *Afschaffers*, 129.

16 John Tosh, *A Man's Place: Masculinity and the Middle-Class Home in Victorian England* (London 1999) 53-145.

◀ 'Whoever you choose, never choose alcohol!' Teetotalers argued that drinking undermined men's moral and physical strength. International Institute of Social History, Amsterdam.

17 Goeman Borgesius, 'Bezoek', 212.

18 The stimulation of manliness among members of the lower classes was applied frequently in the nineteenth century as an anodyne for all kinds of social problems. See: J.A. Mangan and James Walvin, *Manliness and Morality: Middle-Class Masculinity in Britain and America, 1800-1940* (Manchester 1987) 4.



Tijdschrift van de Maatschappij, Amsterdam.

Alfred E. de Vries.

*De drank roeft levensheil en eindlijk ook het leven;
Maar wie zich drinkend troost bij 't derven van een paal,*

*Hetwelk door zijne schuld van kommer eens moest steven,
Doet iets wat strijdijg is met godsverricht en verstand.*



Tijdschrift van de Maatschappij, Amsterdam.

Alfred E. de Vries.

*Het laatste greintje deugd wordt door den drank verzwonden.
Een lage hartstocht slechts spoort tot het laagre min,*

*Dit wordt in het gezin van dronkaards onderzonden,
Waar man en vrouw elkaar in 't eind maar 't leven stonden.*



The popular book *The Bottle* (1848) issued a warning: alcohol could turn honorable men into irresponsible monsters.

National library of the Netherlands, The Hague.

The propaganda of temperance campaigners showed almost exclusively drinking men, even though there were certainly women who enjoyed a drink. If they were mentioned at all, almost invariably it was stated that a drinking woman was even worse a male drunk, ‘disgusting’, ‘a dreadful sight’.¹⁹ Usually however, the woman figured in the drunkards’ tales as a victim of the alcohol abuse of her husband, the family impoverished or even homeless. The wife must look on impotently as her children suffered. The temperance campaigners put themselves forward as the chivalrous protectors of these innocent victims. They took on the role of modern knights in armour. As has been frequently noted by historians, after 1800 chivalry as an ideal for men was reborn, and this was also clearly seen in the temperance movement. The temperance campaigner was a chivalrous man who, from a sense of justice, honour and purity, had the urge to protect the weak and oppressed in society.²⁰ In this sense he formed a nineteenth century continuation of the new masculine sensibility that – so as described by the historian Dorothee Sturkenboom – flourished in the Netherlands at the end of the eighteenth century. In leading weekly journals authors increasingly wrote about men with a ‘sensitive disposition’ who were aware of the problems of the world and had sympathy with the ‘unfortunates’ in society. This sensitive man was not unstable, in the sense of being subject to passions, as women were supposed to be, but he expressed his emotions more openly than was usual or thought desirable earlier, by weeping, by self-sacrifice and doing good works.²¹ The nineteenth century chivalrous temperance campaigner bore elements of this revived male sensibility, but in an ambiguous way. He was caring, but at the same time brave, militant, decisive and strict.

Repression and prevention

Chivalrous rhetoric also played an important role in justifying the increasing judicial repression of alcoholics at the end of the nineteenth century. Not only was this advocated by the NVASD but after 1875 also by the Volksbond tegen Drankmisbruik [Temperance Society], an association comprised chiefly of well-educated and prosperous (social) liberals. The founder of this Society was ‘Multapatior,’ meaning ‘I suffer much’: this was the pseudonym of the journalist Ludovicus Petrus Philippona. In 1875 he made an appeal to ‘men with their heart in the right place’. They must fight

19 Janse, *Afschaffers*, 131.

20 Michèle Cohen, “‘Manners’ make the Man: Politeness, Chivalry, and the Construction of Masculinity”, *Journal of British Studies* 44 (2005) 312-329, in particular 326.

21 Dorothee Sturkenboom, *Spectators van hartstocht. Sekse en emotionele cultuur in de achttiende eeuw* (Hilversum 1998) 295-303.

[...] for the interests, for the honour of the beloved Netherlands for peace and prosperity of households, for better treatment of so many women and children of drunkards who up to now have been abused.²²

It is noticeable that better treatment of the drunkard himself was not a major theme in this period. Although people were also concerned about the drunkard, who after all was a victim of the demon drink, their sympathy was mainly for his family. In this period the drinker was regarded as damned, a slave to 'evil passions' that shamed his family.²³ The emphasis on the lack of control over his emotions justified the increasing social control with which immoderate drinkers in the Netherlands were faced.

Moreover it was unlikely that he could be saved, and he could bring hereditary burdened children into the world. On the basis of what was known as the degeneration theory temperance campaigners and doctors declared that the drunkard was 'the starting point of a long series of alcoholic, mad or unstable descendents'.²⁴ In short, a repressive approach to the problem was demanded, so thought the Temperance Society. The broad lobby for governmental intervention in the drink problem grew due to the fact that alcohol consumption in the Netherlands increased significantly; between 1850 and 1880 the annual consumption of pure alcohol per head of population went from four to seven litres.²⁵ Multapator: 'The question now arises: how should the State intervene in this state of affairs? I answer: repressively and preventively'. By repression he meant the punishment of public drunkenness. Prevention could be brought about by information about the dangers of alcohol and reducing the opportunities to get drunk. It was more important to prevent a new generation of alcoholics emerging than to try to save existing drinkers.²⁶

22 Op. cit. Stefan Dudink, *Deugdzaam liberalisme. Sociaal-liberalisme in Nederland 1870-1901* (Amsterdam 1997) 99. '[...] voor de belangen, voor de eer van het dierbare Nederland, voor de rust en welvaart der huisgezinnen, voor eene betere behandeling van zooveel tot nog toe mishandelde vrouwen en kinderen van dronkaards'.

23 Dudink, *Deugdzaam liberalisme*, 96.

24 J.H. van Breukelen, *Alcoholisme, tuberculose, syfilis. De ouders verantwoordelijk voor het lijden der kinderen* (Baarn 1911) 16.

25 G.H. Jansen, *De eeuwige kroeg. Hoofdstukken uit de geschiedenis van het openbaar lokaal* (Amsterdam 1977) 283; Jaap van der Stel, *Drinken, drank en dronkenschap. Vijf eeuwen drankbestrijding en alcoholhulpverlening in Nederland* (Hilversum 1995) 189. Particularly in Amsterdam people drank a great deal: on average there was one drinking place per 146 inhabitants. On average the population of Amsterdam drank 15 litres of spirits per head annually.

26 'Multapator's plan ter bestijding van misbruik van sterken drank', *Algemeen Handelsblad* 15 June 1875.

The ‘knights’ of the first phase of the temperance movement put their hope in state intervention. Their chivalrous masculinity served to justify their call for a more active government. The state must protect women and children (and public order) through legislation. The tone of the temperance propaganda and the Drink Law, which came into being in 1881, was strict. The term ‘sin’ was used frequently. Alcohol abuse was a ‘lower class sin’, a source of misery and crime that upset domestic happiness and contributed to poverty. After the introduction of the Drink Law the social-liberal Goeman Borgesius noted with approval that there was

[...] less drunkenness on the public streets, that one heard less frequently of arguments in inns, that exhibitions, carriage races and other forms of lower class amusements are more orderly and regulated.²⁷

Anyone repeatedly arrested for public inebriation from then on found himself in a Rijkswerkinrichting (RWI) [State Labour Institution] (RWI). As determined in the new Code of Criminal Law of 1881, such a period of detention was for six months to a year – sometimes longer if vagrancy or theft were also involved. A famous State Labour Institution that came into being after 1881 was Veenhuizen in Drenthe.²⁸ There was also one in Leiden (for women) and one in Hoorn that was especially for pimps (‘souteneurs’) and alcoholics who disturbed the peace (‘habitual drunkards’). Around 1900 about a thousand men each year were ‘sent on’ – as it was then called – to a State Labour Institution. There they worked six days per week and on Sunday church was compulsory. Inmates went to bed early, the men sleeping in a sort of cage. Whoever resisted this regime could count on punishment – weeks or even months of solitary confinement, possibly on bread and water, in the occasional case a darkened cell or one ‘with no sleeping place’.²⁹

27 *Handelingen van de Staten-Generaal, Tweede Kamer*, 27 March 1885, 47th session 789/790. [Acts of the States General, Lower Chamber sitting 27th March 1885, 47th session]. On the order ‘Wijziging van de wet tot beteugeling van openbare dronkenschap’ [Changes in the law to control public drunkenness]. ‘[...] minder dronkenschap [is] op de openbare straat, dat men minder hoort van twistpartijen in de herbergen, dat het bij tentoonstellingen, harddraverijen en andere volksvermaken veel ordelijker en geregelder toegaat dan vroeger’.

28 Suzanna Jansen, *Het pauperparadijs. Een familiegeschiedenis* (Amsterdam 2008).

29 R. Berens et al., *Arbeid ter disciplineren en bestraffing. Veenhuizen als onvrije kolonie van de Maatschappij van Weldadigheid 1823-1859* (Zutphen 1984); Ruurd Faber, *Veenhuizen, één, twee, drie* (Assen 1983); Gerben E. de Vries, *Honderd jaar gemeenschapsregime in Esserheem Veenhuizen 1895-1995* (Gouda 1995).

A movement of 'brave men'

The nineteenth century temperance campaigners wanted to show how alcohol abuse could 'emasculate' the immoderate drinker and how it threatened to undermine the nation. In order to turn the tide of this danger they advocated a ban on the sale of strong drink and the punishment of public drunkenness. The 1881 Drink Law was an important result of their activities. Their chivalrous urge to protect was still chiefly aimed at women and children, but around 1900 this changed. The care for the family of the alcoholic remained, but now the drinker himself was a source of concern to the campaigners. To an increasing extent he too was seen as a victim of both the strict legal system in the RWIS and his own unhealthy urge to become intoxicated.

After 1900 a new wind blew through the world of temperance campaigning. The punishment of drunkards in the State Labour Institutions, one of the most important results of the campaigners in the earlier period, became a thorn in the flesh of the teetotallers who were beginning to set the tone in the movement in the early twentieth century. They found it was basically unjust to punish the sick. Moreover the repressive approach was not working. Around the turn of the century the number of recidivists in the RWIS was between 35 and 40 percent.³⁰ Another strategy was needed. Teetotallers said that temperance campaigners must be gentler with drunkards, but harder on themselves. Out of solidarity with alcoholics they must never again touch a drop of alcohol. It was precisely this brave, even heroic, choice of total abstinence that made a man 'manly'.

Even more than their predecessors in the nineteenth century campaign these teetotallers embodied the sort of sensitive masculinity that was an extension of what was described in the weekly journals at the end of the eighteenth century. They expressed their compassion in more emotional language and were prepared for more and greater self-sacrifice. Their strategy in the battle with misery caused by drink was also different to that of the social-liberal campaigners of the Temperance Society. They put less hope in state intervention but advocated a project of self-reform. By setting a good example they could also change others and attempt to save drunkards (and their families). In short, the battle against King Alcohol changed from a political question to be solved by government intervention to a fight, man to man, in civil society.³¹

As a teetotaller from Schagen in 1898 stated in the local newspaper, even a moderate use of alcohol lays the foundation for alcohol abuse. Everyone who drank, even if it was with moderation and wine instead of gin, was responsible

30 B. Boivin, 'Verboden wereld', in: A. van der Woud (ed.), *Veenhuizen. Een erfenis voor de toekomst* (Groningen 1994) 51-67, in particular 54.

31 Gemma Blok, *Ziek of zwak. Geschiedenis van de verslavingszorg in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2011) 45-69.

for the drink problem in society. The ‘true warriors’ against the demon drink were the ‘brave men’ of the movement for total abstinence. They had the ‘courage’ to avoid all alcohol and to live by the adage ‘Love thy neighbour as thyself’.³² The teacher Theo van der Woude described a teetotaler as ‘a man driven by his true desire to promote the happiness of mankind’.³³ It was manly, thought Van der Woude, to concern yourself with questions of social justice and thereby, if necessary, to sacrifice one’s own pleasures.

In this an important background factor was that among doctors, psychiatrists and temperance campaigners the idea that the alcoholic could be cured gained ground, or at least that he was capable of keeping his pathological urge to drink under control. His desire for drink would never completely leave him, but could be made latent. By a combination of understanding and knowledge of the illness of alcoholism, contact with fellow sufferers, support from aid workers and his own moral strength not to take that fatal first glass the alcoholic could turn his miserable life into a new and sober existence. Around 1900 the drinker was transformed from a doomed slave to drink into a patient who by strength of will could overcome his complaint. The first sanatoria and consultation bureaus for alcoholics came into being during this period. The most important of these – the ‘alcoholics refuge’ Hoog-Hullen in Groningen (1891) and the Medical Consultation Bureau for Alcoholism in Amsterdam (1909) – were founded on the initiative of the social-liberal Temperance Society. Interestingly enough the organisation, after the original effort towards governmental intervention, now helped the second strategy of the campaign – the effort to save alcoholics. The actual saving they were happy to leave to the teetotalers who could use themselves as a therapeutic instrument; but the moderate social-liberals made possible this new approach in the campaign, that of man to man and man against the self-destructive elements in himself.

About 1900, after a temporary decline, the Dutch temperance campaign once again flourished.³⁴ The membership of the NVASD rose and countless new organisations came into being, such as the National-Christian Teetotalers Society (1881), the General Dutch Teetotalers Union (1897), the Netherlands Division of the International Order of Good Templars (1903). Temperance organisations for all kinds special groups such as doctors, teachers, railway personnel and preachers were also founded. Gradually teetotalism began to play a leading role in the campaign. The symbolic turning point being the decision taken in 1899 by the NVASD to fight for the ban on *all* alcoholic drinks

32 A. Olie, ‘Geheelonthouding’, *Schager Courant* 16 January 1898.

33 Th.W. van der Woude, ‘Arbeidsduur en drankgebruik’, *De Wegwijzer* 2:3 (1899) 180-185, in particular 180: ‘een man, gedreven door zijn

waarachtige begeerte, het geluk der menschheid te bevorderen’.

34 Van der Stel, *Drinken, drank en dronkenschap*, 141-228.

and to grant membership only to teetotallers.³⁵ The Catholics united in the umbrella organisation *Sobriëtas* (1899). Protestants also founded their own society – the Calvinist Society for the Campaign against Alcohol (1900).

In this way the new élan in the temperance campaign was part of the anti-liberal current of the 1890s. This was to be found, among other things, in the organisations for young teetotallers such as the Youth Teetotallers' Union. Many of the members came from the lower classes and for them teetotalism was 'a general denominator under which young people united but to which their idealism was not confined'. They were against '[...] the rut and grubbiness and everything that wants to drag down young people' and were for love of one's fellow man, brotherhood, pacifism and equal and amicable relations between men and women.³⁶

Not only the Youth but all teetotallers saw themselves as the harbingers of a new mentality in society. Not all of them were as progressive as the Youth members when it came to equality between men and women or the principles of socialism, but they did link teetotalism with spirit of the *fin de siècle*, in which, according to them, brotherhood and altruism were present as never before.³⁷ During the second national congress of teetotalism in 1899 the speaker A.M. Brants characterised total abstinence as 'a protest against our egotistical abnormal society, essential for the improvement of our social ills'.³⁸ Christians spoke about love of one's fellow man, socialists about 'a sense of social responsibility'. They all brought heavy guns to bear against liberalism with its mentality of 'every man for himself and God for us all' and 'remove the weak from society and then the strong remain'. Someone with a social sense, so the teetotaller A.H. Gerhard of the SDAP told his audience, feels himself to be a member of society, *must* become a teetotaller.³⁹

Moreover teetotalism was presented as an alternative masculine identity that must compete with the old idea that drinking was manly. One teetotaller told his audience, in tones of disgust of a habitual drunkard who tried to tempt his son to go with him to the pub by telling him 'Someone who doesn't drink isn't a real man'.⁴⁰ The Catholic teetotaller Gerard Brom in his lecture told how he was taught to drink from earliest childhood, or

35 *Ibid.*, 158.

36 Ger Harmsen, *JGOB. De geschiedenis van de jongelieden geheelonthoudersbond. Van oprichting tot opheffing (1912-1950)* (Amsterdam 1962) 20-22, '[...] een algemene noemer waarop jongeren zich verenigden maar waartoe hun idealisme zich niet beperkte'; 'sleure en goorheid en alles wat jonge mensen naar beneden wil trekken'.

37 Account of the meeting of the NOPC, *Deventer Courant* 22 March 1898.

38 *Nieuws van den Dag* 25 May 1899. Account of the second national congress for teetotalism, 'een protest tegen onze egoïstisch abnormale samenleving, noodzakelijk tot verbetering onzer sociale misstanden'.

39 *Vliegend Blaadje* 23 October 1912.

40 S. Berman, *Schager Courant* 12 December 1897.

to put it better, how his nurse gave him drops of brandy as a baby. On feast days in his home there was every opportunity (for children too) to consume sherry, Madeira, Advocat and brandy soaked raisins while a carriage trip was concluded with a good glass of Chartreuse. At boarding school too, the monks regularly opened a bottle of wine to drink with the boys. The problem was, in Brom's words, 'that drinking appeared to be manly'. If his brother came home dead drunk from a night on the town, then his mother smiled indulgently.

This sort of mentality had to be changed thought teetotallers. Someone who did not drink *really* was a man. The Order of Young Templars, an organisation for young teetotallers, told its members that only someone who swore off drink could be called a 'stout fellow'.⁴¹ He had the courage to free himself from routine and convention, from the social pressure to have 'friendly drink'. Teetotallers regarded themselves emphatically as a counter-culture. Their choice for total abstinence, in their eyes, was a brave form of non-conformity. They saw themselves as free people who had chosen the sacrifice of teetotalism in contrast to the drinkers who passively allowed themselves to be led by the 'drinking urge' in society.⁴² Even the campaigners of the earlier period, the 'moderates' and 'droppers', had not managed to free themselves of this urge to drink.

Converts to teetotalism were sought at propaganda meetings in which fiery speeches were made, songs sung and plays acted. Often the meetings were accompanied by parades with flags and brass bands. The extensive coverage given to this sort of meeting by regional newspapers suggests that emotions could run high. Mention was made of audiences that hung on the lips of speakers, their 'eyes moist', or 'muffled sobs' to be heard in the hall.⁴³ Frequently the meetings ended with a number of people from the audience being converted to teetotalism there and then and joining the association. It was a wonderful time the teetotaler and teacher F.U.Schmidt mused later:

We pounded and hammered public opinion tirelessly and fearlessly. The number of our speeches was a legion. We left with a sandwich in our pockets, travelled by the simplest means possible and often only came home in the middle of the night. We were pretty well all young men and women in the best years of our lives!⁴⁴

41 Order of Young Templars *Van jeugd tot jeugd* (s.a. 1929) 11.

42 S.n., 'De overdrijving der geheelonthouding', *Het Centrum* 1 April 1911.

43 See for example *Deventer Courant* 23 December 1902; *Vliegend blaadje* 23 October 1912.

44 F.U.Schmidt, 'Toen en nu', *De Wegwijzer. Maandblad voor Geheelonthouding* (1922) (special

number in commemoration of 25 years of the journal) 262-270, 264: 'We beukten en hamerden de publieke opinie onvermoeid en onversaagd. Ons aantal spreekbeurten was legio. We trokken er op uit met een broodje in den zak, reisden per eenvoudigste gelegenheid en kwamen dikwijls midden in de nacht pas weer thuis. En we waren haast allemaal jonge mannen en vrouwen in de beste jaren van ons leven!'

Generally speaking in the last quarter of the nineteenth century displaying emotion in public became more common in the Netherlands.⁴⁵ Catholics and Protestants organised national missionary fêtes and huge public meetings and socialists also addressed the masses. In politics moreover, a new kind of leader was active, ‘emotional, sometimes even fanatical natures’, such as Abraham Kuyper, Pieter Jelles Troelstra and Ferdinand Domela Nieuwenhuis’ – men who had dedicated their lives and unbelievable energy to a great ideal, according to Henk te Velde.⁴⁶ Politics had an almost religious meaning for them: they used military and Biblical metaphors and the gatherings that they led acquired the character of religious meetings. For this new generation of politicians politics was no longer a distant legislative occupation that it was for their predecessors.⁴⁷ Moreover their performances had elements that were often seen as feminine; they were theatrical, emotional, ‘exaggerated’.

The teetotallers who made themselves heard around 1900 fitted into this emotional atmosphere of the urge to social reform and displayed a similar sort of masculinity. They too expressed themselves with passion and inspiration, and self-sacrifice in the service of a higher ideal was of cardinal importance for them. Their meetings too had an almost religious character. The public must be converted not only to a new life-style but also, and above all, to an associated social ethic. Not everyone was convinced by the new masculine identity propagated by the temperance campaigners. Their opponents painted a picture of teetotallers as unmanly and effeminate because they were uncontrolled, extremist, fanatical, zealous and above all ‘exaggerated’. One newspaper article described the young teetotaller as a ‘young man with fanatical eyes, artistic locks of hair, long nails and lemonade on his breath’.⁴⁸ If teetotallers preached in the street they were regularly mocked and they were also criticised by the media.

Just as the drunkard’s use of alcohol was exaggerated in a negative way, the teetotaller exaggerated the ‘good side’, so thought critics. It was better to follow ideas of moderation and common sense. They emphasised that drink simply tasted good, stimulated the imagination and lightened the difficulties

45 Henk te Velde, ‘Openbare emoties. Nederland en Amsterdam rond 1900’, *Spiegel Historiaal* (1998) 465-469.

46 Henk te Velde, ‘Viriliteit en opoffering. “Mannelijkheid” in het Nederlandse politieke debat van het fin-de-siècle’, *Groniek. Historisch Tijdschrift* (1996). Theme number Masculinity 278-292, 284.

47 Henk te Velde, *Stijlen van leiderschap. Persoon en politiek van Thorbecke tot Den Uyl* (Amsterdam 2002) 60-61.

48 See for example: F.J. Soesman, ‘Plaatselijke keuze en de Eerste Kamer’, *Het Vaderland. Staat- en letterkundig Nieuwsblad* 11 October 1924; S.n., ‘De overdrijving der geheelonthouding’, *Het Centrum* 1 April 1911; S.n., *Rotterdamsch Nieuwsblad* 15 February 1896; L., ‘De zegeningen der geheelonthouding’, *Het Nieuws van de Dag voor Nederlands-Indië* 25 October 1924.

of this earthly life. ‘Without a pint life is hard’, maintained a popular street song called ‘In praise of beer’. In a letter to the press an anonymous ‘moderate drinker’ mocked teetotallers. He was irritated by the ‘grandiloquent phrases and gesticulation’ of teetotallers and described how during lectures they played on the feelings of their audience: with their inflated style of speaking and rolling rrs they talked of the misery of ‘drrrunkards’ and called upon the public to have ‘rrrremorse’ for their own use of alcohol. These teetotallers exaggerated terribly, was the opinion of this anonymous moderate drinker. His own moderate glass had never brought a tear to the eye of anyone or led another into alcoholism. It has only increased ‘his pleasure in life’.⁴⁹

The extremism of the teetotallers was condemned therefore, because it was regarded as displaying feminine behaviour, and because it could lead to a diminished, boring and non-manly form of masculinity. In 1908 the journal *Elseviers Maandschrift* published a literary survey of the social debate about teetotallers, a story in which the young teetotaller Dolf is teased by his family about his ascetic life-style. According to his grandfather and aunt this was ‘ridiculous for a young person’. Dolf was a very boring fellow, they thought. Dolf’s father had been ‘a good chap’, who when young was always out dancing and chasing girls. He enjoyed a glass and was always good for a laugh. That was the way a young man should be. Dolf, on his side, had nothing but contempt for his grandfather, aunt and father with their crude pleasures and lack of social engagement.⁵⁰

Heroes and models

The teetotallers obviously had to work hard to make their life-style and morality attractive to men. Men seemed to be the particular target of the missionary spirit of the campaigners. Women were certainly regarded as valuable ‘amazons’ in the teetotal army – they founded their own associations but could also join mixed societies. Female teetotallers also gave lectures in which they urged mothers to give their children an upbringing free of alcohol, but according to the male campaigners, women already had a natural compassion for the weak and the ‘power of love’.⁵¹ This seemed to imply therefore, that it was men who must be object of recruitment. A militant rhetoric and a heroic self-image might help do so. The new generation of campaigners tried to give the new life-style of social engagement and teetotalism that they preached a decisive and militant image. In this they used

49 ‘Een matig gebruiker’, letter to *Schager Courant* 3 April 1898.

50 Sara Bouterse, ‘Eenzamen’, *Elseviers Maandschrift* 18 (1908) vol. 35, 192.

51 Account of the second Catholic congress for the fight against alcoholism, *Nieuwe Tilburgsche Courant* 21 August 1907.

Christian images and symbols that were imbued with decision, militancy and heroism – a type of ‘muscular Christianity’ that should suggest that it had nothing to do with anything ‘effeminate’.⁵²

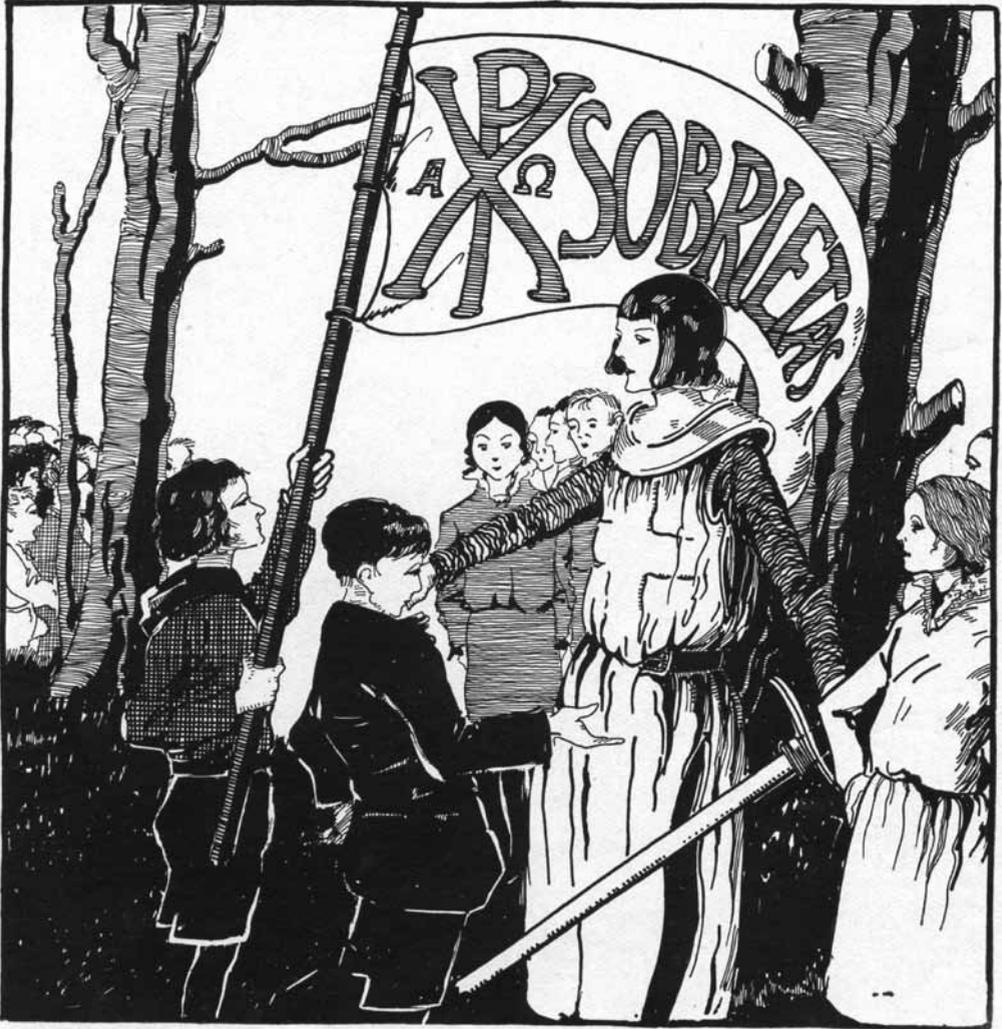
For many teetotallers Jesus was the shining example. While the campaigners around 1875 spoke in Old Testament terms about sin and punishment, at the beginning of the twentieth century love of one’s fellow man came more to the fore in their rhetoric. During a propaganda meeting for teetotallers in North Holland in 1897 one of the speakers told the story of a rich man. He looked out of his window one day and saw a poor wretch dressed in rags go by – a drunk. The rich man stood up and drew the curtains closed. A heartless action, thought the speaker. ‘Our poor fellow men have the right to decent treatment’ too. The man should have gone outside and helped the poor soul: that would have been true love and concern expressed not in words but in ‘deeds of self-sacrifice’. Following Jesus Christ, according to Schermerhorn, it was the duty of everyone ‘to return the lost sheep in our society to the fold’.⁵³

The crusaders of the Middle Ages were also held up as examples for the teetotaller. In the Catholic campaign these warriors of the true belief from long ago played a central role. In 1895 the socially aware priest Alfons Ariëns founded the Crusader Society for men, a Catholic temperance organisation. In lectures Ariëns talked about his work and tried to recruit new crusaders. The young adolescent Gerard Brom was one of his converts. This speaker, in Brom’s words, ‘made a direct appeal to our conscience and asked the upper classes to take a lead in teetotalism – with the result that the pastor and the mayor quickly slipped away during the break’. After the break Ariëns himself made a round through the hall to recruit new members for his Crusader Society, and there, said Brom, ‘He himself dubbed me a crusader knight’.⁵⁴

52 In a similar fashion the soldiers of the Salvation Army also tried to give their social Christianity a ‘masculine’ image. See e.g. Pamela Walker, *Pulling the Devil’s Kingdom Down: The Salvation Army in Victorian Britain* (Berkeley, London 2001).

53 S.n., *Schager Courant* 12 December 1897.

54 Op. cit., Gemma Blok, ‘Van “zedelijke verheffing” tot “harm reduction”. Verslavingszorg in Arnhem en Nijmegen, 1900-2000’, in: Joost Vijselaar et al., *Van streek. Honderd jaar geestelijke gezondheidszorg in Zuid-West-Gelderland* (Utrecht 2007) 152-192, in particular 154: ‘[...] sloeg hij mij eigenhandig tot Kruisridder’.



The Sobrietas-knight welcomes a new member into the organization.

Katholiek Documentatie Centrum, Nijmegen.

Young Catholic teetotallers liked to dress as crusaders during events and parades. The movement overflowed with militant rhetoric. In the posters, pamphlets and songs of the Catholic teetotallers the brave knights set the enemy (King Alcohol) to fight. Young Catholic teetotallers sang songs such as:

We're all vigilant fellows
Youth Group members we
And with our flag a-flying
We go singing through the streets [...]

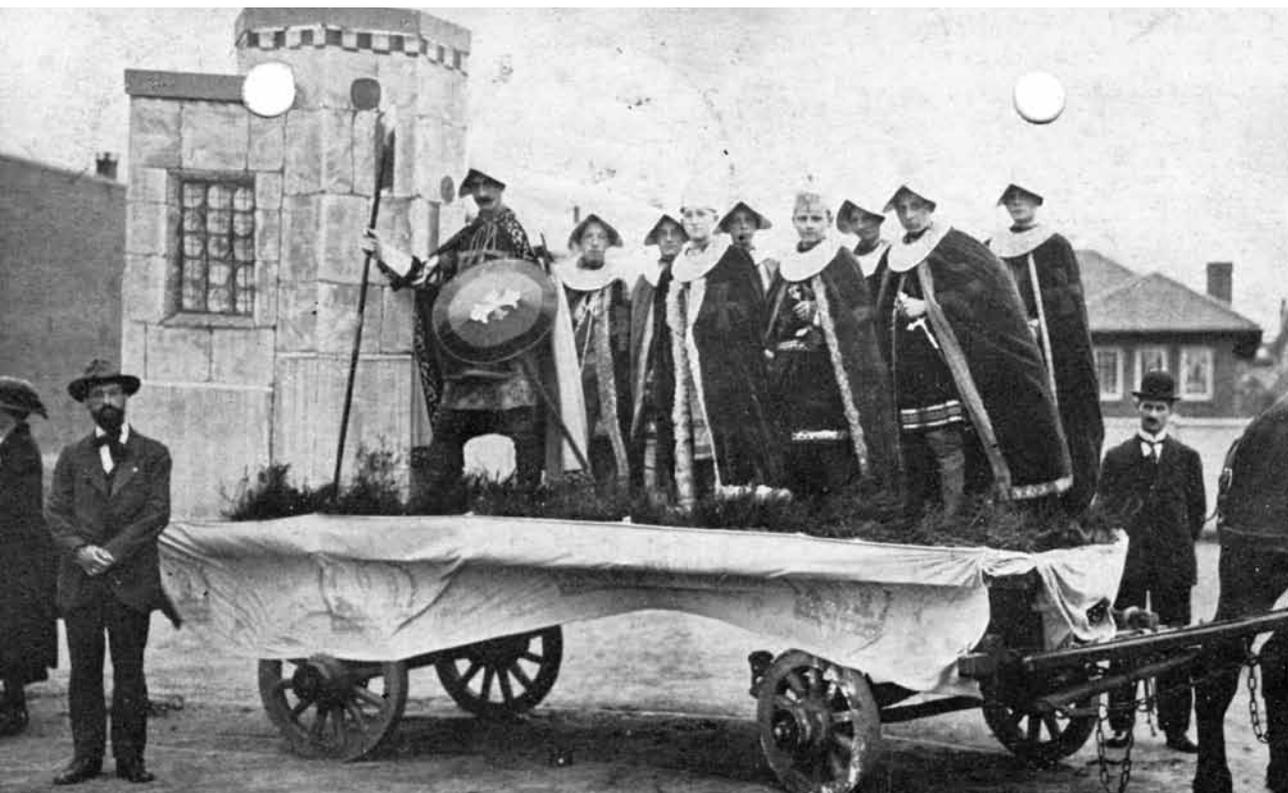
We always march so bravely
The drummers in the lead
King Alcohol must make way
He flies away at speed [...].⁵⁵

In addition to the Catholic crusaders there were also the Protestant orientated members of the International Order of the Good Templars (IOGT), an association of teetotallers originating in America that arrived in the Netherlands at the end of the nineteenth century. The Good Templars sounds rather strange, bringing to mind the saying 'to drink like a Templar'. The name Good Templar alludes to the origin of the mediaeval Order of Knights Templar when the members had to take an oath of poverty and sobriety. The members of the IOGT described themselves as 'A people's army of brothers and sisters and children who are fully determined to free themselves and mankind from the yoke of alcoholism'.⁵⁶ The Templar songs were just as full of militant chivalric heroism as those of the Catholic crusaders. The Templars fought alcohol abuse with fire and sword; they protected women and children from alcoholics, but also helped the drunkard himself.⁵⁷ Teetotallers from the Salvation Army, the evangelical Christian aid organisation that came to the Netherlands about 1900, developed their own particular mixture of Christian and military symbolism that also served to give their socially active realisation of belief a masculine image.

55 Dols, *Geesel der eeuw*, 53, 'Wij zijn allen wakk're jongens, / Leden van den Jongensbond. En wij trekken met ons vaandel, / Zingend de straten rond [...]' and 'Wij marcheeren altijd dapper, / Trommelslagers voorop. / Koning Alcohol moet wijken. / En hij vluchtte al in galop [...]'.

56 Auguste Forel, *De internationale orde van Goede Tempeliers. Een Maatschappelijk hervormster. Haar doel, grondslagen, organisatie en arbeid* (Amersfoort 1929) 2, 'Een volksleger van broeders en zusters en kinderen, dat vast besloten is zichzelf en de menschheid van het juk van het alcoholisme te bevrijden'.

57 IOGT, *Van leed en strijd*. 42 *Liederen met pianobegeleiding* (Zwolle s.a.).



▲
Members of the Catholic Boys Club, a Temperance
Organizations, dressed up as medieval crusaders.
Katholiek Documentatie Centrum, Nijmegen.

Putting words in to practice: saving alcoholics

In songs and texts teetotallers liked to present themselves as men of action. They distanced themselves from the temperance campaigners of the earlier generation who declared that drink was injurious, but were unwilling to 'put their money where their mouth was': they preferred to sit at home or at the society to talk about the drink problem, enjoying a glass of good wine rather than get their hands dirty in the street and show true solidarity with the drunkard. Indeed many teetotallers made good their words and brought love of their fellow men into practice. Calvinist teetotallers, for example made a 'pub crawl': on Saturday evening they went round the public houses (the Devil's pharmacies) to talk to drinkers and to convince them that they were going down the wrong road. Others visited prisoners who had got into difficulties through alcohol abuse. For teetotaller and minister Carel Steven Adama van Scheltema the work in London of William Booth, the founder of the Salvation Army, was a source of inspiration.⁵⁸ In 1864 in Egelantierstraat Adama van Scheltema opened the Koning Willemshuis, a community centre for the people. Bible readings and courses were held, but it was also a refuge for tramps and alcoholics. The staff of the Koning Willemshuis tried to fight against the alcohol abuse in the Jordaan, a poor district in Amsterdam, by means of home visits. An important part of this work was done by people who themselves had been saved 'from intoxication and misery'.⁵⁹

The Good Templars were just as active in saving alcoholics whom they regarded as sick. There were also many former drinkers who were members of their association who can be seen as the forerunners of the later Alcoholics Anonymous. During closed sessions for their members 'moral speeches' were given.⁶⁰ Here drinkers could meet each other and tell their story in a safe environment.⁶¹ The Templars also checked on each other. If someone was having difficulties a fellow Templar would keep an eye on him and keep him out of the pub. The brotherhood had to be an alternative for the 'false' comradeship among pub regulars. Anyone who continually ignored his pledge of abstinence could be expelled from the brotherhood.⁶² During meetings

58 Adama van Scheltema translated Booth's classic work, *In Darkest England and the Way out* (London 1890), into Dutch with the title *In Englands donkerste wildernissen en de weg ter ontkoming* (Amsterdam 1895).

59 Stadsarchief Amsterdam, archive number 953, 'Archief van de Christelijke Wijkvereniging, later Vereniging voor Christelijk Maatschappelijke

Arbeid Koning Willemshuis', inv. nr. 97. Brochure 1863-1963.

60 Van der Stel, *Drinken, drank en dronkenschap*, 232.

61 S.n., 'Onder de menschen. Drankzucht II. De eerste voorwaarden voor genezing', *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 8 March 1913.

62 William L. White, *Slaying the Dragon: The History of Addiction Treatment in America* (Bloomington, Ill. 1998) 16.

sometimes there were heated discussions about the fate of members who were suspected of ‘violating their pledge’.⁶³

Moreover teetotallers were essential for the success of the care for alcoholics that from 1909 began in a few dozen out-patient ‘medical consultation bureaus for alcoholism’ throughout the country. These were financed by private donations and local government subsidies. Later the money came principally from the Ministry of Justice in the form of a rehabilitation subsidy, but without the teetotallers who were prepared to staff these bureaus (often in the beginning as volunteers or with very little remuneration) the new institutions would have been unable to function.⁶⁴

In most refuges for alcoholics and consultation bureaus the work was done chiefly by men, and that is notable because at that time the daily care for the poor, sick and outcasts was seen as typically women’s work. In this period the aid for alcoholics was scarcely medicalised and was mainly of a social nature. In fact it was a specialised form of care for the poor. Practical support and house visits were the most important foundations of the work – occupations that at the time were regarded as suitable principally for women. Women were supposed to have a natural affinity for it. They were more virtuous and more civilised, and more patient too, and they had more capacity for empathy. Nursing the sick, visiting the poor, giving philanthropic help, all counted as women’s work around 1900.⁶⁵ Now there appeared a group of men with a caring disposition, and not just priests and ministers. Teetotallers who worked in alcoholism care were a mixed group, including teachers, prison inspectors, and house painters. These men claimed part of the social care in civil society that in this period was growing in importance, not only by presenting their care work in an heroic and chivalrous light, but also by labelling alcoholism as a ‘male sickness’. Just as with venereal disease, for instance, both doctors and psychiatrists, as well as temperance campaigners, around 1900 considered alcoholism as a complaint primarily suffered by men. Some linked this to the male nature: men were more selfish than women and tended to live it up. The man needed romance, battle, danger, change, and the society of the day offered little in the way of these, so he must seek them in intoxication.⁶⁶ Due to this male nature of the complaint and also the sinful places and degenerate forms of behaviour that accompanied the illness, alcoholism could best be treated by other men. In the social movements

63 A. Don, ‘De beide orden van goede tempeliers en hereenigd’, *De Wegwijzer* 34 (1923) 261-267, 265.

64 G. Blok, *Ziek of zwak. Geschiedenis van de verslavingszorg in Nederland* (Amsterdam 2011) 69-105.

65 See also: Geertje Boschma, *The Rise of Mental Health Nursing: A History of Psychiatric Care in*

Dutch Asylums, 1890-1920 (Amsterdam 2003);

Annemieke van Drenth and Fransisca de Haan, *The Rise of Caring Power: Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler in Britain and the Netherlands* (Amsterdam 1999); Piet de Rooij, *Republiek der Rivaliteiten. Nederland sinds 1813* (Amsterdam 2002) 108.

66 S.n., *Het Centrum* 29 November 1919.

against prostitution, such as the Midnight Mission, there were also men who tried to dissuade other men from improper behaviour, in this case visiting prostitutes.

On the other side of the coin, care for prostitutes themselves could best be done by women, declared pioneers such as Elizabeth Fry and Josephine Butler, who also had a great deal of influence in the Netherlands. They used ideas of femininity as a link between the socially active, socially motivated woman on the one hand and on the other 'fallen women' of easy virtue in need of help. They fought their way into a new area of social care for prostitutes by making use of the Victorian ideas on the caring nature of women. Due to their caring nature, which until then had manifested itself primarily in care for the family, women would be supremely suitable to take on this new form of social care. The temperance campaigners used similar tactics about masculinity to claim the new area of care for alcoholics. Saving alcoholics in this pioneer phase was chiefly men's work with, in the background, the idea that this was a male sickness and it demanded a firm, none too gentle approach.

The male teetotallers at the consultation bureaus did indeed deal firmly with their visitors. They did not hesitate to use heavily emotional blackmail. According to their own descriptions of their method of work, they pointed out to the drinker that every glass he took was the same as stealing an egg from his sick daughter. They emphasised the grief his aged parents felt about him as they lay dying. They argued fiercely that his children must miss 'all the sunshine' in their lives.⁶⁷ Alcoholics must change from weaklings into 'real' men who accepted their social responsibility and kept their promises. According to a journalist who was a sympathiser, Tonie Vleeming, the director of the consultation bureau for alcoholism in Rotterdam, told a client: 'Drinking workers do not think, and the reverse is true, Dirksen. You mustn't *want* to anymore, that is what it boils down to, to have clear head again. Don't you think so, Dirksen?' The man mumbled remorsefully that Vleeming was right; his head came up 'weakly'. 'You see,' continued Vleeming, 'it has to be done with here and now!' And he banged his fist on the table. Dirksen started up from his indolence, whereupon Vleeming concluded: 'Completely finished, do you understand? A man's a man and a word's a word, Dirksen'.⁶⁸

Underneath this strict exterior however, the helpers went to work far more gently. They were principally occupied with arranging financial and material help for poor alcoholics and their families. The women and children certainly were not forgotten. Campaigners arranged furniture,

67 Blok, *Ziek of zwak*, 82-84.

68 'Onder de Menschen. Drankzucht VIII. De Biecht', *Nieuwe Rotterdamse Courant* 17 March 1913. 'Drinkende arbeiders denken niet, en omgekeerd, Dirksen. Je moet niet meer willen, daar komt 't op

aan, om weer 'n klare kop te krijgen. Dunkt je óók niet, Dirksen?' and 'Zie je', [...], 'nu moet 't uit zijn hier en ginder!' 'Helemaal uit hoor, versta je me goed? Een man een man, een woord een woord, Dirksen'.

groceries, clothing, shoes, work and local authority support for their clients. In Amsterdam the consultation bureau lent considerable interest-free sums to alcoholics' families to keep them out of the hands of money-lenders who made grateful use of these desperate people. Alcoholics deserved support and compassion, thought Van der Woude, because often they had suffered from their birth and upbringing. According to him, realising this must lead to thankfulness and solidarity with these addicts. Time and again he and his fellow teetotallers argued that the drunkard was not a bad person who fully deserved to suffer, but a patient who deserved support. Thus the care afforded to alcoholics, according to the teetotallers, should be an alternative to the social exclusion and criminalisation of drunkards. The teetotallers worked hard to lay a moral foundation for the care and treatment of addicts that in the course of the twentieth century would take further shape in the Netherlands.

Conclusion

As this article hopes to demonstrate, the change from the repressive approach to drunkards at end of the nineteenth century to a new focus on helping and reforming alcoholics at the beginning of the twentieth century was accompanied by two differing variants on 'chivalrous' masculinity. The social-liberal campaigners of the nineteenth century such as the Temperance Society, protected women and children from alcoholics, and also the citizen who wanted no disturbance of the peace in public places, by political pressure. They put their idea of masculinity – controlled, protective, decisive and militant – in the service of state politics. They were also idealistic and displayed a more 'feeling' sort of manliness in respect of their compassion for the innocent wives and children of drunkards. However they expressed this compassion in a somewhat distant fashion. They reserved to themselves the right to enjoy a moderate glass and delegated their interventions in the drink problem to the state. Their rhetoric of chivalrous masculinity justified their new 'social' turn to classical liberalism that traditionally rejects state intervention.

The chivalry of the teetotallers was much more personal. Self-sacrifice was central to their ideals, a project of self-reform that was to serve the call for care and discipline for alcoholics in civil society. In order to win followers and status for their drastic life-style and progressive social ethic, they translated these into terms of masculinity. The abstinence from all alcoholic drink made a man extra manly, they argued. Self-discipline was heroic and it was brave and strong to express love of one's fellow man in deeds and self-sacrifice. A real man had the courage to leave drink alone and not go along with the social pressure to drink. He dared to contravene social conventions. A man must be as a true knight, in the service of justice, put himself forward in the fight. He must save the drunkard and protect the weak in society. Their heroic rhetoric of chivalrous manliness was instrumental in this process: it served to recruit

men for the difficult work of the salvation of drunkards, and to remove the suspicion that men with compassion for the sick were effeminate.

Despite these efforts, the negative image of teetotallers would prove to be persistent. For instance, in his book *Op het breukvlak van twee eeuwen* (1967) [*On the Watershed of Two Eras: Europe in 1900* (1978)] the historian Jan Romein has somewhat jokingly described teetotal movement as one of the ‘little beliefs’ that were to be found around 1900, next to such things as spiritualism, homeopathy and anthroposophy. Romein put teetotallers in the same category as ‘radiationists’ and the ‘barefooted’, extravagant people who were chiefly concerned with themselves.⁶⁹ Sometimes teetotallers were indeed occupied by such exotic seeming things as nudism, spiritualism and vegetarianism and sometimes made themselves noticeable. Jacob van Rees for example, professor of histology at the University of Amsterdam and chairman of the General Dutch Teetotallers Union, founded in 1897, regularly went around barefoot, with a long beard, no hat on his wild mass of curls and clad in a black cape.⁷⁰

Most teetotallers however, stood with both their decently shod feet firmly on the ground. They were certainly ascetic, but like many of their contemporaries, they combined a sober life-style with great social idealism; they embodied a new emphasis on altruism and doing good, a life in the service of humanitarian ideals.⁷¹ The personal was for them politics: social engagement, tolerance, and solidarity with their less fortunate fellows were the main precepts of their ideology. Their concept of masculinity was ambiguous. The teetotallers were gentle in their concern for women, children and drunkards, they were susceptible to the suffering of others and emotional in their public appearances, but they were also hard – hard on themselves, and also hard on the ‘moderates’ who had given shape to the temperance campaign in the nineteenth century. ◀

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69 Jan Romein, *Op het breukvlak van twee eeuwen* (second impression; Amsterdam 1976) 646.

70 Gemma Blok, ‘“Dronkenschap zonder alcohol”. Het bevlogen leven van drankbestrijder prof. dr. Jacob van Rees’, in: Amanda Kluveld et al. (eds.),

Genezen. Opstellen bij het afscheid van Marijke Gijswijt-Hofstra (Amsterdam 2005) 118-127.

71 Henk De Smaele, ‘Asceticism in Modern Social thought’, in: Evert Peeters, Leen Van Molle and Kaat Wils, *Beyond Pleasure: Cultures of Modern Asceticism* (New York 2011) 106-121.