

BEYOND PILLARIZATION

*A political-economic perspective on the
Protestant workers' association Patrimonium,
1890-1911*



Jasmin Palamar (4267532)
Bachelor Eindwerkstuk
Scriptiedocent: Robert-Jan Wille
6 april 2018
Aantal woorden: 14413

The photo on the cover depicts Patrimonium's union board as of 1903.

Individuals mentioned in this thesis: sitting down, the second from left to right, is Klaas Kater, honorary chairman at the time. Right of him sits Pieter van Vliet, chairman of Patrimonium. Next to him sit Jan van der Molen and Syb Talma respectively, both influential men within Patrimonium and members of the Anti-Revolutionary Party.

Source: Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium', *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor het jaar 1904* (1904).

Abstract

The Protestant Dutch Workers' Union Patrimonium is traditionally described from an ideological point of view. Moreover, historiography has focused on its relationship with other Protestant organizations, such as the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP). Lastly, it has also been characterized as a failed trade union; a precursor to later successful Christian trade unions. This historiographical tradition mirrors that of the Protestant-Christian movement in general, which is strongly influenced by the concept of 'pillarization'. However, this concept is starkly problematic and inhibits at least three conceptual problems. To move beyond these problems, this thesis applies a political-economic concept to the history of Patrimonium: *corporativism*. This alternative analysis of Patrimonium produced the conclusions that characterizing the association as a failed trade union pays no respect to its distinctive nature as a corporativist organization. Moreover, there was recurrent struggle between Patrimonium and the ARP, as well as between its workers and patrons. Lastly, Patrimonium's case demonstrated that Protestant-Christian social ideology was far from a uniform set of ideas. All these conclusions will in turn have several implications for the concept of pillarization.

Contents

Introduction	1
1. Pillarization: origins, history and conceptual problems	5
1.1 A political metaphor	5
1.2 Pillarization enters academia: three problems	6
1.3 A breakthrough? The Amsterdam pillarization project	9
2. A political-economic perspective on Patrimonium	11
2.1 The Protestant-Christian social movement: ideology and interest	11
2.2 A political-economic concept	13
2.3 Corporativism: ideology, condition or organization?	14
3. Patrimonium: historiography and backgrounds	18
3.1 Patrimonium in texts: ideology, trade unions and politics	19
3.2 Political institutions and economic development in the 19 th century	20
3.3 A Christian ideology: the harmonious, organic society	23
3.4 The guild and the God	25
4. Patrimonium between corporativism and trade unions	28
4.1 Provision of work and insurance funds	28
4.2 Internal conflict: political elites, patrons and Protestant workers	30
4.3 Interest representation and the end of corporativist Patrimonium	33
5. From Patrimonium to pillarization: conclusions	38
5.1 Patrimonium in place	38
5.2 Beyond pillarization	39
Concluding remarks	43
References	45
Sources	48
Appendices	51

Introduction

In 1891, the first Christian Social Congress was organized by several Protestant organizations in the Netherlands. Unlike the name suggests, it was not a convention for every Christian organization in the country, merely those who were Protestant and thus perceived of themselves as 'true Christians'. Notable Protestant politicians were present, among them the prominent figure of Abraham Kuyper, who commenced the congress with an opening statement. He purportedly addressed the ears of a several hundred 'working men', a majority of which were members of the Dutch Workers' Union Patrimonium.¹ Many of these workers, however, experienced the congress as an event organized to 'conjure a storm that raged between Kuyper and the chairman and other unsatisfied members of Patrimonium.'² During the yearly assembly of Patrimonium in 1892, Klaas Kater, the chairman, felt the need to correct this image. He maintained, instead, that the Christian Social Congress was primarily organized to meet the increasing demand and calls for a Protestant social program.³

For Dutch historiography on Patrimonium, the Christian Social Congress was a symbolically defining moment in the advent of a Protestant-Christian social movement.⁴ Within the historiography of this movement in general, the mutual relationships between separate Protestant organizations became a central topic. Patrimonium was thus often described considering its connections to the Anti-Revolutionary Party (*Anti-Revolutionaire Partij*, ARP), which was led by Abraham Kuyper.⁵ In turn, the image of a Protestant social movement prompted investigations into the ideology behind this movement. The focus of literature came to lie on the Protestant trade unions that were deemed to be a

¹ Rolf van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001) 28-29.

The Dutch Workers' Union Patrimonium is hereafter referred to as 'Patrimonium'.

² International Institute for Social History (hereafter: IISH), *Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor het jaar 1893*. (Amsterdam 1893) 84. Hereafter, over the entire thesis, I will be referring to the *Jaarboekjes* in a shortened way (in this case: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 84.).

³ *Ibidem*, 84.

⁴ See, for instance: Herman Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen van Nederland, vereenigt u – althans wat de sociale nooden betreft. Achtergronden, organisatie en resultaten van het Christelijk-Sociaal Congres van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991) 141.

⁵ See, for example: Jan Jacob van Dijk, 'Het Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond. Van een verzuilde organisatie naar een vakbond met een christelijke identiteit', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Geinspireerde organisaties. Verzuiling en ontzuiling van de Christelijk Sociale Beweging 7* (Amsterdam 2007) 70-92.

successful product of the movement.⁶ Subsequently, Patrimonium's history was reduced to that of a precursor to these trade unions.⁷

These foci of the historiographical tradition of Patrimonium and the Protestant-Christian social movement in general, were heavily influenced by the dominance of the analytical concept of 'pillarization'. The metaphorical term pillarization presupposed the existence of a complex of Protestant organizations that were interconnected by a shared ideology or worldview – a Protestant 'pillar', so to speak.⁸ Such a pillar was deemed to have risen in the late 19th century, with Patrimonium caught in the middle of this process.⁹ Despite some pressing conceptual problems surrounding pillarization, the concept managed to influence the historiographical orientations described above. As a consequence, an important distinguishing aspect of Patrimonium was overlooked, or even obscured: Patrimonium was an organization where workers' had united on the basis of a shared economic interest. Kater's defense of the Christian Social Congress was, in a way, alluding to this socio-economic motive behind Patrimonium.

In this thesis, I wish to approach the history of Patrimonium by paying respect to that distinctive feature. The historian Piet de Rooy had already made a case for a more prudish approach of 'pillarized' organizations. Up until his time of writing, pillarization had been discussed as something about 'fair feeling or deep thoughts, resistance against "modernity", about "emancipation" or about the invention of traditions and the shaping of collective identities.'¹⁰ While this culturalist vision is not wrong, it is not exonerated from a certain one-sidedness. De Rooy thus proposes research with some further 'digging into the power'.¹¹

To be able to do that properly, we need to move beyond the analytical framework set by the concept of pillarization. I will thus propose a more political-economic idea that facilitates such an alternative approach: corporativism. We shall define this concept as referring to the voluntary

⁶ For example, in all ten volumes of the series *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging* at least one article covers the Protestant trade union called the Christian National Trade Union (*Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond*, CNV). See, for instance: Jan Jacob van Dijk and Paul Werkman, 'Om de plaats van het CNV in de internationale arbeidersbeweging', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Grenzeloos christelijk-sociaal. Internationale activiteiten van de christelijk-sociale beweging 8* (Amsterdam 2009) 24-51.

⁷ For instance, as part of a series on the Christian social movement, in a volume called *Voorlopers en dwarsliggers*, Patrimonium was discussed as a precursor to the CNV. See: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998).

⁸ James Kennedy, 'De Nederlands christelijk-sociale beweging heroverwogen', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Geïnspireerde organisaties*, 112. See also: Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen. Patrimonium Amsterdam, van sociale vereniging tot sociale onderneming, 1876-2003* (Hilversum 2008) 14.

⁹ For instance: Gerrit Jan Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft; en de ziel verstikt in smook. Achtergronden en voorgeschiedenis van 1891', in: Ibidem, *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 15.

¹⁰ Piet de Rooy, 'Voorbij de verzuiling?', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 116 (2001) 1, 50. (My translation)

¹¹ Ibidem, 50. The case which De Rooy makes for a more political understanding of the period where pillarization is said to have occurred, is also discussed by Hans Blom in his evaluation of the Amsterdam pillarization project, see: Hans Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000) 230.

organizations or associations where people unite on the basis (of a perception) of a shared economic interest.¹² Such an political-economic analysis of Patrimonium might produce new insights on the development of its activities and its place in Dutch history. Hence, the question this thesis will aim to answer reads: *How can we explain the development of the activities and role of Patrimonium during the period of 1890-1911, when analyzing it from a political-economic perspective as a corporativist association?*

Let me shortly elaborate on the choice for the periodization of this question. In the following chapters, I will analyze Patrimonium from its conception in 1876 to its *de facto* demise as a corporativist organization, which was ushered in around 1911. However, the limited availability of institutionally produced primary sources from before 1890, have had the implications that the mass of this thesis shall rest on the period of 1890-1911. The absence of enough material from before 1890, is possibly explained by the fact that up until that time Patrimonium was still developing its own essence.¹³

In addition to the periodization, I also want to make a remark on the geographical focus of this thesis. By analyzing the Protestant organization of Patrimonium, this thesis will automatically focus on the parts of the Netherlands that were predominantly Protestant. This corresponds roughly with the geographical area in the Netherlands that lies 'above the rivers'. Thus, it is important to keep in mind that the conclusions and inferences made in this thesis should not immediately apply to the generally Roman-Catholic southern part of country, which has its unique historical dynamics.¹⁴ I will therefore be writing in the context of the *Protestant-Christian* social movement.

When investigating the history of Patrimonium, I will be using data and information retrieved from the yearbooks produced and published by Patrimonium.¹⁵ These yearbooks contain information on what activities the local departments of Patrimonium undertook. This information is by far incomplete, since not all departments systematically reported of their activities.¹⁶ Nevertheless, supplemented by earlier studies of Patrimonium, we may come to a comprehensible overview of its activities without drawing conclusions too fast. What is more, these yearbooks offer insights into what discussions raged on the

¹² This understanding is tacitly applied by: Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914. Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam 2000). Another example of this usage is: Antony Black, *Guild & state. European political thought from the twelfth century to the present* (New Brunswick 2005, 2nd Edition).

¹³ Bert Altena and A.J.P. Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider niet gevoelt dat hij rechten heeft, dan is hij weg. De protestants-christelijke werkliedenbeweging, 1891-1914', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 151.

¹⁴ Dirk Jan Wolffram, 'Schikken en inschikken. Plaatselijke elites in tijden van verzuiling 1850-1920', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000) 89-91.

¹⁵ These *Jaarboekjes* have been accessed largely via the International Institute for Social History (IISH) in the Hague. One *Jaarboekje* was accessed through the Historical Centre for the Documentation of Dutch Protestantism (*Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme*, HDC-VU) of the Free University, Amsterdam.

¹⁶ Patrimonium's commission that was in charge of drawing up these *Jaarboekjes* repeatedly complained about the inadequate reporting of the local departments. See, for example: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 37.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 1.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1898*, 105.

yearly assemblies of Patrimonium and what activities the national board undertook to further the interests of its members. This may in turn shed light on the conflicts that took place in regards to Patrimonium's internal and external relations. Lastly, I will also analyze some key publications issued by Patrimonium where the ideology behind its social mission was formulated.¹⁷

So, as to answer the question of how to explain the development of the activities and role of Patrimonium in a manner that moves beyond pillarization, I will firstly explore the origins, history and the conceptual problems of pillarization. This will bring to the surface three main problems, which I will come back to in the conclusive chapter 5 of this thesis. In chapter 2, I will elaborate on the relation between pillarization and the Dutch historiography of the Protestant-Christian social movement, as to make clear what obstacles this connection produced. I will subsequently get rid of some confusion surrounding the political-economic concept of corporativism. After that, in chapter 3, I will take up the task of analyzing the history of Patrimonium from this perspective. To properly to do so, I will explicate the political and economic background to Patrimonium, as well as the role Protestant ideology played in shaping the association and how that related to its corporativism. In chapter 4, I will trace the history of Patrimonium, thereby discussing its activities, struggles with internal and external relations, and its eventual demise as a corporatist organization. In the last chapter I will take up a position on the three ways in which Patrimonium has been described and what implications our conclusions have for the concept of pillarization in general. For now, let me turn to the origins, history and conceptual problems of pillarization.

¹⁷ These publications have been accessed through the HDC-VU. For the exact titles and authors, see the section 'Sources' at the end of this thesis.

1. ***Pillarization: origins, history and conceptual problems***

In 1853, orthodox-Protestants organized the so called *Aprilbeweging* (April Movement) in reaction to the restoration of the episcopal hierarchy in The Netherlands by Pope Pius IX. Thousands of pamphlets were written, among which were some anti-papist publications. The chief editor of the Catholic daily newspaper *De Tijd* reacted in a personal letter: 'the Catholic pillar, which rose from the same labor next to and together with the Protestant non-building, shall not succumb.'

This was the first known use of the architectonic metaphor 'pillar' to refer to a social group in Dutch society. It would later become a very influential way to refer to different communities in Dutch national affairs.¹⁸ In this chapter, I will set out to shortly describe the origins, history and conceptual problems of the influential idea of 'pillarization', the process derived from this pillar-imagery. Firstly, then, what are the origins?

1.1 *A political metaphor*

During the 1930s, the word 'pillar' came in vogue as a metaphor to refer to the four groups of Dutch society and their formal institutions.¹⁹ These groups were the orthodox-Protestants, the Catholics, the social-democrats and lastly a left-over category where mostly liberals would be placed under.²⁰ The essential aspect of this division was that it was part of a national political discourse of 'compartmentalization'. As the state started institutionalizing civil organizations, it would do so based on the contours of these communities.²¹

For example, in 1930, radio broadcast time was divided up among radio associations that represented the three 'pillars', while transmission time was also given to an association of Protestants who saw themselves as 'freethinking' and finally also to a general broadcasting association.²² This compartmentalization met with heavy protests, especially from the liberal corners of Dutch society. Nevertheless, both opponents and proponents of the policy found use in pillar-terminology, as the historian Peter van Dam observed.²³

¹⁸ Piet de Rooy, 'Voorbij de verzuiling?', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 116 (2001) 1, 52.

¹⁹ Peter van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling. Over een Nederlandse mythe* (Amsterdam 2011) 41; 61.

²⁰ Piet de Rooy, *A tiny spot on earth. The political culture of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century* (Amsterdam 2015) 193.

²¹ Ibidem, 193-194.

²² Ibidem, 191.

²³ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 61.

While the perceived reality of a subdivided society was embraced by many contemporaries, resistance against the institutionalization of these different 'pillars' remained.²⁴ The main point of disagreement was that opponents thought such a strategy would undermine national unity, whilst supporters deemed it to be the essence of Dutch unity: the pillars would carry the national roof that unites them.²⁵ From its beginning in the 30s, the discussion had essentially revolved around the role of religion and worldviews in civil organizations and their relation to national unity.²⁶

After the Second World War, stimulating Dutch unity became ever more important and was thus given new force.²⁷ Liberals and social-democrats continued to argue against institutional compartmentalization and strongly separated communities as such, which met resistance from the confessional, religiously inspired parties.²⁸ In the 50s, actors outside of the formal political sphere started to interfere, as the metaphor grew to become part of a more scientific terminology of 'pillarization', 'pillarized' and 'pillars'.²⁹ So how, then, did pillarization become such an influential concept in Dutch historiography?

1.2 *Pillarization enters academia: three problems*

With scholarly attention focused on political and societal dividing lines, the theoretical concept of 'pillarization' began to be developed. According to Piet de Rooy, social scientists attempted to explain the 'growing difference between the enormous vitality of socio-economic life (...) and the "pre-war" values and norms that applied in the socio-cultural sphere'.³⁰ On the other hand, Peter van Dam suggests a more political motive. In general, he states, scholars had analyzed pillarization in the hope that it would become something of the past.³¹ The two explanations do not seem to contradict each other. Indeed, they were two sides of the same coin in the 1950s.³² Then, as more scientific fields started to analyze pillarization, important conceptual problems tied to its terminology began to emerge. What were these problems?

First of all, since the earliest investigations into pillars by the sociologist Jakob Pieter Kruijt, the problem of clearly denominating rigidly distinguished pillars in Dutch society came to the fore.³³ That

²⁴ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 193.

²⁵ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 59-60.

²⁶ *Ibidem*, 53-54.

²⁷ *Ibidem*, 51.

²⁸ *Ibidem*, 60.

²⁹ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000) 208. See also: De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 222.

³⁰ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 221.

³¹ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 47.

³² *Ibidem*, 62.

³³ *Ibidem*, 65.

might be seen as one reason why Kruijt wrote in more general terms of 'complexes of ideological organizations'.³⁴ Consequently, the question of *how many* pillars there are to begin with, haunted pillarization-theorists from the 50s onwards. Disappointingly, the ongoing debates on this matter did not produce a lasting consensus.³⁵

A second problem concerns the nature or *function* of pillarization. This point is clearly illustrated by the most critically acclaimed work on pillarization, *The politics of accommodation* (1968), by the hand of the political scientist Arend Lijphart.³⁶ Lijphart had argued that pillarization played an important part in establishing a political culture that revolved around compromise, accommodation and consensus formation. 1917 was a key year for his theory, since it saw the so called 'pacification' of the different groups of society by elite representatives of those groups, who were willing to accept a consensus on the most pressing clashes of political interest of those days: the 'school struggle', the universal suffrage debate and the 'social question'.³⁷

Lijphart's argument was criticized severely, not in the least by his own contemporaries.³⁸ Recently, Piet de Rooy argued that historical research reveals hardly any examples of the 'leader summits' Lijphart referred to when proving his point on the accommodative elites.³⁹ Furthermore, no common ground was reached on topics crucial to the involved parties, such as the relation between the state, associations and various boards. Moreover, issues surrounding social security were never solved in 1917. Indeed, it took more than thirty years for the first old age pension legislature to be introduced.⁴⁰ On top of that, the 'politics of accommodation' worked only partially in the decades after 1917.⁴¹ Peter van Dam adds to this that this type of governance did not differ much from the one dominant in The Netherlands before 1917.⁴² There even seemed to have been a consensus on the school struggle and suffrage question well before 1917; it just needed confirmation by an amendment of the constitution.⁴³

Whatever the historical quality of Lijphart's argument, his idea of pillarization as pacification became the dominant paradigm in the social sciences.⁴⁴ Likewise, the indexing of Dutch society into four pillars by Lijphart stayed influential. To him, there were five pillars, which respectively belonged to the

³⁴ Ibidem, 65.

³⁵ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 210.

³⁶ Arend Lijphart, *The politics of accommodation. Pluralism and democracy in the Netherlands* (Berkeley 1968). The work was subsequently translated into Dutch and published as: Arend Lijphart, *Verzuiling, pacificatie en kentering in de Nederlandse politiek* (Amsterdam 1968). Lijphart was arguing in the footsteps of Hans Daalder, who had examined the relationship between elites and 'ordinary' citizens in his oration *Leiding en lijdelijkheid in de Nederlandse politiek* (1965).

³⁷ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 70.

³⁸ Ibidem, 71.

³⁹ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 224.

⁴⁰ Ibidem, 224.

⁴¹ Ibidem, 224.

⁴² Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 71.

⁴³ Ibidem, 71.

⁴⁴ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 224.

dominant political parties in Dutch parliament: orthodox-Protestant (ARP/CHU), Catholic (KVP), social-democratic (PvdA), liberal (VVD) and a fifth 'general' pillar.⁴⁵ According to De Rooy, the last pillar functioned as 'a leftover category for which the theory had no solution'.⁴⁶ Thus, partly due to its lack of historical evidence, Lijpharts contribution demonstrates both the problem of determining *how many* pillars there were, as well as the problem of the *function* of pillars and by extension, pillarization.

The experience with Lijphart consequently brings to light a third problem: the origins of pillarization as a *historical process*. As the term 'pillarization' increasingly appeared in political scientific literature, it became clear that 'pillarization', simply because of the word's character, presupposed something like a historical process. The historian Ivo Schöffer had already taken up the task of writing a historical investigation of pillarization in the 1950s. He asked himself why pillars had formed the way they did in the Netherlands and offered an accompanying historical answer: pillarization was so successful in the Netherlands due to the binding tendency of the Dutch pillars to find unity in their mutual support of the national state.⁴⁷ This tendency could be explained by a cause that goes back to the age of the Dutch Republic of the seventeenth century. Pillarization was an extension of the traditionally important 'small circles' and their pursuit of self-interest combined with the Calvinist-inspired dogmatic attitude of the Dutchmen that originated in this period.⁴⁸ Schöffer pointed out that pillarization could in this sense be seen as something unique and peculiar to Dutch society.⁴⁹

It was only during the 80s that this view of a Dutch *Sonderweg* was questioned and essentially proven faulty.⁵⁰ In addition, Peter van Dam recently argued that pillarization was not one uniform process, but existed of different dimensions that should be studied separately. For instance, the way people organized themselves should be conceptually separated from the role worldview played in society, as well as the way politics was practiced.⁵¹ However, the origins of the pillarization process and its subsequent effects continued to be studied in the field of history.⁵² Indeed, the early works of Schöffer and Lijphart echo throughout later historical works. For instance, in 1991, the historian Hans Righart maintained that 'pillarization, with its segmented understanding of the nation, offered a practical solution to something that could have grown out to become "a national issue"'.⁵³ So, despite the criticism

⁴⁵ Ibidem, 223.

⁴⁶ Ibidem, 224.

⁴⁷ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 210. See also: Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 61.

⁴⁸ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 61.

⁴⁹ Ibidem, 62.

⁵⁰ Hans Righart has offered an international comparative analysis of pillarization, where the view of pillarization as unique to Dutch society is undermined: Hans Righart, *De katholieke zuil in Europa. Een vergelijkend onderzoek naar het ontstaan van verzuiling onder katholieken in Oostenrijk, Zwitserland, België en Nederland* (Meppel 1986). See also: De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 225.

⁵¹ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 19.

⁵² Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 210.

⁵³ Hans Righart, *Het einde van Nederland? Kenteringen in politiek, cultuur en milieu* (Utrecht 1992) 15.

and the perseverance of conceptual and historical problems, pillarization remained an influential idea in historical writings.

1.3 *A breakthrough? The Amsterdam pillarization project*

A very important breaking point was eventually reached during the 1980s, which culminated in the publication of *De verzuiling voorbij* in the year 2000.⁵⁴ In addition to the three problems listed above, it was also unclear what a term like 'worldview' entailed in the first place. Were pillars just religiously inspired, or also ideologically?⁵⁵ A subsequent deadlock was produced which made the fundamental question returned: what actually defined pillars and pillarization?

In an attempt to break this deadlock, the Amsterdam based historian Hans Blom and social geographer Herman van der Wusten initiated a pillarization research project in 1980.⁵⁶ Blom and Van der Wusten signaled that most pillarizational literature was written with a focus on the national level of analysis. They set out to analyze the phenomenon on the local level, thereby hoping to generate new insights and if possible a final breakthrough in the historiographical debate on pillarization.⁵⁷ The contributors analyzed the seventy preceding years to 1917, considering the idea that pillarization must have taken root somewhere in that period of time.⁵⁸

In *De verzuiling voorbij* (2000) Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma evaluate this project, concluding first of all that 'the insights display such a diverse image, that *the* explanation of *the* pillarization process was somewhat lost out of sight.'⁵⁹ The separate studies of this project had all shown, in their own way, that pillarization manifested itself differently in different places. For instance, the groups that had dominated organization in Hoorn in the late nineteenth century, were not the same as in Tiel.⁶⁰ Moreover, the extent to which pillarization had taken hold differed enormously over geographical spaces, from the North and South of the Netherlands, to the *Randstad* and provinces and between cities and small towns.⁶¹ This also differed over time, with most local areas showing no signs of pillarization until at least the 1890s.⁶² Lex

⁵⁴ Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).

⁵⁵ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 209.

⁵⁶ Jaap Talsma, 'Verantwoording', in: Blom and Talsma, *De verzuiling voorbij*, x.

⁵⁷ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 211-12.

⁵⁸ Ibidem, 212-13. To be more precise, the project focused its research on the time period 1850-1925.

⁵⁹ Talsma, 'Verantwoording', x.

⁶⁰ Jos Leenders, 'Over roomse en protestantse heiligen. Een lacune in de verzuilingsliteratuur', in: Blom and Talsma, *De verzuiling voorbij*, 76-77.; Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 217.

⁶¹ Lex Heersma van Voss, 'De rode dreiging..., ...en het verzuilde antwoord', in: Blom and Talsma, *De verzuiling voorbij*, 131.; Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 219; 225-226.

⁶² Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 218; 224.

Heersma van Voss even showed that Christian pillars followed up on the appearance of socialist organizations, suggesting that they were a reaction to socialist activism.⁶³

Altogether, this had made a univocal and clear-cut story of the origins of the pillarization process quite difficult, if not impossible. Additionally, it had also undermined all running interpretations of pillarization as a historical process.⁶⁴ So Blom concludes, therefore, to accept pillarization as a convenient metaphor, but move beyond it in trying to understand Dutch society in the long nineteenth century. Instead, he opts for historical analyses that take into account the role of religious conviction as a genuine factor, the importance of traditional class perceptions and the subject of state- and nation-building.⁶⁵

What followed hereafter was not necessarily the end of the use of the concept of pillarization, as one may have expected after the 'destructive force' of the Amsterdam project.⁶⁶ The metaphor proves to be very persevering and historians quite reluctant to let go of it. In the case of Patrimonium, historians have connected its history to that of an emerging orthodox-Protestant pillar, both before and after Blom's project.⁶⁷ Indeed, the historiography of the Protestant-Christian social movement in general is tied to the concept of pillarization.⁶⁸ Let me thus turn to this relation and explain why it produces obstacles to understanding organizations as Patrimonium.

⁶³ Heersma van Voss, 'De rode dreiging', 126-27.

⁶⁴ Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht', 225-226.

⁶⁵ Ibidem, 234-235.

⁶⁶ It was Hans Blom himself who referred to this project as one having a 'destructive force' (*vernietigende kracht*). See: Ibidem, 226.

⁶⁷ For instance: Gerrit Jan Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft; en de ziel verstikt in smook. Achtergronden en voorgeschiedenis van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991) 15.; Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen. Patrimonium Amsterdam, van sociale vereniging tot sociale onderneming, 1876-2003* (Hilversum 2008) 14. See also: Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 30.

⁶⁸ James Kennedy, 'De Nederlands christelijk-sociale beweging heroverwogen', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. Geïnspireerde organisaties. Verzuiling en ontzuiling van de christelijk sociale beweging 7* (Amsterdam 2007) 112.

2. *A political-economic perspective on Patrimonium*

In this chapter I will discuss the relation between pillarization and the Protestant-Christian social movement in historiography, thereby explaining why I deem it to be too limited. Following up, I will propose an alternative, political-economic view of Patrimonium, that moves beyond the restrictions of pillarization: Patrimonium as a corporatist organization.

2.1 *The Protestant-Christian social movement: ideology and interest*

There is plenty of literature on social movements and it would be beyond the scope of this thesis to discuss the conceptual discussions or even the merits of distinguishing 'social movements' from other types of political activity.⁶⁹ More importantly, the social movement itself is a concept which refers to a wide range of phenomena and different 'movements'. Nevertheless, it is important to embrace an overarching definition, so that we may explicate how pillarization connects to social movements. Consider the following one:

A social movement is a *complex* of independent societal organizations which aim for a certain ideal *interest*. The respective societal organizations maintain a feeling of relatedness on the basis of a shared *ideology*. People from various organizations come in contact through the movement. After a certain period of time, a separate culture will form.⁷⁰ (my italics)

Some elements of this definition deserve our attention. Firstly, note that a movement is not the same as an organization. For example, Patrimonium should not be seen as *comprising* the movement itself. Rather, it is perceived to be part of a larger 'complex' of organizations that share an 'ideology'.

That brings us to the second element: ideology. The basis of a shared ideology is central to determining the boundaries of a social movement. For instance, Patrimonium is usually brought under the *Christian* social movement, as distinguished from non-Christian social movements.⁷¹ This aspect bears resemblance to the role 'worldview' plays in pillarization, making the two concepts quite compatible with each other. Indeed, it is this aspect of social movements in combination with the

⁶⁹ See, for a discussion on the conceptual challenges of social movement theory: Aldon Morris, 'Reflections on Social Movement Theory: criticisms and proposals', *Contemporary Sociology* 29 (2000) 3, 445-454.

⁷⁰ Jan Jacob van Dijk, 'Christelijke sociale bewegingen in vergelijkend perspectief', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging*. Grenzeloos christelijk-sociaal. Internationale activiteiten van de christelijk-sociale beweging 8 (Amsterdam 2009) 151.

⁷¹ Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen. Patrimonium Amsterdam, van sociale vereniging tot sociale onderneming, 1876-2003* (Hilversum 2008) 11.

pillarization process that I believe has stimulated a focus on ideology in historical literature on the Protestant-Christian social movement.⁷²

However, not only ideology is a central topic in this historiography. The third element of 'interest' in the definition above facilitates research into questions surrounding the pursuit of certain political interests. In turn, this made possible analyses covering the phenomenon of Christian trade unions.⁷³ From a pillarizational perspective, the Christian character of these unions was emphasized and their relations to other Christian organizations put in the foreground.⁷⁴ This approach led to clarifying and interesting insights on such complexes of organizations. Notwithstanding, it inhibits a twofold problem.

Firstly, while the historiography with a focus on ideology and political interest representation is by no means wrong, it is too simplistic in the sense that it brings worker's organizations like Patrimonium under the same category as political parties or strictly moral organizations on the basis of their supposedly shared ideology. Furthermore, it is too limited because it manages to overlook questions of how worker's organizations tackle economic problems and consider *economic* interests. While there are indeed examples of studies considering this latter aspect, the focus on ideology and political interest remains predominant.⁷⁵

Secondly, pillarization overshadows the distinctiveness of corporate organizations from political parties or other types of organizations. Despite Peter van Dam's effort to do a bad turn on pillarization once and for all, contemporary textbooks still find use in applications of pillarization, albeit in more nuanced ways.⁷⁶ Nevertheless, its role is overappreciated sometimes.⁷⁷ For example, when Friso Wielenga

⁷² An example of a study with a focus on ideology is e.g.: Rolf van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001) 32.

⁷³ For example, in all ten volumes of the series *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging* at least one article covers the Christian National Trade Union (*Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond*, CNV). Two of these volumes are solely dedicated to the history of the CNV, see: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001); *Ibidem*, CNV, 100 jaar een vakbond met idealen 9/10 (Amsterdam 2009).

⁷⁴ See, for example: Jan Jacob van Dijk, 'Het Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond. Van een verzuilde organisatie naar een vakbond met een christelijke identiteit', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Geïnspireerde organisaties. Verzuiling en ontzuiling van de Christelijk Sociale Beweging 7* (Amsterdam 2007) 70-92. Another example is: Jan Pieter Stoop, 'De ARP en de relatie tot het CNV (1918-1940)', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Belangenpolitiek 4* (Amsterdam 2002).

⁷⁵ See, for example: Arnold Bornebroek, 'De sociale zekerheid in historisch perspectief', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001) 168-174.

⁷⁶ See: Peter van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling. Over een Nederlandse mythe* (Amsterdam 2011). Compare: Friso Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden* (Amsterdam 2012) 247-48.; James Kennedy, , *Een beknopte geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam 2017) 291.

⁷⁷ For example, Friso Wielenga repeatedly returns to the concept to offer the societal context within certain developments took place: Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, 247-48; 267; 280-281; 291-293. In a way, this is exactly what Hans Blom proposed when he said '[p]recisely in research that does not focus on pillarization or pillaredness as such, because it is a signaling term without an exact definition, it might indeed function as a clarifying short reference to a context.' See: Hans Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling*

discusses the significance of the pillars in the late nineteenth century, he writes that one of the functions of the pillars was to protect citizens from the shockwaves of the socio-economic modernization that took place after 1870. The pillar could control excesses of industrialization, urbanization and other forms of modernization while using the positive aspects (science, technology etc.) to the advantage of the group.⁷⁸ At this point, we see that pillarization is being deployed not only to refer to a worldview-based, delineated social group, but also to the socio-economic initiatives taken up by those who wished to meet the challenges of 'modernization'.⁷⁹

However, it is my contention such socio-economic initiatives and activities undertaken should be analyzed from a more political-economic perspective, without an immediate clutch at 'pillarization', as if it were some kind of natural reflex in trying explain the modern history of the Netherlands. Admittedly, we still need a concept to explain the rising interconnections between organizations and their commonly held principles or ideology. In this respect, Peter van Dam has put forward the interesting concept of 'heavy communities', which could refer to the rise of a heavy orthodox-Protestant community, instead of simply applying the now problematic term 'pillar'.⁸⁰ In the conclusive chapter 5 of this thesis, I shall come back to this idea. Furthermore, to pay attention to the distinctiveness of corporate organizations like Patrimonium, I will be deploying the concept of 'corporativism'. So what does corporativism imply?

2.2 A political-economic concept

First off, my understanding of corporativism implies a broad, inclusive definition of politics when looking into power relations and dynamics. Following up on the British political scientist Colin Hay, I will be applying an understanding that perceives 'politics' firstly as a realm where actors are able to make decisions.⁸¹ Secondly, those decisions have an agency-capacity, which means that they possess potential for having a genuine impact and consequence.⁸² Additionally, in politics, there should be deliberation

voorbij. *Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000) 236.

Another example is the application of the term by James Kennedy, who even keeps alive Lijphart's accommodation thesis. See: Kennedy, *Een beknopte geschiedenis*, 293.

A third example is its use by Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, who argue that pillars could mobilize support for collective action aimed at pressuring state politics, while simultaneously deriving their financial and political power from being an integrated part of the 'neo-corporative state structure'. See: Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914. Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam 2000) 212.

⁷⁸ Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, 247.

⁷⁹ Another, slightly different, example of the application of the intermingling of corporativism and pillarization is offered by Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel when they conclude: 'Ultimately, a neo-corporative state came into being, in which the (parts of the) pillars – depending on their political leverage and the extent to which they could access the power – could influence the (re)distribution of income via the state to a meaningful extent.' See: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 319.

⁸⁰ Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 19.

⁸¹ Colin Hay, *Why we hate politics* (Cambridge 2007), 65-66.

⁸² Ibidem, 66-67.

between different actors, while their individual or collective choices have consequences for *other* actors.⁸³ These four characteristics form the core of my broad conception of politics. This idea is different from definitions of politics that focus on certain *formal* political domains, such as the state or international relations. The Dutch political scientist Cees van der Eijk would describe this understanding as an 'aspect-approach': politics is seen as an aspect of human behavior and social relations, and can therefore be found almost everywhere.⁸⁴

As a consequence, I assume that economic relations between different actors have a political element to them as well. To illustrate this point: if an employer of a coffee company decides to change the location of the production factory and move it out of town, this choice has an effect on the daily lives of the workers of that factory in the sense that they will now have to show up on a different place to do their work. This might in turn affect the time at which these laborers get up in the morning, prompting them to be less satisfied than before the factory move, for instance. The decision of the employer thus has a political consequence to it, considering the impact it will have on the daily lives of the workers. Hence the term *political-economic*.

2.3 *Corporativism: ideology, condition or organization?*

My use of the concept of corporativism also implies that we have to get rid of some potential confusion in relation to the term. Just like pillarization, corporativism has its own conceptual problems. Unlike pillarization, however, these problems stem from the use of more evidently diverse definitions. We can subsequently sum up and divide the various applications of the term corporativism into three categories.

Firstly, the *ideology-category*. Stated in a simplified manner, the first category discusses corporativism as an articulated set of ideas which argue that all workers of society should be organized into corporations distinguished and based on economic profession. These corporations possess legislative political power within their own sector, which they use independently or in conjunction with the state, while also being legitimized by the state's authority.⁸⁵ This application of the term thus focuses on corporativism as an *ideology* about the organization of society, the state and the relation between the two, as Han Verhallen had observed.⁸⁶ Therefore, this category is home to studies of intellectual history and normative political theory.⁸⁷ The reader may thus have noticed that I speak of 'corporativism'

⁸³ Ibidem, 67-70.

⁸⁴ Cees van der Eijk, *De kern van politiek* (Amsterdam 2001) 3-4.

⁸⁵ Antony Black, *Guild & state. European political thought from the twelfth century to the present* (New Brunswick 2005, 2nd Edition) 221.

⁸⁶ Han Verhallen, Roelof Fernhout and Patrice Ekke Visser (eds.), *Corporatisme in Nederland. Belangengroepen en democratie* (Alphen aan de Rijn 1980) 12.

⁸⁷ For an intellectual history where corporatism is discussed, see for example: Black, *Guild & state*.

Regarding normative political theory, for instance, the famous economist John Maynard Keynes has argued for a certain form of corporatism in his 1924 Sidney Ball lecture 'The End of Laissez-Faire'. For more on Keynes' 'middle

instead of the more common phrase 'corporatism'. This has to do with avoiding confusion between my definition of corporativism and 'corporatism', which is the term used to denote the specific ideology described here.

Secondly, we may distinguish the *condition-category*. As soon as the ideology of corporatism was brought into practice, social scientists could study it as one of several systems of interest representation.⁸⁸ Corporatism consequently became a sort of political *condition* a society or a state could find itself in.⁸⁹ Philippe Schmitter offered a highly influential definition of what I observe as the second category in 1974:

'Corporatism can be defined as a system of interest representation, in which the constituent units are organized into a limited number of singular, compulsory, uncompetitive, hierarchically ordered and functionally differentiated categories, recognized or licensed (if not created) by the State and granted a deliberate representational monopoly within their respective categories in exchange for observing certain controls on their selection of leaders and articulation of demands and supports. The organized interests of civil society are linked with the "decisional structures" of the State.'⁹⁰

Schmitter recognized that this was an ideal-type of conceptualization and that in reality corporatism could not correspond with this idea perfectly.⁹¹ Thus, it was logical to distinguish different ways in which corporatism could manifest itself. For instance, one could have a system of interest representation imposed by the state, as we have seen happen in European fascist regimes. In other cases, voluntary organization into the 'constituent units' was possible by the initiative of citizens.⁹²

For all the insightfulness and comfortable precision of the condition-category of corporatism, this line of thought still inhibits two weaknesses. First off, it adds to the general confusion that this category makes no lexical distinction between corporatism as an ideology and corporatism as 'a system of interest representation'. Secondly, the concept becomes problematic from a historical standpoint. Since the state's role is embedded into this conceptualization, the challenge here lies in historically explaining how the state came to be such an important part of this system of interest representation. Hence, to explain the development of corporatism as such, the condition-definition necessarily needs complementary

way', see: Robert Skidelsky, *Keynes. The return of the master* (Londen 2010) 160-64. See also: Philippe Schmitter, 'Still the century of corporatism?', *The Review of Politics* 36 (1974) 1, 110.

⁸⁸ Philippe Schmitter, 'Still the century of corporatism?', *The Review of Politics* 36 (1974) 1, 86.

⁸⁹ Verhallen et al., *Corporatisme in Nederland*, 12.

⁹⁰ Schmitter, 'Still the century of corporatism?', 93-94.

⁹¹ *Ibidem*, 94.

⁹² *Ibidem*, 103-104. This distinction between what Schmitter calls 'state corporatism' and 'societal corporatism' is also made by Andrew Cox in: Andrew Cox and Noel O'Sullivan (eds.), *The Corporate State: Corporatism and the State Tradition in Western Europe* (Hants 1988) 33. Interestingly, Schmitter observed that this latter type of corporatism (*societal corporatism*), was found in political systems 'with highly "layered" or "pillared" political subcultures'. See: Schmitter, 'Still the century of corporatism?', 105.

concepts. Moreover, the emphasis on the interest representation function of corporations obscures a historically important motive for the organization in corporate associations: the collective arrangement of social services.⁹³

This brings us to the last variant of applied corporativism: the *organization-category*. Analyses within this tradition have decoupled the state from corporate organizations in their application of corporatism. However, no generally accepted definition exists for this category such as is the case with the condition-category. The central element of the organization-category is that corporativism refers to voluntary organization by people on the basis (of the perception) of a shared economic interests, with the goal of furthering these specific interests.⁹⁴ While traditionally historians have used the term 'corporatism' in this context as well, I will be using the term 'corporativism' as to make the distinction between corporatism as an ideology and corporativism as a mode of organization visible in our word usage.⁹⁵

This broader approach to corporativism subsequently offers two advantages. Firstly, it facilitates the employment of the term in a historical context. We can trace corporativist organization further back in the time if we see corporativism as a form of social-economic organization instead of strictly as a system of interest representation. The continuity with earlier forms of this type of organization, such as guilds and commons, thus becomes clear.⁹⁶

Furthermore, if we consider that within our concept of corporativism, the state is not implicated *per se*, it becomes possible to connect corporativism to the more general idea of 'social movements'. Social movements are usually seen as state-independent forms of political action. The influential sociologist-historian Charles Tilly, once described social movements as forms of 'contentious politics'.⁹⁷ The independency of social movements from the state is a central element to the essence of these movements, even though in their performance, social movements usually make some kind of appeal to the state by doing certain types of claims.⁹⁸

Therefore, the organizational mode of corporativism can be viewed as a possible type of organization that can occur within social movements. This does not necessarily have to be the case, since the guilds and commons of before 1800 were corporativist, but no scholar would actually describe them

⁹³ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 11-12.

⁹⁴ Even though no exact definition is offered, Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel tacitly apply this understanding of corporatism in: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*. Another example of this usage is: Black, *Guild & state*.

⁹⁵ See, for example: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*. See also: Maarten Prak, *Republikeinse veelheid, democratische enkelvoud. Sociale verandering in het revolutietijdvak, 's Hertogenbosch 1770-1820* (Nijmegen 1999).

⁹⁶ Black, *Guild & state*, 220.

⁹⁷ Charles Tilly, *Regimes and repertoires* (Chicago 2006) 32-33.

⁹⁸ Charles Tilly, *Social movements, 1768-2012* (London 2016, 3rd Edition) 8. See also: Tilly, *Regimes and repertoires*, 32.

as social movements. It is my belief, however, that the workers' association Patrimonium can be seen as part of a social movement, while in essence it was a corporatist organization. So, let me now turn to providing a history of Patrimonium that goes beyond the limits of pillarization.

3. *Patrimonium: historiography and backgrounds*

On a chilly Monday afternoon in January 1876, an assembly of men gathered on the Lindengracht 76, Amsterdam. They convened in the living room of the family residence of Willem Christiaan Beeremans, the warden of beer brewery *De Gekroonde Valk*. Apart from Beeremans himself, other notable men were present. Among them was Willem Hovy, the wealthy owner of the brewery; his chief-mason and chief-carpenter Klaas Kater and Bart Poesiat; firm member of a wholesale business in machines and tools, Jan Jurriaan Glinderman; and the contractors J. Karres and J. Verweij. To record this historical moment, the media was represented by Julien Wolbers, publisher of the Christian worker's journal *De Werkmansvriend* and Jan Witmond, a journalist involved in writing on issues of laborers.

The gathering would mark the birth of the Dutch Christian Workers' Association *Patrimonium (Nederlandsche Werkliedenvereniging Patrimonium)*. With exception of Karres and Verweij, all men present agreed that there was an acute need of an association to lift laborers out of their miserable working and living conditions. Only a Christian association, set up by working men themselves, could elevate the working class both socially, ethically, spiritually and religiously.⁹⁹ That same year, in September, the men organized the first official meeting of *Patrimonium* in *De Gekroonde Valk*. Klaas Kater was to become chairman of *Patrimonium*, which was at that time established as a workers' association of Amsterdam.¹⁰⁰ Quickly similar initiatives took place in other towns in The Netherlands, which led these associations to unite under the banner of *Patrimonium*. In March 1880, the national Dutch Workers' Union *Patrimonium (Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium)* was thus brought to life. After the Articles of Association and internal regulations were drawn up, the first yearly assembly could take place in April 1881.¹⁰¹

In this chapter, I will discuss the historiographical traditions of the literature on *Patrimonium*. After that, I will sketch the political and economic background to the foundation of *Patrimonium*. Lastly, I will consider what role the Protestant ideology played for *Patrimonium's* character and how it combined corporativism with Christian morals. So, firstly, what patterns shape the historiography on *Patrimonium*?

⁹⁹ Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen. Patrimonium Amsterdam, van sociale vereniging tot sociale onderneming, 1876-2003* (Hilversum 2008) 21. See also: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1901*, 21-22.

¹⁰⁰ *Ibidem*, 11.

¹⁰¹ *Ibidem*, 41.

3.1 *Patrimonium in texts: ideology, trade unions and politics*

The historiographical tradition of Patrimonium strongly mirrors that of the Protestant-Christian social movement, as set out the previous chapter. One of the focal points was the ideological, or moral aspect of Patrimonium. For instance, Dutch historian and journalist Roelf Hagoort wrote a history of Patrimonium in 1935 which was titled *Het beginsel behouden (Principles upheld)*, illustrating his preoccupation with the moral aspect.¹⁰² That focus has not ceased and always played an important role in literature on the history of Patrimonium.¹⁰³ Mostly in tandem with this ideological, or moral focus, another way Patrimonium has been discussed is as a somewhat unsuccessful or even failed trade union.¹⁰⁴ This description probably stemmed from the advantage of hindsight, for it was quite unclear to contemporaries what Patrimonium's status as a trade union was, as I will argue. Thirdly, Patrimonium is often described in connection to the broader formal political context, in particular its relationship with the orthodox-Protestant Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP, *Anti-Revolutionaire Partij*), led by the tireless politician Abraham Kuyper.¹⁰⁵

All of these approaches are necessary and indispensable. However, as a result, Patrimonium's social-economic role as a workers' association became understated and even underappreciated. So to speak, the corporatist element of Patrimonium has been underexposed.¹⁰⁶ Patrimonium was more than a strongly religious, half-hearted trade organization firmly connected to the political will of the ARP and Abraham Kuyper. The activities deployed by Patrimonium and the services it offered meant something to its ordinary members. At the same time, Patrimonium was reacting to the challenges set by the dominant economic system of free-market capitalism, which took on an industrial character in the last decades of the nineteenth century. Together with altering dynamics in national politics, these economic changes prompted the establishment of Patrimonium. What were these changes, then?

¹⁰² Roelf Hagoort, *Het beginsel behouden. Gedenkboek van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium 1891-1927* (Amsterdam 1934). This observation was made by: Gerrit Jan Schutte, 'Klaas Kater', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998) 27.

¹⁰³ Gerrit Jan Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft; en de ziel verstikt in smook. Achtergronden en voorgeschiedenis van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991) 13-23. In his description of the historical prelude to Patrimonium's establishment, Schutte sets aside many pages to describe the development of Protestant-social thought. See also: Rolf van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001) 25.

¹⁰⁴ For example: Arnold Bornebroek, 'De vakbeweging in teksten', in: *Cahier. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998) 155-156.

¹⁰⁵ For example: Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 25-26.

¹⁰⁶ For example, Gerrit Jan Schutte and Rolf van der Woude shortly mention that Patrimonium offered social insurance, after which they continue to describe the internal and external political relations of Patrimonium. See: Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 23.; Van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', 27.

3.2 *Political institutions and economic development in the 19th century*

The development of liberal political thought during the 18th century had taken concrete form with the events of the French Revolution and the Napoleonic adventure that followed up on it. The consequent rise to power of the liberal bourgeoisie was eventually sealed in the internationally tumultuous year of 1848.¹⁰⁷ For the Netherlands, that year saw the instigation of its constitutional monarchy state-form, which persists up until today.¹⁰⁸ The constitution, drawn up by a commission led by the well-known liberal politician Johan Rudolph Thorbecke, ushered in a period of so called 'constitutional politics'.¹⁰⁹ Members of the Dutch Parliament (*Tweede Kamer*) of the decades after 1848 were legal experts, who were expected to exercise politics in a way that would honor the public good. National politics was, ideally speaking, not a matter of ideological difference or party rivalry, but of making sure the constitution was upheld by the government and politicians.¹¹⁰

Apart from this political consequence, the liberal constitution of 1848 indirectly determined the rules of the market too, as Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel have remarked.¹¹¹ What followed after the constitution was economic liberalization, with the removal of several taxes and stimulation of international free trade.¹¹² As a consequence, not just the trade of products was left to the market, but also the 'freeing' of the labor market took place. The effect was that labor was 'commodified'.¹¹³ Working class laborers and lower middle-class craftsmen were left to the irregularities of the forces of demand and supply, which subsequently produced all kinds of socio-economic insecurities for them.

Then again, the free labor market was not a new phenomenon of the late nineteenth century. In earlier times, craftsmen had organized themselves in guilds to counter the insecurities created by the free labor market. By associating, they could withdraw from the market and regulate economic activity among themselves. Additionally, the organized collective could organize insurances for its members.¹¹⁴ What had made the situation in the late nineteenth century so different then?

¹⁰⁷ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, 213; 313. See also: Piet de Rooy, *A tiny spot on earth. The political culture of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century* (Amsterdam 2015) 114.

¹⁰⁸ Friso Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden* (Amsterdam 2012) 236.

¹⁰⁹ Henk te Velde, 'Constitutionele politiek. De parlementair-politieke praktijk en de Grondwet van 1848', in: Nicolaas van Sas en Henk te Velde (eds.), *De eeuw van de Grondwet. Grondwet en politiek in Nederland, 1798-1917* (Deventer 1998), 147-149.

¹¹⁰ Henk te Velde, 'Constitutionele politiek', 159-161. See also: Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, 238-39.

¹¹¹ The approach of these authors is one of 'institutional economics', where they hold the belief that the rules of the market are determined by institutions. For instance, the institution of private property rights is essential for market transactions of, say, industrial machinery. Accordingly, the state constitution is the authority securing these property rights. See: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 20-21.

¹¹² Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 217; 231-32.

¹¹³ *Ibidem*, 317.

¹¹⁴ *Ibidem*, 22-23.

The crucial development here was the political-institutional impediment of guild activity. The *Code Pénal* was introduced to the Dutch Republic in 1811 during its Napoleonic rule and it remained in effect after the Kingdom of the Netherlands was formed in 1815.¹¹⁵ This law code abolished all guilds in the Netherlands and prohibited the formation of new ones. In addition, the code stated that every association of more than twenty individuals had to be officially approved by the state.¹¹⁶ This policy choice had to do with the fact that guilds were perceived of as obstacles to wealth creation. Indeed, Thomas Robert Malthus, the very first 'professor of political economy', had already argued in *An essay on the principle of population* (1798) that '[e]very endeavour should be used to weaken and destroy all those institutions relating to corporations, apprenticeships, etc.'¹¹⁷ All in all, serious institutional restrictions had been imposed upon guilds and associations in general.

In the meantime, the structure of the Dutch economy went through an important transition. A new type of capitalism had emerged after the merchant capitalism of trade companies: *industrial capitalism*.¹¹⁸ Industrialization hit the Netherlands relatively late: only from the 1860s onwards did rapid growth of industrial production occur.¹¹⁹ Nevertheless, the disruptive effects of this structural economic change on the lives of workers were undeniable.¹²⁰ While real wages rose steadily at a certain point, industrialization and the accompanying urbanization had changed the lives of workers in such a way that their working and living conditions had not necessarily improved. Both male, female and juvenile laborers worked many hours under difficult circumstances.¹²¹

As the urgency of the ill-bearing living circumstances of the working class became clear, the call for addressing it grew too.¹²² This awareness led to the formulation of a problem summarized as the 'social question'. Van Zanden and Van Riel have argued that the social question was essentially a problem formulated from the standpoint of the established liberal bourgeoisie, who knew they had to slowly extend suffrage over the nation's population and make laborers members of the political community.¹²³ Then again, they were reluctant in doing this since they were convinced that the working man was not suited to participate in political matters. Liberals thus started a 'civilization offensive' to raise or 'elevate' the worker from his abominable condition, believing that his misery stemmed from a lack of moral education that could civilize him and eventually ready him for political participation.¹²⁴

¹¹⁵ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 118.

¹¹⁶ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 118.

¹¹⁷ Thomas Robert Malthus, 'An essay on the principle of population' (1798), in: Steven G. Medema and Warren J. Samuels (eds.), *The history of economic thought. A reader* (London 2013, 2nd Edition) 206.

¹¹⁸ James Fulcher, *Capitalism. A very short introduction* (Oxford 2015, 2nd Edition) 4-5.

¹¹⁹ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 10-11. See also: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 167.

¹²⁰ Fulcher, *Capitalism*, 6-8. See also: Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 11.

¹²¹ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 167.

¹²² Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 11-12.

¹²³ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 316.

¹²⁴ *Ibidem*, 319.

Yet, as concrete improvement stayed off and as trade unionization and employers' association were legalized in 1872, workers increasingly began to organize themselves, convinced that they could not rely on the goodwill of the bourgeoisie any longer.¹²⁵ Earlier, with the implementation of the Thorbeckian constitution of 1848, the liberal freedom of association was already partially restored. The government still exercised preventive supervision over civil associations, as it had the power to grant corporate rights (for undertaking legal and financial obligations) to associations according to its own will. However, that power was weakened after 1872.¹²⁶ So while the economy was institutionally liberalized after 1848, the possibility of corporate organization and political association was simultaneously granted again. This caused a revival of associationism, with a first phase that was characterized very much by corporativism: workers organized in associations to offer social services to each other, such as health and disability funds. Later, the associationism became more focused on influencing government policy.¹²⁷

With this in mind, Van Zanden and Van Riel concluded that in essence, the social question concerned the 'tension that existed between the political emancipation of the worker and the commodification of the labor force, which to a certain extent both resulted from the (realization of) the liberal program.¹²⁸ Their interpretation of the social question offers an interesting point of view. Nevertheless, the social question was not merely a matter of how to implicate laborers into the political community. Among other groups, strictly religious Protestants were occupied with the condition of the working class too. They saw the new social reality created by liberals as an infringement of the Godly devised order of society.¹²⁹ At the same time, many of them were, at least for a long time, opponents of universal male suffrage.¹³⁰

Patrimonium was such a group of Protestants that tackled the social question. Since its founding days, Patrimonium tried to be more than a generic workers' association. In 1911, when recalling its establishment, the long-time Patrimonium secretary Grondijs expressed: 'One came to understand that a workers-organization could do more than summon leisure evenings and administer health funds'.¹³¹ The association was inspired by an ideology based on a Protestant interpretation of the Holy Scripture.¹³² So, how did ideology play a role in shaping Patrimonium?

¹²⁵ Ibidem, 326.

¹²⁶ Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland*, 236.; De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 118-19.

¹²⁷ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 326-27.

¹²⁸ Ibidem, 317.

¹²⁹ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 14-15.

¹³⁰ Ibidem, 146-47. See also: Adriejan van Veen, 'De Kamers van Arbeid. Experimenten met politieke vertegenwoordiging in Nederland rond 1900', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 128 (2013) 2, 49.

¹³¹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1911*, 87.

¹³² In literature about the Christian social movement, organizations that form a part of this movement are sometimes referred to as 'inspired organizations'. For example: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al (eds.), *Cahier. Geïnspireerde organisaties. Verzuiling en ontzuiling van de christelijk sociale beweging* 7 (Amsterdam 2007).

3.3 *A Christian ideology: the harmonious, organic society*

The moral objective of Patrimonium was a 'grand' one, so to speak. The first of its Articles of Association stated:

Patrimonium, in believing that God's Word and the traditions of our people form the reliable foundation of a Christian society, sets itself the goal of, by all means, spreading knowledge of that society all about and generating love for it, in order to, on these principles, further the interest of society as a whole and of the workers in particular, by all means permitted.¹³³

Part of that Christian society was harmony between workers and their employers. Accordingly, one of Patrimonium's official mottos read: 'The man of wealth and the poor man come face to face: the Lord is the maker of them all.'¹³⁴ Thus, bringing the poor man and the wealthy man together was a core objective of Patrimonium that was directly derived from the Bible.¹³⁵ By extension, everyone who underwrote the Christian principle could sign up as a member.¹³⁶ Indeed, from its conception, both workers and 'patrons' were allowed to join Patrimonium. They were to be referred to as respectively 'ordinary' and 'extraordinary' members.¹³⁷ As a consequence of this idea, the notion of class struggle was fiercely rejected by Christian social thinkers that influenced the ideas of Patrimonium.¹³⁸ The most prominent of these Protestant ideologists at the time was Abraham Kuyper.

Originally a pastor, Kuyper met his vocation in politics. He was to become the first person to found a political party in the Netherlands – the Anti-Revolutionary Party (ARP) in 1879 – marking the end of the dominant political culture of constitutional politics that ruled since the introduction of the Thorbeckian constitution.¹³⁹ Before becoming a modern politician, Kuyper had formulated a comprehensive resistance to the changes that had been bestowed upon society since the French Revolution. He was frustrated with the 'uniformity' of life that was a consequence of the economic and

¹³³ The text is from the Art. 1 of the founding Articles of Association of Patrimonium from March 1877, which was printed in: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 65. (My translation)

¹³⁴ The motto is a Biblical Proverb (22:2), translated in Dutch as: 'Rijken en armen ontmoeten elkander, de Heere heeft hen allen gemaakt.'

¹³⁵ See: Historical Centre for the Documentation of Dutch Protestantism, 1800-present (hereafter: HDC-VU), collection number 696, inventory 7: H.C. van den Brink, *De verhouding tussen Patroon en Knecht* (1903), 33. According to the author, the relation between the master and its servant is one devised by God. We may speak of a divine harmony between them that gives order to society.

¹³⁶ Groenewold, 'De Christelijk Nationale Werkmansbond', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998), 39.

¹³⁷ See: Art. 4 of the founding Articles of Association of Patrimonium from March 1877, which was printed in: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 66.

¹³⁸ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 26.

¹³⁹ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 114; 136; 141.

political transformations that the past century had witnessed.¹⁴⁰ To Kuyper, these changes contradicted God's holy ordinance, which had granted different spheres in life that should not be undermined.¹⁴¹

While at first Kuyper had aimed to battle this uniformity through a 'revival' of the Protestant state, he slowly stepped away from this ambition and started propagating the organization of Protestants strictly within their own circles.¹⁴² This standpoint met resistance from the most dominant Church in the Netherlands, the Dutch Reformed Church (*Nederlands Hervormde Kerk*, NHK), leading Kuyper to eventually force a Church schism. Several congregations split from the NHK in the so called *Doleantie* of 1886. Together with a group of earlier split-offs, Kuyper then founded the Reformed Churches in the Netherlands (*Gereformeerde Kerken in Nederland*) in 1892, which was to be associated with a more orthodox strand of Protestantism thereafter.¹⁴³

Kuyper managed to underpin his actions with a comprehensive philosophy on the relation between the state and the Church, in which the latter was to be completely independent.¹⁴⁴ Accordingly, his views appropriated the state with a limited role: the state should not intermingle in the different 'circles' of society. Hence, society was to be seen as an organic entity, consisting of separate social circles that had their own rules, laws and conduct. Examples of such circles were the family unit, the church and the state. These circles were ultimately sovereign under God, making them independent of the state. The function of the state was merely to secure harmony between the different circles and to guarantee the rule of law.¹⁴⁵

One domain where the state was failing this role, according to Kuyper, was public education. By means of a national petition signed by 300,000 citizens, he effectively managed to politicize the way school finance was regulated.¹⁴⁶ The issue was that whilst so called 'neutral' schools received subsidies from the state, education founded on confessional principles ('special' education) did not. When the liberal government accepted a law that imposed higher quality standards on 'schools with the Bible', while not granting them extra state subsidy, the issue reached a boiling point.¹⁴⁷ It was essentially along this politicized line that the establishment of Patrimonium would take place.

¹⁴⁰ Ibidem, 111-12. Abraham Kuyper was not the first person in Dutch political culture to formulate an extensive critique of the French Revolution and the liberal turn society had taken after that event. A generation before him, the orthodox-Protestant conservatives Guillaume Groen van Prinsterer and Isaac da Costa had made similar arguments. For a more thorough description of how their views influenced those of Abraham Kuyper and differed from his, I refer to: De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 114-16.; Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 13-19.

¹⁴¹ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 16.

¹⁴² De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 123.

¹⁴³ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 44. See also: Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 33.

¹⁴⁴ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 123.

¹⁴⁵ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 19-22. See also: Van Veen, 'De Kamers van Arbeid', 38-39.

¹⁴⁶ De Rooy, *A tiny spot*, 121. See also: Van Dam, *Staat van verzuiling*, 32.

¹⁴⁷ Ibidem, 129.

3.4 *The guild and the God*

Klaas Kater, an expert mason with a long and diverse labor career, was a key figure in founding Patrimonium. To Kater, who cherished a firm adhesion to the higher classes, independent organization of working men was a necessary step towards their elevation.¹⁴⁸ He had joined the General Dutch Workers' Union (*Algemeen Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond*, ANWV) in the early 1870s. The ANWV was an initiative of social-liberals who recognized the urgency of addressing the social issues of the working class after various riots broke out in the Netherlands. This was not in the least influenced by the international experience of socialist uproar which had reached its apotheosis with the extremely bloody crackdown on the Parisian Commune in France, in 1871.¹⁴⁹

However, when the ANWV expressed its support for neutral schools in 1874, its non-confessional nature had become clear to Kater. As a devoted Protestant, he initiated the foundation of Patrimonium along with a few others and became the first chairman of the association.¹⁵⁰ Kater would stay in that function for nearly twenty years.¹⁵¹ Patrimonium was thus established against the background of the increasing urgency of the 'social question' and the formulation of a genuine Protestant ideology.

In essence, the establishment of Patrimonium as a corporatist association can be seen as a reaction to the main insecurity a free-market could cause for wage laborers: unemployment. Gerrit-Jan Schutte and Rolf van der Woude have both recognized that the core motive for workers to join Patrimonium was due to the attractiveness of its health fund, which granted an income in times when illness caused unemployment. In fact, this was most likely the main cause of the rapid expansion of membership that Patrimonium saw in its first 15 years of existence (see Figure 1).¹⁵²

Consequently, Patrimonium had to articulate an economic rationale for its activities, which found inspiration in the political-economic motives behind earlier guild organization. In a pamphlet named *Arbeid en Loon* (Wage and Labor) – published in 1902 as a result of a discussion during the yearly assembly – the loyal board official Jan van der Molen revised how the association of labor was necessary to strengthen the position of workers on the labor market.¹⁵³ Within this line of thought, offering services like health funds became a core element of not just Patrimonium, but many other corporatist organizations at that time.¹⁵⁴

¹⁴⁸ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 29-30.

¹⁴⁹ Ibidem, 31. See also: Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 315.

¹⁵⁰ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1910*, 90-91. See also: Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 23.

¹⁵¹ Klaas Kater was only replaced in 1900 by Pieter van Vliet Jr, another long-time Patrimonium notable. See: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1901*, 56.

¹⁵² Schutte, Altena, Bert and A.J.P. Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider niet gevoelt dat hij rechten heeft, dan is hij weg. De protestants-christelijke werkliedenbeweging, 1891-1914', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 150.; Van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', 27.

¹⁵³ HDC-VU, collection number 696, inventory 7: J. van der Molen Tzn., *Arbeid en Loon* (Utrecht 1902) 14-16.

¹⁵⁴ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 325-26.

The safeguarding function of guilds was a central organizing principle of Patrimonium.¹⁵⁵ This principle was to be legitimized with a Christian social mission: while the ideologists of the association believed that being able to work for God was an honorable duty, they also realized that being employed granted one with an income to make possible a dignified life in the first place.¹⁵⁶ For workers, the line between economic security on the one hand and poverty on the other was a thin one indeed. The effects of unemployment on the living conditions of those who remained without work and their families could be severe, as it could cast many into harsh poverty.¹⁵⁷ Hence, elevating workers from poverty to make possible a pious life was in line with Protestant ideology. The dual character of Patrimonium as a corporatist organization and a moral association became clear as early as during the founding congress of Patrimonium, when both a plan for the establishment of a pension fund was discussed, as well as matters of alcohol abuse, prostitution and 'neutral' education.¹⁵⁸

As a consequence, Patrimonium set itself the task of spreading the ideology of the harmonious organic society through organizing lectures and exercising propaganda over the years to come. To make that possible, Patrimonium had its departments set up libraries where they could make available literature for their members.¹⁵⁹ The number of libraries grew slightly as the number of established departments increased. By 1892, of the 114 departments in total, 22 had reported to be in possession of a library.¹⁶⁰ Not every library was as extensive as the other though. For example, the department of Kampen reportedly had almost 1200 titles in its library in 1894, while smaller departments could have as little as two books to borrow.¹⁶¹ In the early 1900s, Patrimonium even opened a bookstore run by the association itself.¹⁶²

Propaganda was also spread by means of lecturing both during local meetings and national assemblies.¹⁶³ Often, these readings attacked socialists and social-democrats, which testifies to the fact that socialism was the greatest rival to Patrimonium's membership, or at least was perceived as such.¹⁶⁴

¹⁵⁵ For the views on the importance of guilds, see for example: HDC-VU, collection number 696, inventory 7: Mr. T. De Vries, *De Geloofsstrijd van den Christen-Werkman. Eene lezing, gehouden voor 'Patrimonium', afdeling 's Gravenhage, op Donderdag 8 april 1909, door Mr. T. De Vries* (Den Haag 1909) 11.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1911*, 84.

¹⁵⁶ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 25-26.

¹⁵⁷ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 38.

¹⁵⁸ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1911*, 91.

¹⁵⁹ See Art. 2a. and 2b. of the Articles of Association of Patrimonium from 1877: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 65-66.

¹⁶⁰ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 86. See also: Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 151.

¹⁶¹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 119-21.

¹⁶² IISH, *Jaarboekje 1904*, 40.

¹⁶³ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1995*, 119-21.

¹⁶⁴ Lex Heersma van Voss, 'De rode dreiging', 115; 127. See, for example: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1897*, 115-16. This page lists the titles of the lectures given at local departments in 1896. A number of them cover the topic of socialism. Critique of socialism was something related to the essence of Patrimonium: Klaas Kater and others had founded Patrimonium as a reaction to the ANWV and as late as 1909, a pamphlet with substantial criticism on socialism was published. See: HDC-VU, collection number 696, inventory 7: Mr. T. De Vries, *De Geloofsstrijd van den Christen-Werkman. Eene lezing, gehouden voor 'Patrimonium', afdeling 's Gravenhage, op Donderdag 8 april 1909, door Mr. T. De Vries* (Den Haag 1909) 3-7.

Socialism was deemed, like liberalism, to be distancing the worker from God, thereby disturbing the divine harmony of society.¹⁶⁵

But in practice, Patrimonium's political program had much affinity with socialist programs. Measures like land nationalization, expropriation and taxation of inheritance were at a certain point starkly promoted.¹⁶⁶ In fact, during a 1892 lecture given in Amsterdam in honor of the 15-year anniversary of the department, the scholar W. Geesink even argued that the Christians of Patrimonium were socialists, but the problem was, he maintained, that many Christians did not understand the term 'socialist', for they associated it too much and too often with Marxists.¹⁶⁷

This character of Patrimonium repeatedly brought it into conflict with Abraham Kuyper and the ARP, but also with its 'extraordinary' members.¹⁶⁸ By 1892, Protestant patrons, factory owners and wholesalers had organized themselves in a separate employers' association called Boáz.¹⁶⁹ This led to internal debates in Patrimonium about its nature, which ended with the yearly assembly declaring that the core members of Patrimonium were the working men.¹⁷⁰

The workers were, indeed, the core of the association: they were the ones who had sought economic security by uniting into Patrimonium. Thus, in the end, while Patrimonium worked on spreading its principles through propaganda, the ideology underpinning Patrimonium did not produce a fluent relationship with the ARP, nor did it easily harmonize workers and patrons. Patrimonium was, above all, a corporatist organization of workers. How did it live up to this role in practice?

¹⁶⁵ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 38.

¹⁶⁶ See, for instance, Art. 15 and 16 of the definitive Social Program, as published by Patrimonium in 1894: HDC-VU, collection number 323: 'Sociaal Program', 5.

¹⁶⁷ HDC-VU, collection number 009, inventory 1: See pages 3-11 of the print of this lecture.

¹⁶⁸ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 42.

¹⁶⁹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1897*, 135. The founding year of Boáz is mentioned here as being 1892.

¹⁷⁰ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 93.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 91.

4. *Patrimonium between corporativism and trade unions*

As mentioned in the previous chapter, Patrimonium was not established to become an association of working men like every other. As Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude summarized: 'Patrimonium wanted to be a national mass-movement that would bring the Protestant people back to the time before the [French] revolution.' In practice, however, its most important activities could be very down-to-earth.

In this chapter, I will discuss the activities of Patrimonium as a corporativist association. In doing so, I will investigate its history as such, shedding light on the internal and external struggles that Patrimonium coped with. Subsequently, I will examine what factors played a role in the demise of Patrimonium as an corporativist organization. So while its mission was promoted through lecturing, setting up libraries and other forms of propaganda, how did Patrimonium bring into practice its corporativist objective?

4.1 *Provision of work and insurance funds*

One way to approach the problems of the workers was with so called 'provision of work' (*werkverschaffing*). For instance, the local department of the small village of Oldeboorn in Friesland, undertook an initiative with unemployed members to manufacture more than 500 clogs.¹⁷¹ Other departments had their unemployed produce firewood, cultivate flax or perform other types of productivity.¹⁷² In Utrecht, a large cooperative initiative took place between several workers' organizations to provide work for around 140 jobless people, with success.¹⁷³ Finding a job was also facilitated through the setting up of labor exchange bureaus where job-seekers and employers could be brought together, as done by Amsterdam and some other departments, for example.¹⁷⁴ By 1909, there were a total of 18 local labor exchanges brought under the national union of Patrimonium.¹⁷⁵ Then again, the provision of work was generally done to counter seasonal unemployment and it could provide

¹⁷¹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 62.

¹⁷² For several examples, see: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1894*, 61; 66; 76; 77.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 38.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 115.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1897*, 109.

¹⁷³ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 117.

¹⁷⁴ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1894*, 60.

¹⁷⁵ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1910*, 82.

laborers with some short term work at most.¹⁷⁶ When diseases, accidents or deaths hit a family, more sophisticated measures needed to be arranged.

For that reason, many departments possessed a health fund (*Onderstandskas*) since their early days.¹⁷⁷ The provision of funds for illness, accidents and deaths was at a certain point even incorporated into the national Articles of Association of Patrimonium.¹⁷⁸ The number of health funds rose approximately in proportion to the number of established departments. For instance, there were 66 departments with health funds on a total of 170 departments in 1895. By 1911, there were 92 health funds on 215 departments.¹⁷⁹ All these funds granted payments for a certain period of time, which differed in exact regulations per fund and also per department. Roughly speaking, the average premium for the health fund – the most important and most widely spread insurance – was between 5 and 10 cents a week, while the benefits received levitated between 3 and 5 guilders a week on average.¹⁸⁰ To sketch the financial image: the average salary of a worker was 7,50 Dutch guilders a week, but could also fall as low as 4 guilders.¹⁸¹

In extraordinary cases, other types of funds were also established. For instance, the department of Rotterdam even managed to arrange financial compensation to widows, who would receive 25 guilders (approximate monthly salary) in case of death of their husbands.¹⁸² Other departments succeeded in establishing a fund for financing a proper funeral for its members.¹⁸³ The department of Zaandam even reported having a general unemployment fund.¹⁸⁴

Meanwhile, the social insurances offered by Patrimonium became relatively successful, in the sense that they attracted many applicants. In the 1890s, it became clear to the national board that despite this fact, it was hardly possible to financially preserve this system for a longer period without having to raise premiums to unreasonable heights.¹⁸⁵ As a consequence, advertisements of private insurance companies

¹⁷⁶ Many departments complained about seasonal unemployment, especially the smaller departments located in the countryside. See, for one, the instance of Numansdorp: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 61.

¹⁷⁷ Quite confusingly, some yearbooks report on Patrimoniums departments having health funds (*onderstandskas*), as well as illness funds (*ziektefonds*). The term is used inconsistently, but does suggest to refer to one arrangement. There is, however, in one yearbook (IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 86) a mention of both terms on the same page, suggesting they have a differentiated meaning. Nevertheless, the continuity between the number of health funds in some yearbooks with the number of reported illness funds in other yearbooks suggests that these terms describe one and the same health fund.

¹⁷⁸ See Art. 2.g.: HDC-VU, collection number 009, inventory 2: 'Statuten en huishoudelijk reglement van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond "Patrimonium"', 27. The specific date of these Articles of Association is unknown, yet the document does mention that they were 'approved by royal resolution' in 1901.

¹⁷⁹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 108-111.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1912*, 62-65.

¹⁸⁰ For instance, compare the following reports: HDC-VU, collection number 696, inventory 1: *Jaarboekje 1889*, 38.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1891*, 47.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1894*, 59.

¹⁸¹ Rolf van der Woude, 'Beginsel en belang', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001) 28.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 63.

¹⁸² HDC-VU, *Jaarboekje 1889*, 35.

¹⁸³ One example is: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1892*, 48.;

¹⁸⁴ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1897*, 108.

¹⁸⁵ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1912*, 99.

started appearing in the yearbooks of Patrimonium and the members were explicitly advised to join these.¹⁸⁶

While local departments still arranged funds, Patrimonium slowly departed from propagating private insurance to embracing the view that national government should be responsible for arranging a nation-wide health and pension insurance by implicating every Dutch citizen. This way insurance funds could be set up both more sustainably than insurance through association and more reliably than private insurance.¹⁸⁷ Despite this, as late as 1910, the option of establishing a union-wide health and funeral fund was still discussed by Patrimonium's yearly assembly. Yet, under pressure of the union's board, the assembly still reached the conclusion that it should 'strongly urge both Government and Parliament to quickly present and discuss insurance bills, for these are the most urgent.'¹⁸⁸ This strategy eventually had its negative consequences for the relevancy of Patrimonium as a corporativist association.

4.2 *Internal conflict: political elites, patrons and Protestant workers*

Apart from the provision of work and arrangement of social insurances, Patrimonium also deployed some activities that cannot effectively be brought under one category, but are still worth mentioning. Some of these activities demonstrate additional ways in which Patrimonium aimed to strengthen the position of laborers, while they can also shed light on political-economic struggles that raged within Patrimonium.

One interesting case in point is the establishment of a building association within the local department of Kampen, Overijssel. This relatively large department started providing housing to its members through its building association, called 'Patrimonium's Building Passion' (*Patrimonium's Bouwlust*).¹⁸⁹ By 1895, it had already financed and constructed 49 residences.¹⁹⁰ Other departments also undertook endeavors to stimulate the possession of private property among their members or make available property through collective possession by the department. For instance, the department of the small Frisian town of Berlikum bought 9 km² of land for their members to cultivate.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁶ IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1897, 51-55.; IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1898, 41-43.; IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1901, 55.

¹⁸⁷ This view was formulated as a resolution and directly sent to the Dutch national government, see: HDC-VU, collection number 323: 'Motie'. This standpoint was originally adopted in a Political Program issued by Patrimonium in 1905, to guide its members with voting for the national parliamentary elections. See Art. 1 in.: IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1906, 39. For an elaboration on the arguments behind this view, see also: IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1912, 99.

¹⁸⁸ IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1911, 75. By this time, the question of how to arrange the insurance funds had been a discussion point for subsequent years now. See for example the discussion between the department of Groningen, which opted for a general funeral fund in Patrimonium, and the department of Amsterdam, which proposed to maintain the local arrangements: IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1904, 53.

¹⁸⁹ IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1892, 47.

¹⁹⁰ IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1896, 124.

¹⁹¹ IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1892, 45. Another example is from Wester-Nijkerk, see: IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1894, 70. See also: IISH, *Jaarboekje* 1895, 39.

However, this act brought them into conflict with landowning patrons. The department complained: 'Now that we begin to act in practice, the extraordinary members, i.e. the patrons, are abandoning us. What does this mean?'¹⁹² What it meant was that Patrimonium, despite its attempt to harmonize workers and patrons, still encountered opposite interests within the political-economic reality of its activities. Similarly, a clash found place in respect to land ownership. In the province of Friesland, farmers were increasingly expropriated, which eventually led to only 5 out of 12 peasants still being in possession of their own land by the early 1890s.¹⁹³ Unified in a provincial union under Patrimonium, the Frisian departments had urgently pressed for solving this problem. They expressed their desire for a 'social program', where Patrimonium would explicate its standpoints on matters such as that of the so called 'soil-issue'.¹⁹⁴

The soil-issue became a major motive for the organization of the Christian Social Congress of 1891, where Patrimonium, the ARP and other orthodox-Protestant organizations were present.¹⁹⁵ Yet, the congress never came to effectively discuss the soil-issue, as well as possible remedies such as the proposal of land nationalization by the Frisian departments.¹⁹⁶ This led to utmost dissatisfaction among the Frisian side of Patrimonium. As a reaction, they formulated an own social program, which prompted strong denunciations from Abraham Kuyper and other Protestant elites.¹⁹⁷ To prevent internal rupture, however, Klaas Kater advocated the drawing up of a union-wide social program.¹⁹⁸ Three years after the Social Congress had taken place, an official *Social Program* was finally published by the union's board.¹⁹⁹

It did not, however, receive much support from Protestant elites. For one, Kuyper had been skeptical about the general desirability of a Christian worker's organization like Patrimonium from the beginning.²⁰⁰ By means of the Social Congress, he had successfully managed to steer Patrimonium into the course of his ARP.²⁰¹ The constant meddling of national politicians into the activities of Patrimonium came to be a target of criticism for the socialist rivals of Patrimonium. Protestant political elites were often portrayed as manipulators of the workers, as illustrated by the political cartoons of the journal *Het Volk* (see Figure 2 and 3). But there was internal resistance to this situation as well.

A few years after the Social Congress, in 1894, the Christian National Workers' Union (*Christelijke Nationale Werkmansbond*, CNWB) was established as a secession of Patrimonium, in reaction to Kuyper's

¹⁹² IISH, *Jaarboekje 1892*, 45.

¹⁹³ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1891*, 103-105.

¹⁹⁴ IISH, *Jaarboekje, 1908*. See also: Herman Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen van Nederland, vereenigt u – althans wat de sociale nooden betreft. Achtergronden, organisatie en resultaten van het Christelijk-Sociaal Congres van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte, *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 116-118.

¹⁹⁵ Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen', 121-22.

¹⁹⁶ *Ibidem*, 128-30.

¹⁹⁷ *Ibidem*, 132-33.

¹⁹⁸ *Ibidem*, 134.

¹⁹⁹ *Ibidem*, 135-37.

²⁰⁰ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen* 42.

²⁰¹ Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen', 141.

influence on the course of Patrimonium. This could explain the sudden fall in Patrimonium's national membership count after 1894 (see Figure 1), which is totally overlooked by Wouter Beekers and Rolf van der Woude.²⁰² Interestingly, in relation to the pillarizational idea that an orthodox-Protestant pillar formed separately from a more liberal Protestant community, we can conclude the following: the situation above suggests that Patrimonium was, at least until 1894, a *general* Protestant union. Even in later years this seems to have been at least an aim of Patrimonium: in the run up to the national elections of the early 1900s, Patrimonium maintained contacts with both the ARP and the Christian Historical Union (*Christelijk-Historische Unie*, CHU), the political party associated with the more liberal Protestants of the CNWB.²⁰³

Despite the recurrent struggles between workers and their patrons and the political elite on the other side, maintaining a stable relationship with their patron was an essential survival strategy for laborers, as Lex Heersma van Voss pointed out.²⁰⁴ The chance of getting work, having a clientele or receiving support all depended on a good reputation with the local elite. Such a reputation was upheld by demonstrating that one was a decent member of their own societal rank, confirming to the accepted values and standards. Since the church was the key enforcer of these values, as Heersma van Voss argued, it was not surprising that many lower middle class workers and craftsmen were the most orthodox believers.²⁰⁵

Indeed, the orthodox-Protestants of Patrimonium sent their children to Sunday schooling and Bible teachings all the time.²⁰⁶ During 1890, the Amsterdam Sunday school, for example, was visited by almost 650 pupils, on a member base of around 740 heads of household (men).²⁰⁷ Patrimonium's members were in fact very keen on not being equated with proletarians.²⁰⁸ Furthermore, local departments set up school funds to help workers finance their children's education.²⁰⁹ Noteworthy are the specific promotions of technical craft schools, which were also central to Patrimonium's social program.²¹⁰ In a sense, this reminds one of the instructive feature of the traditional guilds, with its master-apprentice

²⁰² Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 40.

²⁰³ For example: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1910*, 69.

²⁰⁴ Lex Heersma van Voss, 'De rode dreiging..., ...en het verzuilde antwoord', in: Blom and Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij*, 122.

²⁰⁵ Ibidem, 121-22.

²⁰⁶ Some examples include: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1890*, 34.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1891*, 46.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 86.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1894*, 59.

²⁰⁷ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1891*, 34.

²⁰⁸ Article 9 of Patrimonium's official Social Program (1894) for example reads: 'Since poor relief (...) humiliates the worker and puts him on the same line as a proletarian, Patrimonium asks the government to render poor relief redundant by properly arranging labor pensions for old age, mutilation or illness.' See: IISH, *Jaarboekje 95*, 101.

²⁰⁹ For example, during 1889, the school fund of the department of the Hague funded the education of 18 children. See: IISH *Jaarboekje 1890*, 37. Another example is the 'Supplementation fund' of the department of Dordrecht. See: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1891*, 46.

²¹⁰ See Article 12 of Patrimonium's official Social Program (1894): IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 102. Already in 1891 did the yearly assembly of Patrimonium decide to support the establishment of technical craft schools. See: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1892*, 96.

system. It seemed as though Patrimonium aimed to lift this to the national level, as to create a sort of corporative structure enforced by the state. Another cornerstone of Patrimonium, the protection of national labor, also seems to support this claim.²¹¹ Here, the analogy would be that just like guilds protected its craftsmen from the local market, the state could protect its workers from the international market.

Whether or not we should interpret these aims in this manner, the following does come to mind after tracing the corporativist history of Patrimonium: Firstly, while the importance of activities such as land appropriation should not be overestimated, they do point into a direction where not just 'manipulation' of Patrimonium by political elites was daily reality, but genuine political-economic conflict between workers and employers was recurrent. Secondly, Patrimonium expressed an increasing appeal to the state for the arrangement of corporativist objectives such as social insurances and schooling, instead of regulating these itself. This 'interest representation' function of Patrimonium would consequently contribute to the demise of its relevancy as a corporativist organization.

4.3 *Interest representation and the end of corporativist Patrimonium*

While the first decade of Patrimonium was marked by a quest of finding its 'niche in society', as Schutte observed, the Christian Social Congress of 1891 formed a breaking point in that respect.²¹² It was not so much the congress itself that forced Patrimonium to explicate its social goals, as the economic background of the late nineteenth century, against which the congress was to take place. As we have seen above, the 'soil issue' generated a growing call within Patrimonium for a social program, that eventually appeared in 1894. At the same time, the 80s had witnessed economic trouble and an agrarian crisis that had made a workable solution to the social question as urgent as possible.²¹³

It was within this context that a second phase of corporativism commenced that was characterized by associations that did not try to protect their workers from the market, but to regulate the market by calling for national social-economic legislature. These 'trade unions' were generally underpinned by a socialist foundation, which meant that they were separate organizations of laborers, without their patrons.²¹⁴ One well-known trademark of these unions was the act of strike. Striking was effective in a sense, because it brought to the surface the contrasting interests of laborers and employers.²¹⁵ However, to several Patrimonium members striking was a troublesome act, since it undermined the idea of a divine

²¹¹ The protection of national labor is also mentioned in Patrimonium's official Social Program (1894). See Article 17: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1895*, 103.

²¹² Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 151.; Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen', 141.

²¹³ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 12. See also: Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 142-43.

²¹⁴ Luiten van Zanden and Van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914*, 328.

²¹⁵ *Ibidem*, 314-15.

harmony between patrons and their workers.²¹⁶ Indeed, it confirmed class struggle and if there was one thing that brought Protestants together, it was their adversity of socialism, social-democracy its understanding of the political-economic reality.²¹⁷

Against this background, the Congress of 1891 was to offer a solution by reaching consensus on a general Christian (i.e. Protestant) social vision on the matter of strikes.²¹⁸ In the end, the congress concluded that strikes were acceptable only as a last resort measure, after all other options had been taken into account and all possible measures had been deployed.²¹⁹ Under the chairmanship of Klaas Kater, this view remained dominant, but was repeatedly contested in the years to come.²²⁰ However, no active action on this area was undertaken by Patrimonium and it kept away from explicitly propagating strikes. Instead, an adequate organization of Chambers of Labor (*Kamers van Arbeid*) would be the best way to tackle the social question.²²¹

In these Chambers, workers would be represented and chosen directly by workers themselves. Together with their employers, they would come to an agreement on labor conditions and the government would issue no economic policy without consulting these Chambers.²²² During the 1890s, Patrimonium played a significant role in lobbying for the establishment of Chambers. It even experimented with some local initiatives and there was constant debate on how to give shape to them and to what extent they should have legislative power.²²³

The interest representation exercised by Patrimonium here was to a certain extent fruitful: in 1898, the Netherlands saw the establishment of its first corporative body, the national Chambers of Labor.²²⁴ However, the Chambers were given shape in a chopped up way that did not satisfy Patrimonium, leading it to repeatedly discuss the topic, set up researches and propose reforms in the upcoming years.²²⁵ Unfortunately, the effectiveness of these Chambers left much to be desired and within Patrimonium's higher ranks, support for trade organization thus came to be heard more often.²²⁶

It was around 1900 that actual changes took place on this standpoint. As Patrimonium lagged behind the growth of socialist trade unions, it became clear to some within the association that a different stance on trade organization was needed.²²⁷ Kater's presidency was increasingly experienced

²¹⁶ Langeveld, 'Protestantsche Christenen', 123-24.

²¹⁷ Ibidem, 121-22.

²¹⁸ Ibidem, 122.

²¹⁹ See points III, IV and V of section 2.II: HDC-VU, collection number 323: 'Conclusiën van het Sociaal Congres', 13.

²²⁰ See for example the following discussion: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1893*, 88-89.

²²¹ See Article 11: HDC-VU, collection number 323: 'Sociaal Program', 4.

²²² IISH, *Jaarboekje 1898*, 90-91; 97.

²²³ For example in the small town of Baflo: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1896*, 127. See also: Van Veen, 'De Kamers van Arbeid', 41.

²²⁴ Van Veen, 'De Kamers van Arbeid', 48.

²²⁵ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1907*, 66-70.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1909*, 82.

²²⁶ Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 169. About the functional problems faced by the Chambers of Labor, see: Van Veen, 'De Kamers van Arbeid', 55-59.

²²⁷ Ibidem, 159-60.

as an impediment to Patrimonium's development on this aspect, not in the least by Kater himself.²²⁸ In 1899, the yearly assembly voted to replace him. He was widely thanked for his loyal service, made honorary chairman and promised a comfortable pension arranged by Patrimonium. Pieter van Vliet Jr., who had led the radical Frisian faction in the early 90s, replaced him.²²⁹

Even though there had been stark critique on trade unions due to their dictation of independent organization of laborers from patrons, support of trade organization slowly won more ground within Patrimonium.²³⁰ Consequently, when the association had realized that neutral, or socialist unionization was out of the question, it decided to stimulate strictly non-neutral, Christian trade organization.²³¹ While some departments had already presided over local trade organizations, it was only in the early 1900s that union-wide trade organizations of carpenters, metalworkers and rural laborers were established.²³²

One of the leading proponents of supporting trade organization was the prominent figure of Syb Talma, an orthodox-Protestant pastor who later became Member of Parliament. Talma's positive stance towards trade unions led to his children allegedly being bullied with having a 'red papa'.²³³ Nevertheless, Talma successfully advocated that Patrimonium should support trade organization, but should not *become* a trade union itself.²³⁴ Indeed, in a discussion on the reorganization of Patrimonium in 1909, the yearly assembly finally concluded that 'Patrimonium should be a nation-wide association for general social interest'.²³⁵ Patrimonium's scope was thus broadened, while its support for Christian trade organization was made explicit with the help of Talma.²³⁶

In spite of partial resistance, Patrimonium had already established the Christian Labor Secretariat (*Christelijk Arbeidssecretariaat*, CAS) in 1900, with the goal of countering the rise and appeal of socialist trade unionism by housing several Christian trade organizations under one national union.²³⁷ By the end of 1901, 41 smaller Christian trade organizations were brought under the CAS.²³⁸ While strikes subsequently remained a complicated topic to the membership of Patrimonium, a commission looked into this question in 1907 and concluded that striking should be supported financially, in order to make

²²⁸ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 47.

²²⁹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1900*, 55-56.; IISH, *Jaarboekje 1901*, 56. See also: Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 159.

²³⁰ Peter van Dam *Staat van verzuiling. Over een Nederlandse mythe* (Amsterdam 2011) 42.

²³¹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1909*, 80-81.

²³² For example, in Amsterdam trade organizations of carpenters, typographers and smiths were brought under Patrimonium. The department of Vlissingen, for instance, included a trade organization of metalworkers and looked to establish unions of painters and masons. See: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1995*, 37; 69. Compare with the union-wide trade organizations in 1903: IISH, *Jaarboekje 1904*, 84-86.

²³³ Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 155.

²³⁴ *Ibidem*, 156-57.

²³⁵ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1910*, 67.

²³⁶ See: HDC-VU, collection number 323: 'Conclusiën van de Chr. Soc. Conferentie gehouden te Amsterdam 9 en 10 Jan. 1905.'

²³⁷ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1904*, 22. See also: Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 48.

²³⁸ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1902*, 62.

the act less disruptive and more effective.²³⁹ Despite these changes, it became clear that Patrimonium was a latecomer to the trend. In the early 1900s, many different Christian trade organizations competed with the CAS, also Catholic ones.²⁴⁰ As Patrimonium slowly started to embrace trade organization, it simultaneously dug its own grave by halfheartedly supporting trade action, while not being fully willing to reorganize to facilitate this.²⁴¹

Thus, by consciously separating trade unionism from its *raison d'être*, Patrimonium had managed to undermine its own power on the area of interest representation. It becomes clear then, that understanding Patrimonium as a *failed* trade union is too simplistic. Thus, the analysis of Arnold Bornebroek, which argues that Patrimonium's demise was caused by its archaic guild-like institutional make-up, does not hold. Bornebroek had remarked that the *ancien régime* understanding of societal classes that laid under Patrimonium's social mission, thwarted its development into a fully functioning trade union.²⁴² However, in a sense, Patrimonium was not a trade union at all: it was a general workers' organization, as Schutte had already tried to make clear.²⁴³ Patrimonium took pride in its Christian mission and above all was attractive through its corporatist objective of offering social insurances.

In the end, even though Patrimonium did successfully contribute to interest representation by opting for social legislature and the establishment of the Chambers of Labor, both the institutional and societal struggle with trade unionization grew out to become its final blow: in May 1911, the board of Patrimonium convened with that of the Christian National Trade Union (*Christelijk Nationaal Vakverbond*, CNV), a union that had been established two years earlier in an attempt to unify all Christian labor unions under one flag. The boards declared:

'The boards of the Dutch Workers' Union Patrimonium and the Christian National Trade Union; considering the difficulties that have held back a powerful development of the Christian trade movement in recent years; given the necessity of expanding the Christian trade movement in our fatherland; having the view that the earnestness of our time makes necessary cooperation between all Christian laborers, also in respect to trade organization; decide to strongly further the propaganda for the Christian trade organization by instigating all Christian laborers to join trade organizations (...); and express that *these organizations should join the Christian National Trade Union.*'²⁴⁴ (my italics)

²³⁹ IISH, *Jaarboekje 1908*, 52.

²⁴⁰ Altena and Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider', 163.

²⁴¹ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 50.

²⁴² See: Arnold Bornebroek, 'De vakbeweging in teksten', in: *Cahier. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998) 155-156.

²⁴³ Schutte, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft', 24.

²⁴⁴ Roelf Hagoort, *Het beginsel behouden. Gedenkboek van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium 1891-1927* (Amsterdam 1934) 445-46. (My translation)

The declaration did not mean the immediate end of Patrimonium. Its activities continued and it took advantage of the network and influence it had built up over the past 20 years, not to mention that it still published its periodical.²⁴⁵

Yet, when the Dutch national government decided to grant corporative rights to trade unions in 1914, handing them the responsibility for arranging unemployment insurances, the demise of Patrimonium's corporatist relevancy started to unfold.²⁴⁶ Over time, the association shifted to focusing its energy and resources on a housing foundation that was established as part of the Amsterdam department of Patrimonium in 1911.²⁴⁷ Patrimonium had returned to its birth nest and was reborn as a social housing association that would exist for nearly a century, until 2004. The housing association Patrimonium still carried a strong scent of the Christian morals which had inspired the principles of Patrimonium in 1876. However, its function as an interest representational body of the working class was totally lost, just as its corporatist guild-like essence.²⁴⁸

²⁴⁵ Hagoort, *Het beginsel behouden*, 446-50.

²⁴⁶ Bornebroek, 'De vakbeweging in teksten', 157.

²⁴⁷ Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 63; 66.

²⁴⁸ *Ibidem*, 355-56.

5. *From Patrimonium to pillarization: conclusions*

So, I may finally return to the question this thesis started with: *How can we explain the development of the activities and role of Patrimonium during the period 1890-1911, when analyzing it from a political-economic perspective as a corporatist association?* I will answer that question by looking into the three ways in Patrimonium has been described, as set out at the start of chapter 3. In conclusion, I will consider what implications the investigation of Patrimonium as a corporatist organization has for the concept of pillarization by connecting its history to the three problems of pillarization described in chapter 1.

5.1 *Patrimonium in place*

To shortly recapitulate, the historiographical tradition of Patrimonium strongly mirrored that of the Protestant-Christian social movement in general. Firstly, the moral or ideological aspect of Patrimonium was traditionally one of the focal points. That counts for the characterization of Patrimonium as a failed trade union as well. Additionally, the association was often described in its relationship to national politics, in particular the political party ARP. What can be said about this, after analyzing Patrimonium as a corporatist organization?

As for the vision of Patrimonium as a failed trade union: I have already remarked in chapter 4 that this view is too simplistic. What hopefully became evident is that Patrimonium struggled heavily with the rise of trade unionism and its own relation to it. In a way, Patrimonium was never really a trade union, let alone a *failed* trade union. In this respect, Arnold Bornebroek failed to recognize that the reason Patrimonium could be successful in the first place was due to its guild-like corporatism and the social insurances and services that accompanied it. Even though Patrimonium successfully managed to represent the interests of its members by playing a part in the establishment of the Dutch Chambers of Labor, it continued to struggle with trade unionization. It eventually found an answer by separating trade organization from its own essence. Within the context of the rise of trade unions, this strategy eventually meant that the corporatist role of Patrimonium was undermined.

Secondly, we might consider the moral perspective on Patrimonium's history, which tended to give a lot of weight to its Christian social ideology. While I would not go as far as to claim that this played a minor role, the history of Patrimonium does bring to the fore that Christian social ideology was far from a cohesive worldview. Despite the fact that the goal of an harmonious, organic society was shared, the perceived means to such a society could be strongly divergent within Protestant circles. The struggles

between orthodox-Protestants and liberal Protestants, as well as between Protestant workers and patrons, demonstrate this. Moreover, the very influential ideas of Abraham Kuyper sometimes collided with those of several Patrimonium members, who could assert quite 'leftist' programs in practice.

This connects to the third way in which Patrimonium was described, namely in respect to its connections with the ARP of Abraham Kuyper. While Kuyper consciously aimed to steer Patrimonium into the political course of his party, the association deviated from it in practice. Against this background, the Christian social Congress of 1891 was relatively successful in bringing together different Protestant views. Nevertheless, recurrent conflicts between Patrimonium's members and the ARP took place. Both the moral and the political approach to Patrimonium described here facilitate the implication of pillarization in the interpretation of the relations between different Protestant organizations. I will now turn to discussing what light the political-economic approach of this thesis sheds on the use of pillarization as a concept and how our case of Patrimonium makes that clear.

5.2 *Beyond pillarization*

The examination of the history of Patrimonium offered in this thesis has a few consequences for the concept of pillarization that correspond to the three problems set out in chapter 1. Also, these may point to a more plausible role for pillarization in understanding the Protestant-Christian social movement and possibly its relation to broader developments that occurred and shaped Dutch society from the late nineteenth century onwards. So, how then do we draw up this balance sheet?

There are three main inferences I wish to make. First of all, the idea that the formation of a Protestant *pillar* started taking shape in the late nineteenth century is somewhat complicated by this thesis. I do not want to contest the idea of the rise of a Protestant 'heavy community' from around 1870 onwards. This development is testified by the establishment of civil organizations like Patrimonium itself. It is rather the idea of a uniform Protestant pillar, a complex of Protestant organizations that were intimately connected, that becomes shaky to uphold. What the analysis of Patrimonium brought to the fore, for starters, is that there were divergent ideas among Protestants about how to tackle the societal problems and that the relationship between the ARP and Patrimonium, let alone between Protestant workers and patrons in general, was not as smooth as the idea of a pillar suggests. This insight is by no means new. The Dutch historians Altena and Homan had already pointed out the complexity and disunity of ideas between Protestant elites.²⁴⁹

²⁴⁹ Bert Altena and A.J.P. Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider niet gevoelt dat hij rechten heeft, dan is hij weg. De protestants-christelijke werkliedenbeweging, 1891-1914', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 179-80.

Then again, one might propose the view that if not a Protestant pillar, at least an *orthodox-Protestant* one started to take shape.²⁵⁰ However, the experience of Patrimonium with the secession of some of its members into the CNWB could complicate this view. Moreover, as we have seen, Patrimonium aimed to be a nation-wide, general association for all Protestant laborers. On top of that, the CNV – the Christian trade union that aimed to unite all Christians workers – indeed managed to unite *all* Protestants into one trade union. Thus, at least in the time of Patrimonium, such an orthodox-Protestant pillar cannot be located without running into the complications described here.

That brings us to the second inference I want to make in respect to the nature, or *function*, of pillarization. The view that pillarization entailed the spontaneous genesis of organizational complexes underpinned by a worldview or ideology – supposing that the corresponding subcultures were already sojourning in society and merely needed to manifest themselves through the establishment of these organizational complexes – becomes implausible. What Patrimonium's case explicates is that the formation of a heavy community was very much a political act. It was essentially reactionary to the changes brought by industrial capitalism, as well as the institutional design of the economy, supervised by the predominantly liberal state of the decades after 1848. The 'neutral' society devised by liberals was interpreted by Abraham Kuyper as the imposition of 'uniformity'. He resisted these developments by consciously mobilizing a group in society, which first and foremost needed to be brought together and delineated as a distinct entity. As Piet de Rooy observed:

'To the extent that the term 'pillar' means anything, it does not refer to segmentation as such, but to the rational organizational embedding of an ideology, belief or worldview. (...) In order to make this resistance effective, political organization was unavoidable. The process of entanglement between ideology and organization was legitimized by the view that this concerned the "emancipation of parts of the nation", whereby the term "emancipation" was an exaggeration and the "parts of the nation" were not being delivered from oppression, but being created.'²⁵¹

The repeated effort of the ARP and orthodox-Protestant elites to keep Patrimonium in check, through events like the Social Congress of 1891, illustrates the intensity of an actual *creation* of a heavy community. Moreover, the anti-socialist and anti-liberalist agitation within Patrimonium testifies that its establishment was very much a reaction to other developments that had to do with the dominance liberal institutions in an industrial-capitalist economy. It is plausible, then, that national politics was a strong motor behind heavy community formation. Especially in times when political power rests on an

²⁵⁰ For example, Piet de Rooy states that in fact only three genuine pillars eventually came about: the orthodox-Protestant, the Catholic and the social-democratic one. See: Piet de Rooy, *A tiny spot on earth. The political culture of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century* (Amsterdam 2015) 226.

²⁵¹ *Ibidem*, 225.

institution like suffrage, having a firm support base in society is an essential survival technique for politicians and their parties.²⁵² Themes like the 'school struggle' could consequently offer motives for organization based on ideology, as the case of Patrimonium testifies. In contrast to Friso Wielenga's claim that pillars 'formed a vehicle for party formation', pillars, rather seemed to have been the *result* of political strife on the national level.²⁵³ Hence, the formation of heavy communities could be understood as an effective political strategy.²⁵⁴

And so we arrive at the last and most fundamental inference I wish to make. In applying pillarization to Dutch modern history, one would almost overlook the fact that the formation of heavy communities is not the same as the subsequent institutionalization of those communities into the state apparatus. That is, the *process* of pillarization does not entail one and the same thing. In fact, Patrimonium's history does not show evidence of state-directed institutionalization of the Protestant community, while heavy community formation did seem to have taken place. It was only from 1914 onwards that the state gave corporative rights to trade unions, which might signal the starting point of something like a welfare state with institutionalized corporativism. Even so, this was more likely the result of corporativism than a consequence of heavy community formation.

What is more, there seems to be a third process embedded in the concept of pillarization: the compartmentalization that occurred in the 1930s, as mentioned in chapter 1. This concerns the expressing of *specific* communities in state legislation, for example by splitting up radio broadcast time among ideologically divided broadcasting associations. This development could have very different causes and effects than heavy community formation or the institutionalization of corporatist organizations had. The disentanglement of these processes might thus prove to be a fruitful first step into tackling questions surrounding the development of these processes and its possible products, like the corporative welfare state. For example, what role did an organization like Patrimonium play in fueling state institutionalization of social insurances? And, how did the relationship between the state and societal communities in the late nineteenth century differ from the one in the 1930s?

With this in mind, the future of the term pillarization foreseen by Hans Blom seems pretty frivolous.²⁵⁵ The historian Huub Wijfjes sharply observed that Blom would continue the use of pillarization as an "'associative" referent to a fourfold separation of the Netherlands of which we all know was caused by several dissimilar, but closely confounded processes. The specialists that know better will

²⁵² As also argued by: Lex Heersma van Voss, 'De rode dreiging..., ...en het verzuilde antwoord', in: Blom and Talsma, *De verzuiling voorbij*, 129. See also: Jan Luiten van Zanden and Arthur van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914. Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam 2000) 313-14.

²⁵³ Friso Wielenga, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden* (Amsterdam 2012) 247.

²⁵⁴ This is also no new insight: Sijbrand Stuurman already analyzed pillarization as a political strategy, be it from a staunchly Marxist perspective. See: Sijbrand Stuurman, *Verzuiling, kapitalisme en patriërchaat. Aspecten van de ontwikkeling van de moderne staat in Nederland* (Nijmegen 1983).

²⁵⁵ See: Hans Blom, 'Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Blom and Talsma, *De verzuiling voorbij*, 236.

just continue asking new historical questions and these will lead to confirming, time and again, that not everything was as simple as suggested.²⁵⁶ However, what became clear as a result of the countless inquiries into pillarization was that matters are not just more complex than pillarization suggests, they are actually *different*. This thesis hopefully contributed to illustrating that point.

²⁵⁶ Huub Wijfjes, *Historisch Nieuwsblad* (2000) 9, 'DE VERZUILING VOORBIJ. GODSDIENST, STAND EN NATIE IN DE LANGE NEGENTIENDE EEUW onder redactie van Hans Blom en Jaap Talsma', <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/5566/de-verzuiling-voorbij-godsdienst-stand-en-natie-in-de-lange-negentiende-eeuw-onder-redactie-van-hans-blom-en-jaap-talsma.html> (6 April 2018).

Concluding remarks

This thesis by no means offered a comprehensive or complete overview of the many discussions surrounding pillarization, or for that matter the historiography of Patrimonium. What it hopefully did was argue that pillarization is not just an obscuring metaphor, but actually falls short in explaining corporatist organizations like Patrimonium that may have importantly shaped Dutch society in the late 19th and early 20th century. In this regard, the three distinct processes signaled in the conclusive chapter might offer interesting new grounds for further research. Especially the interwoven character of these processes might prove to be renewing and challenging to analyze without falling back into patterns of pillarizational thought. The role of the state and its relation to society could be one fruitful focus for such studies, for instance. How and why did the state play a role in institutionalizing both corporatist organizations as well as certain communities? What is the role of national politics in forming opposite interests in society? And how do the manifold activities of organizations such as Patrimonium connect to the rise of the welfare state?

I want to conclude with some remarks about the limitations of this thesis. The prominent aspect of this thesis was the analysis of the Patrimonium as a corporatist organization. While 'corporatism' might serve as a useful concept in regards to Patrimonium and other associations based on economic organization, other types of associations might deserve yet other conceptualizations. Furthermore, availability of sources is fundamental for a genuine analysis of the history of such associations. In the case of Patrimonium, sources were not abundant, nor were they scarce either. Nevertheless, I had to be careful drawing any quick conclusions on the basis of the data available for Patrimonium, simply due to the fact that not everything was reported by Patrimonium's departments, for example. Lastly, this thesis has not managed to elaborately analyze the demise of Patrimonium as a corporatist organization. More extensive research shall be needed to say anything meaningful in that regard. Luckily, here lie possibilities for future studies on Patrimonium.

Another limitation concerns the analysis in this thesis of specifically the Protestant 'part' of Dutch society. However, the South of the Netherlands was predominantly Catholic. Here, research might produce different conclusions as to questions surrounding the relationship between corporatist organizations and the state, for example. Moreover, important insights could be produced by analyzing the relations of civil organizations and the Dutch state with the Roman-Catholic Church, which played a significantly different role in the lives of Catholics than did the Protestant Church for its respective believers. All in all, the complexity of Dutch society in the late 19th and early 20th century has to be respected both political-economically and in respect to geographical variation.

Of course, having eye for these complexities is not unknown to historians. However, in the end, the concept of pillarization came to be more of an obstacle than an illuminator in studying these complexities. Hence, approaches that go beyond pillarization might point into directions of causal relationships that were formerly obscured or overlooked in studying the rapidly changing Dutch society at the end of the 19th century. As Hans Blom sketched: 'something was set in motion in the second half of the 19th century, got a more precise shape in the decades around 1900, fully developed from the twenties until the sixties of the 20th century, to eventually crumble apart, sometimes at a fast rate, thereafter.'²⁵⁷ If there is one thing that this thesis hopefully brought to the fore, it is that this *something* is not yet understood well enough.

²⁵⁷ Hans Blom, Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij*, 236. (My translation)

References

- Altena, Bert and A.J.P. Homan, 'Zoodra de arbeider niet gevoelt dat hij rechten heeft, dan is hij weg. De protestants-christelijke werkliedenbeweging, 1891-1914', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991).
- Beekers, Wouter, and Rolf van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen. Patrimonium Amsterdam, van sociale vereniging tot sociale onderneming, 1876-2003* (Hilversum 2008).
- Berman, Sheri, 'Civil society and the collapse of the Weimar Republic', *World Politics* 49 (1997) 3, 401-429.
- Black, Antony, *Guild & state. European political thought from the twelfth century to the present* (New Brunswick 2005, 2nd Edition).
- Blom, Hans, 'Vernietigende kracht en nieuwe vergezichten. Het onderzoeksproject verzuiling op lokaal niveau geëvalueerd', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).
- Bornebroek, Arnold, 'De vakbeweging in teksten', in: *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998).
- Bornebroek, Arnold, 'Sociale zekerheid in historisch perspectief', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001).
- Calhoun, Craig, "'New social movements" of the early nineteenth century', *Social Science History* 17 (1993) 3, 385-427.
- Cox, Andrew, and Noel O'Sullivan (eds.), *The corporate state. Corporatism and the state tradition in Western Europe* (Hants 1988).
- Dam, Peter van, *Staat van verzuiling. Over een Nederlandse mythe* (Amsterdam 2011).
- Dijk, Jan Jacob van, 'Christelijke sociale bewegingen in vergelijkend perspectief', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. Grenzeloos christelijk-sociaal. Internationale activiteiten van de christelijk-sociale beweging 8* (Amsterdam 2009).
- Eijk, Cees van der, *De kern van politiek* (Amsterdam 2001).
- Fulcher, James, *Capitalism. A very short introduction* (Oxford 2015, 2nd Edition).
- Groenewold, C.A., 'De Christelijk Nationale Werkmansbond', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. Voorlopers en dwarsliggers 2* (Amsterdam 1998).

- Hagoort, Roelf, *Het beginsel behouden. Gedenkboek van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium 1891-1927* (Amsterdam 1934).
- Hay, Colin, *Why we hate politics* (Cambridge 2007).
- Heersma van Voss, Lex, 'De rode dreiging..., ...en het verzuilde antwoord', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).
- Kennedy, James, 'De Nederlands christelijk-sociale beweging heroverwogen', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. Geïnspireerde organisaties. Verzuiling en ontzuiling van de christelijk sociale beweging 7* (Amsterdam 2007).
- Kennedy, James, *Een beknopte geschiedenis van Nederland* (Amsterdam 2017).
- Langeveld, Herman, 'Protestantsche Christenen van Nederland, vereenigt u – althans wat de sociale nooden betreft. Achtergronden, organisatie en resultaten van het Christelijk-Sociaal Congres van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991).
- Leenders, Jos, 'Over roomse en protestantse heiligen. Een lacune in de verzuilingsliteratuur', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).
- Luiten van Zanden, Jan and Arthur van Riel, *Nederland 1780-1914. Staat, instituties en economische ontwikkeling* (Amsterdam 2000).
- Malthus, Thomas Robert, 'An essay on the principle of population' (1798), in: Steven G. Medema and Warren J. Samuels (eds.), *The history of economic thought. A reader* (London 2013, 2nd Edition).
- Righart, Hans, *Het einde van Nederland? Kenteringen in politiek, cultuur en milieu* (Utrecht 1992).
- Rooy, Piet de, 'Voorbij de verzuiling?', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 116 (2001) 1, 45-57.
- Rooy, Piet de, 'Zes studies over verzuiling', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 110 (1995) 3, 380-92.
- Rooy, Piet de, *A tiny spot on earth. The political culture of the Netherlands in the nineteenth and twentieth century* (Amsterdam 2015).
- Schmitter, Philippe, 'Still the century of corporatism?', *The Review of Politics* 36 (1974) 1, 85-131.
- Schutte, Gerrit Jan, 'Arbeid, die geen brood geeft; en de ziel verstikt in smook. Achtergronden en voorgeschiedenis van 1891', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte (ed.), *Een arbeider is zijn loon waardig. Honderd jaar na Rerum Novarum en Christelijk-Sociaal Congres 1891: de ontwikkeling van het christelijk-sociale denken en handelen in Nederland, 1891-1914* ('s-Gravenhage 1991).
- Talsma, Jaap, 'Verantwoording', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).

- Tilly, Charles, *Regimes and repertoires* (Chicago 2006).
- Tilly, Charles, *Social movements, 1768-2012* (London 2016, 3rd Edition).
- Veen, Adriejan van, 'De Kamers van Arbeid. Experimenten met politieke vertegenwoordiging in Nederland rond 1900', *BMGN – Low Countries Historical Review* 128 (2013) 2, 31-61.
- Velde, Henk te, 'Constitutionele politiek. De parlementair-politieke praktijk en de Grondwet van 1848', in: Nicolaas van Sas en Henk te Velde (eds.), *De eeuw van de Grondwet. Grondwet en politiek in Nederland, 1798-1917* (Deventer 1998).
- Verhallen, Han, Roelof Fernhout and Patrice Ekke Visser (eds.), *Corporatisme in Nederland. Belangengroepen en democratie* (Alphen aan de Rijn 1980).
- Wielenga, Friso, *Geschiedenis van Nederland. Van de Opstand tot heden* (Amsterdam 2012).
- Wijfjes, Huub, *Historisch Nieuwsblad* (2000) 9, 'DE VERZUIILING VOORBIJ. GODSDIENST, STAND EN NATIE IN DE LANGE NEGENTIENDE EEUW onder redactie van Hans Blom en Jaap Talsma', <https://www.historischnieuwsblad.nl/nl/artikel/5566/de-verzuiling-voorbij-godsdienst-stand-en-natie-in-de-lange-negentiende-eeuw-onder-redactie-van-hans-blom-en-jaap-talsma.html> (6 April 2018).
- Wolffram, Dirk Jan, 'Schikken en inschikken. Plaatselijke elites in tijden van verzuiling 1850-1920', in: Hans Blom and Jaap Talsma (eds.), *De verzuiling voorbij. Godsdienst, stand en natie in de lange negentiende eeuw* (Amsterdam 2000).
- Woude, Rolf van der, 'Beginsel en belang', in: Gerrit Jan Schutte et al. (eds.), *Cahier over de geschiedenis van de christelijk-sociale beweging. 90 jaar CNV: over mensen en uitgangspunten 3* (Amsterdam 2001).

Sources

*International Institute of Social History (IISH)**

- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1891*. (Amsterdam 1891).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor het schrikkeljaar 1892*. (Amsterdam 1892).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor het jaar 1893*. (Amsterdam 1893).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor het jaar 1894*. (Amsterdam 1894).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor het jaar 1895*. (Amsterdam 1895).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1896*. (Amsterdam 1896).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1897*. (Amsterdam 1897).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1900*. (Kampen 1900).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1901*. (Kampen 1901).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1902*. (Kampen 1902).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1903*. (Kampen 1903).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1904*. (1904).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1905*. (Utrecht 1905).
- Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1906*. (Utrecht 1906).

* The IISH inventorized Patrimonium's *Jaarboekjes* as periodicals, hence they are administered as publications, not as archival pieces.

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1907.* (Utrecht 1907).

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium voor 1908.* (1908).

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium voor 1909.* (1909).

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium voor het jaar 1910.* ('s Gravenhage 1910).

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederl. Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium voor het jaar 1911.* (Arnhem 1911).

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium, *Jaarboekje van het Nederl. Werklieden-Verbond 'Patrimonium voor het jaar 1912.* (Arnhem 1912).

Historical Centre for the Documentation of Dutch Protestantism (HDC-VU)

HDC-VU, Nederlands Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium – Afdeling Amsterdam, 1876-1989, Christelijke Werkliedenvereniging; Patrimonium te Amsterdam en de Christelijk Sociale Vereniging Patrimonium te Amsterdam, (1892-1991), collection number: 009.

Inventory 1:

Printed lecture of W. Geesink in front of the Amsterdam department of Patrimonium, in honor of its 15 years of existence, 1902.

Inventory 2:

'Statuten en huishoudelijk reglement van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond "Patrimonium"'.

HDC-VU, Patrimonium en Antirevolutionaire Kiesverenigingen in Amsterdam – Collectie Joh. H. Straub, (1896-1937), collection number: 323.

'Conclusiën van de Chr. Soc. Conferentie gehouden te Amsterdam 9 en 10 Jan. 1905.'

'Conclusiën van het Sociaal Congres'.

'Motie'.

'Sociaal Program'.

Historisch Documentatiecentrum voor het Nederlands Protestantisme, 1800-heden (HDC-VU), Nederlands Werkliedenverbond Patrimonium – (1889-1997), collection number: 696.

Inventory 1:

Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium', *Jaarboekje van het Nederlandsch Werkliedenverbond 'Patrimonium' voor 1889* (Amsterdam 1889).

Inventory 7:

H.C. van den Brink, *De verhouding tussen Patroon en Knecht* (1903).

J. van der Molen Tzn., *Arbeid en Loon* (Utrecht 1902).

Mr. T. De Vries, *De Geloofstrijd van den Christen-Werkman. Eene lezing, gehouden voor 'Patrimonium', afdeeling 's Gravenhage, op Donderdag 8 april 1909, door Mr. T. De Vries* (Den Haag 1909).

Appendices

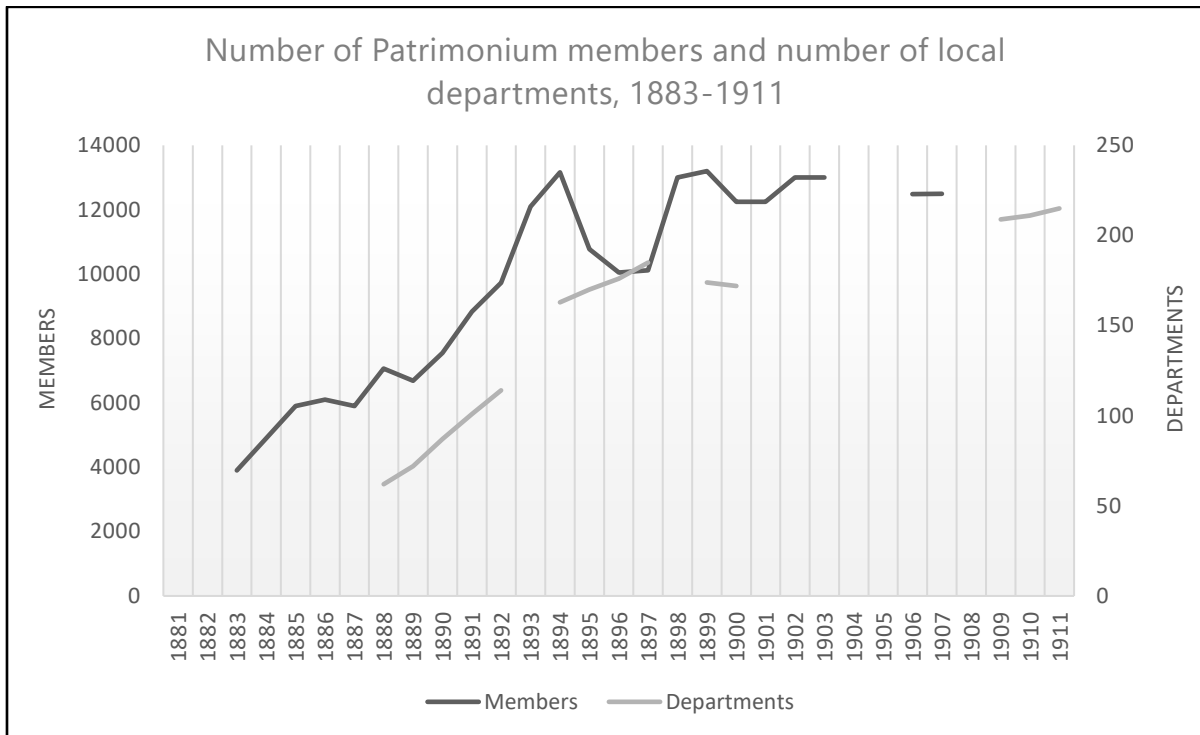


Figure 1. The total number of Patrimonium members and the total number of local departments of Patrimonium, 1881-1911.²⁵⁸

(Sources: Yearbooks of Patrimonium, 1887 - 1912; Beekers and Van der Woude, *Niet bij steen alleen*, 40.; Gerrit Jan Schutte, *De arbeider is zijn loon waardig*, 148-49.)

²⁵⁸ N.B.: The number of members was not measured systematically by Patrimonium at the same point in time every year. Moreover, every yearly assembly took place on different dates, not to mention that the members were counted on varying moments by the departments. So, short turn changes in numbers may not indicate any noteworthy change. Despite this, the long term trend becomes visible: first a period of strong growth (1881-1893), then a short dip (1894-1897), after which another period of numerical recovery takes place, eventually stabilizing around 13.000 members (1888-1911).

For the departments, less data was available or less was retrieved by me. However, roughly the same long term trend of rapid growth to stabilization can be observed.

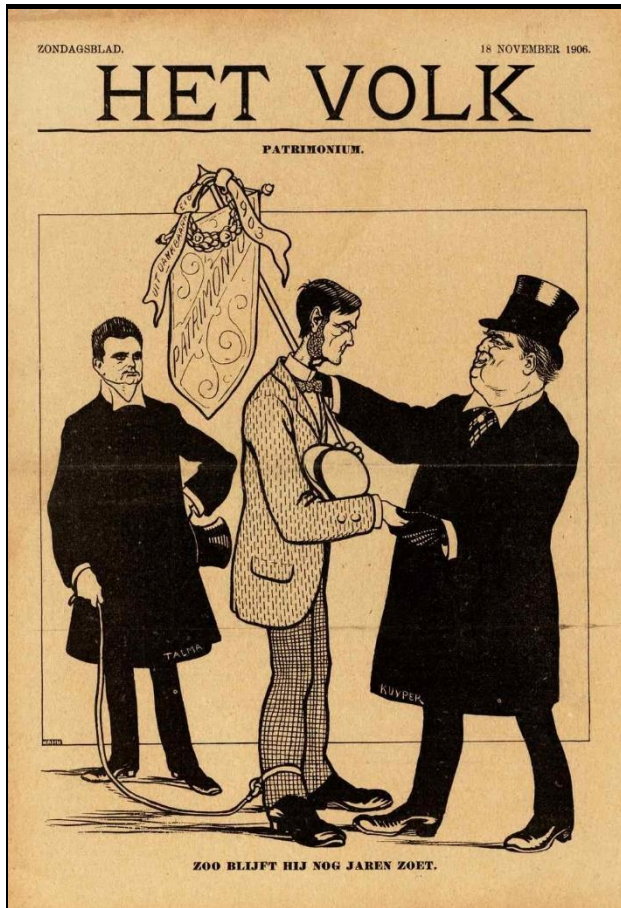


Figure 2. This political cartoon on the front page of the Sunday supplement to Het Volk, a socialist daily newspaper, depicts Abraham Kuyper keeping an ordinary (worker) member of Patrimonium calm, while Syb Talma has him on a leash. The subtitle reads: 'Zoo blijft hij nog Jaren zoet.', literally translated as: 'This way he will stay sweet for years to come.' The title is interpreted to mean something like: 'This way he will stay calm for years to come.'

Source: IISG,
<http://hdl.handle.net/10622/30051000974987>

Figure 3. This political cartoon on the front page De Notenkraaker, the Sunday supplement to the socialist daily newspaper Het Volk, satirizes the upcoming congress of Patrimonium in 1911. The subtitle reads: 'Slap als een vaatdoek is hij, maar hij kan toch nog "Leve Talma!" schreeuwen.', which is literally translated as: 'He is as flabby as a kitchen rag, but he is still able to shout out "Long live Talma!"'.

Source: IISG,
<http://hdl.handle.net/10622/30051000760220>

