

ALCOHOL CONSUMPTION AND THE SOBERNESS MOVEMENT OF RUTHENIANS OF BUKOVINA IN THEIR POLYETHNIC ENVIRONMENT IN THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19TH - EARLY 20TH CENTURIES

Borys SAVCHUK¹ , Maria OLIYNYK² ,

Ștefan PURICI³ , Halyna BILAVYCH¹ 

¹ Vasyl Stefanyk Precarpathian National University, Ivano-Frankivsk (Ukraine)

² Yuriy Fedkovych Chernivtsi National University (Ukraine)

³ Ștefan cel Mare University of Suceava (Romania)

E-mails: boris_savchuk@ukr.net, m.oliynyk@chnu.edu.ua,
stefanp@atlas.usv.ro, ifosuhcvas@gmail.com

Abstract: *The study considers the implications of alcohol production and use, as well as the evolution of the abstinence movement among the Ukrainian population of Bukovina in the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries in, a polyethnic context. The authors examined the state and local authorities' policies on alcoholic beverage marketing. The reactions of the Ruthenians in Bukovina to anti-alcohol campaigns that occurred among other ethnic groups in the region are explored.*

Keywords: *Bukovina, alcoholism, soberness movement, anti-alcohol struggle, Ruthenians, ethnic communities.*

Rezumat: *Consumul de alcool și mișcarea de abținere la rutenii din Bucovina în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX, în context multiethnic. Studiul abordează problema consumului de alcool și afirmarea mișcării de abținere în rândul populației ucrainene din Bucovina în a doua jumătate a secolului al XIX-lea – începutul secolului XX, în context multiethnic. Autorii analizează politica statului și autorităților locale în ceea ce privește comercializarea băuturilor alcoolice. Sunt prezentate reacțiile rutenilor bucovineni în contextul mișcărilor de combatere a alcoolismului ce s-au manifestat la nivelul celorlalte grupuri etnice din Bucovina.*

INTRODUCTION

For almost ten thousand years, the production and consumption of strong beverages have accompanied the development of human civilisation. The first indication of enzyme drink production dates back to 10, 000 BC.¹ This has become a global issue. It has an impact on every aspect of society and each individual manifesting itself in their worldview, social status, lifestyle, psychophysiological state, etc.

Alcohol is an important source of filling the state budget, but it does not always lead to a balanced policy between stimulating its production and limiting consumption. Alcohol products have frequently been and continue to be a source of enrichment for various types of entrepreneurs, traders, intermediaries, for whom the health of the nation and youth are secondary issues. Under such conditions, civil society through voluntary associations, church institutions, cultural figures and activists has taken the initiative and mobilized the healthy forces of society to struggle against alcoholism, which has disintegrated it from within, bringing economic, moral, and physical degradation.

Among the positions mentioned, a historical experience of alcohol production and consumption by the population of Bukovina in the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries and the deployment of the fight against this social disaster are of particular interest. It is unique due to the polyethnic composition of the region, where Ruthenians, Romanians, Germans, Jews, Poles played different roles in the production and consumption of alcohol. At the same time, the anti-alcohol movement in Bukovina had much in common with other communities in Europe and around the world. Many occurrences and components detected in the evolution of the Bukovinian abstinence movement can be found in the works of many Western European researchers. For example, Christopher C. H. Cook, an English researcher, studied the dynamics of changes in public awareness and Christian ethics in respect to views about alcoholism, incontinence, and alcohol addiction.² Equally interesting is Gretchen Pierce's study of the resistance of the Mexican population in the early 20th century against anti-alcohol campaigns. In about the same sense, analyzing the most socially positive aspects

¹ Charles H. Patrick, *Alcohol, Culture, and Society*, Duke University Press (reprint edition by AMS Press, New York, 1970), 1952, p. 26–27.

² Christopher C. H. Cook, *Alcohol, Addiction and Christian Ethics*, New York Cambridge University Press, 2006, 221 p.

of alcohol consumption, the authors of a collection published under the supervision of Mack P. Holt discuss the issue of alcohol. However, Iain Gately takes a more systematic approach to the problem, pointing to both the positive aspects of drinking and the negative impact of alcohol on communities, families, the economy, etc. At the same time, he examines how certain governments have managed to establish control over the production, sale and consumption of alcohol in the last two centuries. Thorough work on the issue of alcohol in tsar Russia wrote Boris M. Segal, with some comparisons on the same phenomenon in Irish society.³

The *historiography* of the alcohol production problem and the development of the abstinence movement in Bukovina is not very rich. Among the generalizing works of the past in Bukovina, we note the fundamental studies on the history of the Habsburg monarchy⁴, which outline the social background of alcohol policy and the abstinence movement. Studies by Austrian, Polish, Romanian, and Ukrainian authors give an idea of the demographic and sociocultural development of the polyethnic population of Bukovina⁵ and the formation of civil society in the

³ Boris M. Segal, *Russian Drinking. Use and Abuse of Alcohol in Pre-Revolutionary Russia*, New Brunswick – New Jersey, Rutgers Center of Alcohol Studies, 1987, 383 p.

⁴ A.J.P. Taylor, *The Habsburg Monarchy 1815-1918*, London, Macmillan and Co., 1942, 315 p.; Robert A. Kann, David V. Zdeněk, *The Peoples of the Eastern Habsburg Lands, 1526-1918*, Seattle – London, University of Washington Press, 1984, 559 p.

⁵ L. A. Simiginowicz-Staufe, *Die Völkergruppen der Bukowina*, Czernowitz, 1884, 203 s.; G. Kupchanko, *Bukovina i yei russkiye zhiteli*, [Bukovina and its Russian inhabitants], Viden', Prosvishcheniye, 1895, 53 c.; R. F. Kaindl, *Geschichte der Bukowina von den ältesten Zeiten bis zur Gegenwart*. Drei Teille in einem Band. Czernowitz, Buchhandlung von R. Eckhardt, 1904, 154 s.; O. M. Żukowski, *Bukowina pod względem topograficznym, statystycznym i historycznym ze szczególnym uwzględnieniem żywiołu polskiego* [Bukovina in terms of topography, statistics and history, with particular emphasis on the Polish element], Czerniowce-Lwów, 1914, 145 s.; H. M. Skoreyko, *Naselennya Bukovyny za avstriys'kymy uryadovymy perepysamy druhoi polovyny XIX – pochatku XX st.: istoriko-demohrafichnyy narys* [The population of Bukovina according to the Austrian government censuses of the second half of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century: historical and demographic essay], Chernivtsi, Prut, 2002, 220 s.; H. K. Kozholyanko, *Etnohrafiya Bukoviny u 3-kh t.* [Ethnography of Bukovina in 3 volumes], Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 1999. T. 1. 384 s., 2001. T. 2. 424 s., 2004. T. 3. 392 s.; Mihai-Ştefan Ceaşu, *Parlamentarism, partide şi elită politică în Bucovina habsburgică (1848-1918). Contribuţii la istoria parlamentarismului în spaţiul central-est european* [Parliamentarism, parties and political elite in Habsburg Bukovina (1848-1918). Contributions to the history of parliamentarism in Central and Eastern Europe], Iaşi, Editura Junimea, 2004, 605 p.; Constantin Ungureanu, *Bucovina în perioada stăpânirii*

region⁶. The nature and trends of alcohol policy⁷ and the ideological and organizational foundations of the anti-alcohol movement in Europe, the world and individual countries⁸ have also been reflected in scientific research. They outline the European context of the abstinence movement in Bukovina in the second half of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries, which was reflected in the works of V. Botushanskyi, B. Savchuk, and I. Poberezhnyk.⁹ Given that human

austriece: (1774-1918): aspecte etnodemografice și confesionale [Bukovina during the Austrian rule: (1774-1918): ethnodemographic and confessional aspects], Chișinău, Editura Civitas, 2003, 304 p.

⁶ K.V. Valyavs'ka, *Svit's'ke zhyttia Bukovyny: sotsial'nyy ta kul'turnyy prostir (1848 – 1914)* [Social life of Bukovina: social and cultural space (1848 - 1914)], Chernivtsi, 2016, 355 s.; A. I. Horuk, *Natsional'no-kul'turnyy rukh polyakiv na Bukovyni (druha polovyna XIX st. – 1914 r.)* [National and cultural movement of Poles in Bukovina (second half of the 19th century - 1914)], Chernivtsi: Zelena Bukovyna, 2005, 240 s.; O.V. Dobrzhans'kyy, *Natsional'nyy rukh ukrayintsiv Bukovyny druhoyi polovyny XIX – pochatku XX st.* [The national movement of Ukrainians in Bukovina in the second half of the 19th – early 20th centuries], Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 1999, 574 s.; Marian Olaru, *Mișcarea națională a românilor din Bucovina la sfârșitul secolului al XIX-lea și începutul secolului al XX-lea* [The national movement of Romanians in Bucovina at the end of the 19th century and the beginning of the 20th century], Rădăuți, Editura Septentrion, 2002, 254 p.; O. Dobrzhans'kyy, N. Masiyan, M. Nykyrsa, *Natsiyyi ta narodnosti Bukovyny u fondakh Derzhavnogo arkhivu Chernivets'koyi oblasti (1775 - 1940)* [Nations and nationalities of Bukovina in the funds of the State Archives of Chernivtsi region (1775 - 1940)], Chernivtsi, “Zoloti lytavry”, 2003, 172 s.; S. Osachuk, *Nimtsi Bukovyny. Istoriya tovarys'koho rukhu (druha polovyna XIX – pochatok XX st.)* [Germans of Bukovina. History of the Associative Movement (second half of the 19th -beginning of the 20th century)], Chernivtsi, Zoloti lytavry, 2002, 288 s.

⁷ K. Bruun, G. Edwards, *Alcohol Control Policies in Public health Perspective*, Lumio-Helsinki, 1975, 106 p.; G. Edwards, P. Anderson, T. Babor, *Alcohol Policy and the Public Good*, Oxford, 1994, 316 p.; D. A. Parker, J. A. Brody, *Risk Factors for Alcoholism and Alcohol Problems among Employed Women and Men*, in National Institute on Alcohol Abuse and Alcoholism. Research Monograph No. 8: *Occupational Alcoholism. A Review of Research Issues*, Rockville (MD), 1982, p. 99–127.

⁸ E. Osterberg, T. Karlsson, *Alcohol Policies in EU Member State and Norway. A Collection of Country Report*, Helsinki, 2002, 76 p.; Yu. Ye. Rozvadskiy, *Alkogol'naya politika v yevropeyskoy perspective* [Alcohol Policy in the European Perspective], in “Zhurnal Grodnenskogo meditsinskogo universiteta”, 2005, № 1, p. 21-24.

⁹ V. Botushans'kyy, *Z istoriyi rukhu tverezosti ta antyalkohol'noyi borot'by na Bukovyni (70-ti rr. XIX – pochatok XX st.)* [From the history of the movement of abstinence and anti-alcohol struggle in Bukovina (The 70s of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century)], in “Naukovyy visnyk Chernivets'koho universytetu”, 2010, Vyp. 514-515, p. 28-36; B.

health is one of the main issues of modern public policy, and that the attitude of civil society towards specific social problems, as well as government measures to address them, are relevant in modern democracies, a study of the Bukovinian community in this regard is both relevant and necessary.

The purpose of the study is to clarify the problem of production and consumption of alcohol as well as the development of the abstinence movement among the Ruthenians of Bukovina in the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries by comparing it to the experience of other ethnonational communities in the region.

Chronologically, the study covers the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries, a relatively holistic period in the development of alcohol policy and the abstinence movement in Bukovina, which corresponds to similar common European processes and the nature of the region's socio-political development. The conditional lower limit is 1848 when the right of propination was abolished, causing qualitative changes in the production and use of alcohol; the conditional upper limit is 1914, when the First World War broke out, causing fundamental changes in Bukovina's development.

PRECONDITIONS AND FACTORS FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF PRODUCTION AND CONSUMPTION OF ALCOHOL AND THE ABSTINENCE MOVEMENT

The nature of alcohol production and consumption and the development of the abstinence movement in Bukovina were determined by three groups of factors: a) ethnonational structure of the population; b) its socio-economic situation; c) traditional and everyday culture of ethnic communities.

Savchuk, *Korchma: alkohol'na polityka i rukh tverezosti v Zakhidniy Ukrayini u XIX – 30-kh rr. XX st.* [Saloon: alcohol policy and abstinence movement in Western Ukraine in the 19th – the 30s of the 20th century], Ivano-Frankivs'k, Lileya-NV, 2001, 246 s.; I. Poberezhnyk, *Rol' ta mistse alkohol'nykh napoyiv u pobuti ukrayintsiy Bukovyny (druha polovyna XIX – pochatok XX st.)* [The role and place of alcoholic beverages in the life of Ukrainians in Bukovina (second half of the 19th - beginning of the 20th century)] *Pytannya starodavn'oyi ta seredn'ovichnoyi istoriyi, arkheolohiyi y etnolohiyi : zb. nauk. pr.*, Chernivtsi, 2009, T. 2, p. 217-227.

Table 1. The role and place of ethnonational communities in the structure of Bukovina's material production, service and management (data for 1910 in absolute numbers and percentages)¹⁰

Spoken language / Field of employment	German*	Polish	Ruthenian	Romanian	Hungarian	Other
Agriculture and forestry	19732 6,01%	5610 1,71%	156989 47,85%	139831 42,62%	5862 1,79%	76 0,02%
Industry and craft	16739 53,63%	4683 15,00%	5346 17,12%	4289 13,74%	25 0,08%	128 0,41%
Trade and transport	18035 67,92%	2075 7,81%	4001 15,07%	2328 8,77%	30 0,11%	83 0,31%
Free professions and the military	14403 38,78%	3420 9,21%	9504 25,59%	9431 25,40%	116 0,31%	261 0,70%

Members of social categories that labour in difficult conditions and earn lower pay seem to be the most predisposed to alcoholic beverage use. In this regard, the main sources of income for most of the Bukovina population were agriculture and livestock breeding. However, the proportion of people employed in these fields varied greatly between ethnic groups. For example, if 28.63 per cent of the German-speaking community worked in agriculture, livestock farming, or forestry, this group of employees accounted for 35.53 per cent of Poles, 89.28 per cent of Ukrainians, and 89.70 per cent of Romanians, respectively. The low economic and social status of Ruthenians and Romanians had a corresponding effect on the nature of their alcohol intake.

On the other hand, the communities with greater craft and trade power (Germans, Jews, and Poles) naturally dominated the production and sale of alcohol. Jews monopolized small intermediary trade, including alcohol, as early as the 1920s, and began to influence its production as entrepreneurs and tenants. The Germans contributed to the development of brewing in the region as owners and workers of companies. They occupied leading positions in the trade and consumption of beer.¹¹

As can be seen, despite having a relatively small share in the structure of the region's population (34.7%), representatives of the three communities (Germans, Jews, Poles) made up an absolute majority in the financial institutions

¹⁰ *Berufsstatistik nach den Ergebnissen der Volkszählung vom 31. Dezember 1910 in Österreich*. 10. Heft des Dritten Bandes der Volkszählungsergebnisse. *Galizien und Bukowina*, Wien, Der k.-k. Hof- und Staatsdruckerei, 1916, S. 223-224.

* Including Jews.

¹¹ O. Dobrzahans'kyy, N. Masiyan, M. Nykyrsa, *op. cit.*, p. 43-44; B. Savchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 32-40.

and public administration, local government and law enforcement. Thus, at the regional level, they were in charge of regulating anti-alcohol legislation, as well as controlling the production and trade of alcohol, which had a significant impact on the level of consumption.

When scientists examined the problem of alcohol consumption in *European historical retrospect*, they identified an interesting pattern: the lower the economic position and social status of certain segments of the population, the higher the prevalence of alcoholism among them. Low-income people are more likely to consume strong beverages (vodka, rum, "braga"), often of dubious quality. They are more harmful to health and stimulate alcoholism more than wine and beer. The consumption of "premium" alcohol and a postmodern lifestyle were more common among urban residents than among villagers.¹²

Thus, the ethno-social structure of the Bukovina population clearly outlines the main "producers" and "consumers" of alcoholic beverages, as well as potential "performers" of the abstinence campaign.

The cultural traditions, customs, and mentality of the ethnonational communities of Bukovina had a significant influence on alcohol consumption and stimulated or restrained the spread of alcoholism.

Historical and ethnographic studies¹³ testify to the high prevalence of alcoholic beverages, especially vodka, in the Ruthenians of Bukovina's way of living, customs, life, folk art, family (wedding, baptismal, burial and funeral) and calendar rites. The journal *Russkaya Pravda* portrayed this reality through the perspective of their beliefs. The region's strong devotion to alcohol is evident at every opportunity: with "bad food" (digestion); at the birth of a child; during engagements, weddings, baptisms, funerals; at the beginning and completion of household chores (ploughing, sowing, mowing, threshing); when building houses, barns, digging wells; at sale and purchase; when sent to the army, to earn money; when entertaining guests; for every holiday and entertainment; with love and settling quarrels; for the treatment of various diseases; in elections to the public council, regional parliament; on any other occasion or without a cause.¹⁴

¹² S. Klimova, *Alkogolizm: obydenyye teorii. Sotsial'naya real'nost'* [Alcoholism: Ordinary Theories. Social reality], in "Sotsial'naya real'nost'", 2007, No. 2, p. 34, in: <http://corp.fom.ru/uploads/socreal/post-225.pdf>

¹³ T. Hontar, *Narodne kharchuvannya ukrayintsiv Karpat* [Folk food of Ukrainians in the Carpathians], Kyiv, Naukova dumka, 1979, 136 s.; R. F. Kaindl, *op. cit.*; H. K. Kozholyanko, *op. cit.*; G. Kupchanko, *Horilka, abo yako vylechyt-sya ot p'yanstva* [Vodka, or how to cure alcoholism]. Viden', 1889, 16 s.

¹⁴ "Russkaya pravda", Viden', 1888, 1 lystopada.

Alcoholic beverages have become an important part of the Ruthenians' everyday lives; therefore, this condition has profound ethnocultural origins. Alcohol was a medium of social contact and a companion to all public and private matters in their minds, reflecting folk art. They testified that "bad luck" often excused alcoholism as a "temporary" occurrence, but that it was condemned if it threatened health, property preservation, or productive labour.

Along with the ethnonational structure and ethnocultural traditions, the third important factor influencing the level of alcohol consumption and the development of the abstinence movement was the *alcohol policy*. Scientists consider it as a set of legal, economic and physiological factors that determine the availability of alcohol to the individual as well as society's response to the losses caused by alcohol. In both cases, it provides for legislative control over the availability of alcohol (state monopoly, taxes), measures to reduce demand (education, propaganda) and dealing with the effects of its consumption (alcoholism, crime).¹⁵

From the medieval order to a capitalist market with free competition, the Habsburg monarchy's alcohol policy underwent a complex evolution. Propination was linked to its characteristics in Bukovina. This phenomenon occurred in the 16th – 18th centuries because of the landowners' customary monopoly right to produce vodka and beer on their estates. Alcohol products were forcibly distributed among the peasants, or for whom they worked in serfdom, or bought, and therefore consumed this "essential product".¹⁶

According to the decree on the abolition of serfdom on September 7, 1848, the practice of forcibly purchasing vodka and beer by peasants was abolished, but the right to produce and sell them remained unresolved, allowing the former propinators to make further profits. In 1868, the Bukovinian Propination Committee was formed to address the problem. In May 1876, a regional law was approved in response to its request, abolishing the right of propination for ransom. Alcohol production was declared a "free occupation", it could be sold by small traders in the "propination territories" assigned to them¹⁷.

According to the regional law of 1885, the term of redemption of the

¹⁵ G. Edwards, P. Anderson, T. Babor, *op. cit.*; E. Osterberg, T. Karlsson, *op. cit.*

¹⁶ I. Franko, *Shcho to bula panshchyna* [What was serfdom], in *Zibrannya tvoriv u 50 t.*, T. 44, Kn. 2, p. 495-500.

¹⁷ Derzhavnyy arkhiv Chernivets'koyi oblasti [State Archives of Chernivtsi Oblast] (hereinafter – DACHO), Fond 3, Inv. 1, File 5178, s. 6-8.

propination right was set until January 1911.¹⁸ Thus, the production and trade of alcohol began to be regulated by industrial law, and the exclusive right to carry out this activity was passed to the regional government and large cities. Alcohol production was only permitted from April to October, and only during specific hours, according to laws enacted in 1891, 1905, and 1909. It was to be served in glass containers and consumed on the spot in the taverns, while retailers sold the goods for consumption at home.¹⁹

Giving cities the right to produce and sell alcohol and introduce taxes for individuals engaged in this business has been in effect since the end of the 18th century and was finally settled in 1876.²⁰ The size of these taxes was different and increased over time: in Chernivtsi in 1872 one hectolitre of vodka cost 11.5 gold coins; beer – 1.66 gold coins, rum and other beverages were 14-15 gold coins. These figures increased by one-and-a-half times in 1884.²¹ For example, in the city of Suceava one hectolitre of vodka brought to the city treasury 16 kreutsers, while a hectolitre of beer cost 1.7 guilders²²; in Radovka, vodka was taxed at the rate of 5/13 kreutsers, and a hectolitre of beer cost 83 kreutsers.²³

Taxes on the production and sale of alcohol were an important source of revenue for the regional budget. The increase in demand led to an increase in their volumes i.e. from vodka of 15 million crowns in 1880 to 71 million in 1900 and 94 million - in 1910, from beer, respectively, from 42 million to 78 million and 86 million crowns.²⁴

THE GROWTH OF STRONG DRINKS CONSUMPTION AND THE ALCOHOLISM SPREAD

According to source research, the increase in alcohol sales profits was due to increased consumption rather than increased taxes on its sale. The governing bodies had no intention to cut this source of revenue that was filling the state and

¹⁸ *Ibid.*, s. 26-28.

¹⁹ *Perevorot v gostinno-shinkars'kim promislí*, in "Dílo", 1909, 24 grudnya.

²⁰ *Dnevnik zakonov i razporyazheníy dlya gertsogstva Bukoviny. Rochnik 1876*, Chernovtsy, Pechatnya Eckhardt, 1876, p. 7-8.

²¹ *Dnevnik zakonov i razporyazheníy dlya gertsogstva Bukoviny. Rochnik 1884*, Chernovtsy: Pechatnya Eckhardt, 1884, p. 59.

²² *Dnevnik zakonov i razporyazheníy dlya gertsogstva Bukoviny. Rochnik 1876*, p. 120.

²³ *Ibid.*, p. 3-4.

²⁴ *Yak zrostayut' narodni tyahari* [How people's burdens grow], "Borba. Ukrayins'kyi sotsial-demokratychnyy robitnychyy orhan", 1911, № 13, s. 7.

regional budgets. According to the statistics, from 1850 to 1854, 32 distilleries in Bukovina produced 24 gallons of alcohol per year (a gallon was 4.54 litres), and from 1910 to 1912, 66 distilleries produced 74 thousand gallons per year. During this period, the region's population grew by 1.4 times, and alcohol consumption by 2.3 times, reaching 8.9 litres of pure alcohol or 22.2 litres of 40-degree vodka per capita, including children and elderly people.²⁵

According to the international classification, countries with a strict alcohol policy were classified as "alcoholic" (the consumption of strong drinks prevailed); countries with a medium level of control, primarily "beer," and countries with a low level of control, primarily "wine," were classified as "non-alcoholic."²⁶ Bukovina belonged to the first group, according to scientists, because per capita beer consumption was 8-12 litres, and wine was consumed from 1,5 - 2 litres²⁷. The data presented in Table 2 allow a comparison with the corresponding indicators in European countries.

Table 2. The alcoholic beverages consumption in European countries in the late 19th - early 20th century (in litres per capita)²⁸

Country / Type of alcohol	Vodka	Beer	Wine
Austria-Hungary	12,5	22	35
Belgium	12	169	4
Britain	8	22	145
Denmark	27	33	1
Italy	2	1	95
Germany	13	107	6
Russia	17	8	3
France	12	22	103
USA	8	47	3
Sweden	7	13	0,5

According to the aforementioned data, numerous European countries had greater total levels of alcohol consumption than Bukovina. The reality, however, is rather different. To begin with, vodka has more negative social effects and causes more psychophysiological harm to the human body than beer and wine. Secondly, official statistics do not accurately reflect reality. At the time, economists testified that "vile" vodka was sold at a higher rate than "good" 40-

²⁵ V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 29-30; B. Savchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 68-70.

²⁶ G. Edwards, *op. cit.*; Yu. E. Rozvadskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 21-22.

²⁷ V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*

²⁸ V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*; B. Savchuk, *op. cit.*

degree vodka. The bartenders utilized several "recipes" to produce the counterfeit, such as mixing up to 100 litres of vodka with the same quantity of lime, pepper, tobacco, etc.²⁹

According to current regulations, pubs are classified into three categories: specialized "vodka," "beer," and "wine". However, these norms, which regulated their type and relative size in respect to the population, had never been observed before. As a result, there were around 2.2-2.3 thousand similar institutions in Bukovina in the 1890s. According to official statistics published in the "Bukowinaer Rundschau", such an institution throughout Austria-Hungary accounted for an average of 259 persons in 1890, while in Bukovina it accounted for 296 inhabitants or 4,8 institutions per square kilometre.³⁰ This was 1.7 times higher than the officially established norms for cities and 2.7 times higher than the officially established norms for villages, where one saloon was to have, 500 and 800 inhabitants, respectively.

The amount of alcohol intake in certain locations and ethnic groups is not recorded in official data. However, acceptable estimates may be derived by comparing the number of different types of pubs in other communities' suitable residence areas. The highest concentration of pubs could be seen in regions where Rusyns predominated. According to police reports for 1904,³¹ in 24 villages of the Kitsman district (42.7 thousand population), there were 192 taverns selling vodka (89), beer (91) and wine (12)³², i.e. one establishment was for 222 people. The situation was similar in other counties of Rusyns' compact residence: Vyzhnytsya district had 130 saloons for 48.1 thousand inhabitants (one per 370 people), Chernivtsi had 413 for 106.5 thousand (one per 258) and Zastavna had 155 for 50.7 thousand³³ (one per 327 inhabitants).

Statistics show a high level of alcoholism in the region. In particular, in 1901 in Chernivtsi district there were 636 people addicted to alcohol, in Storozhynets there were 754 people, the third part of them were women. According to official data, there were 35-40 alcoholics per 1,000 people but participants in the Anti-Alcohol Conference in Chernivtsi (1901) recognized that the real figures were several times higher.³⁴

²⁹ V. Navrotskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 23-41.

³⁰ "Bukowinaer Rundschau", 24. April, 1892, S. 5.

³¹ DACHO, Fond 3, Inv. 2, File 21121, s. 18-280.

³² *Ibid.*

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 41.

Alcoholism, especially when combined with moneylending, caused the impoverishment of the Bukovina peasants. Many incidents are documented in the newspapers, such as when, due to "alcohol debt," they handed the saloonkeepers the harvested crops and food, all consumer goods, and even livestock.³⁵ Many peasants lived by the idea of "more to drink away than to earn," according to publicist M. Hrynyshyn, who wrote a feuilleton with the eloquent title "Twelve robbers of our Russian people."³⁶

The press published numerous facts when entire communities found themselves in poverty for several years because saloonkeepers appropriated land and entire estates "for sold vodka"³⁷. For example, in the village Nepolokivtsi of the Kitsman district, a Bloshnitser saloonkeeper demanded a "pair of good oxen" for a cheap "wedding home-made vodka" and immediately sold them at a fair in Chernivtsi for 150 gold coins, which is several times the cost of vodka³⁸. In Oshykhliby village, Kitsman district, which had the most affluent landlords among the surrounding villages, the situation changed with the opening of a tavern, which became the centre of public life. The amount of low-quality 32-34-degree alcohol beverage consumed by 1,800 residents of the community validates the tenant's lawsuit against the local saloonkeeper, R. Rosenzweig, who did not pay the full amount (2,156 crowns) for more than 4,000 litres of vodka delivered from January 1 to February 5, 1903. It turned out that she lent most of the drink, thus the ultimate consumer's price increased by 50 to 80 per cent, to 5 - 6 crowns³⁹.

Alcoholism has been one of the major contributors to Bukovina's deteriorating criminal condition. Attempts to generate money for vodka, as well as its excessive use, had become a major source of criminal, administrative, and immoral behaviour. In 1906, for instance, 65 per cent of criminal offences were committed by people under the influence of alcohol. Except for Sweden and the Netherlands (70-75 per cent), the United Kingdom and the United States (80-87 per cent), this figure remained lower in other European countries.⁴⁰

³⁵ I. Biletskyi, *Dopys z Chun'kova* [Post from Chunkov], in "Bukovyna", 1890, April 12.

³⁶ M. Grinishin, *Dvenadtsat' razboynikov nashogo russkogo naroda* [Twelve robbers of our Russian people], in "Selyanyin", 1896, № 5-6, p. 32.

³⁷ *Narod nash podnosytsya* [Our people are being rising], in "Bukovynski Vyedomosti", 1895, № 17, p. 4.

³⁸ D. Mlaka, *Staryy Les' Chornovol* [Old Les Chornovol], in "Bukovyna", 1901, № 29, p. 3.

³⁹ DACHO, Fond 115, Inv. 2, File 30141, s. 1-2.

⁴⁰ "Dilo", 1909, March 21; A. Tchaikovskiy, *Alkohol' i zakonodavstvo. Pershyy Ukrayins'kyi prosvitn'o-ekonomichnyy konhres (1 i 2 lyutoho 1909 r.). Protokoly i referaty* [Alcohol and legislation. The first Ukrainian educational and economic congress (February 1

Due to a lack of understanding about the negative effects of strong beverages on the human body, it was common practice in Bukovinian families even in the early twentieth century to give children vodka to "improve appetite", to calm down, in case of poisoning and other situations.⁴¹ Statistics showed a high degree of alcoholism among schoolchildren. For example, in one of the schools in Chernivtsi in 1909, 17 students were diagnosed as alcoholics.⁴²

Because of the growth of alcoholism, social tensions rose, and the Ruthenians of Bukovina launched a powerful sobriety campaign.

THE ANTI-ALCOHOL MOVEMENT EVOLUTION

The actions of different social and ethnonational performers who had a similar objective to minimize alcohol use and the detrimental effects of alcoholism characterised the abstinence movement in Bukovina in the second part of the nineteenth and early twentieth century. At the same time, they relied on various ideological principles and organizational forms, methods, and means of achieving it. The two main vectors of the fight against alcoholism are: 1) state-government, reflected in the official policy to control and limit the production, sale and use of alcohol; 2) social, public, with a multi-ethnic character and two branches, namely church, and religious and social.

Government officials of the Habsburg monarchy took measures to liberalize alcohol production and trade on a free-market basis, as well as increase control over its quality and use. It was manifested in the special law for Galicia and Bukovina adopted on July 19, 1877. It forbade "encouraging people to get drunk" in public places, inns (pubs), saloons and on the streets, to give vodka on credit if the consumer did not pay the previous debt. Those who were punished three times for alcoholism could be banned by the county authorities for attending alcoholic establishments during the year. Alcohol addicts faced a month in prison or a fine of 50 zlotys if they broke the legislation, while saloonkeepers faced license revocation.⁴³

and 2, 1909). Minutes and abstracts], Lviv, NTSh Printing House, 1910, p. 309.

⁴¹ B. Savchuk, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

⁴² V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 30-31.

⁴³ *Zakon z 19 lypanya 1877, kotorym vydayut-sya ustavy dlya vozderzhaniya piyanstva* [The law of July 19, 1877, which issued charters to refrain from alcoholism], in *Vestnyk Zakonov Derzhavnykh dlya Korolevstv y Krayev v Derzhavnoy Dumye zastuplenykh. Rochnyk 1877* [Bulletin of the Laws of the State for the Kingdom and Regions in the State Duma represented. The yearbook. 1877] Vyden', 1877, p. 131-133.

The government decrees of 1853, 1855, and 1858, issued in the aftermath of the abolition of the propagation right, established new regulations for the sale of alcohol and banned efforts to reinstate the order of its coercive sale.⁴⁴ The Imperial Law of 1881 prohibited the selling of alcoholic drinks after midnight, while ministerial decrees restricted the opening hours of pubs on Saturdays, Sundays, and holidays. A violation of the imperial law could result in a fine of up to 200 crowns or 14-day detention.⁴⁵

At the beginning of the 20th century, along with the regional administration, the Orthodox Church became an active factor in the fight against alcoholism, condemning this anti-social practice through priests⁴⁶. It should be noted that the Church has been involved in the anti-alcohol campaign since the mid-1970s when the Bukovina Metropolitan first sent a pastoral message against alcoholism to priests. Similarly, on March 24, 1902, the Council for the Cultural Land Presentation (Der Landeskulturrath) in Bukovina appealed to the Consistory to ask the priests to carry out explanatory work among the workers of various private institutions, so that they ensure that "their money earned in the sweat of their brow was not used for drinks..."⁴⁷

However, both the taverns visitors and their owners, sometimes even the authorities, ignored the implementation of these regulations. Under such circumstances, the main factor in the anti-alcohol struggle in Bukovina in the second half of the 19th - early 20th century was the abstinence social movement. It was not a holistic phenomenon. Its ecclesiastical and religious and social streams evolved separately. Ethnic communities also acted separately for various religious, mental, and other reasons.

The first organizational and ideological model of abstinence societies appeared in the United States in the early 19th century in the form of a mass reform movement, which involved various social, ethnic, religious, women organizations.⁴⁸ The American Temperance Society, formed in Boston in 1826,

⁴⁴ *Landesregierungs blatt für das Herzogtum Bukowina. Zweite Abteilung. Jahrgang, 1858.* S. 20-21.

⁴⁵ V. Botushanskyi, *op. cit.*, p. 48.

⁴⁶ *Foaia Ordinăciunilor Consistoriului arhiepiscopesc în afacerile Archiepiscopiei ortodoxe-orientale a Bucovinei. Anul 1902* [Sheet of Ordinances of the Archbishop's Consistory in the affairs of the Eastern Orthodox Archdiocese of Bukovina. The year 1902], Cernăuți, Societatea tipografică bucovineană în Cernăuți, 1903, p. 4.

⁴⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 27-28.

⁴⁸ Anthony Dias Blue, *The Complete Book of Spirits: A Guide to Their History, Production, and Enjoyment*, New York, William Morrow Cookbooks, 2004, p. 23.

was a significant part of the second wave of this movement. It has grown to 5,000 basic organizations with over 1 million members in its eight years of operation. It advocated for limited and moderate alcohol intake, as well as total abstinence. Meetings and protests in favour of abstinence, the establishment of non-alcoholic grocery shops, saloons, so-called abstinence houses, the distribution of pertinent information, and so on were the major forms and means of action.⁴⁹

At the same time, following the North American experience and developing their own ideological and organizational models, the first abstinence associations developed in Western Europe, in particular in Scotland (1826) and Switzerland (1837), and then in Norway (1850), Germany (1883), France (1895), Poland (1902) and other countries. They created extensive organizational structures, attracted tens of thousands of supporters and sought effective models for fighting alcoholism, such as Public Coffee-Houses in England and others.⁵⁰

These models of the abstinence movement, adapted to local realities, were implemented in Bukovina. Its official coordinating and controlling centre was the Austrian Society for Fighting Alcoholism (1884). On behalf of its leadership, ethnographer and public figure Grigoriy Kupchanko developed in 1890 a distinct charter of abstinence societies for the Ukrainians in the Duchy of Bukovina. Their goal was to organize a resolute struggle against the alcoholism spread and its eradication through mass educational work such as speeches, dialogues, and readings about the risks of alcohol and the benefits of abstinence, the organization of non-alcoholic public events, etc.⁵¹

The abstinence movement of the Ruthenians of Bukovina gradually acquired a mass character. The abstinence movement of the Bukovinian Ruthenians evolved in two stages: the first, from the 1870s to the 1880s, when its main organizer was the clergy, who introduced church-religious forms of work; and the second, from the 1890s to the beginning of the 20th century, when the leadership in the anti-alcohol struggle shifted to social factors and acquired socio-political implications.

During the first stage, the abstinence society in rural reading rooms was founded by priests in the mid-70s of the nineteenth century as the major focus of anti-alcohol efforts. In the 1890s, they reached their peak through cooperation

⁴⁹ *Ibid.*, p. 45-50.

⁵⁰ James Samuelson, *The History of Drink. A review, social, scientific, and political*. Second Edition, London, 1880, pp. 115, 155-157.

⁵¹ *Ustav Obshchestva tverezosty* [Statutes of the Abstinence Society], in "Russkaya pravda", 1890, № 10, p. 69-70.

with church abstinence fellowships. The main condition for joining them was to take an oath of abstinence for "moderate use" or "complete abstinence" from alcohol for 1-2 years or the rest of the life. The names of those who took the oath were recorded in the "Books of abstinence."⁵²

The main forms and means of action for abstinence fraternities were collective readings and distribution of anti-alcohol literature; propaganda and organization of public events in the form of non-alcoholic church and family holidays, ceremonies, weddings, baptisms, funerals, temple holidays, other family and public celebrations, etc. In the 80s - 90s of the 19th century in Bukovina, abstinence missions became widespread, culminating in acts of "vodka burial" and the establishment of abstinence crosses with inscriptions such as "The Cross defeated paganism - the Cross defeated alcoholism", etc.

A unique phenomenon in the anti-alcohol movement of Bukovina was the activity of the so-called abstinence apostles, who were travelling through cities and villages, spreading anti-alcohol propaganda. The journals and other sources recorded their most famous names: "the preacher of abstinence from Magala Stefan Sainchuk", "the apostle Timush (Vlasiy) was from Putyliv", "Phoma from the mountains", "the prophetess girl Olena Yuriychuk from Hlynysia" and others. They condemned alcoholism, smoking, immorality, and theft in their sermons and encouraged faith and fasting. These "apostles" had a powerful influence on the believers.⁵³

However, in the early 90s of the 19th century, the clergy-led abstinence movement in Bukovina entered a stage of stagnation. It had its beginnings. Peasants accustomed to the traditional way of life were not ready to completely give up alcohol, and the principles of restraint and moderation of its use did not gain popularity. The "sobering up" of dozens of communities has led to a reduction in alcohol consumption, which has provoked strong opposition from barkeepers and tenants. Under such circumstances in the mid-90s of the 19th - early 20th century the abstinence social stream began to dominate. It took the form of public

⁵² DACHO, Fond 3, Inv. 1, File 6041, s. 1-9.

⁵³ A. Manastyrsky, *O nishchite (bednote) nashego naroda. Moim brat'yam-selyanam* [About the poverty of our people. To my peasant brothers], Chernivtsi, 1894, p. 9; B. P. Savchuk, G. V. Bilavich, *Fenomen dvizheniya trezvosti v Bukovine i Khotinskoy uyezde Bessarabskoy gubernii vo vtoroy polovine XIX – nachale XX v.: yevroatlanticheskaya, rusinskaya, rossiyskaya modeli* [The phenomenon of the sobriety movement in Bukovina and the Khotyn district of the Bessarabian guberniya in the second half of the 19th - early 20th centuries: Euro-Atlantic, Ruthenian, Russian models], in "Rusin", 2021, No. 63, p. 66-67.

gatherings at which people adopted resolutions and petitions to the authorities, requesting that the taverns' activities be regulated, limited, or banned. Such actions often achieved their goals such as stopping the landowner Edler von Horowitz from building a distillery in the village of Horishni Sherivtsi of Chernivtsi district because it was erected fewer than 100 metres from the school and church, which contradicted the existing legislation.⁵⁴

The periodical press had an important role in the development of the abstinence movement in Bukovina, as it kept the public informed about its progress and shaped public opinion regarding alcohol as an "eternal enemy" who causes great moral, physical and material damage to the Ruthenians. Such materials are found in almost every issue of the journals "Russkaya Pravda" (Vienna, 1888-1892), "Dobri Rady", "Bukovinski Vedomosti", as well as the newspaper "Bukovyna" (1885-1914) and others. Despite ideological differences, they had a common "anti-alcohol credo". Its essence is conveyed by the editorial "Peasant Trouble" in the "Bukovynian Vidomosti" of March 19, 1895: "Vodka kills far more people than wars and diseases"; the priest and the conscious peasant, with the help of the authorities, must act together against the taverns as "nurseries of alcoholism, debauchery and crime".

In Bukovina, there was a general European tendency that the degree of alcohol consumption and the character of the anti-alcohol battle were primarily dictated by the ethnic-social structure of the people. The emergence of salon culture in the form of carnivals, balls, parties, and other social entertainments is documented in depth in studies of social life in the socio-cultural area of Bukovina in the second half of the nineteenth century and early twentieth century. They were accompanied by the consumption of gourmet drinks as wine, cognac, champagne in restaurants, cafes and private homes.⁵⁵

There was a clear ethical attitude toward moderate alcohol consumption in the multi-ethnic environment of the Bukovinian elite, which included governmental officials, bureaucrats, landowners, businessmen, bankers, military officers, doctors, and lawyers of Romanian, German, Jewish, and Polish nationalities. The misconduct it caused was considered obscene and subject to public condemnation.

The type and orientation of the anti-alcohol actions of the German and Polish populations of Bukovina were conditioned by imitation of the content, forms, and tactics that grew prevalent in their ethnic areas. The issue of alcohol's

⁵⁴ DACHO, Fond 3, Inv. 2, File 23670, s. 32-35.

⁵⁵ K. V. Valyavska, *op. cit.*

social and physiological effects became particularly significant in Kaiser's Germany at the end of the nineteenth century. Although the beer rituals of student youth remained an important step in the career path, there was a growing dislike for alcohol consumption among the upper strata of society. The public speeches of William II about the dangers of alcohol to the nation's health and power had a considerable impact on the situation. This idea was picked up and began to be popularized by the Social Democrats under the slogan: "Schnapps is a plague for the working class."⁵⁶

These trends influenced the actions of German students in Bukovina, who shared social democratic ideas. Thus, after a series of public anti-alcohol speeches, the participants of the First Congress of German Socialist Students of Bukovina on May 2, 1903, decided that the academic youth of the region were "convinced of the alcohol consumption harmfulness" and therefore supported the idea. It was to become a platform for the creation of the "All-Bukovina Anti-Alcohol Union", which would consolidate all the healthy forces of the region to struggle against alcoholism.⁵⁷

The "Volkspreste" newspaper became the main tribune of anti-alcohol propaganda of the Germans of Bukovina. In the editorial "Down with alcoholism!" On March 24, 1906, a project for the creation of abstinence unions was announced, which would unite different age and social strata of the German and other communities in the region. An appeal "Proletarian parents! Mothers! Don't give your children a drop of alcohol!" published on the front page of a magazine dated August 29, 1908, explained the harmful effects on the human body. The struggle of German deputies on the Chernivtsi City Council to close and limit the activity of taverns in the city, as well as their successes, were reported in its columns.⁵⁸

The abstinence idea was actively promoted by the German-language journal "Czernowitzer Zeitung". Its pages published translations into German of works by the Russian writer Lev Tolstoy on anti-alcohol issues and the experience of anti-alcohol activities in various countries.⁵⁹

The first signs of the negative effects of alcoholism at the level of the Romanian community can be seen in the annual calendars published in the mid of 19th century. For example, in the Calendar for Bukovina for 1844, an article about

⁵⁶ R. Hoffrogge, *op. cit.*

⁵⁷ "Volkspreste", 1903, 2. Mai.

⁵⁸ "Volkspreste", 1908, 24. März; 29. August; 1909, 6. November.

⁵⁹ "Czernowitzer Zeitung", 1889, 14. November.

*Brandy Dragon*⁶⁰ described the lithograph of Johann Ludwig Schmidt (1791-1854), in which a two-headed dragon devours rye with one head and wood with the other, and vodka flows from its tail. Individuals who feed the dragon everything they need are next to it, and another category of people who are victims of alcoholism and even commit suicide. Anti-alcohol propaganda was carried out in Romanian communities in the same way that it was carried out in Ukrainian communities, and many men in the church made an oath to abstain from alcohol in front of a barrel of vodka. At the end of the ceremony, the priest cursed the barrel, which was buried deep in the ground and a cross was placed over the place, which read: "in memory of the refusal to drink vodka."⁶¹

Considering the small size and social composition of the Polish minority in Bukovina, there was probably no need to create separate anti-alcohol institutions. Therefore, active educational activities in this direction were carried out by its national and cultural societies. An important reason for this was the concentration of Poles in Chernivtsi (in 1910 there were 15 thousand people) and in several other cities of the region. Government officials, bureaucrats, technical and humanitarian intellectuals, merchants, entrepreneurs, clergy, landowners and artisans played a significant role in the social structure of the Polish minority, so its intellectual, organizational, and financial potential differed significantly from that of the Ruthenians.

The promotion of a healthy lifestyle, which included limitation of alcohol use and smoking cessation, resonated with the national-patriotic rhetoric of cultural, educational, and charitable activities in Polish society. Its main slogans were to be a "real Pole", to have "Polish pride" and were in line with abstinence. The "Sokil" gymnastics society and the "Gartezhi" scout organization operated on its basis. Summer camps were organized for their members, youngsters acquired views toward a healthy lifestyle and regular gymnastics and sports.⁶²

The multi-ethnic anti-alcohol movement in Bukovina revealed a situation similar to other multicultural environments in Europe, when representatives of different communities communicated closely in the domestic sphere, with saloons

⁶⁰ *Balaurul holerchei* [Brandy Dragon], in "Calendar pentru Bucovina pe anul 1844", Cernăuți, 1843, p. 38.

⁶¹ Paul Brașcanu, *Gheorghe Boncheș, un țăran dornean în Dieta Bucovinei* [Gheorghe Boncheș, a peasant from Dorna in the Bukovina Diet], in "Monitorul de Dorna", 3 aprilie 2016, <http://www.monitoruldedorna.ro/?p=175409> (Accessed on 03 March 2021).

⁶² *Sprawozdanie wydziału polskiego towarzystwa gimnastycznego "Sokół" w Czerniowcach za rok 1909*, Czerniowce, Nakładem towarzystwa, 1910, p. 8-10.

and taverns creating a particularly favourable atmosphere. The authorities' position became a deciding factor in coordinating their anti-alcohol measures. As an example, we note the initiative of the All-Bukovinian Teachers' Conference (August 1895) to establish a regional society, which was to unite the public of the region to fight alcohol. Its decrees emphasized the need to prohibit students from participating in alcohol-related activities; strengthening anti-alcohol awareness in the educational process and in working with parents; and increasing the publication of anti-alcohol literature, etc.⁶³

The tribune to European forums was actively used to protect activists of the abstinence movement in Bukovina from persecution. Thus, 3,000 participants in the Austrian Agricultural Congress, held on November 14, 1897, in Vienna, at the request of a delegate from the region T. Prunkul approved an appeal to the government to stop the pressure on priests and activists fighting alcoholism in Bukovina.⁶⁴

The tribune of the Vienna parliament was also used in this role. In November 1894, the protest of the deputy from Bukovina, Dr Ioan Zurkan, against the dozens of shameful facts of the participants' dispersal, who were to take abstinence oaths, got widespread support throughout the Habsburg monarchy. Similar accusations of alcohol abuse and sale have been made against government and law enforcement officials.⁶⁵

CONCLUSIONS

The production and consumption of alcohol and the abstinence movement in Bukovina in the second half of the 19th - early 20th century proved to be a complex social problem. The social structure of the population, the social status of a person and the ethnonational status of the community largely determine the nature and level of alcohol consumption. The Ruthenians of Bukovina, as a "nation of priest and peasant," confirm the overall image of modern society, namely that the lower the community's standing, the higher the prevalence of alcoholism among its members.

Under these conditions, such a powerful abstinence movement among the Ruthenians of Bukovina, which, because of its small size, could not rely on the

⁶³ "Bukovyna", 1895, April 6.

⁶⁴ "Bukovynski Vedomosti", 1897, November 21.

⁶⁵ Abg. Dr. Zurkan über das Trunkenheitsgesetz, in "Bukowinaer Rundschau", 1894, 27. November, S. 1.

support of the state, patrons or even the national social intellectuals, was worthwhile. However, this rise had genuine beneficial consequences in terms of reducing the negative socio-economic consequences of alcohol consumption and strengthening the internal consolidation of the Ruthenians of Bukovina in the late nineteenth and early twentieth century.

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