

DE AFSCHAFFERS

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39

RIJKSUNIVERSITEIT GRONINGEN

DE AFSCHAFFERS

Publieke opinie, organisatie en politiek

in Nederland 1840-1880

Proefschrift

ter verkrijging van het doctoraat in de
Letteren
aan de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen
op gezag van de
Rector Magnificus, dr. F. Zwarts,
in het openbaar te verdedigen op
donderdag 15 februari 2007
om 14:45 uur

door

Maartje Johanna Janse
geboren op 27 februari 1976
te Göttingen, Duitsland

1 Promotores: prof. dr. H. te Velde
2 prof. dr. W.E. Krul
3
4 Beoordelingscommissie: prof. dr. R.A.M. Aerts
5 prof. dr. K. van Berkel
6 prof. dr. P. de Rooy
7
8
9
10
11
12
13
14
15
16
17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30 DE AFSCHAFFERS maakt deel uit van het onderzoeksprogramma
31 'Parlementair en partijdig. Politieke cultuur en opvatting van politiek in
32 Nederland en 'West-'Europa in de 19de en 20ste eeuw'. Dit programma
33 wordt gefinancierd door de Nederlandse Organisatie voor Wetenschappelijk
34 Onderzoek (NWO) en de Rijksuniversiteit Groningen.
35 Deze uitgave kwam tot stand met steun van de J.E. Jurriaanse Stichting,
36 het Professor Van Winter Fonds, de Stichting Dr Hendrik Muller's
37 Vaderlandsch Fonds en de M.A.O.C. Gravin van Bylandt Stichting.
38 ISBN 978 90 284 2218 6
39

INHOUD

1		
2		
3		
4		
5		
6		
7		
8		
9		
10	Inleiding	9
11	De afschaffers en hun verenigingen	9
12	Heruitvinding van politiek	13
13	Politiek, publieke opinie en protestvormen	17
14	Verenigingsgeschiedenis en de politieke cultuur-benadering	21
15		
16	1. Naar buitenlands voorbeeld	
17	<i>Het ontstaan van drankbestrijdings- en</i>	
18	<i>antislavernijbewegingen in Nederland rond 1840</i>	27
19		
20	INTERNATIONALE CONTEXT	27
21	Internationale vergelijking of transfer-perspectief?	31
22	EEN NEDERLANDSE DRANKBESTRIJDINGSBEWEGING	33
23	Het radicale van de afschaffers	35
24	Drachten	38
25	Utrecht	39
26	Rotterdam	41
27	Amsterdam	44
28	Een nationale vereniging	46
29	EEN NEDERLANDSE ANTISLAVERNIJBEWEGING	51
30	Britse 'zendelingen'	54
31	Strijd rond de oprichting van een landelijke vereniging	58
32	Concurrerende antislavernijbewegingen	62
33	Reactie van koning en regering	67
34	Een nieuw perspectief: vereniging	70
35		
36		
37		
38		
39		

1	2. Een voorzichtig experiment	
2	<i>De Nederlandse antislavernijbeweging 1844-1863</i>	73
3		
4	PROTEST TUSSEN DRUKPERS EN PRESSIEGROEP	73
5	‘Een krachtige kern van Nederlandsche <i>abolitionisten</i> ’	76
6	Petitioneren?	81
7	Staathuishoudkunde en slavernij	84
8	Nog geen afschaffing	88
9	ABOLITIONISME NA DE NEGERHUT	91
10	Christelijk abolitionisme	97
11	Betrokken bij het lijden van anderen	100
12	Vrouwen tegen de slavernij	103
13	Ruimte voor gevoel	114
14	EEN SLEPENDE KWESTIE	119
15	Geen volkszaak	124
16		
17		
18	3. Afschaffers tussen onthouding en wetswijziging	
19	<i>De zoektocht van de drankbestrijders 1842-1882</i>	129
20		
21	POGINGEN TOT PERSOONSHERVORMING	129
22	Overdrijving en respect	132
23	Afvallige afschaffers	136
24	POLITIEK ALS OPLOSSING?	139
25	Prohibitionisme binnen de NVASD	142
26	Geen staatstaak	145
27	Een nieuwe koers	147
28	Een nieuwe organisatievorm?	152
29	Een langzame ontknoping	157
30	DE DRANKWET	158
31	De Volksbond, Vereeniging tegen Drankmisbruik	158
32	Eindelijk een wet	162
33	Het einde van de NVASD	167
34		
35		
36		
37		
38		
39		

1	4. De lijdende Javaan en de zieke politiek	
2	<i>De kritiek van de Maatschappij tot Nut van</i>	
3	<i>den Javaan 1866-1877</i>	173
4		
5	WILLEM BOSCH, 'PERSOONLIJK IN DIT DRAMA BETROKKEN'	173
6	Overdaad schaadt	177
7	PROTEST TEGEN DE BATIG-SLOT-POLITIEK	180
8	De oprichting van de Maatschappij tot Nut van den Javaan	183
9	Onbedoeld een vereniging van modernen en liberalen	187
10	POLITIEK OPNIEUW GEDEFINIEERD	191
11	'Het moet anders worden met ons'	195
12	Protest in de praktijk	198
13	Politiek of niet?	202
14	Morele en ethische politiek	205
15		
16		
17	5. Ongeduldige jonge mannen	
18	<i>Het Anti-dagbladzegel-verbond 1867-1869</i>	211
19		
20	KRITIEK	211
21	Avontuurlijke politiek	213
22	Angstige politiek	217
23	ACTIE!	222
24	Strijdbare liberalen	228
25	Kritiek op het Anti-dagbladzegel-verbond	236
26	SUCCES	239
27	Drie carrières	242
28	Een nieuwe voorstelling van politiek	246
29		
30		
31	6. De schoolstrijd	
32	<i>Verenigingen als politieke strijdorganisaties 1860-1879</i>	251
33		
34	ONDERWIJSKWESTIE EN SCHOOLSTRIJD	251
35		
36	STELLINGNAME EN POLARISATIE 1860-1869	255
37	Actie-reactie in het verenigingsleven	255
38	27 oktober 1869: de stellingen betrokken	264
39		

1	MOBILISATIE EN POLITISERING 1870-1879	272
2	De christelijk-nationale beweging	272
3	De liberale beweging	276
4	Politieke partijvorming	283
5	Institutionalisering van verschillen	288
6		
7	Conclusie	293
8	Ontwikkeling van de single-issue organisatie	294
9	Ontwikkeling van de voorstelling van politiek	303
10		
11	Dankwoord	311
12		
13	Noten	313
14		
15	Literatuur en bronnen	365
16		
17	Register	389
18		
19	Summary	396
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
29		
30		
31		
32		
33		
34		
35		
36		
37		
38		
39		

1
2
3 SUMMARY
4
5
6
7
8
9
10
11

12 THE ABOLITIONISTS

13 *Public opinion, organization, and politics in the Netherlands 1840-1880*

14 This book describes the efforts of 19th-century Dutch citizens who joined to-
15 gether to abolish such diverse evils as slavery, alcohol abuse, exploitation of the
16 inhabitants of the Dutch East Indies, taxes on newspapers, irregular school
17 attendance, and the liberal Education Law. These ‘abolitionists’ – here used in
18 the wider sense of people striving to abolish an abuse – founded single-issue
19 organizations to influence public opinion and press the government. To date,
20 their actions have received little scholarly attention, perhaps because these
21 movements often remained small (this book examines associations varying
22 from 150 to 2500 to 14,000 members). Furthermore, they were often not very
23 outspoken and did not resemble the colorful mass reform movements of British
24 and North-American history. Nevertheless, they provide insights into 19th-
25 century political culture, allowing us to investigate the political participation
26 of citizens as well as their changing attitudes towards politics, particularly be-
27 tween 1840 and 1880, the period directly prior to the establishment of Dutch
28 political parties.

29 There were no political organizations in the Netherlands in 1840. In reaction
30 to the revolutionary period of the late 18th century, society had turned away
31 from politics. Social and cultural societies dominated associational life. By
32 contrast, a glance at the many political organizations existing by 1880 reveals
33 that in the intervening decades politics had become in vogue again. To explain
34 this development, historians often point to the liberal constitution of 1848.
35 This constitution was a necessary condition for the expansion of political par-
36 ticipation, but not a sufficient one. The question remains: what inspired people
37 to make use of the new tools for criticizing their government? Studying the
38 abolitionists and their associations not only sheds light on this question of
39 motivation, but also offers insights into the changing nature of politics during
these decades.

Studies of Dutch 19th-century politics have mainly adopted a party-politi-
cal perspective, searching for political currents and ‘proto-parties’, without
regard for the peculiar character of political life before party politics. This
book reveals that during the phase of ‘parliamentary politics’ – in which the

1 political affairs of the nation were almost exclusively discussed and settled in
2 parliament – private citizens did play a role in the political process, but their
3 conception of politics and strategies for exercising influence differed from those
4 of later generations.

4 Around 1840, the concept of ‘general interest’ prevailed. Public opinion
5 was perceived as a monolithic entity that at times opposed government to
6 point out the nation’s well-understood interest. This idea inspired citizens to
7 organize in ‘general’ organizations, open to people of all religious and political
8 backgrounds. Secondly, government and parliament were considered ‘politics’,
9 but public opinion was believed to be outside the political domain. Typically,
10 public debate on political issues was not carried out during election periods:
11 elections were about the personal qualities of candidates, not about issues.
12 Finally, only those who shed their social identity and spoke on behalf of the
13 general interest were accepted in the public debate on issues. Mixing politics
14 with personal identity and ‘passion’ was considered an unrespectable and even
15 dangerous practice that could lead to revolution.

14 Although the abolitionists mostly shared the outlook on politics prevalent
15 during the parliamentary politics era, they contributed nevertheless to the
16 transformation of the conception of politics and of political life. To get citizens
17 involved, they argued that it was an individual’s Christian and civic duty to
18 intervene to relieve the suffering of others. They used ‘humanitarian narratives’
19 of the suffering of slaves, children of drunkards, and exploited Javanese. The
20 emotional reaction to these stories inspired people to political protest. The
21 personal relationship the abolitionists forged to social abuses, the new reper-
22 toire of collective action they introduced and developed, and the resulting new
23 attitude towards politics transformed political life. Together, the case studies
24 give an account of this transformation process.

24 The first Dutch political single-issue organizations, those against alco-
25 holic abuse and slavery, emerged around 1840. Foreign examples were of cru-
26 cial importance. The British Antislavery movement and the North-American
27 Temperance movement inspired and empowered the Dutch abolitionists, as
28 they proved that reform organizations could bring about change in public
29 opinion, and, more importantly, legislative reform. The reconstruction of the
30 founding of the local temperance organizations that preceded the *Nederland-
31 sche Vereeniging tot Afschaffing van Sterken Drank* (Netherlands Society for
32 the Abolishment of Strong Liquor, 1842-1899) shows that ordinary men and
33 women had heard of foreign temperance initiatives and took action to imple-
34 ment them in the Netherlands. The temperance movement was regarded as
35 radical, because of the pledge to abstain from strong liquor. Taking the pledge
36 and refusing drinks when offered were considered public protests against a
37 social and political problem. Personal behaviour thus acquired political sig-
38 nificance.

36 During the first decade after the establishment of the national temperance
37 organization in 1842, it was thought that pledges of abstinence, combined
38 with the spreading of shocking humanitarian narratives on the consequences
39 of alcohol abuse, were the best means to put an end to drinking. The news from

1 the United States of the Maine Law – prohibiting the production and sales of
2 alcohol (1851) – provided an important impulse for turning towards politics.
3 A decades-long debate ensued on whether the association should become a
4 prohibitionist single-issue organization, where the pledge was no longer re-
5 quired for membership. The members hesitated to adopt the change, and the
6 association developed into a hybrid organization, which nevertheless succeeded
7 in obtaining an Alcoholic Beverages Law (1881), restricting the sale of liquor
8 and making public drunkenness an offense. The fact the Netherlands Society
9 for the Abolishment of Strong Liquor politicized after its apolitical start is
10 not only typical for the turn towards politics that can be observed in society
11 at large, but implied that its members, many of whom were disenfranchised,
12 suddenly found themselves involved in politics. This development meant that
13 women disappeared into the background of the movement.

14 The first antislavery organizations date from 1840-1842 and were inspired
15 by the visits to the Netherlands of Quakers and abolitionists from the Brit-
16 ish and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, attempting to export their successful
17 antislavery movement. Although the British community in Rotterdam was
18 enthusiastic and several antislavery meetings were held, it proved impossible
19 for the orthodox Protestants to co-operate with the liberal abolitionists. The
20 two groups organised competing antislavery-petitions. At the same time the
21 Rotterdam Ladies Anti-Slavery Committee presented the first all-women peti-
22 tion to the king.

23 From 1843 to 1848 an elitist association, publishing a cautious antislavery
24 periodical called *Bijdragen*, was successful in ridding the antislavery cause of
25 the radical image it had acquired from British antislavery actions. After an
26 initial phase of inspiration and identification with the British movement, this
27 organization distanced itself, for example, by not following the repeated ur-
28 gings of British abolitionists to organize petitions. The same is true for the
29 Nederlandsche Maatschappij ter Bevordering van de Afschaffing der Slavernij
30 (Netherlands Society for the Abolition of Slavery, active 1853-1862) which
31 pursued 'Christian emancipation', but hesitated to make antislavery into a broad
32 popular movement. By contrast, a few small youth and women's organizati-
33 ons maintained contacts with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society
34 and displayed a more emotional style. However, on the whole, the antislavery
35 movement remained calm, cautious, and respectable, a conscious strategy in
36 reaction to the theatrical style of British reform movements and one suited to
37 the Dutch political culture of the time.

38 The forced agricultural labor system was another evil attacked by aboli-
39 tionists. The Maatschappij tot Nut van den Javaan (Society for the Benefit of
40 the Javanese, 1866-1877) founded by Willem Bosch, the former head of the
41 Military Medical Service in the East Indies, had a somewhat more emotional
42 style than that of earlier abolitionist groups. Bosch succeeded in turning his
43 indignation at the suffering he had witnessed in the East Indies into a general
44 outcry against a profit-dominated colonial policy. Around 2500 Dutch joined
45 him to declare publicly that this policy was not carried out in the name of the
46 Dutch people as a whole. They demanded the implementation of a new ethical

1 policy based on Christian morality. While in its first years the organization
2 claimed it was apolitical, now that it had constructed an ideal of ethical politics,
3 it presented itself as a political organization. A conception of politics based
4 on morality increased the possibilities for political participation considerably:
5 anyone could speak out on political matters, as he or she did not need to know
6 the details of the issue at hand, only what was right and wrong. Politics, from
7 this perspective, became more accessible.

8 The movement protesting the high taxes on newspapers and periodicals also
9 shows a remarkable change in people's attitudes towards politics. 1866 saw a
10 major crisis in government: the cabinet, which had lost the confidence of parlia-
11 ment, did not resign because it had the support of the king. This constitutional
12 crisis unleashed a wave of criticism of politics. The failure of the politicians
13 provided an opportunity for single-issue organizations to reprimand them with
14 more authority and self-confidence. The ambitious young lawyers who found-
15 ed the Anti-dagbladzegel-verbond (Anti-Stamp-Duty League, 1867-1869)
16 certainly had an air of arrogance about them that would have been unimagin-
17 able in the 1840s. They were inspired by the British Anti-Corn Law League,
18 much admired because of its business-like organizational structure, impressive
19 fundraising abilities, and uncompromising attitude. Analyzing the position of
20 the founders of the Anti-dagbladzegel-verbond in Rotterdam reveals that they
21 were part of a new generation of liberals, whose voices were heard in national
22 politics as well. They had lost patience with the slow progress of their predeces-
23 sors' reform agenda and saw the ad-hoc, single-issue organization as the ideal
24 tool to speed up the reform process. This stance had remarkable implications:
25 they did not hesitate to publicly present their League as a political organiza-
26 tion, which also meant that women were not welcome. The organization had
27 become part of the political process and a player on the political field. When,
28 after only two years, the League was dissolved because the stamp tax had been
29 abolished by the liberal government, the League was credited by the Minister
30 of Finance for the service it had rendered to the nation.

31 The final chapter describes the activities of five different associations which
32 participated in the bitter controversy between the advocates of 'neutral' schools
33 and those of 'schools with the Bible'. By concentrating on what happened in
34 associational life instead of parliament, it becomes clear that these organizations
35 not only reflected the positions and interests of different groups in society, but
36 – by competing with each other – also induced and accelerated the processes
37 of polarization and politicization. The Vereeniging voor Christelijk-Natio-
38 naal Schoolonderwijs (Association for Christian National Education, founded
39 1860) mobilized support and raised funds for orthodox-Protestant education,
40 but its propaganda annoyed liberal advocates for neutral schools, who decided
41 to found their own Vereeniging Volksonderwijs (Association for Popular Edu-
42 cation, founded 1866). Public support for the liberal Education Law of 1857
43 by this organization and the influential Maatschappij tot Nut van 't Algemeen
44 (Society for the General Good, founded 1784) in turn motivated the law's
45 adversaries to found new organizations, such as the Antischoolwetverbond
46 (Anti-Education-Law League, founded 1872), which prepared the way for

1 the founding of the first political party. The competition between these orga-
2 nizations fueled the 'school struggle'. Partisan politics were transferred from
3 parliament to civil society. By this time, issues were playing a central role in
4 elections, marking a transition from parliamentary to party politics.
5 From 1870 onwards, single-issue organizations contributed to the emer-
6 gence of party politics. But it was the founding of political parties that gave
7 the social and political divisions permanence. 'General' associations lost their
8 effectiveness, as the short-lived and tumultuous history of the Nederlandsch
9 Schoolverbond (Netherlands School League, 1869-1875) indicates. The chan-
10 ging political landscape, lamented at the time by liberals, and later famously
11 denounced by Jürgen Habermas as the collapse of the public sphere, exposed the
12 illusion of unity in a society defined by inequality. The emergence of partisan
13 politics was an important step in the process of democratization. Those who
14 had been excluded from the political debate could now manifest themselves
15 in the public sphere in their own organizations and thus construct their own
16 collective identities. The orthodox-Protestants, Catholics, and socialists went
17 on to use the repertoire of collective action the abolitionists had developed for a
18 new type of politics: the politics of recognition of their own group identity. The
19 abolitionists had helped to create a link between social identity and politics.

17
18
19
20
21
22
23
24
25
26
27
28
29
30
31
32
33
34
35
36
37
38
39