The influence of alcohol on the formation of preconditions and the course of the peasant revolution...

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THE INFLUENCE OF ALCOHOL ON THE FORMATION OF PRECONDITIONS AND THE COURSE OF THE PEASANT REVOLUTION IN NADDPRIANSKA UKRAINE (1902 – 1922)

The purpose of the article is to analyze the influence of alcohol on the formation of objective preconditions of the peasant struggle and the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian village of the first decades of the 20th century. The research methodology is based on the use of the principle of historicism, which helped to elucidate consistently the role and place of alcohol as a component of the Peasant Revolution: from the first pogroms of “wine” objects in 1905 to their final destruction in 1917; to elucidate the attitude of peasantry to alcohol abuse under the conditions of military and political upheavals. Theoretical achievements of social psychology (G. Le Bon’s crowd psychology), analytical psychology (C. Jung’s collective unconscious) contribute to the explanation of the peculiarities of peasants’ riotous behaviour. The scientific novelty of the research consists in clarifying the influence of alcohol on the development of socio-cultural and political processes in...
The Ukrainian village through the prism of the conflict between peasants and landlords and state (1902 – 1922). The authors have analyzed the sum of money wasted on alcohol in peasant budgets at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries; there has been given the answer to the question concerning the influence of alcohol abuse on the causes formation of the Peasant Revolution; a comparative analysis of “drunken” riots in 1905 and 1917 has been carried out; the attitude of peasants to moonshine brewing in 1917 – 1922 has been characterized.

The Conclusions. “Drunken” riots were a concomitant phenomenon of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine in the first decades of the 20th century. At the same time, peasants’ abuse of alcohol was not the cause of the Peasant Revolution. In 1905, peasants were motivated by food difficulties to destroy alcohol industry facilities, it was the protest against state policy. For a long time, alcohol was a factor that determined the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian countryside (mass pogroms of distilleries, alcohol warehouses, wine shops, landowners’ estates, sugar factories). Under the conditions of military and political upheavals of 1918 – 1920, mass moonshine brewing served as a financial support for peasantry and at the same time played a negative social role.

Key words: alcohol, peasants, the Peasant Revolution, “drunken” riots, alcohol, distilleries, Naddniprianska Ukraine.
The influence of alcohol on the formation of preconditions and the course of the peasant revolution... received a new interpretation in the 1990s in the works of the Russian historian V. Danylov and the British researcher T. Shanin, who analyzed the social behaviour of peasantry through the prism of activities of a village community and substantiated its chronological boundaries (1902 – 1922). Based on the reasoning that the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine had different features of its course from the all-Russian revolutionary process, we consider the creation of a complete picture of the social and socio-political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry to be a topical issue nowadays. The most analyzed component of the concept of the Peasant Revolution is its social aspects. At the first glance, alcohol abuse during the pogroms of landlord estates is a well-known fact for many researchers and a popular interpretation of peasants’ behaviour. However, at certain stages of the Peasant Revolution, the consumption of alcoholic beverages and their abuse had different effects on the course of socio-political processes in Naddniprianska Ukraine.

The Analysis of Sources and Recent Researches. A systematic study of the concept of the Peasant Revolution and the peculiarities of its course in Naddniprianska Ukraine was initiated by agrarian historians of Bohdan Khmelnytsky Cherkasy National University, in particular S. Kornovenko, I. Farenii: they substantiated the periodization of the Peasant Revolution and extended its chronological boundaries to 1933 (Kornovenko, 2017; Kornovenko, 2018), analyzed manifestations of the peasant rebellion (Kornovenko, Herasymenko, 2017), highlighted the conceptual principles of interpreting the issue of the Peasant Revolution (Fareniy, 2019). At the beginning of the 20th century D. Kudinov and V. Parkhomenko began discussing the classification issue of forms and methods of social and political struggle of the Ukrainian peasantry (Kudinov & Parkhomenko, 2021, pp. 133–134). V. Shevchenko and A. Kotsur analyzed the role of narrative sources in understanding the attitude of the Ukrainian peasantry to social changes and upheavals of the beginning of the 20th century, in particular, World War I (reaction to psychotrauma) (Shevchenko & Kotsur, 2021). The evolution of peasant attitudes under the conditions of the revolutionary upheavals of 1917 – 1921 was characterized by V. Lozovyi (Lozovyi, 2021).

The problem of alcohol abuse during peasant riots was raised by the British researcher T. Shanin (Shanin, 1997, p. 171). Peculiarities of alcohol production development in the Russian Empire and the practice of combating alcoholism in the South of Ukraine, in the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries were researched by I. Mironova (Mironova, 2019). In our opinion, the issue of alcohol influence on the causes formation of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine (1902 – 1922) is studied insufficiently. In addition, “drunken” riots at different stages of the Peasant Revolution (1905, 1917) were studied by researchers separately.

We consider the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine in 1902 – 1922 as a socio-political phenomenon, the reaction of the peasantry to the contradictions of economic development, to legal, cultural and educational, national oppression in the Russian Empire, the struggle for their interests under the conditions of the Ukrainian revolution and opposition to the Soviet power. The choice of a lower chronological limit is determined by the beginning of peasant protests in Poltava and Kharkiv huberniyakh, which are characterized by mass, anti-landlord orientation and radical methods of struggle (pogroms); an upper one – adoption of the Land Code in the UkrSSR, which summarized the consequences of the “land” revolution and the “reconciliation” of the peasantry with the Soviet power.

The purpose of the article is to find out the influence of alcohol on the emergence of preconditions of the peasant struggle and the course of the Peasant Revolution in the
Ukrainian huberniyakh during the first decades of the 20th century. The methodological principles of the study are based on the use of the principle of historicism, which helped to elucidate the role and place of alcohol as a constituent part of the Peasant Revolution consistently: from the first pogroms of “wine” objects in 1905 to their final destruction in 1917; to show the attitude of the peasantry to the abuse of alcohol under the conditions of military and political upheavals. Theoretical achievements of social psychology (G. Lebon’s crowd psychology) contribute to the explanation of the peculiarities of riotous behaviour of peasants (Lebon, 1995, pp. 150–151, 155), of analytical psychology (C. Jung’s collective unconscious, who came to the conclusion about behaviour mutation of significant masses of people under the influence of war) (Jung, 1994, pp. 140–141).

The Results of the Research. One of the components of the economic preconditions formation for the Peasant Revolution was a burdensome nature of taxation in the Russian Empire. Against the background of tax reforms in the 1880s – the 1890s (abolition of salt and per capita taxes, reduction of redemption payments), the state tried to compensate for the lack of revenues to the budget by increasing excise duty on alcohol, i. e., indirect taxation. The state monopoly for the sale of alcoholic beverages was introduced in 1895 and by 1904 it covered almost the entire territory of the Russian Empire and operated till World War I. The state had the exclusive right to purchase and sell alcohol, as well as to import it from abroad. Private owners who produced horilka and wine sold them to the state, and at the network of state wholesale warehouses, which were established everywhere within the Russian Empire, cared for the purification of alcohol and its sale. The very warehouse itself was a complex of premises where storage, purification and bottling of alcohol drinks and horilka took place, which was sold in wine shops (“monopolies”). The warehouse was two-storeyed, built of bricks, and its design was of a typical project.

Information about the money that peasants spent on buying alcohol drinks is contained in peasant household budgets. The wealthy peasant household in Pedynivska volost of Zvenyhorod povit, Kyiv huberniya had to pay for the land (own and leased) 73 krb. of an annual salary, which was almost a third of the household profits. At that time spending on horilka was: in a wealthy household – 15 krb., a middle one – 7 krb. (a bucket of horilka), in a poor one – 3.5 krb. (half a bucket of horilka). At the same time, total income was 208 krb., in a wealthy household, 21 krb. in a middle household, and taking into account part-time jobs – 76 krb. (Osadchyi, 1899, pp. 85–89). Thus, to buy horilka, wealthy owners spent 7% of their income, and middle-class peasants – a third of their main income.

Peasants’ of Poltava region spendings on horilka were insignificant because of their poverty. In the village of Demianivtsi of Khorolsky povit, Poltava huberniya, according to Zemsky statistics L. Padalka (1903), peasants of five households spent 10 krb. to buy horilka per year (7 krb. were spent by one of the wealthiest household) (Lokot, 1908, p. 211). For this category of peasantry, the main problem was to meet basic life needs.

At the beginning of the 20th century improvement of peasants’ situation was accompanied by an increase in spending on alcohol products. The peasants of Vinnytsia povit, in particular, consumed horilka at the sum of 1.5 to 2 million krb., spending six times more money on it than on paying direct taxes per year (Geyden, 1910, pp. 40–41). Rising prices for horilka products caused dissatisfaction in the peasant environment, and high taxation was generally a good reason that prompted middle class householders to participate in the Peasant Revolution.

Under the conditions of “dry law” during World War I, peasants were able to save some money. Officials, bakeries, journalists stated about the enrichment of the rural population
at the expense of the state aid paid to families whose members were mobilized to the army. These payments were several tens of millions of krb., and it was much less than the pre-war peasants’ spendings on alcohol drinks (about 100 million krb. per year) (Reient & Serdiuk, 2004, p. 10). Inflation and general economic devastation caused the peasantry impoverishment, and the strict prohibitions of alcohol with the onset of the February Revolution of 1917 led to the flowering of moonshine brewing and alcohol abuse.

Let us dwell on the question: can alcohol abuse be one of the causes of the Peasant Revolution? During the peasant uprisings in Poltava and Kharkiv huberniyakh in the spring of 1902, we do not find information about the pogroms of alcohol producing plants, warehouses and wine shops. The absence of such pogroms T. Shanin explains by the fear of peasants to break the state monopoly on alcohol (“it was “tsarist” and it must not be even touched”) (Shanin, 1997, p. 172). In 1905, the attitude of the peasantry to the state monopoly on alcohol changed significantly.

The majority information about alcohol abuse as a pretext for violent actions against landowners in 1905 is found in the sources concerning Chernihiv and Kharkiv huberniya. The Police Department informed the head of the Council of Ministers of the Russian Empire S. Witte that the initiators of the robbery of Mykhailivsky Sugar Plant of Tereshchenko in Hlukhiv povit of Chernihiv huberniya, which took place on February 22, 1905, were about 400 people who came there from Orel huberniya (Krestyanskoe dvizhenie, 1925, p. 72; Krestyanskoe dvizhenie v tsentralnoy polose, 1935, p. 158). For almost a month, peasants were on the booze who tried to rob the landlord household in the town of Ushcherpia of Suraz povit of Chernihiv huberniya in the summer of 1905 (nowadays – the territory of Briansk region of the Russian Federation) (Agrarnoe dvizhenie, 1936, p. 102).

The “drunken” riots acquired mass nature in the autumn of 1905: the day before and during the pogroms of landed estates, the peasants robbed both state wine shops and private distillery. In particular, in October of 1905, in Horodniansky povit distilleries were robbed which were owned by O. Svecyn and Karvolsky-Hrynevsky. The rebels destroyed state-owned wine shops and looted wine in the villages of Velyka Vis and Burivka (Drozdov, 1925, pp. 76–79). Alcohol from looted distillery and wine shops could be found in almost every home. In 1905, the so-called leadership of Chernihiv huberniya could partly explain the losses of big landowners caused by peasant pogroms by the spread of “drunk” riots. They were largely triggered by food difficulties the peasants had for a long time: and since horilka was made of bread, potatoes and sugar molasses, the objects of wine monopoly were victims of pogroms.

In 1906, on Right-Bank Ukraine, the strike movement was accompanied by a conscious refusal of peasants to drink alcohol and boycott of wine shops. This was the case in Lebedyn volost of Chyhyryn povit, Vasylkiv povit in Kyiv region (Agrarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 1908, pp. 10, 97–98). Peasants destroyed alcohol reserves in areas under the control of the All-Russian Peasant Union Deliberately (Shanin, 1997, p. 172).

The causes of the peasant movement in the Ukrainian huberniyakh and its course in 1905 – 1906 were studied by the Russian government officials carefully, in particular, police officers, Adjutant General O. Panteleyev (seconded to Chernihiv huberniya at the beginning of 1906), prosecutor of Kharkiv Judicial Chamber S. Khruliev. Higher government officials did not consider alcohol abuse before and during the pogroms of landlords’ estates one of the causes of peasant riots: in their view, revolutionary propaganda and a wide range of economic factors were such causes (Krestyanskoe dvizhenie, 1925, pp. 68–69). In 1905 – 1906, the tendency of peasants to drink was stated in the reports of officials (Krestyanskoe
dvizhenie v tsentralnoy polose, 1935, p. 164). Among landowners there were the ones who considered laziness and drinking to be the cause of peasant riots. In particular, in Right-bank Ukraine in the answers to Questionnaires of Free Economic Society, only 4 four landowners shared this point of view (2 in Podil'ska huberniya, 2 in Kyiv huberniya) (Agrarnoe dvizhenie v Rossii, 1908, p. 34). Alcohol abuse appeared as a social phenomenon characteristic of the peasant life of that era. However, as a result of long-term food difficulties, peasants changed their attitude towards the state monopoly on the sale of alcohol, and “wine” facilities were destructed significantly.

In 1917 there came the culminating period of the destructive influence of alcohol on the course of the Peasant Revolution. Mass pogroms were initiated by soldiers of the Russian army, often deserters. In May of 1917, in official statistics there were reported the first robberies of wine cellars which belonged to landowners and other private owners – wine cellars in Bessarabian huberniya. Despite the protection ineffectiveness of warehouses with alcohol and the threat of peasants joining these actions, local authorities opposed the destruction of alcohol stocks because of the losses to their owners (Pokrovskiy, 1927, pp. 56–57).

In the autumn of 1917, as a result of the state power weakening, an increase in desertion, the spread of moonshine brewing and anarchy at local places, there came the culminating period of “drunken” riots. In the front-line Podil'ska huberniya the existence of a network of alcohol warehouses provoked a wave of pogroms initiated by the military (peasants also looted alcohol actively). At the end of September of 1917, the distillery was blown up and robbed in the village of Markivtsi of Letychiv povit (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 289). Pogroms and arson of distilleries spread from Letychiv povit to the south of Lityn povit, where during the period of September of 26 – October 2, 1917, at least six privately owned (landlord) distilleries and one warehouse of alcohol drinks were destroyed. In Nova Syniavka, alcohol stocks were destroyed by the military command order, but the soldiers of Bakhmut regiment 415, who got drunk, together with local peasants, began to loot the landowners’ estates. People often died during the destruction of alcohol stocks. In particular, a fire broke out in the town of Khmilnyk during the robbery of the state warehouse on the night of October of 1: 12 people were burned, 40 received burns, 31 people were poisoned by alcohol (one person died, and the others were hospitalized) (Zavalniuk & Stetsiuk, 2008, pp. 60–63).

A wave of “alcohol” pogroms committed by soldiers provoked anarchy in half of Podil'ska huberniya (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 290). The bearers of anarchy were the military units of Guards Corps 2, in Pokrovskiy particular Rifle Regiment 2 and Rifle Regiment 4, Infantry Reserve Regiment 23, and Machine Gun Group of Infantry Reserve Regiment 15. Atrocities were also committed by the military, who were sent to control and keep order (Zavalniuk & Stetsiuk, 2008, pp. 60–63). Pogroms were accompanied by shooting: on September 5, in Kostiantynivka, Zhytomyr povit, Volyn, drunken soldiers killed two civilians (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 290).

After the destruction of facilities with alcohol, soldiers and peasants destroyed sugar factories, forests, looted landowners’ estates, taking away food and alcoholic beverages. A landowner I. Hlembotsky, applying to Volyn gubernatorial commissar, described in detail the circumstances of the destruction of his estate in the village of Lashky in Starokostiantyniv povit (which began on October 19 and lasted for three days), he also mentioned the robbery of brick cellars with old wine (the wine was drunk and spilled by the looters) (Pohromy na Volyni, 1917). Lieutenant General H. Glazenap complained to the provincial land committee about the residents of the village of Vasylivka of Lebedyn povit, Kharkiv huberniya (the statement dated December 4, 1917), who, on the night of November 16–17, 1917, smashed
the basement of his distillery and looted alcohol, and then looted the estate for three days (Central State Archive of Supreme Bodies of Power and Government of Ukraine – CSASBPGU, f. 1326, d. 1, c. 32, p. 45). Such looting robberies occurred everywhere.

Another region, which in 1917 was covered by “drunken” riots, was Chernihiv region. Food difficulties were felt there as early as the summer of 1917, and in some povits the peasants even starved. There was the state horilka warehouse in Chernihiv (Doroshenko, 1969, p. 184). 100,000 buckets of spirit were stored in Starodubsky povit. In order to prevent the spread of pogrom movement there, on September 18, 1917, the povit commissioner sent a telegramme demanding immediate destruction of alcohol (Pokrovskiy, 1927, p. 294). These predictions came true in Novozybkivsky povit, where the robbery of distillery lasted for three days, starting on October 17. In Klymiv (nowadays – the territory of Briansk region of the Russian Federation) soldiers destroyed two distilleries, barrels with alcohol were taken away, they got drunk and brawled (Shcherbakov, 1927, p. 23). According to the recollections of peasants, of seven private distilleries in Novhorod-Siversky povit of Chernihiv huberniya, five were destroyed (spirit was looted by peasants), two factories were transferred to the control of Ukrderzhspirt (Statya krestyanina, 1929, pp. 185–188). Arsons of horilka and alcohol warehouses covered the entire Chernihiv region, people died of careless handling of fire, spirit explosions. These were both participants in pogroms and those who did not participate in them (Doroshenko, 1969, p. 173).

The sources preserved many descriptions of the robbery of landlord distilleries and wine cellars, but there is little information about the compensation by peasants for the looted alcohol and these are only several mentions. In particular, the head of the Special Department at the Hetman’s Staff in a report dated July 6, 1918 addressed to the Chief of Staff on the causes and course of the uprising in Zvenyhorod povit of Kyiv region indicated, that peasants paid 85,000 krb. for the alcohol looted from Kniazh Kurakin’s estate and suggested that these funds could have been used by the local military commandant M. Pavlovsky to organize the uprising against the Hetman (CSASBPGU, f. 3158, d. 1, c. 10, p. 11). It is most likely that the money for the looted alcohol in 1917 was included in the total amount of losses by the landlords.

The peasants interpreted the freedom of moonshine brewing as one of the achievements of the Revolution. They produced alcoholic beverages for their own use: they celebrated religious and family holidays, and relieved psychological stress. In May – July of 1917 large-scale distilleries were recorded in Podilska huberniya, in particular, in Olhopil and Letychiv povits (there were sugar plantations there). Police could not do anything (Pokrovskiy, 1927, pp. 62, 175).

Under the conditions of military and political instability, alcohol abuse was accompanied by an increase in criminal activities. Various political regimes tried to fight this social phenomenon with the help of the rural community. On November 12, 1917, in the village of Podibna, of Krasnopolskaya volost of Uman povit of Kyiv huberniya, at the village assembly moonshine brewing was strictly prohibited and it was decided to fine peasants (100 krb), arrest them, and destroy the moonshine machines (CSASBPGU, f. 737, d. 1, c. 4, p. 18). The community of the village of Katoshyne, Anastasiv volost, Katerynoslav povit and huberniya took the same position of a strict ban on the production and sale of moonshine (on January 12, 1918) (The State Archives of Dnipropetrovsk Region – SADR, f. 630, d. 1, c. 11, p. 21a.). On July 27, 1919, residents of the village of Pryvilne of Kherson povit and huberniya decided to prohibit moonshine brewing, and to hand over the guilty to the authorities for prosecution (CSASBPGU, f. 3633, d. 1, c. 1, p. 95a).
Under the conditions of revolutionary upheavals, moonshine brewing became one of the means of survival for many peasant families. I. Yaroshenko, a resident of one of the farms of Tomakivka left detailed memories of his personal experience of using moonshine and the scale of moonshine brewing in the Ukrainian village in 1917 – 1923 (nowadays – Zaporizhzhia region) (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 277–300). He worked as a shoemaker, but under the conditions of constant high prices, economic ruin and political instability, he could not provide for his family, and because of this, together with relatives and friends, he engaged in moonshine brewing (Yaroshenko, 2005, p. 282).

The ban on moonshine brewing and inflation caused a significant increase in prices for home-made alcohol: in March of 1919, a bottle of moonshine cost 25 krb. (a poud of wheat – 50 krb., a poud of flour – 100 krb.), in May – 30 krb. (they began to arrest people for making moonshine), in February of 1920 the cost of a bottle of moonshine rose to 150 krb. Three years later – in February of 1923 – it could be purchased for as much as 8 million krb. (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 288–289, 292, 299).

The volume of moonshine brewing decreased due to crop failure and famine: for a little over a year (from June of 1921 to the beginning of October of 1922), there were absolutely no records of alcohol consumption. However, from September of 1922 to the middle of 1923, as the author of the memoirs testified, peasants often organized “good parties” with an active participation of the board members of the agricultural farm (that’s how the collective farm is called in the text. – The authors). Strict bans on moonshine brewing and alcohol consumption, which the Soviet authorities began to impose in March of 1923, did not stop peasants and they continued to drink stealthily. The communists consumed alcohol taken from peasants (Yaroshenko, 2005, pp. 296, 299–300).

In the ranks of rural communists alcohol abuse reached a significant scale. Illegal distilling was often supported by the “red” militia, as was the case in Verkhniiodniprovsky povit, Katerynoslav huberniya in the spring of 1921 (SADR, f. r-224, d. 1, c. 6, p. 61). The Bolsheviks recognized the problem of alcohol abuse in their environment, and this was one of the reasons for expulsion from the ranks of the CP(b)U in 1921 (Shcherbakov, 1927, p. 116).

In 1922, the instructors of the Central Committee of the CP(b)U carefully examined the state of affairs in local party organizations carefully – Odesa huberniya was the most “drunk”. There, drunkenness infected the entire party apparatus – from local members to the leadership, and in Tyraspol povit, communists drank wine instead of tea. The party committees fought against alcoholism, and alcohol consumption acquired an illegal character gradually (Central State Archive of Public Organizations of Ukraine – CSAPOU, f. 1, d. 20, c. 1063, p. 71).

The Conclusions. “Drunken” riots were a concomitant phenomenon of the Peasant Revolution in Naddniprianska Ukraine at its culminating stages (1905, 1917), its destructive component. At the same time, peasants’ abuse of alcohol was not the cause of the Peasant Revolution, although the expenses of middle-class households for the purchase of alcohol were significant. In 1905, peasants were motivated by food difficulties to destroy the facilities of the alcohol industry, it was a protest against the state policy. For a long time, alcohol influenced the course of socio-political processes in the Ukrainian countryside (pogroms of distilleries, alcohol warehouses, wine shops, landowners’ estates, sugar factories). In 1905, “wine” factories of Left-Bank Ukraine (Chernihiv, Kharkiv huberniya) suffered the most, and in 1917 – “wine” factories of Right-Bank Ukraine. Under the conditions of military and political upheavals of 1918 – 1920, mass moonshine served as financial support for the peasantry and at the same time played a negative social role. At the end of the frontier
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stage of the Peasant Revolution (1921 – 1922) alcoholism was especially common among rural communists. For them, as well as for the peasants in many regions of Naddniprianska Ukraine, the Soviet power was alien, brought from Bolshevik Russia.

Prospects for further research are related to the deepening of regional studies on the history of the Peasant Revolution of 1902 – 1922, as well as its political aspects.

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