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Between the Nation and the Empire: The Transmission of Texts and Ideas about Temperance in the USA and Russia in the early 20th century[1]

by
ANNA SMELOVA

ABSTRACT

During the long nineteenth century, various reform movements arose at both local and international levels, such as clean-living crusades, public health campaigns, and temperance activism. Anti-alcohol movements in particular flourished in different countries and regions, resulting in a wave of legal restrictions on the sale, production, and use of alcoholic beverages, or as political thinker Mark Schrad called it, "the global prohibition drama."The most significant temperance movements were those in the United States, the United Kingdom, and the Nordic countries. Nevertheless, Russia, which is traditionally represented as an "alcoholic empire" is absent from the map of "temperance cultures."This article seeks to bridge the distance between the metropolis of the anti-alcohol world — the United States, — and its imagined periphery. It will be shown how the ideas and practices of sobriety traveled across the Atlantic and found their implementation in late imperial Russia. To trace this international exchange of ideas, I will focus on the conference presentation made by the American temperance activist Cora Frances Stoddard at the 12th Anti-alcohol Congress in 1909 and its 1914 Russian translation. The proposed research addresses the "glocalization" of temperance on several levels. A comparative consideration of the report and its translation will contribute to the understanding of the national contexts in which American and Russian temperance movements were developing. Of particular interest is the invention of sobriety as an international social movement and political practice in the modern era, as well as the circulation and transfer of ideas from one continent to another. From a larger perspective, this work aims at placing Prohibition into the global context and understanding the causes and outcomes of the worldwide policy in the first quarter of the 20th century.

1 This article is partially based on the findings and results of my research submitted as the MA thesis to the Central European University in Budapest: Anna Smelova, *The Temperance Movement: Alcohol and Politics in fin-de-siècle Russia* (MA thesis, CEU, 2018). The paper was developed significantly during the Omnibus course at Georgetown.

ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Anna Smelova is a PhD student at Georgetown University in Washington, DC. Her present research focuses on the social and intellectual history of late imperial and early Bolshevik Russia, in particular the history of the temperance movement. Smelova's MA thesis defended at the Central European University in 2018 considers the temperance organizations in fin-de-siecle Russia as part of a civic initiative. Anna's academic interests also include the history of Russian Orthodox Church (ROC) and history of imperial ethnography.

INTRODUCTION

During the long nineteenth century, various reform movements arose at both local and international levels, such as clean-living crusades, public health campaigns, and temperance activism. Anti-alcohol movements in particular flourished in different countries and regions, resulting in a wave of legal restrictions on the sale, production, and use of alcoholic beverages, or as political thinker Mark Schrad called it, "the global prohibition drama."[1] The most significant temperance movements were those in the United States, the United Kingdom, and Northern Europe. Nevertheless, Russia, traditionally represented as an "alcoholic empire", is absent from the map of "temperance cultures," as some scholars tend to conceptualize it.[2] Although neglected by historians, the discussion of alcohol use and abuse mobilized many social groups, from Orthodox priests to Social Democrats, and caused discontent in the Russian public sphere. As such, bringing the Russian case into conversation with these more familiar examples can deepen the understanding of global temperance activism, while illustrating the role temperance played in Russian ideas about nation-building within the imperial context.

The present work seeks to bridge the distance between the metropolis of the anti-alcohol world - the United States - and its periphery, imagined by both teetotalers and contemporary scholars. This paper demonstrates how the ideas and practices of sobriety traveled across the Atlantic and were implemented in late imperial Russia. To trace the international exchange of ideas, the current paper focuses on the conference presentation made by the American temperance activist Cora Frances Stoddard at the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism in 1909, which took place in London, and its 1914 Russian translation. The indicated case-study expands understanding of both the local contexts of temperance activism and its international dissemination. This piece pays special attention to the gender question: if the American temperance movement is often labeled as proto-feminist, in Russia it was a predominantly male territory.[3] The given exchange of ideas and texts is all the more captivating given that it took place between a nation and an empire.

1 Mark Lawrence Schrad, 'Introduction' in *The Political Power of Bad Ideas: Networks, Institutions, and the Global Prohibition Wave* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), 3-30.

2 The term was used in Henry G. Levine, "Temperance Cultures: Alcohol as a Problem in Nordic and English-Speaking Cultures," in Griffith Edwards, Malcom Lader, D. Colin Drummon, eds, *The Nature of Alcohol and Drug-Related Problems* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1992), 16-36.

3 For the American case, see Barbara Epstein, *The Politics of Domesticity. Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century America* (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981).

This article addresses the "glocalization"[4] of temperance on several levels. With an in-depth analysis of sources, this paper examines the rhetoric and ideas of the American and Russian teetotalers in the international perspective. Comparative consideration of Stoddard's report and its translation contributes to an understanding of the national contexts in which the Russian temperance movement was developing. Of particular interest is the invention of sobriety as an international social movement and political practice in the modern era, as well as the circulation and transfer of ideas from one continent to another. Among other things, this essay argues that the global Prohibition wave during World War I was fueled by local temperance activism and the international exchange of ideas and texts.

1. THE AMERICAN TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT: STODDARD AND HER PAMPHLET

1.1 SOBRIETY AND CULTURAL IMPERIALISM: THE CASE OF THE WCTU

One of the established understandings of the American democratic tradition is the participation of voluntary organizations in public and political life. This idea was presented by French diplomat and political thinker Alexis de Tocqueville in his famous work, *Democracy in America* (1840). De Tocqueville argued, "in democratic countries the science of association is the mother of science," and that this assumption was built on the evidence of unprecedented temperance activism of its proponents: "I at last understood that 300,000 Americans, alarmed by the progress of drunkenness around them, had made up their minds to patronize temperance."[5] Therefore, during the period when drunkenness was labeled as a social problem, the civic engagement of the temperance activists was a fundamental part of the public health debates in the U.S.

In the nineteenth century, the national prohibition movement was an umbrella phenomenon which intertwined with a variety of discourses, and was nourished by many other currents such as the Second Great Awakening, concerns for public health, morality, migration, and progressivism. In the second half of the century, temperance became closely associated with the wave of proto-feminism and spawned the involvement of middle-class women in the struggle for their rights.[6]

4 This notion is used here to describe the coexistence of various trends of globalization with the preservation of local culture and context.

5 Alexis De Tocqueville, *Democracy in America*, Ch. 5 (1840) https://www.marxists.org/reference/archive/de-tocqueville/democracy-america/ch28.htm.

6 The term "proto-feminism" is applied to the temperance movement of the early nineteenth century by the historian Barbara Epstein in *The Politics of Domesticity. Women, Evangelism, and Temperance in Nineteenth-Century*

Women compared their submission to "drunken husbands, ill health and tight corsets" to slavery, and began to publicly voice their discontent with the gender status quo. One type of anti-patriarchal activity was women's associations against the anti-saloon culture based in various American cities.[7]

One of the most influential women's temperance organizations of the time was the Woman's Christian Temperance Union (WCTU), whose reformist agenda included legal prohibition and promoting suffrage. The association was founded in 1874 in Ohio, and quickly expanded its activities within the country and abroad. As the historian Ian Tyrrell argues, "the WCTU linked the religious and the secular through concerted and far-arching reform strategies based on applied Christianity."[8] The WCTU adopted its rhetoric from religious moralizing discourse and millennialism[9] and developed it according to their needs. The activists supported total abstinence and considered alcohol to be the cause and source of many social problems and national degeneration.

In 1883, the WCTU's international branch—the World's WCTU—was established, with affiliates in Australia, New Zealand, Japan, Finland (a part of the Russian Empire at that time) and other countries. Ian Tyrrell emphasizes that the WCTU's aggressive expansion and political lobbying coincided with broader social and political processes. He argues that "the efforts of temperance women to emancipate their sisters from subordination to prevailing customs ironically enmeshed in the extension of European values and in the domination of large portions of the globe by the imperial powers."[10] According to Tyrrell, cultural imperialism and the international activities of the organization were rooted in the ideology of Anglo-American supremacy. The words of Mary Leavitt, a Boston schoolteacher and a notable member of the WCTU's international missionary, clearly demonstrated the nationalist

America (Middletown, CT: Wesleyan University Press, 1981). While the movements obviously did not entirely merge, they nevertheless coincided in the general striving of middle-class women to suffrage, broader independence within households, and better access to job markets. Following Epstein and Tyrrell, here and further on in this work, I use the term "feminist" in relation to female temperance practitioners to emphasize the modernizing nature of their social engagement and reformism.

7 Ruth Clifford Engs, *Clean Living Movements: American Cycles of Health Reform* (Westport, CT: Praeger, 2000), 46.

8 Ian Tyrrell, *Woman's World. Woman's Empire: The Woman's Christian Temperance Union in International Perspective 1880-1930* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1991), 2.

9 Millennialism is a religious multi-cultural movement based on faith in the millennial reign of saints together with Christ on earth before the Last Judgment. In a broader sense, this concept can be understood as the belief of a community of people in a fundamental transformation of society that will lead the chosen to the Kingdom of Heaven.

10 Tyrrell, *Woman's World,* 4.

sentiments of the WCTU: "America should see that she is the Messiah of the nations; that she is to give other nations better that they dreamed of."[11] The close connection between alcohol and national welfare was a constant attribute of temperance discourse, and the more anti-alcohol lobbying spread in the United States, the more the ideas of national superiority grew stronger among temperance activists. The WCTU's prohibition project largely relied on national revivalism and highlighted the dominant role of the United States in the sobering up of nations, which could be viewed as a program of cultural hegemony through the international propaganda of temperance. In fact, even for secular reformers, temperance was a kind of missionary activity dressed in religious-like terms of national revivalism. The mission of sobriety thus resonated nationally while being universalistic in its agenda.

1.2 SCHOOLTEACHERS IN ACTION: ANTI-ALCOHOL INSTRUCTION AND POLITICAL LOBBYING

From the mid-1870s, the WCTU actively developed a scientific temperance campaign by creating an extensive system of committees and departments. The most important work in this area was done by the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction, headed by a former schoolteacher, Mary Hannah Hunt. Through this branch, female temperance activists became involved in public discussions about the fate of anti-alcohol instruction in schools and had the opportunity to shape state educational policies. Among the political and legal achievements of Hunt and her followers was the adoption of the statute that provided mandatory anti-alcohol instruction in all schools of Michigan starting in 1883. Over the course of the 1880s, similar bills were passed by local legislatures in New York and Pennsylvania, and later in Rhode Island, Alabama, Kansas, Nebraska, Oregon, Nevada, Maine, Missouri, Wisconsin, and Massachusetts.[12]

According to the scholar Norton Mezvinsky, the activities of the Department played an important role in the battle for national prohibition. Hunt's next significant political victory was the provision of a draft legalization for temperance instruction in public schools in Washington, DC. As a result of lobbying and petitions, the Senate and the House adopted the bill, and President Grover Cleveland signed it on May 20, 1886. Throughout the 1890s, however, the temperance instruction propagated by the WCTU received strong criticism for linking "the religious and the secular" from scientists and teachers, and gradually lost its popularity. As historian of

11 As quoted in Tyrrell, *Woman's World,* 11.

12 Norton Mezvinsky, "Scientific Temperance Instruction in the Schools," *History of Education Quarterly*, no. 1 (March 1961): 49, https://www.jstor.org/stable/367201?seq=1.

science Philip J. Pauly points out, one of the reasons for the opposition of the institutionalized American physiologists to the women's organization was the desire of male professionals to preserve cultural authority in academia.[13] In the mid-1890s, Hunt moved away from the WCTU leadership to develop her own "drive for compulsory study in the physiological effects of alcohol and other narcotics" and engaged in independent activities in the United States and abroad.[14] For example, Hunt presented her project on school education at the International Congress Against Alcoholism held in Brussels in 1897, and at another event in Berlin in 1903. The international significance of Hunt's activities was marked, for example, by the translation of her textbooks and pamphlets into Japanese. Following the example of her works, local Japanese activists also wrote their own text entitled *Sake Is a Poison*.[15]

Shortly afterwards, Hunt chose another temperance activist, Cora Francis Stoddard, as her successor and first associate. For about 30 years, Stoddard headed the Scientific Temperance Federation in Boston. Like her colleagues, Stoddard advocated total abstinence and was engaged in the political battle for national prohibition. Her life's work was to uphold compulsory anti-alcohol instruction for children and adolescents in educational institutions. After Hunt's death in 1906, Stoddard formally broke with the WCTU and established her own Scientific Temperance Federation (STF) to promote educational and outreach activities in the North.[16] Under Stoddard's guidance, the organization achieved considerable success in promoting anti-alcohol education in schools, and distributed a variety of printed materials throughout the country.

While working in the Federation, Stoddard was involved in various printing activities. For a long time she headed the Federation's press organ, the *Scientific Temperance Journal,* which was issued monthly. Additionally, from 1913 until her death in 1936, Stoddard published more than 50 pamphlets and brochures on the topics of compulsory temperance education in schools, the harm of alcohol to health, and the fate of the American Prohibition. Some of Stoddard's works discussed total abstinence and if moderation could be considered appropriate (i.e. "State Experience with Exempting Beer from Prohibition," 1926; "Shall We Teach Moderation?", 1936). A number of

13 Philip J. Pauly, "The Struggle for Ignorance about Alcohol: American Physiologists, Wilbur Olin Atwater, and the Woman's Christian Temperance Union," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine,* 64, no. 3 (Fall 1990): 367, https://www.jstor.org/stable/44442546?seq=1.

14 Jonathan Zimmerman, "The Dilemma of Miss Jolly: Scientific Temperance and Teacher Professionalism,1882-1904," *History of Education Quarterly*, 34, no. 4 (Winter 1994): 414, .https://www.jstor.org/stable/369265?seq=1

15 Tyrrell, *Woman's World,* 51.

16 Tyrrell, *Woman's World,* 53.

her texts raised the question of child drunkenness and how to prevent the spread of these ideas and practices in minors ("The Developing Children of the Nation," "The Appeal to Youth," "The Teacher's Part in the Anti-Alcohol Movement," "Drink and the Delinquent Child," "Prohibition and Youth," etc.). Most of all, Stoddard was interested in preventive measures that would avert the passion for alcohol among juveniles. Being a teacher herself, Stoddard recognized anti-alcohol courses as the most effective remedy against the alcoholization of youth.

For its time, the activities of the Department of Scientific Temperance Instruction and the Scientific Temperance Federation played an important role in sobriety activism and lobbying for national prohibition. Mary Hunt and Cora Stoddard, along with other female activists, participated in the anti-alcohol congresses and, therefore, contributed to global temperance networking.

2. GLOBAL TEMPERANCE OR THE PAMPHLET CROSSES THE OCEAN

2.1 THE TWELFTH INTERNATIONAL CONGRESS ON ALCOHOLISM: IN SEARCH OF SOLUTIONS

During the nineteenth century, the success and influence of national temperance movements kept growing, which led to the rise of international activism, and the world-wide circulation of anti-alcohol ideas, texts, and the movement of activists across national borders. The turn of the century marked the era of international anti-alcohol conferences, which identified alcoholism as an important social and political problem. Before World War I, 14 international anti-alcohol conferences took place in fin de siècle Europe, raising various questions on national degeneration, morality, family, and political rights.[17]

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the invention of alcoholism as a social problem was linked to the individual awareness for health and the collective concern for the well-being of the nation. In this light, women were often viewed as the main tool to produce a healthy population. According to the historian Johan Edman, the topic of the family and the role of women in reproduction attracted the special attention of delegates to anti-alcohol conferences. Since temperance alarmism for the most part remained a middle-class agenda, family-oriented rhetoric occupied a special place in participants' discussions. As Edman points out, "[t]he consequences of the misuse of alcohol were often felt at home, and in accordance with the familistic ideology common among the middle class, the home was seen as the

17 Johan Edman, "Temperance and Modernity: Alcohol Consumption as a Collective Problem, 1885-1913," *Journal of Social History* 49, no. 1 (2015): 20-52, https://academic.oup.com/jsh/article/49/1/20/948316.

woman's domain."[18] Notably, while American temperance feminists struggled for their rights, many male teetotalers across the ocean viewed women as silent housewives and emphasized their role as mothers of the rising generation. Edman notes that the role of women at the conferences "had many facets: women were role models, mothers and housekeepers—albeit not yet partners in legislative work."[19] Despite the legislative successes of the WCTU activists, women still remained outside the public sphere from an international perspective and were marginalized in their fight against alcoholism. In this context, Stoddard's participation in the Twelfth International Conference was critically important, because it forced other temperance activists to reconsider their attitude towards women and recognize women's significance in social and legal matters.

The Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism opened on July 19, 1909 in London, bringing together delegates from eighteen different countries, as well as representatives from various colonies and protectorates. Lord Weardale, the acting President of the Congress, delivered a speech in which he denounced the negative effect of alcoholism on children's upbringing and well-being. This topic took a special place in the further work of the delegates. For example, the first half of the second part of the conference (featuring 10 presentations in three languages) was devoted to anti-alcohol instruction for the youth.[20] A significant number of speakers recognized the importance of preventing drunkenness among children and found anti-alcohol instruction as a mandatory part of the school curricular to be an efficient measure. One Dr. Hercod from Lausanne, who presented his report in French, even called for legal measures to protect children from the influence of drinking parents. He argued that the nineteenth century was rightly called "le siècle de l'enfant," which meant that the state and society would stand up to protect the child from the risks of drinking. Thus, the rapporteur proclaimed the rule of law and the state in protecting the younger generation, and therefore the nation, from the harm of alcohol.[21] According to another speaker of this section, I. Gonser from Berlin, it was more fruitful and promising to invest in anti-alcohol training than to deal with the excessive alcohol consumption among adults later on. He postulated the question "Was muss und was kann gegenüber der Jugend

18 Edman, *Temperance and Modernity*, 26.
19 Edman, *Temperance and Modernity*, 26.
20 "The Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism," *The Lancet*, Vol. 174, No 4482 (24 July 1909): 250-251, https://www.sciencedirect.com/science/article/pii/S0140673601993134?via%3Dihub.
21 R. Hercod, "La Protection Légale de l'Enfant dans la lutte contre l'Alcoolisme," in *The Proceedings of Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism* (London, 1909), 130.

geschehen?"[22] and opinionated that rather than expecting the problems of population degradation from drinking, it would be better to introduce compulsory anti-alcohol education in schools.[23] As such, the idea of youth anti-alcohol education constituted the core of the conference, and many delegates spoke in its favor.

2.2 IN THE NAME OF "SOCIETY AND RACE": STODDARD DELIVERS A SPEECH

Cora Stoddard's speech, *The Relation of Juvenile Temperance Teaching to National Progress,* opened the second section of the conference. In this work, Stoddard stressed the importance of anti-alcohol education for the prosperity of the nation and for national progress. Her message contained both moral and medical arguments. Social Darwinism noticeably shaped her thinking on many aspects of the temperance work, and the speech consisted of such expressions as "national progress" versus "national decline," "nation," and "race." Edman notes that the nation was a frequent reference in the speeches of conference participants. They considered alcoholism both a disease and a demoralizing symptom that led to the degeneration and degradation of the nation. In addition, the participants used the term "national character" to describe the predilection of a certain ethnicity to alcoholism. Temperance crusaders appealed to youth as the vanguard of the nation and strived to raise their awareness of the dangers of alcohol consumption. The ideologists of modern nation-states viewed the rising generation as bearers of national well-being and prosperity.

Stoddard's printed pamphlet had nine thematic sections. The first section after the introduction was entitled "Raising the Level of Sobriety" and intended to demonstrate the positive results of lectures on the dangers of alcohol and how they helped increase the level of sobriety. The second section, "Practical Results of Sobriety," focused on the role of the US and the achievements of its activists. Stoddard referred to the activities of Mary Hunt, "the honored apostle of public school scientific Temperance instruction," and quoted her words on the adoption of the Federal Temperance Education law of 1886: "The day is surely coming in America when from the school-houses on the hilltops and in the valleys all over the land will come the trained haters of alcohol to pour a whole Niagara of ballots upon the saloon."[24] This type of propaganda, although it received a

22 "What should and can be done with youth?"

23 I. Gonser, "Alkoholgegnerische Unterweisung in den Schulen der verschiedenen Länder," in *The Proceedings of Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism* (London, 1909), 43-44.

24 Cora F. Stoddard, "The Relation of Juvenile Temperance Teaching to National Progress," in *The Proceedings of Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism* (London, 1909), 39.

lot of criticism from outside, remained exemplary for Stoddard.

In the third and shortest section of the speech, Stoddard appealed to the "patriotic sons and daughters" who should strive to live in an ideal state, the main value of which would be the health and morality of its citizens. This section demonstrates vividly why Stoddard's pamphlet was the very first in the conference thematic section on anti-alcohol education. First, this work most clearly represented the duties of an activist to his nation and state, and also made correlations between youth development and national degeneration. Indeed, the importance of instructing a healthy lifestyle was a prime topic at that time, and many conference delegates commented on it. However, the Stoddard text stood out from all the other reports of the second part of the volume, as it directly indicated the importance of patriotic education and the role of a female teacher in the nation-building process.

The next part, "Health and Efficiency," stated that work efficiency was the basis of national progress and prosperity, and alcohol had a detrimental effect on economic life. In the following small section, "Productivity," Stoddard emphasized that a person brought up in sobriety contributed to the development of "national resources" and also reduced "a wasteful loss in national productivity." Here, it was a non-drinker who was the human resource and contributed to national prosperity. In the section entitled "Relation of Alcohol to Social Service," Stoddard stated that "the welfare of the society and the race" is foremost to an individual, and that avoiding alcohol would lead to "human betterment." In the following part, "Influence of Temperance Education on General Morality," Stoddard argued that alcohol led to the demoralization of an individual, while education forestalled a national regression. The eighth piece, "Importance of Early Instruction," once again raised the topic of patriotic duty and the danger of national degeneration. In the final section, Stoddard summed up the prospects of her educational project: "Temperance education of youth cannot do all in solving the alcohol problem, but the alcohol problem cannot be solved without that education."[25]

The international temperance movement intertwined topics of nationalism, youth education, and the family. Family-oriented reasoning was an ideological tool for middle-class representatives and government officials. The propagation of juvenile education by Stoddard also fit well into the popular nationalist overtones of the conference. However, it appears that Stoddard's report was initially aimed at achieving a different goal: as in her homeland, the activist sought to raise the prestige and socio-political significance of women in the legislative process, and sobriety was a convenient

25 Stoddard, *The Relation*..., 42.

means to convey this message to the European audience. Taking into account Stoddard's background in the struggle for mandatory anti-alcohol instruction in the American states as part of the WCTU, her rich experience in political lobbying, and the legacy taken from her teacher and ideological mentor Mary Hunt, it can be argued that her presence at the international conference was to increase Europeans' awareness of women's participation in the temperance movement.[26]

The politicization of the discourse on sobriety and the global recognition of drunkenness as a collective problem was related to the fact that it could, as an umbrella phenomenon, embrace many currents and concerns, and become a universal means for the pursuit of one's interests. Thus, juvenile temperance training was an ideological pillar of an emerging nation-state that sought economic efficiency and the well-being of its citizens. It was also an essential part of the feminist project, to expand women's rights and freedoms and to increase their role in the social and political sphere.

3. ALCOHOL AND TEMPERANCE IN LATE IMPERIAL RUSSIA: STODDARD'S PAMPHLET FINDS A NEW HOME

3.1 FATHERS AGAINST DRUNKENNESS: THE ROLE OF THE ORTHODOX CHURCH IN THE TEMPERANCE PROJECT

As discussed in previous sections, Stoddard's participation in the international conference was due to a number of pragmatic reasons, including increasing the recognition of women as important actors in the global temperance movement, and therefore in the public sphere, politics, and law-making. However, while crossing the ocean to attend the conference, the teacher from Boston hardly knew that the speech she was going to deliver would go a longer way than she herself would. Five years after its initial utterance, the pamphlet of the speech resonated in an unexpected context – Russia, on the eve of the First World War, under curious conditions and circumstances. The call of the female temperance worker from Massachusetts who passionately advocated for national progress and prosperity was reflected in distant tsarist Russia, where sobriety was mainly the mission of village priests who dreamed that the local peasantry would drink less and work more.

Anti-alcohol movements in the United States and Europe influenced "the invention" of alcoholism as a social problem in the Russian Empire. The Great

26 It is a curious fact that of all the speakers of the conference, only three or four of them were women. Since occasionally their names are indicated only by initials, it is difficult to determine exactly.

Reforms of the 1860s galvanized industrialization and modernization, and the shaken traditional way of life was perceived by many as a cause of social deviations. Alcohol became one of the brightest symbols of national degeneration; a wide variety of social groups from parish priests to doctors and even government officials tended to conceptualize drunkenness as a threat to the health of the social organism.

The leading role in a new crusade belonged to the Russian Orthodox Church (ROC), and its individual activists, parish societies, and institutions. According to Arthur McKee, the Church's temperance campaign began in 1889, when the Chief Procurator Konstantin Pobedonostsev called upon the parish priesthood "to enter into an unceasing struggle with drunkenness."[27] By 1911, 1,873 temperance organizations functioned in the Russian Empire (without Poland and Finland), with more than half a million members. Of these, 95% were religious.[28]

It was critical for the Church to lead the crusade against alcoholism and to win the battle ideologically. In the late imperial period, the influence of the ROC gradually fell, especially in cities where the number of atheist-minded workers grew while the influence and degree of socialist propaganda increased. In these circumstances, religious activists sought to increase the moral authority and prestige of the parish priesthood through the expansion of its educational programs. At the end of the nineteenth century, religious temperance figures were concerned about the institutionalization of anti-alcohol education in Russian schools. Church advocates of sobriety emphasized that education should be religious and provide a moral message. Orthodox priests also argued that even if anti-alcohol courses were taught outside of the Sunday School, only clerics should teach them. For the estate of priests, the discourse on anti-alcohol education served as a means to influence the opinion of the rising generation and strengthen the authority of the church.

The St. Alexander Nevsky Temperance Society (ANTS) in St. Petersburg was one of the largest and most influential temperance organizations of the era. In its heyday in 1906, the ANTS numbered about 80,000 members and collected at least 75,000 rubles from admission fees.[29] Its founder, priest Alexander

27 Arthur W. McKee, "Sobering up the Soul of the People: The Politics of Popular Temperance in Late Imperial Russia," *Russian Review*, No. 58 (1999): 223, https://www.jstor.org/stable/2679576?seq=1.

28 Alexander Afanasyev, *Trezvennoe dvizhenie v Rossii v period mirnogo razvitiya. 1907—1914 gody: opyit ozdorovleniya obschestva* [The temperance movement in Russia during the period of peaceful development. 1907 - 1914: the experience of improving the society] (Tomsk, 2007), 41-42.

29 *Chislo chlenov, vstupivshih v obshhestvo s denezhnym vznosom i bez vznosa, 1899-1910 gg.* [The number of members who joined the society with a monetary

Rozhdestvensky (1872-1905) saw his calling in preaching a rigorous and conservative way of life. The society was located in the industrial outskirts where it aimed at "affirming and spreading in all layers of the Russian people the true concepts of Orthodox faith and piety through spiritual conversations, reading and publishing of literature."[30] In reality, the main target was obviously the industrial workers whom the ANTS members considered to be the most distant from the virtuous life. Additionally, leading this crusade, Rozhdestvensky's followers hoped to restore the prestige and authority of the Orthodox Church. As the historian Kate Transchel argues, "viewing drunkenness as a vice that separated the individual from God, Rozhdestvensky saw the creation of the temperance society as a way to strengthen the Church's social role and to reinvigorate pastoral practice".[31]

An important instrument of the ANTS proselytism was its printing house. During the period from 1900 to 1917, the organization published a wide range of books and brochures, as well as three magazines, the total circulation of which was about three million copies.[32] Remarkably, Russian nondrinkers were familiar with the activities and ideas of their American colleagues and even translated some of their works. Although many radical theses of female activists from the WCTU did not take root in Russian soil, traces of their influence can be found on the pages of multiple publications. In 1908, the editors of the journal *Trezvaya Zhizn'* (Sober Life) vividly made an example out of American activists while urging Russian women to stop being the silent victims of their drunken husbands and start to fight against drunkenness: "Only the Russian land did not present women as fighters for sobriety. Meanwhile, a Russian woman is a great woman with a mighty spirit, magnanimous heart and strong will."[33]

3.2 TRANSLATING STODDARD'S TEXT: ADOPTION AND ADAPTATION

The next ANTS publishing project was the translation of Stoddard's speech into Russian. The initial publication of Stoddard's speech appeared in *Trezvaya Zhizn'* in 1913. A year later, the Society's printing house issued a separate edition of this speech in the translation of an anonymous activist

contribution and without a contribution, 1899-1910], Rossiyskii Gosudarstvennyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv [Russian State Historical Archive, coll.. 575, aids 12, fol. 69.

30 *Otchet o dejatel'nosti Obshhestva rasprostranenija religiozno-nravstvennogo prosveshhenija za 1915 god* [Report on the activities of the Society for the Propagation of Religious and Moral Enlightenment in 1915] (Prague, 1916), 3.

31 Kate Transchel, *Under the Influence: Working-class Drinking, Temperance, and Cultural Revolution in Russia, 1895–1932* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press), 53-54.

32 *K istorii*, 11-13.

33 "Rol' zhenshchiny v bor'be s p'janstvom," in *Trezvaja Zhizn'*, No 4 (1908): 41.

under the caption "Tr.: A. P-va" *(Пер.: А. П-ва)*. Most likely, the translator was a woman (the name with the ending *-va* is given in the nominative case after the colon) and a member of the Society, since the translations were usually written by the activists-insiders who knew foreign languages.

The text in Russian was a complete and high-quality translation of the primary speech, with some rhetorical and terminological peculiarities. If the original text was divided into nine short thematic sections, the translation was presented as a solid text without sections and subdivisions. The Russian version also contained some cultural, linguistic, and contextual adaptations, changes, and sometimes inaccuracies. For example, the translator and publishers imposed their own paragraph structures—the ones of the original text were not preserved anywhere, but were interconnected or broken in other parts.

Table 1 indicates that the Russian translation included some linguistic discrepancies and interesting peculiarities compared to the original text. To begin, the table shows that the Russian practitioners were very selective in the vocabulary they used. Although in general translators were not afraid to use words that were unusual for the imperial context, such as nation and race, in some cases they still avoided utilizing them (such as in lines four and six of the table). At the same time, the translation sought to generalize the nationalist vocabulary and to make it more abstract. For example, the expression "the welfare of the race" was transformed into something as holistic as "the well-being of all the people," and the simple phrase "the use of intoxicants" became "alcohol poisoning of the (popular) masses."[34] Additionally, terms like "Motherland (Homeland)" and "the people" were more characteristic of imperial space than one of a *nation,* demonstrating why they occasionally made the substitution. The most interesting transformation was noticeable in the free translation of the phrase "patriotic sons and daughters of the nations." The Russian version refused to include "daughters" in patriotism and mentioned only sons, who instead of "patriotic" became faithful, which had stronger emotional connotations and referred to loyalty and betrayal. In general, the Russian translation retained the patriotic spirit and civic pathos of the original speech but utilized it for its own purposes. As argued in this paper, patriotic vocabulary used by teetotalers resonated in Russia and was used for mobilization to the front in 1914.

Especially curious is the use of the concept of *nation* in a late imperial Russia. According to historian Alexei Miller, the term penetrated Russia from European

34 *Antialkogol'noe obrazovanie junoshestva i ego otnoshenie k nacional'nomu progressu G-zhi Stoddard (Boston)* [The Relation Juvenile Temperance Teaching to National Progress] (St. Petersburg, 1914), 1-7.

THE WORD/PHRASE IN THE ORIGINAL TEXT	TRANSLATION	THE LITERAL MEANING OF THE TRANSLATION
human race (37)	человеческий род (1)	The phrase in Russian means almost the same, but 'humankind' would be a closer translation to *chelovecheskii rod*
the use of intoxicants (38)	Отравление спиртом народных масс (3)	alcohol poisoning *of the (popular) masses*
the honoured apostle (39)	великая пионерка (4)	the great pioneer
nation (39)	Родина (5)	Motherland
patriotic sons and daughters of the nations (39)	верных сынов Родины (5)	faithful sons of the Motherland
the welfare of the race (40)	благополучие всего народа (7)	well-being of all the people

TABLE 1: The discrepancy between words and phrases in the original text and translation with indication of pages.

languages as late as the end of the eighteenth century with the reforms of Peter the Great. Until the mid-1820s, the concept remained relevant in the discourse of Russian elites and was present in the drafts of constitutional reforms.[35] The accession of Nicholas I, the Decembrist uprising, and the Polish uprising of 1830-31 changed the agenda dramatically. Throughout the next decade, "*nation*" was almost entirely supplanted and censored from official rhetoric as well as the public discourse and replaced with the ideologically neutral "narod" (people, population) and "narodnost" (nationality). Having begun to gradually reemerge in the public discourse after the liberal reforms of Alexander II, the nation remained marginal to describe imperial ethnic diversity. With the Russification under Alexander III and Nicholas II, a new form of official nationalism arose in

35 Alexei Miller, *Azbuka ponyatii. Natsiya* [The Alphabet of Concepts. Nation] (St. Petersburg: European University Publisher, 2016), 44-56.

Russia, labeled by Alexei Miller as the nationalization of the empire.[36] It is in this generalizing imperial meaning that this term reappears in the translations of the ANTS, completely changing its original liberal meaning.

The translation of Stoddard's work into Russian was possible due to several reasons. Firstly, international connections between propagandists from different countries influenced the circulation of temperance ideas and practices around the globe. Indeed, the anti-alcohol movement in Russia was different from ones in the United States and Europe, but Russian abstainers largely shared the alarmist agenda of their foreign counterparts and in many ways borrowed their rhetoric and practices, adopting them for their own purposes. Following *Zeitgeist*,[37] Russian teetotalers participated in many international conferences and hygienic exhibitions and brought new ideas home. For example, 16 delegates from the Russian Empire took part in the Twelfth International Congress on Alcoholism, the majority of whom came from its western borderlands—five delegates from Latvia, two from Estonia and one from Russian Poland.[38] These delegates could have been inspired by the project of juvenile education in sobriety and interested in translating the work into Russian.

Secondly, the translation appeared on the eve of the First World War and the introduction of Prohibition in Russia for a certain reason. Social Darwinism and the patriotic message of Stoddard's speech echoed and correlated with the political and social landscape of late-imperial Russia. The patriotic-oriented rhetoric of the translation and discourse on national progress and well-being were aimed at promoting governmental anti-alcohol measures and influencing the patriotic feelings of the audience. However, the literal translation of such words and phrases as *citizen*, *nation*, *national progress,* and *degeneration* was a rather unusual choice for the Russian editor and resonated with the conservative agenda of the imperial printing culture.

CONCLUSION

For centuries, Russia has been perceived as one of the most alcoholic nations in the world. Indeed, the vodka policy of tsarism was essentially based on a consistent and deliberate alcoholization of their own population by selling more and more vodka. The popular term "drunken budget" critically described the fact that during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, about a third of government revenue came from alcohol sales.[39] How, then, can it be

36 Miller, *Azbuka ponyatii,* 50-56.
37 This is the common German term denoting 'Spirit of Time'.
38 *The Proceedings*, 415-416.
39 David Christian, *Living Water: Vodka and Russian Society on the Eve of*

explained that in 1914 Russia became the first country in the world to introduce a nationwide prohibition?

Many scholars of the period agree that the main reason for this was the overall mobilization to the front during the First World War.[40] As learned from the experience of the Russo-Japanese War, the abuse of moonshine and vodka among the soldiers had a detrimental effect on military discipline and the combat capability of the army. However, resources were needed for an extensive anti-alcohol campaign, and the imperial government took advantage of the already prepared springboard of the popular temperance movement. In the same year, the imperial decree transformed the ANTS into the All-Russian Alexander Nevsky Temperance Brotherhood, which signaled its end as a voluntary organization.[41]

The gender question occupies a special place in this paper: it can be used to illustrate how great the gap was between American anti-saloon activists and Russian teetotalers. Whereas the former set aside their negative attitude towards male "drunken culture" and strove to raise their status in the public sphere, the sobriety discourse in Russia belonged mainly to men. Russian religious teetotalers recalled the role of a woman oppressed by their husbands only when it was necessary to ideologically win them over to their side, and no serious attempts were ever made to engage the female audience in the struggle.

As such, this work aimed to refute the persistent view that the public anti-alcohol movement in Russia was insignificant and weak. On the contrary, the temperance reformers in Russia were not isolated from global trends, but rather tried to follow them, through participation in international conferences or making translations of foreign temperance materials. At the same time, adopting ideas and practices, the Russian temperance workers adapted them to the local context and customized some of the vocabulary to be understood in a given situation. Although using the example of one translation is difficult to prove that such exchanges were long-term and stable, this work seeks to take a step in the direction of replenishing historiography about the international contacts of the Russian temperance activists.

Emancipation (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), 386-387.

40 Schrad, *The Political Power of Bad Ideas,* 130.

41 *K istorii Vserossiiskogo Aleksandro-Nevskogo Bratstva trezvosti* [To the history of the All-Russian Alexander Nevsky Temperance Brotherhood] (Petrograd, 1916), 19-20.