HISTORY OF MEDICINE ———ИЗ ИСТОРИИ МЕДИЦИНЫ

UDC 343.976+616.89-056.7-008.441.13/.44-053+364.272

DOI: 10.56871/MHCO.2023.50.76.009

FROM THE HISTORY OF STUDYING CHILD ALCOHOLISM IN RUSSIA IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE XIX — BEGINNING OF THE XX CENTURIES (PART II)

© Galina L. Mikirtichan, Lyubov N. Lisenkova, Vladimir N. Yuzhaninov, Alexandra L. Seledtsova, Roman P. Seledtsov

Saint Petersburg State Pediatric Medical University. Lithuania 2, Saint Petersburg, Russian Federation, 194100

Contact information: Lyubov N. Lisenkova — PhD, Associate Professor, Department of Humanities and Bioethics. E-mail: lunili@yandex.ru ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7211-1090

For citation: Mikirtichan GL, Lisenkova LN, Yuzhaninov VN, Seledtsova AL, Seledtsov RP. From the history of studying child alcoholism in Russia in the second half of the XIX — beginning of the XX centuries (Part II). Medicine and health care organization (St. Petersburg). 2023; 8(1):93-115. DOI: https://doi.org/10.56871/MHCO.2023.50.76.009

Received: 10.02.2023 Revised: 15.02.2023 Accepted: 21.03.2023

ABSTRACT. The second part of the article continues viewing the problems of study the influence of alcohol abuse on the child's body at the turn of the XIX-XX centuries. The analysis of domestic scientific literature revealed that along the works that provided an overview of the investigations of domestic and foreign authors published at that time, a sufficient number of studies based on the results of the authors' own observations had already appeared. Especially positive was the fact of preparing dissertations of an experimental nature, in which evidence of the negative effect of alcohol consumption on the growing organism was given. The experiments were conducted on young small in size animals and birds, while histological, biochemical, and clinical techniques were widely used in the process of setting up the experiment, behavioral reactions were studied, the weight and height of the animal and its individual organs were measured in comparison with the control group. Cases of the birth of defective offspring in people who were alcohol abused, known since ancient times, attracted attention of many researchers during that period, lively discussions were held on this topic, scientific papers were published. Most of the authors' works who shared the opinion about the grave influence of alcohol on heredity were based on clinical and statistical analysis. There are works of psychiatrists, teachers, criminologists, public figures proving close etiological connection between consumption of alcoholic beverages in childhood and adolescence and marginalization of children and adolescents, the development of various forms of deviant behavior (crime, suicide, prostitution), mental illness, high mortality. Numerous scientific studies of the scale of alcohol consumption by children, harmful effects of alcohol consumption on the child's body, the consequences to which it leads, have contributed to the formation of idea that the cause of alcoholism in children is the totality of socio-economic living conditions that children are exposed to: hunger, incredible crowding in the premises, family situation created on the basis of ignorance, constant need and deprivation, desperate exploitation of labor. Great claims were made to school, where, according to the evidence of that time, there were all conditions for the prosperity of consuming alcohol: violation of elementary rules of sanitation, high academic load, lack of educational work, in general, the "gray everyday life" of

a student. Caring people — doctors, scientists, lawyers, teachers, public figures, representatives of the clergy organized various commissions, circles, gathered congresses, developed programs for conducting sobriety lessons in schools, organized courses for teachers in order to teach them how to work with schoolchildren to promote sobriety, etc. However, no holistic program aimed at combating this evil was created. There were also no forces and means capable of at least mitigating the effects of factors contributing to the development of drunkenness among children and adolescents. Most commonly, among the main directions of the fight against alcoholism, the need for state measures was called.

KEY WORDS: Russia; children; alcoholism; the study of the effects of alcohol on the body of children and adolescents; hereditary alcoholism; suicide; child mortality; socio-economic factors; the fight against alcoholism of children and adolescents.

ИЗ ИСТОРИИ ИЗУЧЕНИЯ ДЕТСКОГО АЛКОГОЛИЗМА В РОССИИ ВО ВТОРОЙ ПОЛОВИНЕ XIX — НАЧАЛЕ XX вв. (ЧАСТЬ II)

© Галина Львовна Микиртичан, Любовь Николаевна Лисенкова, Владимир Николаевич Южанинов, Александра Львовна Селедцова, Роман Павлович Селедиов

Санкт-Петербургский государственный педиатрический медицинский университет. 194100, Российская Федерация, г. Санкт-Петербург, ул. Литовская, 2

Контактная информация: Любовь Николаевна Лисенкова — к.и.н., доцент, кафедра гуманитарных дисциплин и биоэтики. E-mail: lunili@yandex.ru ORCID ID: 0000-0001-7211-1090

Для цитирования: Микиртичан Г.Л., Лисенкова Л.Н., Южанинов В.Н., Селедцова А.Л., Селедцов Р.П. Из истории изучения детского алкоголизма в России во второй половине XIX — начале XX вв. (Часть II) // Медицина и организация здравоохранения. 2023. Т. 8. № 1. С. 93–115. DOI: https://doi.org/10.56871/MHCO.2023.50.76.009

Поступила: 10.02.2023 Одобрена: 15.02.2023 Принята к печати: 21.03.2023

РЕЗЮМЕ. Вторая часть статьи продолжает рассмотрение проблем изучения влияния алкоголя на детский организм на рубеже XIX-XX веков. Анализ отечественной научной литературы показал, что наряду с работами, представлявшими обзор опубликованных к этому времени трудов отечественных и зарубежных авторов, появилось уже достаточное число исследований, основанных на результатах собственных наблюдений авторов. Особенно позитивным был факт подготовки диссертационных работ экспериментального характера, в которых приводились доказательства негативного действия алкоголя на растущий организм. Опыты проводились на молодых мелких животных и птицах, при этом в процессе постановки эксперимента широко использовались гистологические, биохимические, клинические методики, изучались поведенческие реакции, проводилось измерение веса и роста животного и его отдельных органов в сравнении с контрольной группой. Известный с древности факт рождения неполноценного потомства у людей, злоупотребляющих алкоголем, в этот период привлек внимание многих исследователей, на эту тему велись оживленные дискуссии, издавались научные труды. Большинство авторов, разделяющих мнение о патологическом влиянии алкоголя на наследственность, основывались на клинико-статистическом анализе. Выходят работы психиатров, педагогов, криминалистов, общественных деятелей, доказывающих тесную этиологическую связь между употреблением спиртных напитков в детском и юношеском возрасте и маргинализацией детей и подростков, развитием у них различных форм девиантного поведения (преступления, самоубийства, проституция), психических заболеваний, высокой смертности. Многочисленные научные исследования масштаба употребления детьми спиртных напитков, вредного влияния алкоголя на детский организм, последствий, к которым он приводит, способствовали формированию представления, что причиной алкого-

лизма детей является вся совокупность социально-экономических условий жизни, которым подвергаются дети: голод, невероятная скученность в помещениях, семейная обстановка, создавшаяся на почве невежества, нужды и лишений, отчаянная эксплуатация труда. Большие претензии предъявлялись к школе, где, по свидетельствам того времени, присутствовали все условия для процветания пьянства: нарушение элементарных правил санитарии, высокая учебная нагрузка, отсутствие воспитательной работы, вообще «серая будничная жизнь» школьника. Неравнодушные люди — врачи, ученые, юристы, педагоги, общественные деятели, представители духовенства организовывали различные комиссии, кружки, собирали съезды, разрабатывали программы проведения уроков трезвости в школах, устраивали курсы для учителей с целью подготовки их к проведению работы со школьниками по пропаганде трезвости и др. Однако целостной программы, направленной на борьбу с этим злом, создано не было. Отсутствовали также силы и средства, способные хотя бы смягчить действие факторов, способствующих развитию пьянства среди детей и подростков. Все чаще среди основных направлений борьбы с алкоголизмом называлась необходимость принятия мер государственного характера.

КЛЮЧЕВЫЕ СЛОВА: Россия; дети; алкоголизм; изучение действия алкоголя на организм детей и подростков; наследственный алкоголизм; самоубийства; смертность детей; социально-экономические факторы; борьба с алкоголизмом детей и подростков.

The recognition of the existence of child alcoholism, the results of the study of the prevalence of children's use of alcohol-containing drinks and the statement of the harm they cause, contributed to increased public attention to these problems, demanded "urgently ... comprehensive coverage and clarification" [32]. Literature on the effect of alcohol on the animal organism in general and in particularly on the human health, on the harm of alcohol abuse and the need to fight it, on alcoholism as a disease by the beginning of the XX century numbered in hundreds of titles. A large list is given in N.I. Grigoriev's dissertation "Alcoholism and Crimes in St. Petersburg" (1900) [14]. One of the first books in his book list dates back to 1483 and was published in Germany. Books in Russian of general anti-alcoholic orientation, including those from the position of a doctor, at first translated, appear in Russia at the very end of the XVIII century. Until the 70–80s of the XIX century, most works described clinical observations of a fragmentary casuistic nature. There were still extremely few publications specifically examining the effects of alcohol on the developing organism on the basis of experimental studies on animals.

Domestic and foreign sources on alcohol and alcoholism are collected in dissertations of domestic physicians, with the first place in number and solidity occupied by the works carried out at the Imperial Military Medical Academy (IMMA). Among them one of the first is I.M. Sechenov's (1829–1905) dissertation "Ma-

terials for the future physiology of alcohol intoxication" (1860) [49].

At the end of the XIX century in Russia, journals with an anti-alcoholic orientation began to be published. The first Russian anti-alcoholic journal — a monthly magazine "Herald of Sobriety", was published in St. Petersburg from 1894 to 1917, its editor-publisher was Doctor of Medicine N.I. Grigoriev (1853-?). The magazine published materials on how to fight drunkenness, what measures to take against this evil in public and family life, in schools and in the army. From 1896 to 1916 the magazine "Activist" was published in Kazan, the editor-publisher of which was A.T. Solovyov (1853–1918), the chairman of the Kazan society of sobriety. Another magazine — "Sober Life" was published in St. Petersburg by the Alexander Nevsky Society of Sobriety from 1905 as a monthly, and from 1909 as a monthly literary and popular-publicistic magazine. Its editors were priests A.V. Rozhdestvensky (1872–1905), the founder of the Alexander Nevsky Society of Sobriety, and P.A. Mirtov (1871–1925). The journal "Sober Life" (in 1915–1916 it was called "Family life") published supplements: in 1905–1908 — monthly magazine "Leaflet of Sobriety for Schoolchildren", in 1909 — "Zorka" magazine. The number of published anti-alcohol magazines especially increased at the beginning of the XX century.

Russian Society for the Protection of Public Health published works on the harmful effects of alcohol in medical periodicals, devoted to hygiene issues, 1901–1913 (hereinafter the

journal was published under the title "Hygiene and Sanitary Business"); in the Journal of the Society of Russian Doctors in Memory of N.I. Pirogov, 1901–1908. (hereinafter — "Public Doctor", 1909–1916); in the Bulletin of Public Hygiene, Forensic and Practical Medicine, 1894–1914; weekly medical newspaper devoted to all branches of clinical medicine, public and private hygiene and medical life issues "Russian Doctor", 1901–1916, etc.

The works devoted to the effect of alcohol on children's organism, including those taking into account the peculiarities of childhood and adolescence, began to be published in the 80s of the XIX century, but their number increased in the first decades of the XX century. Among the great number of works, let us name those in which the most clear evidence of the harmful effect of alcohol on children's organism was given, obtained not only on the basis of a review of works published by that time by foreign and domestic authors, but also on the basis of the results of their own observations and researches.

One of the first generalising works, raising the problem of children's alcoholism and its effect on the child's organism among the medical community, was the lecture of the children's doctor V.F. Yakubovich (1857-?) "About children's alcoholism and the effect of wine on children's organism", already mentioned in the first part of the article, which was read on 16th February 1893 at the meeting of the St. Petersburg meeting of doctors [64]. In it V.F. Yakubovich gave examples from the literature and his medical experience about the "ruinous" influence of alcohol even in small quantities on children of different ages. He gave a brief overview of "painful changes" in the cardiovascular, digestive, nervous, and bone systems, noted metabolic disorders and a sharp delay in physical and mental development in children who drink alcohol. He also drew attention to the fact that children who drink alcohol are more susceptible to colds. He called the brain and the nervous system in general the most sensitive to alcohol. On In the second place he put the stomach, intestines and liver, in which under the influence of alcohol "develops the same suffering as in adult drinkers, known as cirrhosis or liver of drunkards, ...this entails the dropsy of the stomach, general dehydration and death" [64].

40 cases of cirrhosis of the liver in children from 2 to 18 years of age developed from the

use of wine were described from 1880 to 1906. The majority of cases (32) were between 2 and 9 years of age. One of the first domestic works in which cirrhosis of the liver in a child was considered was an article "A case of alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver in a seven-year-old child" written by E.M. Goldengorn (1859–1897) published in the journal "Medical Review" [12]. In 1893, Professor N.I. Bystrov (1841–1904) described a case of liver cirrhosis in a child drunkard and made a report on this topic at a meeting of the St. Petersburg Society of Children's Physicians [8].

The speech of V.K. Demme (1802–1867), a physician from Riga, at the 56th Annual Act of the University of Bern in 1895, "The influence of alcohol on children's organism" caused a great resonance. In his speech he described the characteristic features of school-age children who use alcoholic beverages [17]. We find references to this work, as well as to the works of many foreign scientists studying the influence of alcoholism on various body systems (G. Bunge, E. Kraepelin, M. Gruber, A. Grotjahn, E. Hirt, E. Neumann, R. Krafft von Ebing, A. Steffen, etc.) in books and articles by domestic authors of this time.

The article by F.F. Erisman (1842–1915) "The influence of alcohol on children's organism and the fight against alcoholism among young people" (1897), which contains a fairly complete coverage of the problem that has not lost its relevance to this day, made no less strong an impression [63]. Showing the effect of alcohol on circulatory, digestive and other organs, F.F. Erisman emphasised its negative effect on the nervous system due to anatomical and physiological features of children's brains, for which alcohol is a paralysing poison. Because of this, epilepsy, St Witt's dance (chorea), neurasthenia and other disorders develop. He also considered dangerous the effect of alcohol on problems with memory, behaviour, in general its influence on the physical, mental and moral development of children. He wrote: "The ethical, moral side of the question of premature consumption of alcohol by children and its abuse by young people cannot be ignored. For the man himself, for his family, finally, for the society in which he lives and for the state to which he belongs, the paralysing influence of alcohol on moral strength, on character, on ideal aspirations, in a word, on the ethical side

of the personality is of great importance. A boy or young man accustomed to the use of alcoholic drinks, because of the weakening influence of alcohol on his will, little by little loses power over his passions, especially over bad instincts and inclinations. He loses the ability to resist the temptations which his young and ardent imagination is presented on all sides. He loses the desire for the good, the sublime and becomes a victim of base passions; he finally does not stop even before a crime and often ends up committing suicide. Doctors and lawyers in their practice quite often meet with such subjects, sad victims of alcoholism, the germ of which even in early youth was laid in the receptive soil of a child's organism by the unreasonable behaviour of others" [63].

The first experimental works on the effect of alcohol on the growing organism deserve special attention. One of the first belongs to the famous physiologist, head of the physiology department of the Imperial Military Medical Academy, Professor I.R. Tarkhanov (1846–1908). He studied the effect of alcohol on the development of psychomotor centres in puppies, young rabbits and guinea pigs [55]. This study was of great importance for understanding the development of the brain and nervous system of newborns. I.R. Tarkhanov argued that the entire process of growth and development of newborns is closely dependent on the degree of development of the central nervous system, so he attached special importance to the fact of delaying its development under the influence of alcohol. In his study he observed that the development of the brain in general and of the psychomotor centres in particular was delayed in animals receiving alcohol, in contrast to the control group. These disturbances due to alcoholisation of the diet were accompanied by a general delay in the growth and development of the whole organism. The weight of young animals receiving alcohol was significantly lower than that of control animals.

The work of psychiatrist G.V. Reitz (1876–1948) "The Influence of Chronic Alcoholism on the Development of the Organism" (1900), which was carried out in the laboratory of Professor V.M. Bekhterev, is also noteworthy. The author gave the results of a comparative study of the puppies organs (which were not older than 2 weeks and fed on mother's milk) and young rabbits, which were given alcohol in increasing doses and concentrations (from 2.5 to 20% and even up to 40%) with prolonged use

(up to 88 days). Comparison was made with the control group. The effect of increasing doses of alcohol on weight and growth, as well as behaviour of animals in dynamics was studied [41]. After autopsy all organs were measured and weighed, their morphology was studied.

The results indicated a striking effect of alcohol; very significant changes were recorded in all organs, especially in the brain, spinal cord, peripheral nervous system, liver ("cirrhotic degeneration") and others. When weighing the brain, it was found that in all cases its cerebral hemispheres, especially the frontal lobes, weighed less in the animals receiving alcohol than in the corresponding control ones. It was found that the nerve cells of the grey brain and large pyramidal cells are mainly affected. Nerve centres are affected in the reverse order of their development. Hyperaemia of membranes, skull bones and brain substance was observed in all animals at autopsy. These changes were not observed in the control group.

Brain functions were significantly disturbed. The author described the clinical manifestations in animals receiving alcohol: the shivering appeared, it was incessant. The animals became boring, did not play, did not run, did not understand the flirtations of their healthy brothers or unsuccessfully responded to them; they began to walk later, walked badly, one literally did not know how to dispose of his limbs, stepping on the back of the foot; "alcoholics" clearly lagged behind in mental development; their eyes opened later than the control ones. The most drastic effects were observed in those cases when alcohol was given from a very early age. Thus, even at lower doses, the author observed significant changes in 4-day-old puppies.

Another experimental work came out of the laboratory of the famous pathologist, professor of the Imperial Military Medical Academy K.N. Vinogradov. This is a dissertation for the Doctor of Medicine degree by S.R. Pergament (1872–?) "On the influence of alcohol poisoning of rabbits on the growth of their fetuses womb bones", defended in 1900 at the IMMA [37]. His experiments consisted in the following: he gave rabbits from the moment of gestation to the end of pregnancy daily, in two receptions 20% alcohol solution in the amount of 4 drops per kilogram of weight in order to study the effect of alcohol poisoning on the growth of bones of fetuses. When the weight

of the animals dropped, the alcohol was either reduced or even stopped for a while. Based on the study of changes in the bones, the author concluded that alcohol slows down the growth of bones of womb fetuses exposed to poisoning throughout pregnancy, causes regressive phenomena consisting in an increase in the number of hypertrophic cells with sharply expressed vacuolisation and reticulation of protoplasm, a decrease in wrinkled elements and the number of osteoblasts and other changes.

Dr N.I. Frontkovsky (1960-?), interested in the question of the influence of alcohol on the sexual sphere in general and on the internal genital organs in particular, in the process of working on his dissertation studied the influence of alcohol poisoning on pathological and anatomical changes in the ovaries of animals, on "the vital activity of the ovaries, expressed in the reproduction of the offspring, and on the offspring itself" [57]. Rabbits, dogs, geese were subjected to alcoholisation for 11 to 170 days, 20% alcohol was given at a dose of 3-4 g per kilogram of weight. He found that under the influence of alcohol the number of mature follicles decreases, there is hyaline degeneration of the egg cell itself and its nucleus, quite early fatty degeneration. One of the conclusions of N.I. Frontkovsky is that alcohol poisoning of female rabbits qualitatively and quantitatively affects their offspring. There are often abortions, many cubs are born dead, and many of those born alive die in the first days of life. Thus, for 16 pregnancies in animals receiving alcohol, there were 9 premature births; of 33 born, 7 were stillborn, i.e. 21%; 24 died within the first 3 days (73%) and only 2 survived. Among the control animals there were neither premature births nor stillbirths. Deeply immersed in the subject of the study, N.I. Frontkovsky wrote in his thesis that "the question of the effect of alcohol on various tissues of the body occupied not only doctors, but almost all intelligent people, which is quite understandable if we remember the moral harm that brings society this scourge of humanity" [57].

The conclusions of N.I. Frontkovsky were confirmed by the results obtained by Dr N.P. Sadokov (1870–?) while working on his dissertation on "Changes in testicles and semen in the poisoning of animals with ethyl alcohol (vodka)", defended at the IMMA in 1902 [43]. The author experimented on rabbits, roosters and dogs.

Of particular interest is also the dissertation for the degree Doctor of Medicine degree by I.V. Sazhin (1868-?) "The influence of alcohol on the developing organism", defended in 1902. The subject of the thesis was proposed by the head of the Department of Children's Diseases of the IMMA, the greatest paediatrician N.P. Gundobin. The author in his dissertation expressed his deep gratitude to "the esteemed Professor Nikolai Petrovich Gundobin both for proposing the topic, which gave the opportunity to study such an interesting and important in theoretical and practical terms issue, and for permission to study in his clinic" [46]. The censors of the dissertation were: Academician A.Y. Danilevsky, Professor N.P. Gundobin and Docent M.S. Dobrotvorsky.

I.V. Sazhin's dissertation collected material on the influence of alcohol (vodka, wine, beer, liqueurs, etc.) on the growing organism in childhood, adolescence and specifically on individual organs and systems — digestive organs, liver, nervous system, metabolism, blood, heart, lungs, bone tissue and growth, as well as morbidity, through the prism of anatomophysiological features. He emphasised the special, extreme susceptibility and sensitivity of all systems of the child body to the harmful effects of alcohol. In addition, the dissertation analyses the works published by foreign and Russian authors on the effect of alcohol on the offspring of drinking parents, the effect of alcohol on infants fed with mother's or nurse's milk. I.V. Sazhin concluded that even insignificant amounts of alcohol in breast milk can cause severe painful phenomena in infants: disorders of the digestive organs, disorder of general nutrition, rashes on the skin and more or less intense phenomena of irritation of the central nervous system and others. He also drew attention to the fact that alcohol contributes to high morbidity in children, including infectious diseases, and explained it by the anatomo-physiological features of the organs and systems of the child's body, more developed lymphatic system, "significant expenditure of vital energy of cells for enhanced processes of growth and development" [46].

Prominent Russian psychiatrists I.P. Merzheevsky, I.A. Sikorsky, V.M. Bekhterev, S.S. Korsakov, V.P. Serbsky, A.M. Korovin and many others established the undoubted influence of alcoholism of ancestors and parents on the appearance of mental illness in offspring. In

N3 NCTOPNN MEANUNHH

the opinion of I.P. Merzheevsky (1838–1908), expressed in his report at the opening of the First Congress of Russian psychiatrists in Moscow in 1887, the cause of nervous and mental diseases in most cases are "the consequences of abnormal social conditions". Among them he named such causes as "wars, economic crises, bankruptcies, cultural backwardness, excessive demands of school, alcohol abuse, sexual perversions", etc. [31]. I.P. Merzheevsky believed that 48.3% of mentally ill people owe their suffering to alcoholism of their forefathers or parents. It should be noted that many reports at this congress expressed serious concern about the moral degeneration of the nation, rampant drunkenness, the increasing number of mental illnesses and suicides. In the case of children, it was pointed out that the children of alcoholics inherit an equal, if not greater, predisposition to diseases of the nervous system as the children of the nervous and mentally ill people.

The impact of alcoholism on heredity. During this period, both in foreign countries and in Russia, lively discussions were held around the issue of the influence of alcohol on heredity, the impact of alcoholism on the genetic potential of the future generation. The press started talking about the degeneration of the Russian people due to mass underbirth, alcoholism, syphilis [60]. Most authors considered the inheritance of drunkenness from ancestors and parents to be an indisputably established fact. Extensive literature had already been accumulated on this problem, including experimental studies and clinical and statistical analyses.

A small book by I.V. Sazhin "Heredity and alcoholic beverages. The Role and Importance of Alcoholic Drinks in Spiritual and Physical Degeneration" (1908) [48] and his speech at the First All-Russian Congress to Combat Drunkenness "Alcohol and Heredity" (1910) [44]. He paid special attention to the results of experimental studies on the harmful effects of alcohol on the young organism. Concluding his report, he once again emphasised that "the incalculable ruinous consequences of alcoholic heredity are not a hypothesis, but an unshakable scientifically established fact", that alcohol, along with socio-economic factors, is the most significant cause of spiritual and physical degeneration of offspring. All the grave consequences of their parents' indiscretion are carried by "innocent little creatures", since alcoholic heredity manifests its

destructive effects predominantly in childhood. He especially urged pregnant women to abstain unconditionally from all alcoholic beverages. Against alcoholism requires a fierce, tireless struggle, the front line of which should be, in his opinion, people of science, because behind them knowledge, but "before all and ahead of all, and in word and action should be doctors" [44].

N.I. Grigoriev, who observed many families as a doctor of the Spasskaya part of St. Petersburg, believed that hereditary drunkenness occurs in 67%. He noted that "a characteristic and alarmingly unfortunate difference of hereditary drunkenness is its manifestation at an earlier age, especially during various perturbations in the body — as a period of manhood, first menses, etc." [15]. He pointed out three main features characteristic of alcoholic heredity: innate attraction to alcoholic beverages, specific sensitivity to alcohol and early abuse of alcohol. It was in alcoholic heredity that one of the main causes of "more and more frequent" child alcoholism was seen.

N.I. Grigoriev cited official statistics on rejected conscripts in 1902–1904. Thus, out of 227,158 conscripts, 19.5% were found unfit for military service due to hereditary alcoholism. The aggravated heredity was expressed in the following diseases: "scrofulous thinness" -15.5%, nervous diseases (paralysis) — 5%, idiocy and insanity — 9.3%, deafness and deafmute — 10.6%, "chest narrow and rachitic" — 19.2%, chronic inflammation of the lungs — 17.2%, chronic catarrh — 23.2%. N.I. Grigoriev clearly stated: "The health of young people called to serve military conscription is an indicator of the health of the country, an indicator of its social and sanitary improvement" [15]. Referring to the materials of psychiatric hospitals in Tula and Yaroslavl for 1903–1906, he concluded that negative heredity affects equally both on the fathers and maternal lines.

According to the reports of 12 psychiatric institutions for 1894–1895, in case of drunkenness the aggravated heredity was noted in 83% of men and 9% of women, and in case of chronic alcoholism — in 70% of men and 19% of women [60]. On the basis of his observations, Dr M.S. Morozov (1853-?) indicated in his dissertation that parents' drunkenness could be considered the cause of idiocy in 33% of children [34]. Professor F.E. Rybakov (1868–1920), based on his long-term observations in

the Moscow Psychiatric Clinic and its outpatient clinic, believed that hereditary disposition to drunkenness or "neuropsychiatric" diseases occurs in 88.8 to 91.7% of patients (he examined 1974 people: 1798 men and 176 women suffering from various forms of alcoholism) [42].

The opinion about the possibility of the inheritance of predisposition to alcoholism and the influence of hereditary alcoholism on the state of health and deviation of the young generation was shared by many authors. German psychiatrist, professor of Heidelberg University E.W. Kraepelin (1856–1926), known for his civil position on the prevention of alcoholism wrote: "Alcohol acts on the nerves of a child in a directly devastating way. The best way to turn a child into an idiot is for him to consume socalled reinforcing drinks. Thousands of mothers, through over-caring and misunderstanding of the case, poison their dearest beings by giving them a remedy that makes the child stupid, drowsy, deprived of energy, and after a while turns into a physical or mental cripple" [6]. Doctors pointed to the extreme frequency of convulsive phenomena, congenital deformities, dementia, hysteria, neuroses, paralysis, epilepsy, behavioural abnormalities in the children of drunkards, explaining it by the already established fact that the sharpest toxic effect of alcohol has on the central nervous system. In this connection, it should be noted that in 1890 V.F. Yakubovich translated into Russian the book "Mental Disorders in Childhood" (Die psychischen Störungen des Kindesalters) by H. Emminghaus (1845–1904), one of the first specialists in the field of mental illnesses of children and adolescents, from 1880 to 1886 Ordinary Professor of Psychiatry at the University of Dorpat [62]. This book was regarded as a major scientific achievement, it marked the beginning of the modern stage in the history of child psychiatry. G. Emminghaus began to study psychoses in children and distinguished the following forms: 1) cerebral neurasthenia; 2) melancholia with suicidal tendencies; 3) mania; 4) acute dementia; 5) hypochondria; 6) paranoia; 7) obsessive thoughts; 8) transient insanity; 9) periodic insanity; 10) moral insanity; 11) idiocy; 12) epilepsy [24]. Referring to the works in this area, I.V. Sazhin made an important conclusion-warning: "Alcohol, being a narcotic, paralysing poison for the nervous system in general, even in very small quantities can have a profoundly destructive effect on the

nervous system, passing through various stages of energetic development in childhood and adolescence. First of all, the area of higher mental activity is affected — moral, volitional, intellectual abilities, which are in a period of vigorous evolution. If the widespread in modern society nervousness, neurasthenia, pessimism, weak-willedness, premature disappointment in life and egoistic beginnings are caused by numerous and diverse social and economical reasons, the early use of alcoholic drinks and the more so their abuse plays in this regard is far from unimportant, and maybe even an outstanding role" [46].

In 1910, I.V. Sazhin published a small book "Alcohol and the nervous system" [45]. In 1914 he published a book "The influence of alcoholic drinks (alcohol) on the nervous system of the adult and developing organism", representing a fairly detailed review of foreign and domestic literature on this problem [47].

At the same time, some publications contained more cautious statements on the subject. Sometimes it was directly stated that it would be an inexcusable mistake to explain the occurrence of a serious illness by heredity alone, and attempts were made to prove that the heredity of drunkenness was only apparent. There was a view of alcohol only as a cause of psychosis in alcoholics, "because it disturbs the correctness of the secretory functions of the organism". The view was also challenged that a large percentage of crime was caused solely by the influence of alcohol, often it was only a stimulus to crime. Thus, the famous German doctor, founder of social hygiene A. Grotjahn (1869–1931) argued that the coincidence of parents' drunkenness and offspring's alcoholism can be explained quite satisfactorily without recognising in such cases the influence of "hereditary transmission in the natural-scientific sense of the word" [65]. He attached great importance to factors of the social environment.

But without recognising heredity as a comprehensive factor in the creation of a drinking habit, many doctors were convinced that parental alcoholism was a predisposing factor for children to abuse alcoholic drinks. Repeatedly at the Congresses of the Society of Russian Physicians in memory of N.I. Pirogov, the question of whether alcoholism is a hereditary disease was raised. In the report "To the method of studying alcoholism of personality" at the X Pirogov's Congress (1907), A.M. Korovin (1865–1943) noted that in the formation of bad

N3 NCTOPNN MEDNUNHU

habits in young people a much greater role is played not by heredity, but by environmental conditions, the situation in the family [26].

Psychiatrist and psychologist F.E. Rybakov believed that if a child is placed in a favourable environment, then with proper education it is possible to "develop a whole, stable and useful for society type" [42]. He was supported by the doctor and public figure V.Y. Kanel (1873–1919): "Ultimately, it is not heredity that gives rise to drunkenness, but the totality of conditions, among which lives a person with an inherited weak will, with a weak, sickly organism, unable to provide proper resistance to the contagion carried in his environment, temptations, cleverly setting their nets and catching the weak and infirm" [23]

The influence of alcohol on the physical and mental development of school-age children, as well as on the social behaviour of the child was studied by psychiatrist A.M. Korovin. A total of 21,720 pupils were examined under his supervision, including 13,984 boys and 7,736 girls. Among boys there were 9721 (69.5%) drinkers, among girls — 3766 (48.7%). A.M. Korovin obtained the following results with regard to the physique of schoolchildren: 16.2% of drinking pupils had a weak physique, and 14.7% of sober pupils had a weak physique too. In those who drank to excess, the percentage of weak increased in boys to 20.2% and in girls to 17.5%. It was concluded that alcohol consumption contributes to delayed physical development of pupils.

On the basis of his extensive observations, A.M. Korovin came to disappointing conclusions about the influence of alcohol on the mental development and success of pupils. Mental retardation was found among drinking pupils in 25.4% of boys, among sober ones — in 20.8%; among drinking girls — in 22.7%, and among sober ones — in 19.4%, i.e. mental retardation was also more common among drinking children [27].

Alcohol had some influence on the behaviour of students as well. Out of a total of 4336 non-drinking boys, 97.2% had good behaviour and 2.8% had bad behaviour. Among the 9,626 boys who drank, only 94.7% had good behaviour and 5.3% had bad behaviour, i.e. more boys who drank had bad behaviour than boys who did not drink. Alcohol reduced precisely those abilities that are especially necessary for learning the "scientific truths" taught at school: attention is weakened, the ability to make associations is

lost, all thinking processes are slowed down, the fruits of recent successes are destroyed, and the ability to make up for what has been lost through exercise is lost [23]. Mental exhaustion, lack of interest, aversion to physical and mental work were characteristic features of school-age children who drink alcohol, according to the observations of domestic and foreign doctors of that time [6].

When it came to the behaviour and morals of students, it was recognised that alcohol had another very harmful function in relation to the adolescent organism. In adolescence, during the period of discovery of sexual desires, alcohol simultaneously paralyses the will, inhibitory centres and excites the sexual sphere. The famous syphilidologist V.M. Tarnovsky (1837–1906) on the basis of his numerous observations stated that the greatest part of cases of loss of chastity by young men occurs under the influence of wine, that the majority of young people become infected with syphilis while in a state of greater or lesser intoxication [52]. Most of the young people cross the threshold of the houses of tolerance for the first time while in the throes of intoxication. According to Dr D.P. Nikolsky (1855–1918), one of the important and severe consequences of student drinking is visiting brothels, prostitutes, which results in infection with venereal diseases [35].

In fact, doctors observing the pathology of alcoholics noticed that very often the diagnosis of alcoholism was accompanied by venereal diseases. The spread of venereal diseases and, above all, syphilis, was facilitated by drunkenness, which was directly related to debauchery and prostitution. These phenomena were also favoured by an increase in the mobility of the population and the number of urban dwellers, the growth of factory and factory industry, and the development of migrant trades, which forced peasants and bourgeoisie to engage in trades outside their place of permanent residence in search of income. From large cities, villages and factories, peasants brought syphilis into their families. With the low level of people's welfare and the absence of a system of medical and sanitary organisation, the detection and treatment of venereal diseases was imperfect. The introduction, at the initiative of the government, of medical and police control over prostitution, considered the main source of syphilis, did not always lead to favourable results. According to the data given by the sworn attorney and public figure

D.N. Borodin (1855? — ?), 63% of women began to engage in prostitution at the age of 15 to 20 years; 10,2% — under 15 years; but there were also under 12 years old [3]. M.I. Pokrovskaya (1852 — after 1917), one of the first women doctors, named the reasons for this phenomenon: vagrancy of children left by their parents at the mercy of fate, orphanhood, lack of supervision and control over children, idleness, begging. An important role in the first fall of a young girl is played by "a bad family, bad relatives, often pushing her into prostitution. Insufficient earnings and poverty often encourage a young girl to give herself over to prostitution" [38].

Many public figures and doctors recognised that alcohol has a very harmful effect on the adolescent organism. A.M. Korovin on the basis of his large-scale observations in hospitals for alcoholics pointed out that there was a very close correlation between the first intoxication, the beginning of smoking and the beginning of sexual life [28].

Syphilis affected people regardless of social class, sex, and age. It was found that among the intelligence 24% "are already at the mercy of this terrible scourge of the human race" [3]. Syphilis also affected children. D.N. Borodin wrote in his book: "In hospitals, where patients infected with a «nasty» disease lie, everywhere you can meet young children" [7].

The beginning of purposeful study of syphilis dates back to the second half of the nineteenth century. Its founder is considered to be Professor V.M. Tarnovsky of the Medical and Surgical Academy, the author of monographs and manuals on the study of ways of syphilis infection, the influence of parental syphilis on offspring, general pathology, clinical picture, treatment of syphilis and other venereal diseases. In 1863 he published his lectures "Recognition of venereal diseases in women and children", the result of his many years of research [54]. However, this work was so thorough that in 1868 he defended his dissertation for the title of Doctor of Medicine at the Medical and Surgical Academy. At that time, it was the first original work in Russia on syphilis in women and children.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, physicians began to study the incidence of syphilis. In 1882, a pupil of V.M. Tarnovsky, the first female venereologist, Z.Y. Yeltsina (1854–1927), was invited as a temporary doctor to Krapivensky district of Tula province.

Observing the spread of syphilis among the peasant population, sources of infection and ways of transmission, she came to the conclusion that "not only whole families often fall ill and become in turn hotbeds of infection for others, but even whole villages and hamlets can be taken over completely" [20]. In the following year 1883 Z.Y. Yeltsina examined 1370 peasant families consisting of 5475 people. Among them she found 413 children and 314 women with syphilis from 276 families. According to her data, the incidence of syphilis among children was 12.04% and among women -14.05%. Z.Y. Yeltsina confirmed the opinion of her teacher V.M. Tarnovsky that a special kind of syphilis, the so-called household or innocent syphilis, prevailed in the countryside [53].

Interesting data were obtained by a doctor N.S. Speransky (1857-1909), who studied the incidence of syphilis in Moscow Governorate for the period from 1880 to 1897 on the basis of data from the medical and statistical bureau. He came to the conclusion that syphilis was more often contracted and diseased not by men, but by women. Infectious forms were most widespread among children, with children accounting for 37.5% of the detected syphilis patients; married people contracted syphilis more often than single people. These data confirmed the popular belief that the spread of syphilis was not primarily sexual, but rather domestic and through all kinds of contact between patients and healthy people living closely together [51].

A.G. Ge (1842–1907), a student of V.M. Tarnovsky, associate professor at Kazan University, consultant of the syphilidological department of the Kazan zemstvo hospital, attributed a major role in the spread of syphilis to the life of peasants who lived in crowded conditions, ate from the same dishes, widely used chewed bread or vegetables wrapped in rags as dummies, fed the same to older children, kissed them, etc. [10]. For the most part, villagers did not know and did not understand the essence of the disease, ways of syphilis infection, treated it quite simply, as an ordinary disease, like a cold, scrofula, treated with conspiracies and folk medicine.

The possibility of transmission of syphilis from parents to children has long been known to doctors, described many cases of birth of a child already with manifestations of syphilis. It was found that the infection occurs in the womb, and the cause of this infection is syphilis parents. In-

N3 NCTOPNN MEDNUNHH

fection of the child may also occur during labour and through the milk of an infected mother.

According to D.N. Borodin, at least 71 per cent of pregnant syphilis patients gave birth to stillborn infants or children who died in the first year of life. In some places this figure reached 86 per cent. Doctors noted that by the end of the XIX century the disease began to affect earlier age — from 15 to 20 years, "the best hope of every family, society, state" [3].

Drunkenness contributed to the marginalisation of people, destroyed families, predisposed to various forms of deviant behaviour. All psychiatrists and criminologists recognised a close etiological link between alcoholism and crime in its various types. In the already mentioned dissertation of N.I. Frontkovsky there is information based on the analysis of the data of accounting of diseases and deviation of the population for 1901, where, in particular, it is shown that hereditary alcoholism was the cause of chronic drunkenness (32.7%), crime (26.9%), dementia (65.4%), prostitution (37.0%) [57].

Statistical data for St. Petersburg in 1866-1904 showed that among all suicides drunkards were 25.6% of men and 14.0% of women [15]. D.N. Borodin wrote a lot on this topic, revealing in his speeches the government policy aimed at obtaining "drinking" income. In a report at the First All-Russian Congress devoted to the fight against drunkenness, he said: "No vice is not spread in such huge proportions as drunkenness and no one does not upset so often family peace, does not expose poverty and disease, and does not entail a tendency to madness, crime and suicide ... In general, the passion for wine can humiliate a person to an incredible extent" [4]. He noted that in cities, especially in large cities, suicide is developed in colossal proportions, and cited the following data for the beginning of the XX century: in Berlin over 300 suicides per 1 million inhabitants, in the provinces — only 150; in Paris and Vienna over 400, in St. Petersburg — 200, in the other regions of Russia — only 30. But every year this number increased. From 1902 to 1910 the number of suicides in European Russia increased by 36%, and in Moscow province — by 162%. The number of child suicides also increased. D.N. Borodin believed that the more widespread the use of alcoholic beverages in any area, the more frequent are suicides there [5].

At IV department on hygiene of upbringing and education of Russian Society for Protection

of Public Health in the beginning of XX century the Commission on school suicides was created. According to this commission, the number of school suicides year by year increased. If in 1904 for every 100 thousand students in secondary schools there were 5.8 suicides, in 1909 there were 16 [22]. This was confirmed by the studies of other authors. Thus, it was pointed out that during 1904–1912 in St. Petersburg there was an increase in suicides among children and youth under 20 years of age. In 1904–1905 — 10%; in 1906–1907 — 11%; in 1912 — 18%. Thus, for 8 years the share of children and young men in the total number of suicides almost doubled [13].

The connection with the development of alcoholism and deviant behaviour in childhood and adolescence was tried to be explained by their age-related psychophysiological features. The scientist-hygienist G.V. Khlopin (1863-1929) pointed out that "15–16 years is a critical age in the development of boys, when the transition from childhood to adolescence is made. The process of growth and maturation so weakens the nervous system, disturbs the balance of mental and bodily forces that the boy's organism is mentally extremely easily woundable. Boys of this age react extremely strongly and sharply to external impressions. The ability to work in these years in many of them is sharply reduced, often mental abilities and character deteriorate" [58]. In girls, changes in the body at the onset of puberty occur faster and are expressed much more sharply than in boys. The special condition of the whole mental state of a teenager was also confirmed by the observations of the paediatrician A.E. Gippius (1851-?) [11].

M. Ya. Fenomenov (1883–?), the author of the book "Causes of Suicides in Russian School" (1914), also named alcohol consumption among the reasons predisposing to suicide [56]. In his opinion, acute intoxication may be one of the last impulses for a person who contemplates suicide; chronic alcoholism is one of the most important predisposing conditions. A large percentage of school suicides were attributed to mental and nervous illnesses. M.Ya. Fenomenov wrote: "The degenerate children, children of alcoholics, mentally ill, syphilitics, are the first candidates for mental illness, and also for suicide. Of course, suicide is not a disease and is not inherited, but the psychopathic constitution is transmitted, in which a person is extremely vulnerable. The slightest nudge can cause him

to take his own life. The latter can easily happen in childhood, either in or out of school. Letters of juvenile suicides (students) often paint us their morbid natures as some casual visitors to this world, who «seem to have been waiting for the first opportunity to leave it". He cited the figure that 43% of suicides in secondary schools are due to illness [56].

V.Ya. Kanel gave an unflattering assessment of the school: "The school undermines the physical and spiritual strength of its pupils, deprives them of stability and the necessary energy. Alcoholism is only one of the symptoms of that heavy disease, which our schools are obsessed with. The use of alcoholic drinks by pupils represents only one of the consequences of physical weakness and mental emptiness, which serve as the sad lot of schoolchildren" [23]. And here is how one of the founders of school hygiene, Dr A.S. Virenius (1832–1910), characterised school conditions: "What is a student? It is a young representative of mental labour who spends most of his time sitting in a sitting position of the body in an unsanitary school and teaching environment under the influence of moral oppression and a bureaucratic, formal attitude to business". Violation of the elementary rules of sanitation, drab everyday life of a pupil, deprived of any interest, forcing to seek acute fleeting pleasures, weakening "the vital activity of the young organism; nervousness, moral unbalance, suppression of will and character — all this leads to the fact that «the pupils involuntarily drink with their companies at home or go secretly to the inn, satisfying there the only available for them "social" aspirations and trying at least for a moment to part with the endless and, it seemed, hopeless longing" [9]. As a result of these conditions of school life all authors called the growth of the number of suicides among students and the fact that among them "alcohol is in great favour". The school, doing nothing to eradicate bad habits, "becomes guilty of children's vices, their aspirations to abnormal stimuli and harmful pleasures" [23].

A.M. Korovin called the child's family a contributing factor in deviant behaviour: "If anyone, like us, has seen many degenerate and alcoholic families, he could undoubtedly note the disgusting and highly destructive moral atmosphere reigning in them. Such an environment is in children a direct cause of mental illness" [25].

Child mortality. It It is now established that the most severe consequence of alcohol consumption and the most integral indicator of the severity of alcohol problems is the mortality of children. In the last quarter of the 19th century, the data were obtained confirming the influence of parental alcoholism on the child mortality rate. In pre-revolutionary Russia it reached horrifying levels — on average 260–300 out of 1 thousand newborns did not live up to 1 year. In European countries at the end of the XIX century this indicator averaged 200%, and after the introduction of state regulation of the sale of alcoholic beverages it decreased in Denmark to 120%, in Ireland — to 100%, in Sweden to 90%, in Norway — to 80% [60].

As far back as January 1886, a special commission was set up at the Ministry of Internal Affairs under the presidency of S.P. Botkin (1832– 1889) to improve sanitary conditions and reduce the mortality rate in Russia. The Commission, of course, could not pass by the issue of child mortality. S.P. Botkin sent letters to various scientific societies, famous scientists and doctors, including paediatricians, with questions about the causes of high mortality. During three years (1886–1889) the journal "An International Clinic" published S.P. Botkin's letters and answers of famous doctors. Paediatricians N.F. Filatov, K.A. Raukhfus, V.N. Reitz and others responded to S.P. Botkin's enquiries about child mortality. The St. Petersburg Society of Paediatricians established a special commission under the leadership of N.I. Bystrov to draft a response to the enquiry, in which a great deal of attention was paid to the social conditions contributing to high morbidity and child mortality [39]. Among the etiological moments, along with poor health of parents, hard work, especially for women, lack of knowledge of hygiene and dietetics of childhood, lack of educated midwives and medical assistance in general, poor nutrition, unhygienic living conditions, alcohol abuse took one of the first places.

Of course, the child mortality rate was influenced by many social factors — the father's money, the mother's work, the degree of culture of the family, but alcohol also plays a role in this regard. The famous paediatrician, the first Russian neonatologist V.P. Zhukovsky (1861–1938) pointed out that parental alcoholism has a particularly detrimental effect on the health of the newborn, reduces fertility and increases mortality of children [21].

The psychiatrist I.A. Sikorsky (1842–1919), based on a study of extensive statistical data on the mortality of infants from birth to five years of age in European Russia for the period from 1867 to 1881, developed by the Central Statistical Committee of the Ministry of the Interior, concluded that in those areas of European Russia where wine consumption was higher, there were higher rates of infant mortality and infanticide, and more crimes of all kinds were recorded, with the increase in crime being related not to population growth but to strain. In the metropolitan and so-called middle industrial provinces, infant mortality in the first year far exceeded the average mortality rate. I.A. Sikorsky cited the following figures: the average mortality of infants in Russia in the first year is 27.1%, while in the capital provinces it was 38.3%, and in the medium industrial provinces — 34.8%. Such a high mortality rate he attributed to the usual shortcomings and bad influence of large cities and industrial centres on the health of the infant population during the period of breast-feeding. I.A. Sikorsky wrote "there remains no doubt that alcoholic beverages lower the effect of parental and kinship duty and weaken the strength and degree of those altruistic feelings and that family beginning which binds people together and thereby secures the interests of mutual self-preservation. Undoubtedly, such undermining of the family foundation cannot but have a harmful effect in a wider sphere, i.e. on the interests of the great family — society" [50].

N.I. Grigoriev, who worked as a Duma doctor "among ordinary people, among craftsmen, factory workers, small traders, in close contact with their families", did not ignore the environment of family life and the quality of child care [14]. He noticed that in families where there were no alcoholic parents, children were healthier and less often ill. He concludes that in the enormous mortality rate of children under 1 year of age, "alcoholism of parents plays a huge role, especially among the common people living in St. Petersburg, with such a terrible environment, which, perhaps, in the village have no idea. In addition, the wives of alcoholics did not hesitate to confess to us that all their children were born of drunken husbands, that they were conceived at the moment when their father was drunk" [16].

Later, N.I. Grigoriev repeatedly drew public attention to this issue, constantly confirming the conclusions of his previous works.

Also of interest are the results of a survey of St. Petersburg workers, conducted in 1911, which showed that more children die in drinking families than in non-drinking families. In families where the wife did the housework while the father was drinking, the mortality rate was 24.6%, while with sober parents the child mortality rate was 20.2%. Precisely because the survey concerned children of the same social group and the mother's occupation was taken into account, it is possible to accept the results as reliable and to consider that alcohol "contributes to the terrible cause of premature death of hundreds, thousands of children" [23]. I.V. Sazhin in his book also cited data which stating that "a huge comparatively figure of mortality among children in the districts where distilleries exist" [48].

Measures proposed to reduce the scourge called "child alcoholism". It should be noted that quite a lot was written and said on this problem at that time, and, undoubtedly, it requires a separate study. Here we will name only the main directions of this activity.

Taking into account that often the introduction of a pregnant or nursing mother, a child or a young man to alcohol as a therapeutic remedy took place with the assistance of a doctor, there were proposals to introduce the legislative responsibility of a doctor to the society "languishing under the weight of modern alcoholism". It was emphasised that it was the duty of doctors to explain to their patients and the public in general, by the power of their authority, how dangerous the uncontrolled use of alcoholic drinks in everyday life was, and to protest that pregnant and nursing women should use alcohol at their own discretion and parents should give it to their children, for whatever purpose.

In 1898, the Russian Society for the Preservation of Public Health (RSPPH) organised a special commission to combat alcoholism, which included a school section headed by the famous lawyer, Professor D.A. Dril (1846–1910). The activities of this commission were mainly oriented towards studying the spread and causes of drunkenness among pupils and identifying the influence of alcohol on the physical and moral development of schoolchildren.

It should be said that the Russian Orthodox clergy was actively involved in the fight against drunkenness, participated in the All- Russian anti-alcohol movement and was the initiator of many initiatives in this direction. The Orthodox

clergy took a particularly large part in the organisation of temperance societies. The definition of the Holy Synod of 1889 explicitly called on the clergy to establish temperance societies, parish trusteeships, fraternities and other similar institutions in order to affirm the sober way of life in the people by word and sermon. There were dozens of temperance societies in Russia, whose tasks included dissemination of information about the harm of drunkenness through talks and brochures, arrangement of tea houses, as well as popular entertainment. The Alexander Nevsky Society of Sobriety in St. Petersburg opened in 1898 at the Resurrection Church near the Warsaw railway station, served as a model for them. Of interest is the Sergievsky branch of the St. Petersburg Alexander Nevsky Sobriety Society, established in 1904 at the Trinity-Sergius Hermitage. Here classes were held with children, talks were held about the harm of drunkenness, the benefits of sobriety, and then a school was organised. The organiser of this department the hieromonk of Sergiev Monastery Pavel (Gorshkov) (1867-1950) defined the aim of the school as follows: "I set not only to teach children literacy, but also to protect them by all means from the vice of drunkenness. The whole system of education in the school consists in convincing students of the harm caused by strong drinks. It is carried out in anti-alcoholic teaching, which instils in children an aversion to alcoholic beverages" [18]. Up to 300 children between the ages of 8 and 16 were on the school's radar. After graduation, they could continue their studies in special educational institutions or were helped to find jobs.

The ideas of charity, upbringing and education combined the institutions created by the great ascetic of the temperance movement, Saint Righteous Ivan of Kronstadt. In the first Russian Labour House, which he organised in 1882, functioned a public canteen, a children's library at an elementary school, a Sunday school, a shelter for orphans and a day shelter for incoming children, a shelter for minors of both sexes, workshops for boys, and so on. Subsequently, similar institutions were opened in many other cities of Russia on the model of this Labour House.

A great importance in the popularisation of sobriety was assigned to the school, which should become "an instrument of struggle against drunkenness". At first it seemed easy and extremely useful. But gradually the doubt crept

in whether propaganda alone was really enough, and whether it was properly organised. After extensive discussion it was recognised "that preaching in its present formulation" was doing harm instead of good. "Exclusive action on the imagination, description of all sorts of horrors, unnecessary thickening of colours was considered certainly harmful, because such teaching of anti-alcohol truths loses its scientific character, ceases to meet the actual state of affairs, leads to scepticism, narrows the horizon and discourages the desire to delve deeper into the subject" [23].

It was realised that drunkenness and alcoholism were social evils that needed knowledge, not preachy speeches and intimidation, to combat. Alcoholism control came to be seen as part of public health. It was recognised that the presentation of the consequences of alcohol abuse should be given only in connection with the general fundamentals of hygiene. Talks should be conducted by specialists who should not obscure the social causes of the scourge or place all responsibility on the individual drinker, as this does not correspond to the substance of the case and creates a wrong view of alcoholics among the students themselves.

Proposals were made to radically restructure school life, «to change the systems of education and upbringing, to form a different view of pupils as extremely lively and impressionable people who need to be approached, not as mannequins who play their roles without complaint. It is necessary to try to develop personality in students and to respect this personality, to awaken in them "lively interests that would capture them entirely, it is necessary to show them the world full of beauty and charm, it is necessary to teach them to enjoy without wine" [23].

They also spoke about the authority of the teacher, about the scientificity of his teaching, truthfulness in covering the issues raised, the need to conduct physical, mental and moral education of students in such a way that they themselves would be a conductor of health, hygiene and morality in society. The teachers duties included work with parents — to impress upon them the importance of educating their children in the spirit of sobriety and abstinence. The fight against routine and school formalism was regarded as the most sensitive blow against drunkenness.

All these considerations, of course, could not be immediately put into action. But they became the subject of active discussion in social

and pedagogical communities, at various congresses with the participation of a wide range of public figures, at meetings of various commissions, as well as at the level of ministries.

A call was made to immediately start fighting the development of alcoholism among children and adolescents. Dr I.V. Sazhin wrote about it: "The great duty and high duty before the motherland and future generations — vigorously, unanimously enter the fight against the so rapidly growing scourge of alcoholism. First of all, doctors, then parents, educators, teachers, public figures and, finally, all those who care about the progress and improvement of future generations should be imbued with the consciousness of the urgency and necessity of this struggle! It is necessary that the extracted and established by science data about the true properties of alcoholic beverages with their sharp, bright rays dispelled the darkness of alcoholic prejudices and would bring into society the beginning of a firm inoculation of anti-drinking habits" [48].

In 1909 The Ministry of Public Education alarmed by the received information about the increasing passion for alcohol among pupils, recommended that secondary schools acquire models of internal organs altered under the influence of alcohol, so that the pupils could see what destructions the poison produces in the organism, and then the terrible picture would scare them away from alcohol consumption. A special commission was set up within the Ministry to work out special measures against the spread of alcoholism among students.

During this period, both abroad and in Russia, there was much talk about medical sanitary supervision in schools. It was stressed that it should not be understood in a narrow sense as only taking measures against the spread of contagious diseases, but that this supervision should concern the entire physiological development of pupils, as well as the correspondence between mental development and physical condition of each of them. In 1913, a circular was issued by the Superintendent and Trustee of the St. Petersburg Educational District on the duties of school doctors and the strengthening of medical and sanitary supervision in educational institutions.

The importance and necessity of preventive work in schools was pointed out by the delegates of the First All-Russian Congress on the fight against drunkenness, which took place from 28th December 1909 to 6th January 1910

in St. Petersburg. Two speeches on school alcoholism were read at the congress. In addition, four speeches touched upon the necessity of introducing the doctrine of sobriety as a special subject at school, as well as extracurricular education as a means of fighting alcoholism.

The congress heard an informative report of an active fighter against alcoholism, teacher I.P. Mordvinov (1871–1925) "Teaching about sobriety in primary schools". He noted that work with children is much more effective than among adults who already have a "track record" of drinking [33]. He insisted on the immediate legislative introduction of a special systematic course of teaching about sobriety in all schools, and he also urgently proposed the training of public teachers. He proposed a programme for a course of sobriety teaching sufficient in content for elementary schools of all types. His proposals were included in the resolutions of the Congress: "To introduce as a separate subject the compulsory teaching of sobriety in lower and secondary schools" [40]. The Congress also drew the special attention of parents, and especially mothers, to the sad fact of alcohol consumption in early childhood, which can "become fatal in the future life of their favourites" [39].

In Moscow in 1910 on the initiative of doctors of medicine A.A. Kornilov (1855–1926) and T.I. Vyazemsky (1857–1914), teacher G.F. Markov (1848-?) and archpriest N.A. Lyubimov (1858–1924) a « Club of figures to combat school alcoholism» was established. This club included the Moscow University professor pharmacologist S.I. Chirvinsky, psychiatrist A.M. Korovin, school doctor N.A. Flerov and others. Its aim was to spread knowledge on alcoholism among teachers by giving them lectures [61].

In addition, in 1910 The Holy Synod by its decree introduced the teaching of the science of sobriety in all parochial schools. In November 1911 The Moscow City Duma appealed to the "Club of Workers to Combat School Alcoholism" with a request to develop a programme for pastoral courses, for church-parochial two-class schools and for the pupils of the senior classes of the women's teacher's seminary. Such a programme was developed and sent to various educational institutions. It was also the basis of the programme of free courses on "The Science of Sobriety" organised by the members of the "Club of Workers against School Alcoholism" in Moscow. From the 1st December of

1911 in Moscow on the basis of this programme courses on "anti-alcoholism" were organised for pastoral courses, for church-parochial two-class schools and for pupils of senior classes of the women's teacher's seminary.

At the All-Russian Congress of Practical Workers against Alcoholism held in Moscow on 6th to 12th August 1912, one of the programme sections was devoted to the problems of school alcoholism and measures to combat it, as well as to the fight against popular alcoholism through schools. The congress was organised by the Russian Orthodox Church on the initiative of the Alexander Nevsky Sobriety Society and the Moscow Diocesan Society for Combating Public Drunkenness with the blessing of the Holy Synod. At this congress, 10 works were presented, dealing with the questions of teaching the sobriety in Russian schools. In some other reports the authors also spoke about these issues.

In the researches of the Congress the report of G.F. Markov "Scientific and educational activity in the fight against alcoholism" stands out. In this report the question of teaching the doctrine of sobriety in Russian schools was presented most thoroughly. Recognising that "the evil of alcohol is so great, so widespread and so terrible, in order to combat it it is necessary to put forward accurate, substantiated knowledge, a special science — the science of sobriety, which should take a prominent, independent place among the general educational sciences" [30].

G.F. Markov proposed his programme of the science of sobriety. In his opinion, the propaganda of the ideas of sobriety should not be limited to the teaching of the relevant subject at school. He assigned a great role to teachers, who should organise anti-alcohol museums and travelling anti-alcohol exhibitions containing everything that clearly indicates the results of the influence of alcohol.

In the resolutions of this congress a whole section was devoted to the teaching and education of sobriety at school as a special independent school subject, and not as a department of school hygiene. A special role was assigned to teachers not only as pedagogues but also as educators; it was emphasised that a teacher of the science of temperance should be an unconditional teetotaller. It was suggested that in order to train a cohort of such teachers, it was necessary to introduce the teaching of this science in

all educational institutions that train teachers, as well as in special courses on this subject and in the course of lectures at pedagogical and singing courses.

It should be noted that in the schools of the Ministry of Public Enlightenment only since 1914 it was prescribed to teach students of senior classes a course of hygiene with obligatory information about the harm of alcohol for one hour weekly during the year.

The problems of alcoholism, including children's alcoholism, were discussed at the Congresses of the Society of Russian Doctors in memory of N.I. Pirogov, which played a huge role in shaping the society's opinion on topical social issues. Thus, at the VIII Pirogov's Congress (1902) they were considered at the joint meetings of the section of nervous and mental diseases and the section of zemstvo and urban medicine.

In the resolutions of the IX Pirogov's Congress (1904) on the section "Mental and nervous diseases" the participants of the Congress assessed the governmental policy in relation to alcoholism: "The state wine monopoly, being a source of budget replenishment, not only does not prevent, but, on the contrary, promotes the development of alcoholism in Russia". And in the section "Public Medicine" Pirogov's Society was even more categorical: "The correct and expedient fight against child mortality, alcoholism, tuberculosis, syphilis and other folk diseases, which are a public disaster of great importance in Russia, is possible only under conditions that provide a wide dissemination of information about the true causes of their development and ways to combat them, which requires freedom of the individual, speech, press and assembly" [19].

At the XI Pirogov Congress (1913), the problem of combating alcoholism in children was discussed at the section of paediatric disease. The issue of the influence of alcohol on the ability of mothers to feed their children was discussed.

"I repeat, if we are not sober, we will soon be depersonalised and wiped off the face of our native land", — warned the deputy of the State Duma, a large Samara businessman and public figure M.D. Chelyshev (1866–1915) [59]. On his initiative in the III State Duma was created "Commission on measures to combat drunkenness" (1907–1912), which became the centre of the development of anti-alcohol law in Russia. On 16th November 1911 at the fifth session of

N3 NCTOPNN MEDNUNHU

the III State Duma was approved an anti-alcohol bill, which provided for restrictive and educational measures against vodka, in particular: "...places of sale of alcohol could be located: in the capital and provincial cities — no closer than 85 meters, and in other areas — no closer than 213 meters from churches and educational institutions of all types; in all primary, secondary and pedagogical educational institutions students should be informed about the harm caused by the use of alcoholic drinks" [36].

The adopted anti-alcoholic bill was submitted to the State Council, where the influence of landlords and wine merchants was strong. It had been discussed for several years and, finally, in 1914 it was returned to the IV State Duma for revision, but it never gained the force of law [1].

At the beginning of the twentieth century, doctors and public figures clearly pointed out the connection between alcoholism and socio-economic conditions of life in Russia. This idea was clearly expressed in the speech of psychiatrist, Professor M.N. Nizhegorodtsev (1851–1919), chairman of the commission on alcoholism and measures to combat it of the Russian Society for the Preservation of Public Health [2]. Recognising that alcoholism leads to the degeneration of society as a whole, the growth of crime and suicide, he called for a fight against the socio-economic conditions that cause alcoholism. Children from the first steps of their life journey are influenced by the totality of the conditions of life of the working people, the whole mass of harmful influences: hygienic disadvantage and incredible overcrowding in the premises, family environment created on the basis of need and deprivation, desperate exploitation of labour, all this undermines the physical strength and destroys the moral foundations of the younger generation.

It has been established by many authors that insufficient nutrition of the masses is one of the causes of alcoholism. Full nutrition is especially important for the growing organism, but many children were malnourished. Here are excerpts from the report of M.G. Kotelnikov, a member of the Commission on Combating Alcoholism at the First All-Russian Congress on Combating Drunkenness, in which he wrote the following statement about pupils: only 4% of them were satisfied with a piece of dry bread, or tea without milk, or empty coffee; 10% went to school with an empty stomach; 41% had only dry bread for breakfast; 12.6%, returning home, had nothing

but tea, bread, or empty coffee; and some did not eat lunch or dinner at all. Only 4% are eating normally, 53% are chronically malnourished, and 32.6% are completely meat deprived [29].

It was recognised that improved nutrition would do more to turn the younger generation away from alcohol than even the most fervent sermon or yow of abstinence.

It was no accident that the most serious attention of the Russian public was drawn to this medical and social phenomenon. More and more loudly public figures spoke of the need to take measures of a state nature in the fight against alcoholism of adults and children. Here is how D.N. Borodin wrote: "The problem of children's alcoholism is a matter of state, standing in the first place, this question is connected with the economic, physical and moral development of the people" [6].

The facts collected for the period of the late XIX — early XX century in the brightest colours testified to the harmful effect of alcohol on children's health. The refrain in all publications and speeches was the idea of inadmissibility of alcohol consumption by children, evidence of its harmful effect on physical and mental development, as well as on the social behaviour of the child.

Studies have shown that drinking goes along with crime, poverty, debauchery and the destruction of the family home. It also causes a wide variety of diseases, not only for the drinker but also for their offspring. Drunkenness shortens the lives of drinkers and their children, causes suicides and accidents, often resulting in death.

One of the most devastating consequences of drunkenness has been identified as the destruction of the family. In those families where alcoholic beverages find enthusiastic adherents, there can be no question of peace and harmony, of proper and successful upbringing of children. They grow up without supervision and attention, without affection and care, and usually children of alcoholics are early acquainted with crime. Backward children, idiot children, crippled children, children deprived of their mother's affection and love, street children, alcoholic children — all these were regarded as a living reproach to the existing society and system of life!

At the beginning of the twentieth century, when there were numerous scientific studies on the scale of this phenomenon, the impact of alcohol on children's bodies, the troubles of life

to which it leads, views began to form on the need to develop and take more effective measures to combat alcoholism. There was no doubt that alcoholism was closely linked to the socioeconomic conditions of the Russian population.

However, no complete programme aimed at fighting this evil had been created. It was realised that public efforts alone were ineffective and could not influence the whole complex of causes leading to drunkenness. More and more often there were appeals for the participation of the government in this fight.

ADDITIONAL INFORMATION

Author contribution. Thereby, all authors made a substantial contribution to the conception of the study, acquisition, analysis, interpretation of data for the work, drafting and revising the article, final approval of the version to be published and agree to be accountable for all aspects of the study.

Competing interests. The authors declare that they have no competing interests.

Funding source. This study was not supported by any external sources of funding.

дополнительная информация

Вклад авторов. Все авторы внесли существенный вклад в разработку концепции, проведение исследования и подготовку статьи, прочли и одобрили финальную версию перед публикацией.

Конфликт интересов. Авторы декларируют отсутствие явных и потенциальных конфликтов интересов, связанных с публикацией настоящей статьи.

Источник финансирования. Авторы заявляют об отсутствии внешнего финансирования при проведении исследования.

REFERENCES

- Afanas'ev A.L. Trezvennicheskoe dvizhenie v Rossii v 1907–1914 gg.: kharakter, etapy, znachenie [The Temperance Movement in Russia in 1907–1914: character, stages, significance]. Vestnik Tomskogo gosudarstvennogo universiteta. Istoriya. 2014; 5(31): 27–32.
- Alkogolizm i bor'ba s nim. Komissiya po voprosu ob alkogolizme, sostoyashchaya pri Russkom obshchestve okhraneniya narodnogo zdraviya [Alcoholism and the fight against it. The Commission on Alcoholism, which

is affiliated with the Russian Society for the Protection of Public Health]. Sankt-Peterburg: Izdatel'stvo Russkogo obshchestva okhraneniya narodnogo zdraviya; 1909. (in Russian).

- Borodin D.N. Alkogolizm i prostitutsiya [Alcoholism and prostitution]. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaya kommercheskaya Tipo-litografiya Vilenchik; 1910. (in Russian).
- Borodin D.N. Alkogolizm i samoubiystva [Alcoholism and suicide]. In.: Trudy pervogo vserossiyskogo s"ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 2: 1100–5. (in Russian).
- Borodin D.N. Alkogolizm i samoubiystva [Alcoholism and suicide]. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaya kommercheskaya Tipo-litografiya Vilenchik; 1910. (in Russian).
- Borodin D.N. P'yanstvo sredi detey [Drunkenness among children]. In.: Trudy pervogo vserossiyskogo s"ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 2: 481–504. (in Russian).
- Borodin D.N. P'yanstvo sredi detey [Drunkenness among children]. Sankt-Peterburg: Sankt-Peterburgskaya kommercheskaya tipo-litografiya Vilenchik; 1910. (in Russian).
- Bystrov N.I. Sluchay tsirroza pecheni u detey-p'yanits
 [A case of cirrhosis of the liver in drunken children].
 In: Trudy obshchestva detskikh vrachey v Peterburge.
 Sankt-Peterburg; 1893: Vyp. III. (in Russian).
- 9. Virenius A.S. Mery bor'by s alkogolizmom putem shkoly. Doklad Subkomissii po voprosam o bor'be s alkogolizmom pri posredstve shkoly. 11 maya 1898 g.) [Measures to combat alcoholism through the school. Report of the Sub-Commission on Combating Alcoholism through the School. May 11, 1898]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya P.P. Soykina; 1900. (in Russian).
- Ge A.G. Sifilis i sel'skoe naselenie [Syphilis and rural population]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya B.G. Yanpol'skogo; 1882. (in Russian).
- 11. Gippius A.E. Detskiy vrach kak vospitatel'. Prakticheskoe rukovodstvo dlya roditeley, vrachey i pedagogov [A pediatrician as an educator: A practical guide for parents, doctors and teachers]. Moskva: Tipografiya "Pechatnoe Delo" F.Ya. Burche; 1909. (in Russian).
- 12. Gol'dengorn E.M. Sluchay alkogol'nogo tsirroza pecheni u semiletnego rebenka. Meditsinskoe obozrenie [A case of alcoholic cirrhosis of the liver in a seven-year-old child]. 1887; 28: 683. (in Russian).
- Gordon G.I. Vospitanie i samoubiystva detey [Parenting and suicide of children]. In.: Trudy I Vserossiyskogo s"ezda po semeynomu vospitaniyu v SPb. 30.12.1912 — 6.01.1913: v 2 t. Sankt-Peterburg: 1914; I: 453–62. (in Russian).
- 14. Grigor'ev N.I. Alkogolizm i prestupleniya v g. S.-Peterburge: Po materialam Sankt-Peterburgskikh gorodskikh bol'nits i Arkhiva Sankt-Peterburgskogo okruzhnogo suda. [Alcoholism and crimes in St. Petersburg: Based

- on the materials of St. Petersburg City Hospitals and the Archive of the St. Petersburg District Court]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya P.P. Soykina; 1900. (in Russian).
- 15. Grigor'ev N.I. Alkogolizm kak obshchestvennoe zlo. Materialy dlya g. Sankt-Peterburga [Alcoholism as a social evil: Materials for St. Petersburg]. Sankt-Peterburg: Gorodskaya tipografiya; 1908. (in Russian).
- 16. Grigor'ev N.I. Otchego v Rossii takaya uzhasayushchaya smertnost' grudnykh detey? Vserossiyskiy trudovoy soyuz khristian-trezvennikov [Why is there such a terrifying mortality of infants in Russia? All-Russian Labor Union of Teetotal Christians]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya tovarishchestva "Obshchestvennaya pol'za"; 1914. (in Russian).
- 17. Demme V.K. Vliyanie alkogolya na detskiy organism. Rech', proiznesennaya na 56 godovom akte Bernskogo universiteta professorom Demme [The effect of alcohol on the child's body: A speech delivered at the 56th Annual Act of the University of Bern by Professor Demme]. Moskva: Tipo-litografiya tovarishchestva I.N. Kushnerev i K°; 1895. (in Russian).
- 18. Diomidov I. Sergievskaya shkola trezvosti (opyt bor'by s narodnym p'yanstvom po sredstvam shkoly) [Sergiev School of Sobriety (experience in combating popular drunkenness by means of the school)]. Russkaya shkola. 1914; 9, 10: 115–6. (in Russian).
- 19. Egorysheva I.V. Problema bor'by s alkogolizmom v trudakh Pirogovskikh s''ezdov [The problem of combating alcoholism in the works of the Pirogov Congresses]. Problemy sotsial'noy gigieny, zdravookhraneniya i istorii meditsiny. 2014; 3: 51–4. (in Russian).
- El'tsina Z.Ya. Iz nablyudeniy nad rasprostraneniem sifilisa sredi krest'yanskogo naseleniya. [From observations on the spread of syphilis among the peasant population].
 Vrach. 1882; 50: 843–4. (in Russian).
- 21. Zhukovskiy V.P. Bolezni novorozhdennykh detey. Lektsii, chitannye studentam v vesennem polugodii 1895/96 akademicheskogo goda [Diseases of newborn children. Lectures given to students in the spring half-year of the academic year 1895/96]. Kiev: Tipografiya Imperatorskogo universiteta svyatogo Vladimira; Sankt-Peterburg: K.L. Rikker; 1897. (in Russian).
- Zhurnal russkogo obshchestva okhraneniya narodnogo zdraviya [Journal of the Russian Society for the Protection of Public Health]. 1911; 3: 45. (in Russian).
- 23. Kanel' V.Ya. Alkogolizm i bor'ba s nim [Alcoholism and the fight against it]. Moskva: Tipografiya tovarishchestva I.D. Sytina; 1914. (in Russian).
- Kannabikh Yu.V. Istoriya psikhiatrii [History of psychiatry]. Moskva: Gosudarstvennoe meditsinskoe izdatel'stvo; 1929. (in Russian).
- Korovin A.M. Dipsomaniya, kak ritm i istoshchenie [Dipsomania as rhythm and exhaustion]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo doktora A.M. Korovina; 1910. (in Russian).

- Korovin A.M. K metodike izucheniya alkogolizma lichnosti [On the methodology of studying alcoholism of personality]. Vrachebnaya gazeta. 1908; XV(2): 414. (in Russian).
- 27. Korovin A.M. Opyt analiza glavnykh faktorov lichnogo alkogolizma [Experience in analyzing the main factors of personal alcoholism]. Moskva: Tipo-litografiya V. Rikhter; 1907. (in Russian).
- 28. Korovin A.M. Opyty i nablyudeniya nad alkogolem [Experiments and observations on alcohol]. Moskva, Leningrad: Gosudarstvennoe izdatel'stvo; 1929. (in Russian).
- 29. Kotel'nikov M.G. Shkola v bor'be s p'yanstvom [School in the fight against drunkenness]. Trudy Pervogo Vserossiyskogo s»ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 2: 584–99. (in Russian).
- 30. Markov G.F. Nauchno-prosvetitel'naya deyatel'nost' v bor'be s alkogolizmom [Scientific and educational activities in the fight against alcoholism]. In.: Trudy Vserossiyskogo swezda prakticheskikh deyateley po bor'be s alkogolizmom, sostoyavshegosya v Moskve 6–12 avgusta 1912 g. T. 2. Besplatnoe prilozhenie k zhurnalu "Rodnaya zhizn" za 1915 g. Pg.; 1915: 281–91.
- 31. Merzheevskiy I.P. Ob usloviyakh, blagopriyatstvuyushchikh razvitiyu dushevnykh i nervnykh bolezney v
 Rossii, i o merakh, napravlennykh k ikh umen'sheniyu.
 Rech', proiznesennaya pri torzhestvennom otkrytii Pervogo S"ezda otechestvennykh psikhiatrov v Moskve
 5-go yanvarya 1887 g. [On the conditions conducive to
 the development of mental and nervous diseases in Russia, and on measures aimed at reducing them: A speech
 delivered at the grand opening of the First Congress of
 Russian Psychiatrists in Moscow on January 5, 1887].
 Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya M.M. Stasyulevicha; 1887.
 (in Russian).
- 32. Mikirtichan G.L., Lisenkova L.N., Yuzhaninov V.N. i dr. Iz istorii izucheniya detskogo alkogolizma v Rossii vo vtoroy polovine XIX nachale XX vv. [From the history of studying child alcoholism in Russia in the second half of the XIX beginning of the XX centuries]. Chast' I. Medicine and healthcare organization. 2023; 1: 96–114. (in Russian).
- 33. Mordvinov I.P. Uchenie o trezvosti v nachal'nykh shkolakh [The doctrine of sobriety in primary schools]. In.: Trudy pervogo vserossiyskogo s»ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 2: 619–26. (in Russian).
- 34. Morozov M.S. Materialy k antropologii, etiologii i psikhologii idiotizma. Dissertatsiya na stepen' doktora meditsiny [Materials for anthropology, etiology and psychology of idiocy. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya knyazya V.P. Meshcherskogo; 1902. (in Russian).
- 35. Nikol'skiy D.P. O zabolevaemosti studentov Peterburgskogo gornogo instituta [On the morbidity of students

of the St. Petersburg Mining Institute]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Ya. Trey; 1901. (in Russian).

- 36. Odobrennyy Gosudarstvennoy Dumoy zakonoproekt o merakh bor'by s p'yanstvom (ob izmenenii i dopolnenii nekotorykh, otnosyashchikhsya k prodazhe krepkikh napitkov, postanovleniy) [The draft law on measures to combat drunkenness approved by the State Duma (on amendments and additions to some regulations related to the sale of spirits)]. In.: Chelyshov M.D. Rechi M.D. Chelyshova, proiznesennye v Tret'ey Gosudarstvennoy Dume o neobkhodimosti bor'by s p'yanstvom i po drugim voprosam. Sankt-Peterburg; 1912: 690–701. (in Russian).
- 37. Pergament S.R. O vliyanii alkogol'nogo otravleniya krolikov na rost kostey utrobnykh ikh plodov: Eksperimental'noe issledovanie iz Laboratorii professora K.N. Vinogradova. Dissertatsiya na stepen' doktora meditsiny [On the effect of alcohol poisoning of rabbits on the growth of the bones of their fetuses: An experimental study from the Laboratory of Professor K.N. Vinogradov. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Sankt-Peterburg: Elektrotipografiya N.Ya. Stoykovoy; 1900. (in Russian).
- 38. Pokrovskaya M.I. Bor'ba s prostitutsiey. Doklad 2 Otdeleniyu Rossiyskogo obshchestva okhraneniya narodnogo zdraviya 10 dek. 1899 g. Sochinenie zhenshchinyvracha M.I. Pokrovskoy [The fight against prostitution. Report 2 to the Department of the Russian Society for the Protection of Public Health 10 Dec. 1899 Composition of a female doctor M.I. Pokrovskaya]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya P.P. Soykina; 1900. (in Russian).
- 39. Prilozhenie k zhurnalam uchrezhdennoy pri Meditsinskom sovete Komissii po voprosu ob uluchshenii sanitarnykh usloviy i umen'shenii smertnosti v Rossii [Appendix to the journals of the Commission established under the Medical Council on improving sanitary conditions and reducing mortality in Russia]. Sankt-Peterburg. 1886; 1: 146–79. (in Russian).
- 40. Protokol zaklyuchitel'nogo Obshchestvennogo Sobraniya 6-go yanvarya 1910 goda [Minutes of the final Public Meeting on January 6, 1910]. In.: Trudy Pervogo Vserossiyskogo s»ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 1: 80–97. (in Russian).
- 41. Reytts G.V. Vliyanie khronicheskogo alkogolizma na razvitie organizma [The effect of chronic alcoholism on the development of the body]. Sankt-Peterburg; 1900. (in Russian).
- 42. Rybakov F.E. Nasledstvennost'kak prichina individual'nogo p'yanstva [Heredity as the cause of individual drunkenness]. In.: Trudy Tret'ego S''ezda otechestvennykh psikhiatrov. Sankt-Peterburg; 1911: 220–9. (in Russian).
- Sadokov N.P. Izmeneniya yaichek i semeni pri otravlenii zhivotnykh etilovym alkogolem (vodkoy). Eksperimental'nye issledovaniya. Dissertatsiya na ste-

- pen' doktora meditsiny [Changes in testicles and semen when animals are poisoned with ethyl alcohol (vodka). (Experimental research). Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya knyazya V.P. Meshcherskogo; 1902. (in Russian).
- 44. Sazhin I.V. Alkogol' i nasledstvennost' [Alcohol and heredity]. Trudy pervogo vserossiyskogo s''ezda po bor'be s p'yanstvom: v 3 t. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya MVD. 1910; 3: 1120–34. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Ya. Trey; 1910. (in Russian).
- 45. Sazhin I.V. Alkogol' i nervnaya sistema [Alcohol and the nervous system]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya P.P. Soykina; 1910. (in Russian).
- 46. Sazhin I.V. Vliyanie alkogolya na razvivayushchiysya organizm. Dissertatsiya na stepen' doktora meditsiny [The effect of alcohol on the developing body. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Shtaba otdel'nogo korpusa zhandarmov; 1902. (in Russian).
- 47. Sazhin I.V. Vliyanie spirtnykh napitkov (alkogolya) na nervnuyu sistemu vzroslogo i razvivayushchegosya organizma [The influence of alcoholic beverages (alcohol) on the nervous system of an adult and developing organism]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Aleksandro-Nevskogo obshchestva trezvosti; 1914. (in Russian).
- 48. Sazhin I.V. Nasledstvennost' i spirtnye napitki: Rol' i znachenie spirtnykh napitkov v oblasti dukhovnogo i fizicheskogo vyrozhdeniya [Heredity and alcoholic beverages. The role and significance of alcoholic beverages in the field of spiritual and physical degeneration]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya P.P. Soykina; 1908. (in Russian).
- 49. Sechenov I.M. Materialy dlya budushchey fiziologii alkogol'nogo op'yaneniya [Materials for the future physiology of alcohol intoxication]. Voenno-meditsinskiy zhurnal. 1860; LXXVII: 107–70. (in Russian).
- 50. Sikorskij I.A. O vlijanii spirtnyh napitkov na zdorov'e i nravstvennost' naselenija Rossii. Staticheskoe issledovanie po oficial'nym istochnikam. Doklad, sdelannyj v zasedanii Kievskogo psihiatricheskogo obshhestva 26 janvarja 1899 g. [On the influence of alcoholic beverages on the health and morals of the population of Russia. Static research based on official sources. Report made at the meeting of the Kiev Psychiatric Society on January 26, 1899]. Kiev: Lito-tipografija tovarishhestva I.N. Kushnerev i K° v Moskve, Kievskoe otdelenie; 1899. (in Russian).
- 51. Speranskiy N.S. K statistike sifilisa v sel'skom naselenii Moskovskoy gubernii. Dissertatsiya na stepen' doktora meditsiny [On the statistics of syphilis in the rural population of the Moscow province. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Moskva: tovarishchestvo "Pechatnya S.P. Yakovleva"; 1901. (in Russian).
- 52. Tarnovskiy V.M. Polovaya zrelost', ee techenie, otk-loneniya i bolezn' [Puberty, its course, deviations and

- disease]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografija M.M. Stasyulevicha; 1886. (in Russian).
- 53. Tarnovskiy V.M. Otchet konsul'tanta po venericheskim boleznyam pri glavnom voenno-meditsinskom upravlenii [Report of the consultant on venereal diseases at the Main Military Medical Directorate]. Voenno-Meditsinskiy zhurnal, izdavaemyy glavnym meditsinskim upravleniem voennogo ministerstva. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya Yakova Treya; 1881. Fevral'. Chast' CXL (god pyat'desyat devyatyy): 63–112. (in Russian).
- 54. Tarnovskiy V.M. Raspoznavanie venericheskikh bolezney u zhenshchin i detey. Rukovodstvo dlya povival'nykh babok [Recognition of sexually transmitted diseases in women and children: A guide for midwives]. Sankt-Peterburg: K.A. Pisarevskiy; 1863. (in Russian).
- 55. Tarkhanov I.R. O psikhomotornykh tsentrakh i razvitii ikh u cheloveka i zhivotnykh [About psychomotor centers and their development in humans and animals]. Sankt-Peterburg: L.F. Panteleev; 1879. (in Russian).
- Fenomenov M.Ya. Prichiny samoubiystv v russkoy shkole [The causes of suicides in the Russian school]. Moskva: pechatnya A. Snegirevoy; 1914. (in Russian).
- 57. Frontkovskiy N.I. K voprosu o patologo-anatomicheskikh izmeneniyakh v yaichnikakh u zhivotnykh pri otravlenii etilovym alkogolem. Dissertatsiya na stepen' doktora meditsiny [On the issue of pathologic-anatomical changes in the ovaries in animals with poisoning with ethyl alcohol. Dissertation for the degree of Doctor of Medicine]. Sankt-Peterburg: "Vladimirskaya" parovaya tipo-litografiya Mordukhovskogo; 1901. (in Russian).
- 58. Khlopin G.V. Samoubiystva, pokusheniya na samoubiystva i neschastnye sluchai sredi uchashchikhsya russkikh uchebnykh zavedeniy. Sanitarno-statisticheskoe issledovanie [Suicides, attempted suicides and accidents among students of Russian educational institutions. Sanitary and statistical research]. Sankt-Peterburg: Senatskaya tipografiya; 1906. (in Russian).
- 59. Chelyshov M.D. Rechi M.D. Chelyshova, proiznesennye v Tret'ey Gosudarstvennoy Dume o neobkhodimosti bor'by s p'yanstvom i po drugim voprosam [M.D. Chelyshov's speeches delivered in the Third State Duma on the need to combat drunkenness and other issues]. Sankt-Peterburg; 1912: 690–701. (in Russian)
- Sheregi F. E. Sotsiologiya deviatsii: monografiya [Sociology of deviation: monograph]. Moskva: Izdatel'stvo Yurayt; 2019. (in Russian).
- 61. Shilov A. Kruzhok deyateley po bor'be so shkol'nym alkogolizmom v Moskve [Circle of figures on combating school alcoholism in Moscow]. Moskva: Tipografiya V.I. Voronova; 1914. (in Russian).
- 62. Emminggauz G. Psikhicheskie rasstroystva v detskom vozraste. (Die psychischen Storungen im Kindesalter).

- Perevod s nemetskogo [Mental disorders in childhood. Translated from German]. Sankt-Peterburg: L.F. Panteleev; 1890. (in Russian).
- 63. Erisman F.F. Vliyanie alkogolya na detskiy organizm i bor'ba s alkogolizmom sredi molodezhi [The influence of alcohol on the child's body and the fight against alcoholism among young people]. Vestnik vospitaniya. 1897; 4: 120–50. (in Russian).
- 64. Yakubovich V.F. O p'yanstve detey i o vliyanii vina na detskiy organizm: Publichnaya lektsiya, chitannaya 16 fevralya 1893 g. v Sankt-Peterburgskom sobranii vrachey kliniki [About the drunkenness of children and the effect of wine on the child's body. Public lecture delivered on February 16, 1893 at the St. Petersburg Meeting of doctors of the clinic]. Sankt-Peterburg: Tipografiya B.M. Vol'fa; 1894. (in Russian).
- Grotjahn A. Der Alkoholismus, nach Wesen, Wirkung, und Verbreitung (Alcoholism, its Nature, Influence, and Distribution). Leipzig: Wigand; 1898.

ЛИТЕРАТУРА

- 1. Афанасьев А.Л. Трезвенническое движение в России в 1907—1914 гг.: характер, этапы, значение. Вестник Томского государственного университета. История. 2014; 5(31): 27–32.
- Алкоголизм и борьба с ним. Комиссия по вопросу об алкоголизме, состоящая при Русском обществе охранения народного здравия. СПб.: Издательство Русского общества охранения народного здравия; 1909.
- 3. Бородин Д.Н. Алкоголизм и проституция. СПб.: Санкт-Петербургская коммерческая Типо-литография Виленчик; 1910.
- 4. Бородин Д.Н. Алкоголизм и самоубийства. В кн.: Труды первого всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 2: 1100–5.
- 5. Бородин Д.Н. Алкоголизм и самоубийства. СПб.: Санкт-Петербургская коммерческая Типо-литография Виленчик; 1910.
- 6. Бородин Д.Н. Пьянство среди детей. В кн.: Труды первого всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 2: 481–504.
- Бородин Д.Н. Пьянство среди детей. СПб.: Санкт-Петербургская коммерческая типо-литография Виленчик; 1910.
- Быстров Н.И. Случай цирроза печени у детей-пьяниц. В кн.: Труды общества детских врачей в Петербурге. СПб.; 1893: Вып. III.
- Вирениус А.С. Меры борьбы с алкоголизмом путем школы. Доклад Субкомиссии по вопросам о борьбе с алкоголизмом при посредстве школы. 11 мая 1898 г. СПб.: Типография П.П. Сойкина; 1900.

10. Ге А.Г. Сифилис и сельское население. СПб.: Типография Б.Г. Янпольского; 1882.

- Гиппиус А.Э. Детский врач как воспитатель. Практическое руководство для родителей, врачей и педагогов.
 М.: Типография «Печатное Дело» Ф.Я. Бурче; 1909.
- 12. Гольденгорн Е.М. Случай алкогольного цирроза печени у семилетнего ребенка. Медицинское обозрение. 1887; 28: 683.
- Гордон Г.И. Воспитание и самоубийства детей. В кн.: Труды I Всероссийского съезда по семейному воспитанию в СПб. 30.12.1912 — 6.01.1913: в 2 т. СПб.: 1914; I: 453–62.
- 14. Григорьев Н.И. Алкоголизм и преступления в г. С.-Петербурге: По материалам Санкт-Петербургских городских больниц и Архива Санкт-Петербургского окружного суда. СПб.: Типография П.П. Сойкина; 1900.
- 15. Григорьев Н.И. Алкоголизм как общественное зло. Материалы для г. Санкт-Петербурга. СПб.: Городская типография; 1908.
- Григорьев Н.И. Отчего в России такая ужасающая смертность грудных детей? Всероссийский трудовой союз христиан-трезвенников. СПб.: Типография товарищества «Общественная польза»; 1914.
- Демме В.К. Влияние алкоголя на детский организм.
 Речь, произнесенная на 56 годовом акте Бернского университета профессором Демме. М.: Типо-литография товарищества И.Н. Кушнерев и К°; 1895.
- 18. Диомидов И. Сергиевская школа трезвости (опыт борьбы с народным пьянством по средствам школы). Русская школа. 1914; 9, 10: 115–6.
- 19. Егорышева И.В. Проблема борьбы с алкоголизмом в трудах Пироговских съездов. Проблемы социальной гигиены, здравоохранения и истории медицины. 2014; 3: 51–4.
- Ельцина З.Я. Из наблюдений над распространением сифилиса среди крестьянского населения. Врач. 1882; 50: 843–4.
- Жуковский В.П. Болезни новорожденных детей. Лекции, читанные студентам в весеннем полугодии 1895/96 академического года. Киев: Типография Императорского университета святого Владимира; СПб: К.Л. Риккер; 1897.
- 22. Журнал русского общества охранения народного здравия. 1911; 3: 45.
- 23. Канель В.Я. Алкоголизм и борьба с ним. М.: Типография товарищества И.Д. Сытина; 1914.
- 24. Каннабих Ю.В. История психиатрии. М.: Государственное медицинское издательство; 1929.
- Коровин А.М. Дипсомания, как ритм и истощение.
 М.: Издательство доктора А.М. Коровина; 1910.
- 26. Коровин А.М. К методике изучения алкоголизма личности. Врачебная газета. 1908; XV(2): 414.

- 27. Коровин А.М. Опыт анализа главных факторов личного алкоголизма. М.: Типо-литография В. Рихтер; 1907.
- 28. Коровин А.М. Опыты и наблюдения над алкоголем. М., Л.: Государственное издательство; 1929.
- 29. Котельников М.Г. Школа в борьбе с пьянством. Труды Первого Всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 2: 584–99.
- 30. Марков Г.Ф. Научно-просветительная деятельность в борьбе с алкоголизмом. В кн.: Труды Всероссийского съезда практических деятелей по борьбе с алкоголизмом, состоявшегося в Москве 6–12 августа 1912 г. Т. 2. Бесплатное приложение к журналу «Родная жизнь» за 1915 г. Пг.; 1915: 281–91.
- 31. Мержеевский И.П. Об условиях, благоприятствующих развитию душевных и нервных болезней в России, и о мерах, направленных к их уменьшению. Речь, произнесенная при торжественном открытии Первого Съезда отечественных психиатров в Москве 5-го января 1887 г. СПб.: Типография М.М. Стасюлевича; 1887.
- 32. Микиртичан Г.Л., Лисенкова Л.Н.,. Южанинов В.Н. и др. Из истории изучения детского алкоголизма в России во второй половине XIX начале XX вв. Часть І. Медицина и организация здравоохранения. 2023: 1: 96–114.
- 33. Мордвинов И.П. Учение о трезвости в начальных школах. В кн.: Труды первого всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 2: 619–26.
- 34. Морозов М.С. Материалы к антропологии, этиологии и психологии идиотизма. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины. СПб.: Типография князя В.П. Мещерского; 1902.
- 35. Никольский Д.П. О заболеваемости студентов Петербургского горного института. СПб.: Типография Я. Трей; 1901.
- 36. Одобренный Государственной Думой законопроект о мерах борьбы с пьянством (об изменении и дополнении некоторых, относящихся к продаже крепких напитков, постановлений). В кн.: Челышов М.Д. Речи М.Д. Челышова, произнесенные в Третьей Государственной Думе о необходимости борьбы с пьянством и по другим вопросам. СПб.; 1912: 690–701.
- 37. Пергамент С.Р. О влиянии алкогольного отравления кроликов на рост костей утробных их плодов: Экспериментальное исследование из Лаборатории профессора К.Н. Виноградова. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины. СПб.: Электро-типография Н.Я. Стойковой; 1900.
- Покровская М.И. Борьба с проституцией. Доклад 2 Отделению Российского общества охранения народного здравия 10 дек. 1899 г. Сочинение женщины-врача М.И. Покровской. СПб.: Типография П.П. Сойкина; 1900.

- Приложение к журналам учрежденной при Медицинском совете Комиссии по вопросу об улучшении санитарных условий и уменьшении смертности в России. СПб. 1886; 1: 146–79.
- Протокол заключительного Общественного Собрания 6-го января 1910 года. В кн.: Труды Первого Всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 1: 80–97.
- 41. Рейтц Г.В. Влияние хронического алкоголизма на развитие организма. СПб.; 1900.
- 42. Рыбаков Ф.Е. Наследственность как причина индивидуального пьянства. В кн.: Труды Третьего Съезда отечественных психиатров. СПб.; 1911: 220–9.
- 43. Садоков Н.П. Изменения яичек и семени при отравлении животных этиловым алкоголем (водкой). Экспериментальные исследования. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины. СПб.: Типография князя В.П. Мещерского; 1902.
- Сажин И.В. Алкоголь и наследственность. Труды первого всероссийского съезда по борьбе с пьянством: в 3 т. СПб.: Типография МВД. 1910; 3: 1120— 34. СПб.: Типография Я. Трей; 1910.
- 45. Сажин И.В. Алкоголь и нервная система. СПб.: Типография П.П. Сойкина; 1910.
- Сажин И.В. Влияние алкоголя на развивающийся организм. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины.
 СПб.: Типография Штаба отдельного корпуса жандармов; 1902.
- Сажин И.В. Влияние спиртных напитков (алкоголя) на нервную систему взрослого и развивающегося организма. СПб.: Типография Александро-Невского общества трезвости; 1914.
- 48. Сажин И.В. Наследственность и спиртные напитки: Роль и значение спиртных напитков в области духовного и физического вырождения. СПб.: Типография П.П. Сойкина; 1908.
- 49. Сеченов И.М. Материалы для будущей физиологии алкогольного опьянения. Военно-медицинский журнал. 1860; LXXVII: 107–70.
- 50. Сикорский И.А. О влиянии спиртных напитков на здоровье и нравственность населения России. Статическое исследование по официальным источникам. Доклад, сделанный в заседании Киевского психиатрического общества 26 января 1899 г. Киев: Лито-типография товарищества И.Н. Кушнерев и К° в Москве, Киевское отделение; 1899.
- Сперанский Н.С. К статистике сифилиса в сельском населении Московской губернии. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины. М.: товарищество «Печатня С.П. Яковлева»; 1901.

- 52. Тарновский В.М. Половая зрелость, ее течение, отклонения и болезнь. СПб.: Типография М.М. Стасюлевича; 1886.
- 53. Тарновский В.М. Отчет консультанта по венерическим болезням при главном военно-медицинском управлении. Военно-Медицинский журнал, издаваемый главным медицинским управлением военного министерства. СПб.: Типография Якова Трея; 1881. Февраль. Часть СХL (год пятьдесят девятый): 63–112
- Тарновский В.М. Распознавание венерических болезней у женщин и детей. Руководство для повивальных бабок. СПб.: К.А. Писаревский; 1863.
- 55. Тарханов И.Р. О психомоторных центрах и развитии их у человека и животных. СПб.: Л.Ф. Пантелеев; 1879.
- Феноменов М.Я. Причины самоубийств в русской школе. М.: печатня А. Снегиревой; 1914.
- 57. Фронтковский Н.И. К вопросу о патолого-анатомических изменениях в яичниках у животных при отравлении этиловым алкоголем. Диссертация на степень доктора медицины. СПб.: «Владимирская» паровая типо-литография Мордуховского; 1901.
- 58. Хлопин Г.В. Самоубийства, покушения на самоубийства и несчастные случаи среди учащихся русских учебных заведений. Санитарно-статистическое исследование. СПб.: Сенатская типография; 1906.
- Челышов М.Д. Речи М.Д. Челышова, произнесенные в Третьей Государственной Думе о необходимости борьбы с пьянством и по другим вопросам. СПб.; 1912.
- Шереги Ф. Э. Социология девиации: монография.
 М.: Юрайт; 2019.
- 61. Шилов А. Кружок деятелей по борьбе со школьным алкоголизмом в Москве. М.: Типография В.И. Воронова; 1914.
- 62. Эммингауз Г. Психические расстройства в детском возрасте. (Die psychischen Storungen im Kindesalter). Перевод с немецкого. СПб.: Л. Ф. Пантелеев; 1890.
- 63. Эрисман Ф.Ф. Влияние алкоголя на детский организм и борьба с алкоголизмом среди молодежи. Вестник воспитания. 1897; 4: 120–50.
- 64. Якубович В.Ф. О пьянстве детей и о влиянии вина на детский организм. Публичная лекция, читанная 16 февраля 1893 г. в Санкт-Петербургском собрании врачей клиники. СПб.: Типография Б.М. Вольфа; 1894
- Grotjahn A. Der Alkoholismus, nach Wesen, Wirkung, und Verbreitung (Alcoholism, its Nature, Influence, and Distribution). Leipzig: Wigand; 1898.