

TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN SPORTS:
RESPONSE TO TEETOTAL MOVEMENT IN BOHEMIAN LANDS

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The tradition of temperance movement in the Bohemian lands dates back to the early 20th century. It gained momentum after World War I, which was perceived by the movement as a consequence of the decline and the movement sought to prevent any similar conflicts in the future. Its aim was to solve the issue of alcoholism, which posed a serious social and health problem. The movement was based and relied on the knowledge and current trends coming from Western Europe and the U.S. It found support among professionals and laymen alike, often through the prism of religion. The article discusses the temperance movement in the Bohemian lands in the first half of the 20th century. The article traces the movement's origins and history – especially its acceptance by education and sports associations, clubs and societies. Special emphasis is put on the Sokol organisation and its diverse temperance activities, which were intended to lead its own members to voluntary sobriety and complete abstinence (teetotalism). Such activities were meant to offer an example for the entire nation. The main emphasis is on the Moravian region, which spearheaded the temperance movement and would influence the rest of the Bohemian lands for a long time. It also considers local conditions and the community-wide support, as well as what the entire movement achieved from the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire until the end of the First Czechoslovak Republic. It also looks closely at the interconnectedness and synergies among the various temperance organisations.

Keywords: Alcoholism. Temperance movement. The Czechoslovak Teetotal Union.

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The phenomenon of alcohol is one of the topics that has been receiving considerable attention not only from a purely medical point of view, but often also in terms of history and anthropology. It is observed in studies focusing on different aspects of an ordinary person. The advantage of studying this topic is the abundance of sources, not only from this day, but also from the ancient times and the Middle Ages. This is also due to the fact that alcohol consumption

has been an integral part of human life from time out of mind. After all, even animals come across fermented fruit juice in the wild. At first, alcohol was not considered a purely negative element. It was sought after for its ability to quench thirst, stimulate the mind and lift the spirits. Until the 19th century, alcoholism was not considered a serious social problem; it was a moral problem only. In the Bohemian lands, the Czech National Revival was heavily involved in addressing the issue of alcoholism as it perceived this social phenomenon as a danger to the entire nation and the state.¹ The present study aims to highlight the involvement of the physical education movement in temperance. For practical reasons, however, the study does not have the ambition to analyse the situation across the movement in more detail and therefore narrows it down to Sokol Brno I, the oldest and most important Moravian Sokol Unit. The main methodological axis of the research consists in the analysis of sources and literature related to the issue under review within the teetotaler division of Brno's "Number One" (Sokol Brno I). Temperance measures are then examined, as well as the bonds that the Unit has developed over time.

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The emergence of the teetotal movement in the early 19th century must be understood as a reaction to the negative social, health and economic repercussions of the increased consumption of alcoholic beverages, especially the significant production of spirits as one of the by-products of the Industrial Revolution. The problem of alcoholism, known as the "liquor plague" at that time, was becoming an increasingly troublesome social phenomenon. Initially, the movement was only condemning excessive use of alcoholic beverages. Later on, it focused on the fight against any consumption of alcoholic beverages whatsoever.

From the very beginning, the movement was gaining most popularity in the industrialised countries – especially in the U.S., Scandinavia, England, Germany and Switzerland. At first, temperance societies (such as the Temperance Society) were formed, often backed by a women's movement (the Woman's Christian Temperance Union), but later such societies were almost exclusively promoting teetotalism (the Anti-Saloon League, the National Prohibition Party). The whole movement sought to bring the fight against alcoholism into the realm of the public law. The production, import and sale of alcohol were to be regulated by

1 For more details on alcoholism in the early modern period, see e.g. HUBKOVÁ. *Ambivalentní fenomén alkoholu na letácích 16. a 17. století*. In *Němci v českých zemích: zprávy Společnosti pro dějiny Němců v Čechách (Die Deutschen in den böhmischen Ländern. Mitteilungen der Gesellschaft für die Geschichte der Deutschen in Böhmen)* 7, 2013, p. 85; BRENNAN and HANCOCK. *Public Drinking in the Early Modern World. Voices from the Tavern, 1500–1800*, Vol. 1–4, London 2011.

legislation; the aim of such measures was to impose a total ban on its production and sale, i.e. what is known as prohibition. However, the nationwide prohibition in the U.S. between 1920 and 1933 showed that this practice failed to achieve the desired results.² However, prohibition did not catch on in other countries either, such as Iceland, Russia and Finland, where it was imposed for a limited period of time.³ A second line of thought, adopted mainly by physicians since the 1870s, endeavoured to provide professional help to the afflicted. Such efforts resulted in establishing houses and asylums for drunkards. Theobald Mathew, an Irish Catholic priest, significantly influenced Central Europe in this respect.⁴ Some of the temperance movements built directly on a religious perspective.⁵

- 2 In the 1910s, the Anti-Saloon League became one of the most effective pressure groups in the U.S. history. A two-thirds majority was secured in the 1916 election in both houses of Congress, which was required to pass a prohibition amendment to the Constitution. The wartime spirit of sacrifice, the fact that grain was needed for food production, and the wartime aversion to German-U.S. brewers turned the whole affair into a test of patriotism. This led to Congress passing the Eighteenth Amendment on 18 December 1917; once ratified, the Amendment would prohibit the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors. Despite the debacle of the entire endeavour in 1931, as evidenced by the Bureau of Prohibition in light of Al Capone's illegal activities, the project received support from the U.S. top-ranking officials, such as President Herbert Clark Hoover. TINDALL and SHI. *Dějiny Spojených států amerických*, 5th suppl. Prague 2008, p. 527; RAŠ. „Za ostřízlivění národa“. Abstinentsní hnutí v českých zemích v první polovině 20. století. In *Dějiny a současnost: kulturně historická revue*, 2009, Vol. 31, No. 4, p. 14; National Museum Archive (NMA), Prague, the ČAS Fund (f.), Inv. No. 8, c. 1, MAREŠ. *Historie československého abstinentsního hnutí I. (Čechy)*, p. 5; JANČÍK. „Pít či nepít – to jest, oč tu běží.“ Střety příznivců a odpůrců abstinence v meziválečném Československu. In *Historická sociologie: časopis pro historické sociální vědy*, 2014, No. 1, p. 48; HÁJKOVÁ. Abstinentsní hnutí ve Slezsku a na severní Moravě v první polovině 20. století. In *Vážně i nevázně o vině: sborník k padesátým narozeninám PhDr. Karla Müllera*. Opava 2008, p. 141; ANDĚL. *Prohibice v USA v letech 1920–1933*. Bachelor's thesis at the Historical Sciences Department, Faculty of Arts, University of West Bohemia in Plzeň 2018.
- 3 LINKOVÁ. Obavy ze zavedení prohibice v dobovém tisku. In *Němci v českých zemích: zprávy Společnosti pro dějiny Němců v Čechách 7*. Ústí nad Labem 2013, p. 113. In this context, we can mention the issue of the ban on absinthe, which was gradually banned in almost all of Europe (except for Portugal, Austria-Hungary, Spain, Sweden and Great Britain). Bohemia was one of the few countries around the globe where absinthe production was not banned (except during the Protectorate period through Government Decree No. 458/1941 Coll.); absinthe was consumed heavily in art cafés and wine bars. For more details see KLUSOŇ. *Jedová stopa*. Prague 2015.
- 4 HUGH. Theobald Mathew. In *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, Vol. 17, Cambridge University Press, 1911, p. 886.
- 5 Mireia Ryšková points out that “Jesus was not associated with his peculiarities regarding clothing and food (he is called a glutton and a drunkard: Matthew 11:19), and he was also critical as to fasting (Matthew 9:14 ff.), since ascetic practices are primarily to be a means of missionary activities, an expression of trust in God.” RYŠKOVÁ. *Doba Ježíše Nazaretského*. Prague: 2019, p. 223.

In this respect, the International Order of Good Templars (such as the German *Guttempler* and others), the *Katholisches Kreuzbündniss* (Catholic Cross Alliance) and the *Blau Kreuz* (Blue Cross) have gradually gained international clout.⁶ Relatively soon the temperance movement in Europe and the U.S. became institutionalised and active, organising world congresses. The first post-war congress was held in Paris in 1919.⁷

The interest in the alcohol issue has been present in the Bohemian lands since the 1840s. This was preceded over time by the voices of the nation's prominent figures (Jan Hus, Tomáš Štítný ze Štítného, Václav Porcius Vodňanský, Jan Blahoslav, Jan Amos Komenský and others).⁸ A true boom of the teetotal movement began in the early 20th century, with growing production by breweries, distilleries and wineries in the Bohemian lands. Most of the alcoholic beverages produced were intended for the domestic market. In proportion to this, there was a growing concern about the increasing number of cases of alcoholism.⁹ The Bohemian Diet had to address the problem of alcoholism on multiple occasions. The speech given by prof. Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk at the 8th International Temperance Congress in Vienna in 1901 is considered to be the proverbial landmark. Masaryk subscribed not only to the idea of teetotalism itself for moral reasons, but also to an organised temperance movement. He subsequently spread the idea of teetotalism among his students at the university and in his social activities.¹⁰ In the Czech environment, the first representatives of the movement

6 Interestingly enough, the Good Templars of German nationality also considered the question of national descent. The Articles of Association of the German Good Templar Society in the Czechoslovak Republic (*Deutsche Guttempler-Gemeinschaft in der Tschechoslowakischen Republik*) stipulated that any person of the German or Aryan descent was eligible to become a member of the association. From their point of view, the fight against alcoholism represented the salvation of the whole race.

7 JANČÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 48.

8 Prince Břetislav's ban on taverns could be considered the first response in this context. KOSMAS. Kosmova kronika česká. 6th edition. In *Svoboda 2*. Prague 1975, p. 80; ŠTÍTNÝ. *Knížky o hře šachové a jiné*. Prague 1956, p. 105. In the early 17th century, Vodňanský even compiled a list of the effects of alcohol consumption, see Strahov Premonstratensians Library, sign. DB II 4, ff. 129. On the other hand, in the course of the Middle Ages, we can also encounter the opposite attitude, when the kings of Bohemia and the margraves of Moravia supported the alcoholic beverages market; see e.g. VOSTRÝ. *Vliv Lucemburků na rozvoj vinařského práva v českých zemích od středověku dodnes*. Prague 2017, p. 31.

9 JANČÍK. „Pít či nepít“, p. 48.

10 RAŠ. *Za ostřízlivění národa*; MASARYK. *Cestou demokracie*. Vol. 1. Prague 1933, p. 286; Vol. 2, 1934, p. 262; ZHOŘ. *Masaryk apoštol střízlivosti*. In *Budoucnost patří střízlivým: soubor projevů přednesených na semináři proti alkoholismu*. Prague: 1948, p. 5. The issue was also addressed by Dr. Edvard Beneš when he spoke at the Austrian Temperance Congress

were coming from among prominent physicians. In 1905 MUDr. Jan Šimsa together with prof. MUDr. Gustav Kabrhel and prof. MUDr. Stanislav Růžička founded the Land Temperance Association, which was not purely teetotal in its beginnings. Šimsa claimed that this was necessary in order not to discourage sympathisers who were not abstaining themselves and did not share the idea of complete abstinence. This changed once the number of teetotalism supporters increased in the association, i.e. at the Second Temperance Congress in Prague in 1908. At that time, the association was transformed into the Czechoslovak Teetotal Union, where teetotallers were the only eligible candidates for membership. It was later renamed the Czechoslovak Teetotal Union (the “ČSAS”).¹¹

Since the times of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, German teetotallers in the Bohemian lands were united in their own association, the Mimir union (*Bund deutscher Alkoholgegner in Österreich*). Moravia occupied an important place in the movement, especially the land capital city of Brno. Josef Hybeš,¹² the editor of the *Rovnost* journal and a social democratic member of the Imperial Council was the founder of the temperance movement in the Bohemian lands. Under his leadership, the Teetotaller Association in Brno was established in 1900 under a Austrian law. Initially, *Rovnost* was used for the association’s announcements and reports on its activities; *Blaho lidu*, the first temperance magazine, was launched two years later.¹³ *Revue protialkoholická*, a magazine published since 1904, provided space for more professional articles. Two years later, the two periodicals merged under the name *Zdravotnické rozhledy*.¹⁴ The response to the Brno teetotal movement was more palpable in northern Bohemia than in southern Moravia.¹⁵ The first temperance congress was also held in Brno in 1906. Subsequently, the Land Teetotaller Association in Brno was established in 1913

and the meeting of the Czechoslovak Teetotal Union in 1914. BENEŠ. *Problém alkoholové výroby a abstinence*. Prague 1947.

- 11 NMA, Prague, the ČAS f., Inv. No. 8, c. 1, MAREŠ Antonín. *Historie československého abstinentsního hnutí I. (Čechy)*, p. 5; JANČÍK. „Pít či nepít“, p. 48.
- 12 Closer to Josef Hybeš, see FASORA. *Josef Hybeš (1850–1921): Živo, dílo a mýtus*. Praha 2018.
- 13 Proti kořalečnímu moru, *Rovnost: list sociálních demokratů českých*, Vol.16, No. 51, 29 June 1900, p. 2; Staněk Ladislav, *K dějinám organisovaného hnutí abstinentsního na Moravě*, *Vyšší národ*, 1924, Vol. IV, Nos 5–6, p. 86; HÁJKOVÁ. *Abstinentsní hnutí ve Slezsku a na severní Moravě v první polovině 20. století*. In *Vážně i nevážně o víně: sborník k padesátým narozeninám PhDr. Karla Müllera*. Opava 2008, p. 139;
- 14 NMA, ČAS f., Inv. No. 9, c. 1, MAREŠ, *Historie lidového hnutí* p. 10.
- 15 JANÍČEK. *Československý abstinentsní svaz v kontextu českého a slovenského abstinentsního hnutí I. poloviny 20. století*. Diploma Thesis, Department of History, Faculty of Arts, Masaryk University, Brno 2014, p. 22.

– later the Moravian Teetotal Union, which merged with ČSAS in Prague in May 1921, thus forming its Moravian Land Headquarters (the “MZÚ ČSAS”).¹⁶

The notion that alcoholism was a disease emerged later. Before that, anticlericalism and teetotalism had converged; the two movements were united by Luisa Landová-Štychová. Women constituted a special group of addressees of the temperance movement. They were approached by women authors such as Františka Plamínková, a supporter of a women’s progressive movement, Pavla Moudrá, a writer and translator, and Jindřiška Wurmová, a writer and representative of the peace movement. Similarly, the temperance issue found its support in the Sokol movement.¹⁷ The desire to improve man, to overcome his natural inclinations, contributed to the fact that some anticlericalism and teetotalism activists shifted towards scientific socialism and embraced the ideas of social revolution.¹⁸ Besides, the question was addressed also by the Social Democracy, which kept striving to raise the workers’ standard of living and considered it crucial that the workers’ demands should grow faster than it was possible to satisfy them. The Social Democracy saw in this the source of the efforts to change and mend the world. By exploiting the opportunities provided by the consumerist way of life, the workers lost interest in achieving their goals on the basis of fleeting, yet replicable gratification. These tendencies were confirmed by Emil Vandervelde, a Belgian socialist, and Adolf Braun, a social democratic Bavarian columnist, when they noted that increased income brought increased spending on alcohol.¹⁹ The fight against alcoholism was primarily a fight against its producers.²⁰ Before World War I, the social democrat teetotalers could not find common ground with the bourgeois teetotalers. The Social Democrats believed that the latter saw the social issue and the temperance issue as one and the same assuming that the eradication of alcoholism would solve the social issue. The Social Democrats rejected such approach.²¹ The Association of Teetotaler Socialists was formed relatively soon within the ČSAS as its

16 RAŠ. Za ostřízlivění národa, p. 14; POPOV. MUDr. Jan Šimsa – průkopník léčby závislosti a psychoterapie v Čechách. In *Adiktologie*, 2017, Vol. 17, No. 2, p. 170; NMA. The ČAS f., Inv. No. 8, c. 1; MAREŠ. Historie abstinentsního hnutí, p. 5; JANCÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 48.

17 RAŠ, Za ostřízlivění národa, p. 15. On the question of the women’s emancipation movement in Sokol see STRACHOVÁ. Emancipation of Women in Physical Education: Paper on History of the Women’s Unit of Sokol Brno I (1902–1934). In *Historický časopis*, 2019, Vol. 67, No. 2, p. 265.

18 POKORNÝ. Krásy života bez alkoholu. In *Hospody a pivo v české společnosti*. Prague 1997, p. 181.

19 FRÖHLICH. Alkoholní otázka a třída dělnická. In *Zdravotnické knihovny dělnické*, 1908, No. 1, p. 24.

20 Lihový kapitál naším úhlavním nepřitelem. In *Abstinentsní věstník*, 1911, Vol. 2, No. 1, p. 3.

21 POKORNÝ, Krásy života, p. 180.

own division,²² serving as a point of contact for the ČSAS with other social democratic and communist organisations (the Workers' Gymnast Units, the Federation of Workers' Gymnast Units, the Socialist Scouts, and the Spartacus Labour Scouts).²³ The whole issue resonated strongly in the society even before the war.²⁴

After the outbreak of World War I, most teetotalism activities declined. This was partly due to the lack of awareness-raising workers, which was caused by the mobilisation, partly this was due to regulated production and sale of alcohol. State interventions were exacerbated by the shortage of raw materials. Ironically, as a result of the war, the teetotal movement was partially accomplished after all.²⁵ This state of affairs was present in the Bohemian lands even in the first post-war year. Already during the war, the mutual relationships between teetotallers and friends of teetotalism were growing deeper.²⁶ After the devastating war, their real task seemed to be the creation of a new state, a new nation – a kind of a Higher Nation, as referred to in a letter published by prof. Břetislav Foustka on behalf of all the teetotallers. These circles were convinced that a general sobering up of the whole nation would be the only thing to crown the Czech National Revival.²⁷ In the autumn of 1918, Foustka therefore drew up a proposal for a social and health programme, emphasising the eradication of alcoholism.²⁸ The public, however, viewed teetotallers as eccentric individuals trying to set themselves apart from others at all cost.

Other organisations and associations engaging in the sphere of ethics, social issues and hygiene, physical education and other matters were also heavily involved in the movement. Naturally, such organisations had their representatives in the ČSAS. They formed a loose association in Moravia (twenty-one associations to be exact) under the name of the Teetotaller Council. The ČSAS

22 NMA. ČSAS f., c. 1, Inv. No. 13.

23 As at 1923, the Union of Workers' Gymnast Units alone registered 6,345 teetotallers. NMA. the ČSAS f., Inv. No. 8, c. 1; MAREŠ, *Historie hnutí*, p. 102.

24 Alkoholism. In *Betanie: biblický časopis k probuzení a pěstování křesťanského života*, Vol. 28, No. 6, 20 February 1910, p. 61b; Abstinentský koutek. In *Betanie: biblický časopis k probuzení a pěstování křesťanského života*, Vol. 29, No. 5, 10 February 1911, p. 59; Zemská dávka z piva a alkoholismus. In *Ženský list: časopis pracující třídy ženského pohlaví*, Vol. 22, No. 36, 4 September 1913, p. 1; FOUSTKA. Organisueme mládež k životu abstinentskému! In *Pražská lidová revue: list věnovaný vzdělávání a kulturním potřebám lidu*, Vol. 2, No. 4, April 1906, p. 84; Protialkoholní dny. In *Čas*, Vol. 27, No. 132, 16 May 1913, p. 2; AUERHAN. Kulturní, zvláště školské úkoly české politiky. In *Česká politika*, Volume 5. Prague 1913, p. 77.

25 BENEŠ, Problém alkoholové výroby, p. 82; JANČÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 48.

26 Abstinents ve službách hnutí za svobodu národa. In *Národní Osvobození* 5, 30 October 1928.

27 JUDA. Úkoly a cena odříkání, In *Iyšší národ* 1, 15 October 1921, p. 3.

28 POKORNÝ, Krásy života, p. 178; JANČÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 49.

was the umbrella organisation for all those matters and its activities were driven by intellectuals, with university teachers, doctors, lawyers, economists, and educators of all types of schools taking up the leading posts.

The teetotal movement achieved partial success in the Czech environment. In the area of health care, efforts to establish a treatment centre for alcoholics were fulfilled (adopting the model of Swiss sanatoriums). P. Bedřich Konařík was actively involved in this activity, founding the Society of Cross for the establishment and maintenance of a hospital for alcoholics in 1910, which was to be part of the international teetotal Association of Cross. The Society of Cross, with the support of ČSAS, built a treatment facility in Velké Kunčice, the first medical facility of its kind in the Czech territory, which operated between 1911 and 1915. Although the facility disappeared during the war, it served in varying degrees as a model for similar facilities later – especially for an alcohol rehab treatment facility for curable male drinkers in the Tuchlov Castle near Teplice-Šenava, opening in 1924.²⁹ Alcoholics would be placed in psychiatric institutions only if alcoholism was associated with any disease. Generally, the term correction was used rather than treatment.³⁰ Treatment facilities were places where the background material for press campaigns was often created, not only for the facilities themselves, but also e.g. for Sokol.

Since 1920, a series of bills were introduced in the Parliament to counter the negative effects of the alcohol industry. Society was divided into two camps. Bringing together a wide spectrum of views, the temperance camp was acting in a rather offensive manner.³¹ The other camp, invoking the liberal principles of free entrepreneurship, reacted defensively – and had considerable lobbying potential.³² Social democrats and the bourgeois teetotallers reached a consensus adopting Act No. 86/1922 Coll., restricting the serving of alcoholic beverages, which was promoted by MUDr. Arnold Holitscher.³³ It was therefore often

29 RAŠ, Za ostřízlivění, p. 15. Interestingly, Nephalia, the first Austrian Society against Drunkards, founded a local group in Brno in February 1910, followed by a Brno group of the Workers' Teetotaler Association in June. Not long after their formation, the two groups agreed to establish a Protection Centre for Those Suffering From Alcoholism, following the German model. Výroční zpráva ochrannovy alkoholem nemocných v Brně. In *Brněnské noviny*, Vol. 1912, No. 17, 22 January 1912, p. 2.

30 HÁJKOVÁ, Abstinentní hnutí, p. 135.

31 JANČÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 49.

32 For more details see LINKOVÁ, Obavy ze zavedení tisku, p. 107.

33 Arnold Holitscher (born on 7 August 1859 in Vienna, died on 21 October 1942 in Prague) was a physician and politician, senator of the National Assembly for the German Social Democratic Workers' Party in Czechoslovakia. As a physician he was involved in awareness raising and campaigns against alcoholism. He himself had personal experience with alcoholism. BALLING Mads Olle. *Von Reval bis Bukarest: statistisch-biographisches Handbuch der Parlamentarier der deutschen Minderheiten in Ostmittel- und Südosteuropa 1919–1945*,

referred to as “Hollitscher’s law” or *lex Hollitscher* in the literature. It was the very first piece of legislation in Czechoslovakia that dealt with the temperance issue.³⁴ For example, Karel Anděl, a Member of Parliament for the Czechoslovak Trade and Commerce Party, spoke against the bill. While he did not deny the law’s “noble efforts”, he did point out the negative impact it would have on certain trades.³⁵ The adoption of a proposal by Czech women MPs to include the education on the harmful and pernicious effects of nicotinism and alcohol consumption in the curricula of elementary, middle and secondary schools was another success.³⁶

The Sokol regulations did not expressly prohibit the consumption of alcohol, although alcohol would often be prohibited at meetings.³⁷ The Brno Unit showed interest in the temperance movement even before World War I. However, this was an endeavour by the education division. In cooperation with the regional Progressive Women’s Organisation, the department held a teetotal exhibition in Brno–Lužánky between 10 and 24 November 1912. The exhibition was followed by an academy on 23 November. The end of the exhibition was complicated by a misunderstanding between the organisers. In a letter dated 25 February 1913, the Progressive Women’s Organisation complained of “*deliberate devaluation and disrespectful treatment*” by Sokol, as Sokol appropriated the proceeds of the event to itself only. Sokol objected in a letter dated 8 June 1913, in which it urged the Progressive Women’s Organisation to withdraw its earlier accusations.³⁸ However, the actions did not provoke any significant response within the Unit itself. The education division also organised lectures on the harmful effects of alcohol and nicotine, as well as on sex education and eugenics. Nevertheless,

Vol. 2, Dokumentation Verlag, 1991, p. 337; LECHNER. *Die Wiener Verlagsbuchhandlung „Anzengruber-Verlag, Brüder Suschitzky“ (1901–1938) im Spiegel der Zeit*. Diploma thesis at the Faculty of Humanities, University of Vienna. Vienna 1994, p. 57.

- 34 Act No. 86/1922 Coll., restricting the serving of alcoholic beverages. The Act also laid down high penalties. Where the penalty was uncollectible, the penalty was imprisonment. The Act was followed by Government Implementing Regulation No. 174/1922 Coll., which defined alcoholic beverages as those with alcohol content exceeding 0.5%. RAŠ, *Za ostřízlivění*, p. 16; HÁJKOVÁ, *Abstinentsní hnutí*, p. 141.
- 35 JANČÍK, „Pít či nepít“, p. 52. National Assembly of the Czechoslovak Republic 1920–1925, Chamber of Deputies, Transcripts, 121st session of 17 January 1922 – a speech by K. Anděl.
- 36 RAŠ, *Za ostřízlivění*“, p. 16.
- 37 Moravian Land Archive, The Czechoslovak Teetotal Union Fund – Brno Land Headquarters (F. G92), 1922 documents, Letter from Růžena Adamíčková to the MAS Executive Director dated 23 June 1922; NMA, ČSAS f., Inv. No. 206, c. 7, *Něco o abstinentsní činnosti v Sokole*.
- 38 Brno City Archive (BCA), f. R77, Inv. No. 542, c. 66; STRACHOVÁ. *Sokol Brno I 1862–1938: Dějiny elitní moravské jednoty*. Brno 2020, p. 111; KOVÁŘ. *Výsledky sedmileté práce abstinentsního odboru*. In *Vzpomínáme 75 let Sokola Brno I*. Brno 1937, p. 40; *Výroční zpráva Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1912*, p. 30.

the temperance movement took hold in Moravia and Brno would host multiple temperance conventions.³⁹ In the early 1920s, teetotaler divisions were established in Sokol in Královo Pole (until 1926) and in Sokol in Bzenec. At the same time, both divisions were affiliated to the MZÚ ČSAS. Over time, their activities ceased altogether as their officials changed and mainly due to the lack of support.⁴⁰

In Brno, only the teetotaler division of the MZÚ ČSAS would perform any temperance activities since the mid-twenties. The division focused on education sessions held in the winter for students in secondary and vocational schools. The division's events were organised in a high-school canteen, with an average attendance of 150 students; the programme included music, singing, poetry reading, lectures and debates.⁴¹ The temperance issue only returned to Brno's "Number One" in the early 1930s. The teetotaler division of Sokol Brno I was established in a situation when the Brno police recorded 1,156 persons arrested for drunkenness annually, 391 of whom were women.⁴²

Naturally not only under the impression of the statistics, but mainly because of the desire of a few individuals that in the Unit, where the gymnastic component of the activity is well taken care of, the other no less important part of the Sokol idea – education and refinement of the spirit – be also put into practice. The division initially aspired to hold smoke- and alcohol-free friendly parties for the members but did not find sufficient support for this. As a response, a part of the members established a teetotal group on 13 December 1930.⁴³

The group tried to achieve its goals by cultural and education activities, namely by organising lectures, hikes, noble pastimes, etc. The group's other activities included the dissemination of teetotalism brochures and press (*Masaryk a alkoholismus, O etice alkoholismu, Dál a výš, Sokol a abstinence*). The group intended to interfere with the division that was organising puppet shows, emphasising that no plays containing pub scenes or moods caused by

39 The first Czech convention took place in 1906. At the fourth one, representatives of all the Czech and German temperance associations in Moravia met, see The Fourth Austrian Temperance Congress in Brno. In *Rovnost: list sociálních demokratů českých*, Vol. 30, No. 106, 10 May 1914, p. 4; *Moravská orlice*, Vol. 52, No. 78, 7 May 1914, p. 6.

40 Sokol a abstinence. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 11, No. 51–52, 19 December 1930, p. 5; Abstinentská práce. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 14, No. 13, 1 April 1933, p. 7.

41 Vzdělávací besídky abstinentního odboru Velkého Brna. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 12, No. 6, 7 February 1931, p. 4; Místní odbor Československého abstinentního svazu (Czechoslovak Teetotal Union) for the fifth Brno 1929, 1930, Vol. 11, No. 48, 29 November 1930, p. 4.

42 Přehled o alkoholických zadržených brněnskou policií v r. 1930. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 12, No. 9, 28 February 1931, p. 5.

43 KOVÁŘ. Výsledky sedmileté práce abstinentního odboru. In *Vzpomínáme 75 let Sokola Brno I*. Brno 1937, p. 41.

the consumption of spirits were admissible.⁴⁴ MUDr. Leopold Sonnek was elected the group's first Chairman, Karel Hrabec was elected Vice-Chairman, Leopold Synek was elected Executive Director, Františka Samková was elected Treasurer, Jan Šimek was elected Recorder and Reporter. However, the idea of teetotalism was not embraced by the Unit's members. The group therefore appealed to the Sokol members to let the group work regardless of their own beliefs. The desire to find out what the members thought is also reflected in a considered questionnaire survey.⁴⁵ Following its establishment, the group held a Sokol debate on Sunday 25 January 1931 at 7.30 p.m. in the foyer space of its stadium. This first public performance set a precedent for all the subsequent events. The audience were introduced into the foyer with flower decorations on the tables and the podium, where the President's bust rose from the rich greenery at the front. After the introductory speech given by MUDr. Sonnek, an artistic program ensued, featuring the artist Zdeňka Stejskalová-Gräfová (reading), the singer Boža Patočková and conservatory students Josef Musil (violin) and Sámko Kovář (piano). The guests were treated to tea and desserts during a break.⁴⁶ The organisers were pleasantly surprised by the net proceeds of the event, which exceeded Czechoslovak Crown (Kč). In view of the considerable demand, a second Sokol debate was held in the large hall of the stadium soon after on 28 March, commemorating Jan Amos Comenius. The 400 visitors who came that time were intrigued both by a speech given by prof. Ladislav Jandásek and by the rest of the programme. The net proceeds of the event exceeded Kč 880 then, which was considered a considerable success. A third Sokol debate took place on 12 September to commemorate Jindřich Fügner and prof. Miroslav Tyrš. In his speech, MUDr. Vladimír Kubeš referred to a slogan by Tyrš: "*What you have gained through exercise, are your morals and moderation, do preserve it for yourself*", which became the main motto for the Sokol teetotal movement in the future. The Sokol tradition attributed the first temperance ideas in the Bohemian lands to Miroslav Tyrš. The tradition relied on statements taken out of context; as a result, many perceived what used to be harsh criticism of Sokol in completely different connotations.⁴⁷ Similar emphasis was placed on

44 Abstinence v Sokole. In *Sokolský vzdělavatel*, Vol. 4, No. 9, 3 November 1932, p. 209.

45 STRACHOVÁ. *Sokol Brno I*, p. 111; Abstinentská rodina. In *Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. VI, No. 10, 20 Dec. 1930, p. 182; SYNEK. Abstinentský odbor. In *Výročný zpráva Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. za rok 1932*, p. 120. The album is now stored in the BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 320, *Hlasy tisku o činnosti Abstinentského odboru Sokola Brno I*.

46 Sokol Brno I. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 12, No. 6, 7 Feb. 1931, p. 4; BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 320, *Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. VII, No. 1, 20 January 1931; *Ibid.*, Abstinentský kroužek. In *Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. VII, No. 2, 20 February 1931.

47 "*Especially you, Czech youth, pay penance, come out of the eternal stench of your pubs and*

the question of nationality, where the authority of prof. Tyrš acted as an arbiter of beer culture, which he viewed as a product of Germanisation efforts: “No Slavic nation is said to have as many pubs and taverns as the Czechs, which we have picked up from our neighbours.”⁴⁸ But let us return to “Number One” in Brno: the aforementioned debates were followed by a joint listening session to a ceremonial radio broadcast on 28 October in the stadium’s hall, specifically the transmission of the speech by the Speakers of the National Assembly and the subsequent response by the President. Moreover, three friendly working meetings of the members of the teetotaller group and its supporters took place. The first meeting was held on 5 October where prof. Jan Uher made a speech explaining the causes and history of the sobriety movement and stated that the teetotaller movement was an effort to master self-control. Further meetings were held on 21 November with a presentation by A. Kladivová (Family Life and Teetotalism), and on 12 December with a presentation by Dr. Otakar Vičér (Importance of Teetotalism for our National Economy). Throughout 1931 the group disseminated 1,000 copies of Tomáš Garrigue Masaryk’s information booklets (On Alcoholism). The unexpected response within and outside the Unit led the group to morph into the teetotaller division on 12 December; subsequently, it was attached to the education board.⁴⁹

In 1932 the division organised two Sokol debates and two lecture evenings. On 29 January a debate was held in the large hall of the stadium under the title “*Colourful Evening*”. Its purpose was to point out that abstinence was not to be regarded as austerity and asceticism, but that cheerfulness and joy were to be pure and natural, untainted by the enjoyment of alcohol. A second Sokol debate was held in the same place on 6 March to celebrate the President’s birthday. Then on 23 May, Karel Kálal, who was perceived as a diligent promoter of life without smoke, alcohol and card gambling, was commemorated in the small hall of the stadium; an education evening (Art of Living) was organised on 12 November. Moreover, the division in cooperation with MZÚ ČSAS published a promotional letter (*Dál a výš*), which was distributed during a commemorative

cafés, put on the Sokol training robes penitentially, take pains for your own benefit and for the benefit of the nation, and finally make amends for the sins committed against your health, freshness and bravery!” TYRŠ. Vážné slovo o „Sokolu“ pražském a o věci sokolské vůbec. In *Národní listy*, Vol. 17, No. 300, 1 November 1877, p. 2; SAK and TYRŠ. *Sokol, myslitel, výtvarný kritik*. Prague 2012, p. 118.

48 BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 320, *Hlasy tisku o činnosti Abstinentsního odboru Sokola Brno I, Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. 8, No. 7; WAITOVÁ. Abstinence v Sokole. In *Věstník sokolský: list Svazu československého sokolstva*, Vol. 35, No. 15, 13 April 1933, p. 226.

49 BCA, f. R 77, Inv. No. 320, *Z abstinentsního kroužku, Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. VII, No. 8, 20 October 1931; Ibid., Abstinentsní hnutí v Sokole. In *Polední ostravský deník*, 25 September 1931; *Výroční zpráva o činnosti Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. za rok 1931*, p. 89.

Sokol gathering (called slet in Czech).⁵⁰ The division's work soon sparked interest among other units (e.g. Sokol Blansko or Sokol Třešť), Sokol administrative districts (called *župa* in Czech) as well as the Czechoslovak Sokol Community (ČOS). The Sokol headquarters had long recognised the importance of teetotalism, but only in theory, i.e. in terms of morality and education, but otherwise it completely ignored and neglected the issue. Under the impression of the success achieved by the teetotal division of the Brno Unit, and marginally also under the impression of the resonating scandal in connection with the sale of tobacco products at a Sokol gathering⁵¹ in the spring of 1932, the presidium of the education board of ČOS decided to elect Josef Helcl as a special reporter for the temperance issue. It was also decided that a friendly relationship would be established with ČSAS. At the ČOS autumn congress, a proposal was adopted to formalise teetotal activities by setting up a special committee at the presidium of the education board. This was subsequently confirmed on by the ČOS presidium on 30 November 1932. The committee prepared guidelines which were to govern the teetotal activities across Sokol. Among other things, the committee highlighted two main principles: First of all, that Sokol education in this respect should take the form of instructions and advice, rather than bans or coercion. The second principle consisted in a methodological clarification of the concept of teetotalism. For the word teetotalism was not supposed to mean abstinence from alcohol and nicotine only, but from anything that undermined the human

50 SYNEK. *Abstinentský odbor, Výroční zpráva Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. za rok 1932*, p. 119; Abstinentská práce. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 13, No. 45, 19 November 1932, p. 4; HANÁK. V Brně v prosinci 1932. In *Zprávy Sokola Brno I*, Vol. 8, No. 10, p. 228. For more details on the festival see STRACHOVÁ and VOSTRÝ. *Brněnské sokolské slety*, BMD 31, No. 1, 2018, p. 43-63.

51 Sokol would traditionally issue an edition of Sokol gathering cigarettes, the sale of which was to promote the gathering and increase the proceeds of the event. However, this caused considerable resistance among some of the Sokol members. ČOS management defended itself by saying that the Sokol cigarettes were to be produced at the suggestion of the finance division to generate profit for the sake of the gathering, that this was neither about drinking, nor about sobering up, nor was it an attack on teetotalism. “[...] *No one is forcing anyone to buy and smoke the Sokol cigarettes [...] let the brothers, sisters and gentlemen themselves raise funds for the gathering and give us about Kč 100,000 to 250,000.*” František V. Pokorný from Brno, the editor of *Nový lid*, turned to the finance division for the gathering, promising a collection and guaranteeing to raise Kč 100,000 at least if ČOS refrained from the idea of the tobacco products for the gathering. This was rejected by the ČOS presidium. In the end, ČOS lost Kč 78,000 on the sale of tobacco products at the gathering. *Vojna o sletové cigarety*. In *Věstník sokolský: list Svazu československého sokolstva*, Vol. 34, No. 5, 4 February 1932, pp. 76-78; POKORNÝ. *Vojna o sletové cigarety*. In *Nový lid*, Vol. XXIX, No. 6, 9 February 1932, p. 64; *Rozhodnutí o sletovém kuřivu*. In *Nový lid*, Vol. XXXIX, No. 10, 8 March 1932, p. 112; *Bratře vzdělavatelé J. L. z B.* In *TYRŠ: věstník sokolských žup Jana Máchala, krále Jiřího, Pernštejnské, Slovácké*, Vol. 24, No. 4, p. 26.

organism, including unrestrained eating and unrestrained enjoyment of bodily pleasures in general. There was a belief that smokers and alcohol drinkers should not be looked down upon, as this would compromise the whole education efforts beforehand in the eyes of the public.⁵² At the first March ČOS presidium meeting in 1933, a resolution was adopted according to which the presidium's statement in this regard was to be published in *Věstník sokolský* (Sokol Bulletin).⁵³ At the same time, the presidium included in all physical education schools a compulsory lecture on teetotal education and called on the Sokol administrative districts to do the same.⁵⁴

In the meantime, the teetotaller division in Number One continued to organise education debates in the stadium's large hall. In 1933 the first debate took place on 22 January (Tea Party Then and Now). The cultural and historical character of the whole event was underlined by the performance of Karel Höger, a member of the Land Theatre in Brno. A second debate was organised on the occasion of Tyrš's 101st birthday under the title "*Tyrš in a Friendly Circle of Gymnasts*". This was followed by an education evening titled "*Through Education to a New Life*" hosted on 25 April. In addition to the above-mentioned events, the division was involved in the Evening to Commemorate Charlotte Masaryk, which was organised by the Unit together with the associated Brno women's societies on 13 May. All of these events brought in a net profit of Kč 3,421 in 1933. In addition to organising events, the division also drew up rules of procedure summarising the ideological guidelines.⁵⁵ In this way the division went on to organise cultural and education events with a rich programme, featuring artists engaged in Brno's culture, also in the next year. A debate held on 11 February 1934 (Humour Then and Now) featured Karel Spurný, a member of the Land Theatre in Brno, and prof. Emil Šotola, Božena Žáková and Vladimír Vozák. A debate on 28 October (Evening of Czechoslovak Reciprocity) organised by the Unit was co-hosted by Kriváň, a Slovak academic association. The aforementioned events brought in Kč 1,404. Debates were not the only endeavour: the division also delivered speeches to the members in April and then again in November for two women's divisions. In addition to that, MUDr. Leopold Sonnek gave a lecture at a youth party (Sokol Youth Does Not Smoke and Does Not Drink) on 17 February. The

52 HELCL. Výchova k eugenice v Sokole. In *Sokolský vzdělavatel*, Vol. 5, No. 2, 2 February 1933, p. 36; WAITOVÁ. Abstinence v Sokole. In *Věstník sokolský: list Svazu československého sokolstva*, Vol. 35, No. 15, 13 April 1933, p. 226; KLICPERA. Jak povedeme k abstinenci. In *Sokolský vzdělavatel*, Vol. 5, No. 5, 4 May 1933, p. 89; *Abstinentní odbor, Výroční zpráva Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I. za rok 1933*, p. 96.

53 *Věstník sokolský: list Svazu československého sokolstva*, Vol. 35, No. 15, 13 April 1933, p. 225.

54 Abstinentní práce. In *Pokrokový obzor*, Vol. 14, No. 13, 1 April 1933, p. 7.

55 The guidelines were approved by the Unit's Committee on 12 September 1935.

division continued to assist in some of the education board's events, such as a party (Issue of Race) or the anniversary of the Battle of Lipany.⁵⁶

However, the teetotaler division did not show much effort to bring the temperance ideas into the public arena. The division stayed within the boundaries closely tied to its own membership base. How much attention the division received from its members is illustrated by a questionnaire campaign organised by the division in the middle of 1935. Its purpose was to find out where and why the members disagreed with the division's efforts or what was their idea of what the division should do next. The division placed 4,000 printed questionnaires as an insert in the Sokol Brno I newsletter and also distributed them on suitable occasions. However, only eighty-six members responded to this mass campaign, of which sixty-nine had already been affiliated to the division.⁵⁷ The division viewed the event as a success. The division relied in its activities on its efforts to educate towards teetotalism through entertainment and education events. In 1935 the last three Sokol debates were organised: the first one on 27 January (Colourful Evening), the second one on 28 October on the occasion of the national holiday and the third one on 30 November (Art, Beauty, Joy).⁵⁸ At that time, a scandal was reverberating throughout the society caused by a mass methyl alcohol poisoning in Nová Budeč, Běchovice and Úvaly, claiming eleven lives.⁵⁹

It was not until 1936 that the division began to be more active towards the public. At that time, the division focused on a regional gathering, where the division decided to sell milk and bread and butter.⁶⁰ However, the worsening international situation led the division to react: the debate of 28 October 1936 focused on Czechoslovak unity rather than the temperance movement. The event featured not only Moravia's and Slovakia's numerous prominent figures, often accompanied by members in national folk costumes, but also by the band of

56 *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1934*, p. 117.

57 Sokol Brno I had a total of 2,659 fully-fledged members and 128 not fully-fledged members in 1935. It should be noted, however, that there were far fewer members who would actually do exercise, on average around 29% of males. *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1935*, p. 20.

58 *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1935*, p. 107.

59 Původci hromadných otrav zjištěni. In *Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 617, 10 December 1935, p. 4; Hromadné otravy jedovatými likéry. In *Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 618, 10 December 1935, p. 1; Hon na původce hromadných otrav. In *Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 619, 11 December 1935, p. 5; Nebezpečné porušování lihovin. In *Lidové noviny*, Vol. 43, No. 620, 11 December 1935, p. 2; Nová otrava na českém venkově. In *Moravská orlice*, Vol. 73, No. 287, 10 December 1935, p. 3; Nová hromadná otrava v obci u Prahy. In *Venkov*, Vol. 30, No. 287, 10 December 1935, p. 6; Jedovatý líh zavinil otravu 9 lidí. In *Venkov*, Vol. 30, No. 288, 11 December 1935, p. 6.

60 BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 35, *IV. schůze 30. V. 1936*; *Ibid.*, *V. schůze 14. IX. 1936*.

Infantry Regiment No. 10. Subsequently, the division together with the Unit of the Czechoslovak Legionnaires prepared a celebration of the 86th birthday of President T.G. Masaryk, which took place on 8 March at the stadium. On that occasion, the Land Theatre in Brno was represented at the event by the opera soloist Vladimír Jedenáctík, accompanied by prof. Vilém Blažek on the organ. The programme also included a performance by conservatory pupils led by prof. Rudolf Walter. The division also invited astronomer Dr. Karel Hujer, who gave two lectures: one of them titled “*When Will the World End?*” given on 27 March and one titled “*Following Total Solar Eclipse through Siberia via China to Japan*” given on 15 October. The division prepared Mácha’s evening on 22 April. The division was able to hand over net profits of Kč 7,904.35 to the Unit, generated from all of its events in 1936. A trip to Subcarpathian Rus was a true novelty, where the division’s representatives promised to help with awareness-raising by the local Central Teetotaler Committee for Subcarpathian Rus in Berehovo.⁶¹

The division’s activities continued in this fashion in the late 1930s. However, the division decided to pursue its goals by new means: it organised the first teetotaler Sokol New Year’s debate in the large hall of the stadium on 1 January 1937. This alcohol-free format of the New Year’s Eve was what brought Sokol Brno I the greatest popularity.⁶² As a substitute for the celebrations of President T. G. Masaryk and 28 October that had fallen through, the division organised debate evenings: on 6 and 28 April (Following Masaryk) and on 13 October (Masaryk’s Legacy). In the late 1930s, the division got into a dispute with the operator of a restaurant at the Sokol stadium. The division accused the operator of charging disproportionately higher prices for soft drinks. For that reason it was decided that the matter would be addressed in the next lease agreement.⁶³ Moreover, the division again took care of spreading teetotalism through reports in the *Zpravodaj* newsletter and speeches; Olga Sobotková gave a speech supplied by the division at a civil defence meeting on 18 April and Dr. Bohumír Tichánek gave a speech at a regional education school on 11 December.⁶⁴

61 *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1936*, p. 92.

62 This is also illustrated by the report which stated the wish of many participants that similar events be held on a monthly basis. The division ruled this option out as technically unfeasible. BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 35, *Výroční schůze konaná dne 29. ledna 1938*.

63 BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 35, *Schůze dne 9. června 1937*; *Ibid.*, *Dne 13. října 1937 uspořádal abstinentní odbor schůzku pod heslem Masarykův odkaz*. A year later, the division approached the committee with a request that a requirement be included in the new contract with the operator to refurbish the café or one of the restaurant’s rooms in the spirit of teetotalism. *Ibid.*, *Výroční schůze konaná dne 29. ledna 1938*.

64 NMA, ČSA f., Inv. No. 42, c. 5, *O činnosti abstinentního odboru Sokola Brno I od jeho vzniku dne 13. prosince 1930 do konce roku 1936*; *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*

The New Year's debate launched the teetotaller division's activities in 1938. The debate was followed by the annual meeting of 29 January, where MUDr. Vladimír Kubeš gave a speech (On the Importance and Production of Liquid Fruit). The division organised a friendly meeting in the committee room, dedicated to the memory of T. G. Masaryk on 7 March. Another friendly meeting to commemorate Labour Day was organised by the division on 30 April. Masaryk's memorial evening, planned for 14 September 1938, could not take place in view of the extraordinary international situation. All the attention of the Sokol units was focused on the 10th Sokol gathering, where the division again sold milk and other soft drinks. A teetotal debate as an accompanying programme of the gathering was also considered.⁶⁵ Moreover, the division promised the Regional Teetotaller Headquarters in Subcarpathian Rus a lecture with slides. As the division was unable to keep the promise, the Unit's committee donated at least Kč 500 to the organisation for the publishing of a temperance one-act play from a peasant's life by Ivan Ustijanovic (*Što nas gubit'*). The social situation radically shifted the priorities of each Sokol unit, so it comes as no surprise that the division's activities declined somewhat compared to the previous years. The whole time, however, the division continued its cooperation with MZÚ ČSAS in Brno and the ČSAS Headquarters in Prague.⁶⁶ That cooperation was supported by the aforementioned associations, which provided the Sokol units with professional base and material for leaflet campaigns.

Conclusion

In the Czech environment, the reformist zeal, driven by a desire for moral propriety and adaptability, did not prove successful, also because it did not enjoy the wide social support, as it did e.g. during World War I in the U.S. Moreover, the U.S. example showed that the noblest of intentions translated into legislation would not do without proper tools for their enforcement. From the beginning, prohibition faced public thirst, sluggish support from local authorities, and profits stemming from smuggling and underhand trade. A regulated market repeatedly proved to be a better tool for mitigating risks and damage. In Czechoslovakia, prohibition was primarily promoted by ČSAS, as the main representative of the

1937, p. 93; O novoroční besedě. In *Zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*, Vol. XIII, No. 1, 29 January 1937, p. 18; Za Masarykem. In *Zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*, Vol. XIII, No. 5, 26 May 1937, p. 85; BAYER. Odkaz Masarykův. In *Zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*, Vol. XIII, No. 8, 23 October 1937, p. 157;

65 BCA, f. R77, Inv. No. 35, *Výborová schůze dne 11. ledna 1938*.

66 *Výroční zpráva tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I 1938*, p. 100; Abstinentský odbor. In *Zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*, Vol. XIV, No. 1, p. 16; Abstinentský odbor. In *Zpravodaj Tělocvičné jednoty Sokol Brno I*, Vol. XIV, No. 4, p. 76.

temperance movement. Among the movement's activities, publishing stood out as its primary activity. Moreover, other means were used for self-promotion of the movement's ideas and interests: temperance exhibitions, which allowed for a concentrated effect on a wider range of addressees and multiple senses at the same time, various conferences, debates, rallies, demonstrations, but also petition drives and lawsuits.

Brno was the birthplace of the temperance movement in the Bohemian lands. It took twelve years for the ideas of Josef Hybeš from 1900 to reach the local Sokol movement. The first cooperation, on the eve of the war conflict, did not spark any lasting interest of the Sokol Unit. Sokol Brno I initially marginalised the whole issue. It revisited the topic only in the early 1930s when, on the initiative of a handful of enthusiasts, a teetotaler group was first formed, then expanding into a division. Naturally, the latter used the same means to achieve its own goals as ČSAS. Over time, the form of its self-promotion took shape of organising entertainment and expert debates (fifteen of them between 1931 and 1938), education evenings (seven of them), speeches and a leaflet campaign. This was supplemented by special celebrations and anniversaries, which were chiefly the subject of leaflet campaigns. In the late 1930s, the division decided to leave its comfort zone and repeatedly ventured into today's Transcarpathian region. The division had major concerns about hosting alcohol-free New Year's Eve celebrations, but they received the greatest public response. Two trends gradually emerged: first, a growing emphasis on the unfavourable international political situation, and second, the realisation that the education efforts had absolutely no effects on the middle, let alone the older, generation. Greater attention was thus given to the youth as the hope of the nation. It is important to point out that the unquestionable success of Brno's "Number One" and the response it had among the Sokol members led the presidium of the ČOS education board revisit the whole issue. The temperance movement embraced this as part of its own goals, thanks to which the teetotaler division of Sokol Brno I became a model department for the other Sokol units in the mid-1930s.

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