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The Estonian Temperance Movement.

By

Villem Ernits.

Typogr. J. Mällo, Tartu.

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*Ordusendal A. Reismanile
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Alcohol and the Ancient Estonians.

Comparative philology, history, and ethnology permit the assumption to be made that the prefathers of the present Estonians, the Uralic (Finno-Ugrio-Samojedic) and the Finno-Ugrio parent-stock were ignorant of alcoholic drinks. In the Finno-Ugrio-Samojedic languages no original generic name occurs which might denote alcoholic, or more properly speaking, intoxicating drinks. No historical or ethnographical data either exist, on which might be based the assumption that the Uralic or Finno-Ugric parent-stock were familiar with alcoholic drinks.

It is a fact, however, that the Baltic Finnish parent-stock became acquainted with alcohol already about 2000 years ago, in the form ale, which word occurs in all Baltic-Finnish languages (Estonian — õlu; Finnish, Karelilian — olut) and which proves to be a loanword taken from the parent Lithuanian language at the period of the Finnish parent-language (Lithuanian, Lettish: alus; V. Thomsen). This word again is regarded as a loanword taken from the Teutonic languages. Thus the Teutonic beer-culture extended already a long time before the coming of the Germans to these parts and reached the prefathers of the Estonians by way of the original Lithuanians and possibly also of the Goths. Also the mercantile and piratical expeditions of the Estonians into the countries bordering on the Baltic sea doubtless made the Estonians familiar especially with the dark sides of life in ports, as is testified by the word „porduelu“ (debauchery), from the Latin “portus“, German “Port“.

The Coming of the Germans.

The influence of the arrival of the Germans showed itself in a new rise and spread of beer-culture. The monasteries founded for their own use large breweries, the peasants were required to pay taxes in beer, which was very well spoken of. Later in the year 1561, the great landowners received the privilege from King Sigismund II. Augustus of brewing beer free of excise. The peasants remained in possession of the right of brewing beer, but were not allowed to sell it. Later in the 16—17-th centuries, there came to Estonia also the knowledge of distilled spirit which at that time made its triumphal

tour through all Europe. In the historical sources ample evidence can be found of the fact that it met with a favourable reception in Estonia as well among the ruling class, the Germans, as also among the ruled Estonians.

As elsewhere in Europe there arose at that time in Estonia a custom of domestic distillation, which still prevailed e. g. in Sweden and Finland about the middle of last century and was even regulated by legislation. In Estonia, however, the great landowners soon made an end of this right by the prohibition of the Livonian Diet of 1649, as it was more profitable for the landowners that the people should drink the products of their factories.

The Measures of the Swedish Government.

By the initiative of the Swedish Government inns began to be founded in Estonia at the beginning of the 17-th century "as resting places for wayfarers". These however, developed into the greatest drinking-dens in Estonia, because at that very time distilled spirit made its first appearance in Estonia.

The Swedish government issued some restrictive ordinances for the regulation of inns, but they were of very little service. In addition to this Swedish government restricted the use of alcohol at festivities, on Saturday evenings, and on Sunday's. Those appearing drunk at Church were subjected to penalties.

The Influence of the Foundation of the Brotherhoods.

The first popular temperance movement in Estonia is in connection with the coming of the brotherhoods to Estonia, about the year 1730. This created a true and profound religious movement in many places in consequence of which there was to be noticed a great lessening of alcoholism especially in Saaremaa, where for instance criminality decreased to a surprising degree. The takings of inns dwindled. In consequence of this there arose a reaction against this movement, the activity of the Brotherhoods was restricted and even temporarily prohibited and thus it was managed to repress this temperance movement.

The First Measures of the Russian Government for the Regulation of the Sale of Alcohol.

As alcohol was too easily obtainable in account of its excessive cheapness the Livonian Diet of 1765 raised the price of alcohol, fixing it at a certain sum. Naturally a contributing cause was here the wish to increase the income of the landowners.

At the same time Governor-General Browne forbade the peasants to exchange corn for liquor. The sale of liquor in small barrels was also prohibited.

A year later the Russian government prohibited the sale of alcohol in larger quantities within a distance of 150 versts from the Rus-

sian frontier, in order to prevent the alcoholisation of the Russian border-country by spirit imported from Estonia, which was noticeable already at that period.

The Beginning of the Secular Treatment of the Temperance Idea.

The secular treatment of the temperance idea commenced in Estonia in the second half of the 18-th century, under the influence of rationalism. Dr. P. E. Wilde, the Põltsamaa physician, was the first to write of the injurious effects of alcohol in a treatise on hygiene which appeared as a special periodical. The same idea was treated later by the rationalist writers Arnelius, Luce, Willmann, etc. But in their works were discussed only the injuries due to individual consumption of alcohol, no word being said about the distilleries and breweries of the landowners or about the inns. No social temperance movement was started by these writings.

The Measures of the Russian Government at the Beginning of the 19-th Century.

In the famine time of 1808, an imperial decree forbade the distilling of spirit in those localities where the people were suffering from starvation.

In 1833, a decree of Nicolaus I. forbade the opening of new public houses at Tartu, because they had a bad influence on the studying youth, especially the university students. The echo of the scandals of the students' drinking bouts had reached even the ears of the Emperor.

The Temperance Movement in the Churches during the Second Quarter of the 19-th Century.

In America temperance movement had become popular already at the end of the 18-th century owing to the theoretical inspiration of the works of Dr. B. Rush and others. At the beginning of the 19-th century there was started in America practical temperance work on a large scale. Thousands of temperance organisations were founded with a total membership of over a million. The enthusiasm was great and it also found expression in temperance missions to other parts of the world. To Europe was sent the excellent propagandist Robert Baiard, who published in several European languages a review of American temperance work and had interviews with many European rulers, among other the German and Russian emperors.

The movement due to Baiard's influence penetrated by way of Germany first of all into Latvia and from there into Estonia. At that time there appeared in Estonia the first books dealing specially with the temperance question: Hennings, the Järva-Peetri pastor's, book entitled "A Word of Love against Excessive Drinking" (1838), Count Peter Mannteuffel's "The Life of William Navi" (1839), Dr. F. R. Kreutzwald's "The Liquor Plague" (1840) an adaptation on the basis

of Zschokke's "Branntweinpest". In these books there is already talk of temperance organisations, their usefulness and necessity.

At the same time several Estonian clergymen were engaged in a spirited temperance activity, specially the Põlva pastor J. G. Schwartz, in whose parish alone over 1000 souls abandoned the use of alcohol on a religious vow of temperance. Similar temperance sermons were preached and vows made in another 15 parishes of North Livonia, fewer the part then known as Estonia. The people became perceptibly temperate in various places even the majority of family festivities in some localities were held without any alcohol. The foundation of temperance societies, however, was forbidden by the government authorities, as is shown by the attempt of the Uue-Peebalg pastor K. L. Kaehlbrandt in Latvia. Because this temperance movement greatly diminished the income of the landowners, obstacles were laid in the way of the clergymen and they were accused before the consistorium, which forbade the taking of temperance vows, in spite of protests. Among the secular members of the consistorium there were several landowners.

The Interim.

Thus dwindled down the religious temperance movement in Estonia in the second quarter of the 19-th century, to which contributed also famine epidemics, risings of the peasant population and oppression as a result of these, emigration, the coming of the „Russian faith“ etc. At that time there persisted only a few minor groups inspired by the idea of temperance (as e. g. at Kuusalu) and individual members of congregations who had remained teetotallers and who had not forgotten their ideals in spite of the reaction of the period, the religious movement of Maltswet about the middle of last century, also emphasized the ideal of total abstinence among its followers, but this vanished with the whole movement¹). About the same time the waves of religious temperance movement from Sweden touched the Estonian Swedes and by them were influenced the dissenters of Läänemaa in Estonia.

The initiator of the present temperance movement in Estonia

was the present professor of folklore in the University of Tartu, M. J. Eisen, who at that time was a student of theology in that university. Under the influence of the enthusiasm of the time of national awakening he kept in close touch with Finland, staying there several summers (1881, 82, 83) and becoming acquainted specially with the most important temperance worker of Finland at that time, Dr. A. A. Granfelt. Under his influence M. J. Eisen began to promote the idea of temperance in Estonia, publishing on the subject from 1883 a number of writings, making propaganda for the founding of temperance societies in Estonia. He himself took an active part in the foundation of the Finnish temperance society „Retusaari“ at Kronstadt, in the work of which also some Estonians living in Kronstadt took part.

¹ C. f. Mrs. Aino Kallas' "The White Ship".

The Founding of "Täht" and the First Rise of the Estonian Temperance Movement (1889—1900).

The first to respond to M. J. Eisen's writings was the teacher Jüri Tilk, the present writer, Mag. phil. Yrjö Virula in Finland, who founded the first temperance society in Estonia under the name of "Täht", at Tori, which was confirmed by the Russian government on the 6-th of June 1889.

The foundation of "Täht" acted as a spark setting fire to fuel; in 1890 seven new societies were formed, in 1891-ten, in 1892-ten, 1893-six. Then came a slowing down: in 1894 no new society was formed, in 1895 one, 1896—1899, two in each year.

What was the cause of this showing down? Partly waning of the novelty of the matter, but much more various internal reasons. The government did not permit the foundation of societies for total abstinence, but altered every basis of such societies so that only a struggle against excessive drinking was indicated as the aim, sanctioning thereby merely endeavours for securing moderation. These latter found a response even in several temperance workers of that period especially in A. Grenzstein, a man of no very firm character, one of the political leaders of the Estonians at that time, to whom was entrusted the chairmanship at the first Estonian congress of temperance societies, held at Tartu in 1892.

As at that period the foundation of other societies was often made difficult by the authorities, many people joined the temperance societies from general social motives.

The Coming of the Spirit Monopoly and the Second Rise of the Temperance Movement (1900—1904).

A new impetus was given to the temperance movement in Estonia in the year 1900, in which was put into force in the Baltic countries the Crown monopoly of spirit which had been elaborated by Count Witte and been introduced before in other parts of Russia. At the same time were closed the former inns of the landowners, who, however, received a compensation from the government to the amount of 10 million gold roubles. As hereby the number of places for the sale of alcohol was greatly decreased and they became less easily accessible for the people, the consumption of alcohol was at first considerably diminished, as happened with every new law restricting the sale of alcohol in the first years. Later, however, the consumption of alcohol increased again, almost three times as compared with the first years of the monopoly. This is proved by the statistics of the Livonian excise: in 1900 were sold 424,897 "panks" of spirit, in 1912 the figure was 1,332,707 "panks" (1 pank — about 30 liters).

The increase in the consumption of alcohol was helped by the following circumstances. The people slowly got accustomed to the distance of the sale-places of alcohol and to the difficulties of obtaining it. To overcome these there arose a wide-spread secret

trade in spirit, complaints of which were raised almost universally in the last years of the spirits monopoly, as is shown by the contemporary reports of the temperance societies. In addition to this many of the former inns began to sell beer and later even spirit, which had to be consumed on the spot (partly in secret, partly by special permission). A lot of new restaurants were also established. Finally it came to this that the monopoly shops served only a supplementary purpose for fetching liquor for domestic consumption by the side of the public houses, where liquor could be consumed on the spot.

Hand in hand with the spirit monopoly went the foundation of the so-called temperance curatoria, for the expenses of which the Russian government allowed 3,000,000 gold roubles a year all over the country. These curatoria were in action also in Estonia, founding temperance tea-houses, libraries, arranging addresses and lantern-lectures, working especially on the so-called indirect temperance methods. Their activity was, however, paralysed by the lack of a firm and clear temperance point of view, by the spirit of moderation and justification of the government sale of liquor, which was due to the persons of whom they consisted. To them belonged various government-officials who were certainly not teetotallers and persons, who themselves were in some way interested in the sale of alcohol¹).

Although the temperance reformers had plenty of reason to criticise the new spirit monopoly, it yet at first encouraged them and inspired them with new hope, which showed itself in the foundation of new temperance societies (1900—1904 were founded 24 new temperance societies) and in the animation of their activity. In addition to this there supervened in the leading quarters of the temperance movement a change, which appeared at the Viljandi temperance congress of 1900: the opportunistic supporter of moderation A. Grenzstein was put aside and in his place was elected as chairman of the central committee the enthusiastic youthful pastor of Kolga-Jaani Villem Reiman, who remained the leader of the Estonian temperance movement until his death in 1917. His closest associates were the vice-president of that committee J. Tõnisson, M. J. Eisen, Oskar Kallas, P. Põld, Mrs. Helmi Põld, K. Einbund, etc., and in recent years a whole group of teetotal students.

1904—1906.

Periods of political progress and revolution of themselves incline people to temperance, because they fill their mental life with such intellectual interests as leave no room for the alcohol passion in conscious human beings. The temperance movement as such, however, slackens almost completely in revolutionary times, because

¹) At the present time the funds of these curatoria have been handed over to the Estonian Temperance League by a special law issued in 1920. These funds, however, have been much reduced during the times of the war and the revolution.

then there are so many new and burning political questions of the day that people lack sufficient interest for the temperance question

This triumphant period, however, lasted only a short time because of the revolution 1905, which was followed by the darkest reaction especially in the Baltic countries. This again suppressed every sort of intellectual life also in the temperance societies, which suffered specially for the reason that in their rooms many a revolutionary popular meeting had been held. As a punishment for this the house of the Temperance societies "Aate" at Kose was burnt down, other houses were used for a time as quarters of punitive detachments, and of course, the Russian soldiers spare neither the premises nor the furniture. The president of one temperance society was shut down by such a detachment, the members of committee of several other societies fled the country or were deported to Siberia. Two societies were closed at the time of state of siege, others were threatened with this fate. The holding of speeches became absolutely impossible, whereas it had formally been possible, although only after the soliciting of various permissions and the censure of the Russian texts of the speeches. (The present Estonian Minister in London, Dr. O. Kallas, when he was teacher at Narva had once to hold a temperance speech and was compelled to apply to 13 places for the permission which, after all, arrived too late for the speech to be held.)

In the whole time from 1904 to 1906 there was founded only one temperance society (1905). The number of members registered in the lists of the central committee in 1901 was 2690, in 1905, however only 727 (many societies lost the connection with the central committee). The number of speeches registered by the central committee in 1903 was 428, in 1906 only 30 (reports only from 9 societies). The same dwindling was noticeable in other branches of activity.

The Third Rise in Temperance Work. (1907—1914).

Although the revolution and the oppression following it greatly weakened the temperance movement in Estonia, a new rise in the movement began after the revolution. This revolution was after all followed by a certain general mental elevation and various liberties specially in regard to meetings and speeches. In 1907 the central committee of the Estonian temperance societies was officially registered; in 1909 it received from the Russian government a subsidy of 3000 gold roubles (the only event of this kind in Estonia during the whole time of the Russian government if we accept the maintenance of the official temperance curatoria in Estonia). At that time the Central committee of temperance societies was enabled even to keep salaried managers. It was also in a position to begin the issuing of a paper "Karskusleht" and a number of pamphlets (65 before the declaration of Estonian independence); the main work was M. J. Eisen's "History of the Temperance Movement" which appeared in 1914, and which was based principally on Dr. J. Berg-

man's and Dr. Viljo Hytönen's Histories of the Temperance Movement.

Between 1907 and 1914 seven new temperance societies were formed. Several existing ones ceased their activities, others were closed during the revolution time, one being closed in the beginning of the War "for political reasons" (because a number of trade-unions had found shelter in it). Thus in 1914 there were in Estonia 48 temperance societies and in the Estonian colonies in Russia 5, which together according to the reports of the societies had 1477 members. The highest number of societies before the War had been 61 societies in 1903, the highest number of registered members before the War had been 2690 in 1901.

In the beginning of 1914 a great impetus was given to temperance work by the discussion of local prohibition in the Russian Duma, where the Baltic German deputies brought in a proposal that the right of local prohibition should be valid in the Baltic provinces only for the communities, not for the large estates. But as in fact all the inns were situated in the large estates this would have completely annulled the whole right of local prohibition in Estonia. Against this the Estonian teetotallers protested and the central committee of temperance societies on March 9 and April 8, 1914, arranged two temperance demonstrations in which about 80 students took part. To the Russian Duma a great number of protest resolutions were sent through the Estonian deputies Dr. J. Raamot and Terras.

The Prohibition Law of the War Time. (1914—1920).

The World war which broke out in the middle of 1914, put a temporary end to the whole alcohol question, calling forth an almost complete law of prohibition over the whole Russia: in the territory affected by the war the sale of every kind of alcoholic drinks was stopped, in the whole of Russia the sale of distilled spirit was forbidden by an imperial decree, and the sale of beer and liquor was suppressed by the great majority of Russian towns under the law of local prohibition. As elsewhere, the War time law of prohibition produced such good results also in Estonia that nearly the whole people was surprised; many supposed that the temperance question had been solved for ever.

But already some two years later it appeared that the matter was not so simple. Not to mention the brewing of beer at home, rumours began to be heard of domestic spirits distilling, the knowledge of which spread among the people like an epidemic. Whereas the War time greatly impeded temperance work in general and the law of prohibition diminished its necessity, the War on other hand progressively brutalised the minds of men, inflaming their passions and craving for drink, encouraging the spirit of profiteering, slackening police supervision etc. On top of this came the revolution which at a blow drove human thoughts far from such trifling matters as home-made liquor and after this there came the German occu-

pation, which suppressed all mental life and temporarily stopped even the activity of the central committee of the temperance societies by leaving it unregistered. The Germans further brought alcoholic drinks with them and set up several distilleries in this country, selling alcoholic drinks to the people or exchanging them against corn.

In the first years of Estonian independence the prohibition law dating from the Russian time was recognized as valid and the secret distillers were very severely punished, for which purpose special commissions were instituted in the provincial councils. (At the same time, however, the highest powers of the state themselves in fact did not observe the law of prohibition, which created great moral indignation.) The secret distillation of spirit, however, developed on its own lines, extending in 1919 to about 2300 police protocols, i. e. one case discovered by the police for every 481 citizens (in the U. S. A. a few years ago there was one case discovered by the police for every 1000 citizens approximately). This number, of course, varied in the different localities, being higher in the east, rising to a maximum in the district of Worbis near Tartu (one police protocol about secret distilling for every 13 inhabitants) and falling to zero in several districts of Muhumaa and Saaremaa, as is attested without contradiction by the police reports and the inquiry forms returned to the central committee of the temperance societies by the teachers.

The Disappearance of the Prohibition Law.

In the Constitution Commission of the Constituent Assembly the teetotallers made the proposal to incorporate into it also the prohibition law paragraph, which, however, was rejected by the majority of the commission, the reason given being that this might be established by a special law.

In the U. S. A. and Finland prohibition laws came into force at that very time. After meeting the Estonian teetotallers at Helsingfors, Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppälä, then leader of the Finnish temperance movement, together with the American temperance reformer Professor Dr. H. B. Carré and the editor of the periodical "Külväjä" V. Karpio made a journey to Tallinn, advising the Constituent Assembly at a special meeting to put in force a permanent prohibition law in Estonia. The Constituent Assembly approved of the idea and elected a commission which elaborated the project of a prohibition law, and which was supported by the XI Estonian temperance congress at Tallinn in the autumn of 1919 and by the national temperance day in the beginning of 1920. On this occasion about 80 memoranda were sent to the Constituent Assembly by tens of thousands of citizens in support of the prohibition law. But at the same time the government had elaborated a bill for the sale of alcohol and these two entered into competition in the discussions of the Constituent Assembly. The enthusiasm of the Constituent Assembly, however, had dwindled partly, because of the rising secret distilla-

tion and consumption of spirit which contrasted so sharply with the law of prohibition (in 1919 there were 734 arrests for drunkennes). Another reason was the fact that the government had made the officials Christmas present of spirit. The principal reason, however, was the result of the expropriation of the distiller in favour of the state by the Land Law: this was capital which offered itself for employment to the empty state treasury. At the first general meeting of the Constituent Assembly debates were held in favour of and against the prohibition law, and the result was that the law of alcohol sale won by 48 votes to 24. The so-called ticket-system began to take effect from the first July, 1920. At first every male individual over twenty years of age was allowed $\frac{1}{2}$ "stof" (about $\frac{1}{2}$ liter) of spirit per month on a special ticket, later the quantity was raised to 1 "stof" (about 1 liter). The ticket-system was discontinued on the 1-st of January, 1926, leaving the sale of spirit free in Estonia.

The Estonia ticket-system was a bad imitation of the Swedish Bratt system, borrowing from the latter only the idea of the ticket, but omitting all the provisions of the Bratt system for refusing tickets to drunkards and for the supervision of such individuals by special communal temperance committees and guardians.

The Consumption of Alcohol under the Ticket-System.

The results of the ticket-system are most clearly seen in the following figures.

According to the data of the central statistical office there were consumed in Estonia alcoholic drinks calculated for pure alcohol: in 1920 — 1,390,157 liters, 1921 — 4,144,310 liters, 1922 — 4,094,552 lt., 1923 — 4,282,868 lt., 1924 — 3,470,832 lt.

The amounts of pure alcohol per year in liters for every inhabitant, compared with the same figure in the former Russia as a whole, and in the provinces of Livonia and Estonia in particular, were the following:

Year	1902	1903	1904	1905	1906	1913	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924	1925
Estonia	2.751	2.8	2.4	2.8	3.05	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Livonia	3.05	3.1	3.05	3.105	—	—	—	—	—	—	—	—
Russia	—	—	—	—	—	3.105	—	—	—	—	—	—
Est. Rep.	—	—	—	—	—	—	1.21	3.74	3.70	3.87	3.14	ab. 3

From these tables we see that the consumption of alcohol in Estonia is at present greater than it was at the Russian time all over the country or in the two Estonian provinces.

Of course Estonia is not the greatest consumer of alcohol in the world; the old wine-growing countries far surpass Estonia as regard the absolute quantity of alcohol consumed per year and per head of population. 1919—1922 the average consumption of pure alcohol in liters per individual was according to the statistics of the International Bureau Against Alcoholism:

France	17,99	Hungary	5,73
Spain	15,83	Estonia	3,72 (average of
Italy	13,77	Sweden	3,03 1921 and 1922)
Switzerland	11,99	Holland	3,00
Belgium	9,01	Denmark	2,89
England	6,17	Germany	2,74
Austria	5,75	Norway	1,95

Thus Western Europe surpasses Estonia in the consumption of absolute alcohol, yet Estonia occupies the first place in Northern Europe. Even in Germany drinking after the War was considerably less than in Estonia. If, however, we take liquor specially, Estonia is ahead of all the European states that have supplied information to the International Bureau Against Alcoholism. It is impossible to pass by the decrease in the sale of alcohol in 1924 and 1925. This decrease is partly due to the economic depression, partly, however, to the drift towards temperance which has recently become more noticeable, and the cause of which has doubtless been in part the work for temperance.

The above mentioned figures treat the consumption of alcohol per individual statistically, i. e. taking account of the whole population, children, women etc. together. These, however, are by no means all actual consumers of alcohol. According to the estimates of the statistical central bureau we have about 324,800 individuals who are actual consumers of alcohol, i. e. principally men over 20 years of age: of this class a part are indeed teetotallers, but against this a part of the women are drinkers. Per head of these we have the following amounts of pure alcohol (in liters).

1920 —	4,14	1923 —	13,22
1921 —	12,80	1924 —	10,72
1922 —	12,66	1925 —	about 10,3

Thus in 1923 there were for each alcohol-consumer 29 grammes of pure alcohol daily, which means a comparatively high chronic alcohol poisoning influence may be defeated in the human individual and a continued poisoning by 20 grammes of alcohol is already regarded as constituting the habit of alcoholism.

The Effects of the Ticket-System on Public Health.

The Action of alcohol on the health of the nation appears most strikingly in the form of acute alcohol poisoning, i. e. drunkenness, and in this respect an enormous increase is to be noticed in the time of the ticket-system, as is shown by the number of police protocols made on account of drunkenness and breaches of peace in the following years.

Year	Number of cases	Cases per 1000 ind.	Relative rise
1919	734	0.7	100
1920	3,731	3.3	471
1921	6,896	6.2	886
1922	7,914	7.1	1014
1923	9,897	9.0	1286
1924	9,999	9.0	1286
1925	11,866	10.7	1616.5

Thus the number of arrests for drunkenness has risen 16 times as compared with 1919, i. e. 1616, 5%. This figure is absolutely larger than the corresponding figure in New-York (10,855 in 1922), keeping in mind the fact that New-York has at least 6 times as many inhabitants as the Estonian Republic, and that in New-York, because of the prohibition law, every kind of consumption of alcohol is punishable and that the inhabitants of New-York are much more under police supervision than for instance our country people. In addition to all this, New-York is a town where the enforcement of the American prohibition law is more difficult than elsewhere, as is the case in all large towns, especially, however, at the seaside with its large number of alcoholloving immigrants from Europe, who generally are not enthusiastic for the American prohibition law.

In accordance with the methods of the prohibition countries we ought to arrest every person entering a public house, and then this figure would probably use to several thousands a day as there were in Estonia, in 1923, 288 public houses, with the sale-places for alcohol 688, and calculating only 10 customers for each place per day we would get 6880. For the whole year, however, we would arrive at the unheard — of figure of 2,511,200.

The chronic effect of alcohol manifests itself in the general rise of illness. According to the statistics of the Chief Office of Public Health we obtain the following figures for the general employment of medical assistance in Estonia.

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
General employment of medical assistance	257,997	375,088	435,479	545,805	753,403	701,009
For nervous diseases	9,459	16,203	19,248	27,787	30,930	34,075
For venereal diseases	10,944	17,598	19,598	22,561	25,616	27,190

Relatively the rise would be as follows:

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
General employment of medical assistance	100	145.4	168.5	211.5	292	256.2
For nervous diseases	100	171	203.5	293.3	327	270.2
For venereal diseases	100	164	183.6	206	244.1	248.4

On comparing the cases of illness with the number of inhabitants we see that one employment of medical assistance corresponded as follows to a number of inhabitants:

	1919	1920	1921	1922	1923	1924
Cases of employment of medical assistance in general	4.3	3	2.5	2	1.5	1.6
For nervous diseases	117.4	68.4	57.7	39.9	36	32.6
For venereal diseases	101.4	67.4	56.2	49.2	43.4	40.8

For this increase of the cases of employment of medical assistance other causes may also contribute on part: the greater facility of obtaining medical assistance, the economic depression etc. To dwell on these in particular is impossible here. It is also out of the question to ascertain the precise amount of their effect on the basis of present statistics. In any case it is certain that much of the general increase of our employment of medical assistance (1919—1924 the increase was 156.2%), especially in nervous diseases (increase in the same period 270%) and venereal diseases (increase 148.4%) which mostly depend on the use of alcohol.

According to the data supplied by Dr. Kügelgen, director of the Seewald clinic for mental diseases, there were in 1913 in that institution 23% of the patients whose illness was due to alcohol. In 1917 this figure fell during the period of the war-time prohibition 2%, but rose again after the commencement of the sale of alcohol and, in 1922, once more reached 23%.

In the home for weak-minded children at Udrik as many as 90% of the inmates, according to the statistics supplied by the director Mr. H. Valma, were the children of drunkards.

In the colony for criminal-minded children at Harku 42% of the children according to the dissertation of Dr. med. H. Madisson (1924), had drunkards for parents.

The Sale of Alcohol and Crime.

The statistics of crime also show an interesting movement during the time of the sale of alcohol, as is to be seen from the following table:

Year	Total number of cases of crime	%	Total damage from crimes in Estonian marks
1919	29,568	100	34,552,905
1920	39,241	132.7	213,068,156
1921	40,617	137.4	320,995,410
1922	45,814	154.9	232,077,301
1923	56,158	189.9	299,762,729
1924	72,506	245	483,869,903
1925	76,802	259.5	484,376,313

Considering these figures it must first of all be pointed out that in 1919 there occurred many transgressions of the war-time ordinances (over 10,000), which in the following years ceased. Similarly there occurred in 1919 about 2300 cases of secret distillation of alcohol, which also later dwindled to a score or so every year. The other crimes, however, show an enormous increase, which must be ascribed partly to the general demoralising effect of war, partly to

the stricter public-supervision, but certainly to a large extent to the consumption of alcohol, all the more as a sudden increase in crimes showed itself just at the beginning of the second half of 1920, when the sale of alcohol was started: the number of prisoners in Estonia was about 1800 in the middle of 1920, but a couple of months later it had already risen to 3100, afterwards fluctuating about 3000.

In the case of individual crimes this increase is especially clear. Thus the number of embezzlement rose between the first half year of 1920 (under prohibition) and the second half-year of 1922 by 167,1%, that of frauds by 175,5%, of assault by 161,4%, of duress and injury by 116,5%, of beating by 228%, of murder, actual and attempted, by 42,6%, of self induced abortions by 288,8%, of suicide, actual and attempted, by 507,7%, of forgery by 266,6%, of official misdemeanour by 1687%.

Of course, alcohol is here not in all cases the direct cause, but very frequently an indirect cause or one of the contributing factors, which often brought the sumtotal of convergent motives to the critical point.

Special attention must be paid to the increase of accidents:

Year	Number of accidents	Relative increase	Per 1000 individuals
1919	69	100%	0,06
1920	100	144,9%	0,09
1921	388	562,3%	0,35
1922	1303	1888,4%	1,17
1923	3217	4662,3%	2,90
1924	4827	6995,7%	4,35
1925	5803	8410,2%	5,23

This numeric increase seems incredible but these are after all explanations for it. We must here take into account above all the development of official statistical work, further the rise of industry after the war and finally also the effect of alcohol. It is, of course, impossible to ascertain how much of this numeric increase of crime is to be attributed to each special cause, yet even assuming each of them to be of equal weight, alcohol must be credited with about 3000%. And this need not cause any great surprise as in Estonia a spirit was sold for drinking, which has a strongly paralysing action the function of precision, attention and precaution.

The Beginning of Temperance Work in Independent Estonia.

As already indicated temperance work in Estonia came to an almost complete standstill during the World War. The revolution and the German occupation also presented its being started again. Only in 1919 active temperance work was recommenced, with the present author's journey to Finland and the establishing of relations with the late Finnish temperance leader Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppälä, which was followed by the journey of the American temperance reformer Dr. H. B. Carré, Dr. Matti Helenius-Seppälä and Victor Karpio to Estonia, when they advised the Constituent Assembly at a

special meeting to introduce prohibition. Then followed the participation of Estonian delegates in the IX Northern Temperance Congress at Helsingfors in 1919 and the preparations for the I. temperance congress in independent Estonia.

The temperance congresses in independent Estonia

have been in various ways milestones indicating the progress of temperance work. The X-th congress at Tallinn, in 1919, roused the temperance reformers to new activity and supported the project of the prohibition law. The XI-th congress at Tartu in 1921, approved the enlargement and transformation of the central committee of temperance societies into a Temperance League, the detailed project and new programme of statutes of which was accepted by the XII-th congress and the meeting of representatives at Viljandi, in 1922, where among other matters the first battle was fought out between the so-called "direct" and "indirect" tendencies, on the occasion of Dr. Vilms's address. The same battle continued with stormy violence at the XIII-th congress at Tartu, in 1923, where the Temperance League even threatened to go to pieces. This danger was, however, averted and in practical work it subsequently appeared that both tendencies can, after all, work together with comparative ease, and that the whole dispute was conditioned not so much by unsurmountable differences of principle, as by the attempt of new personalities to make their influence felt. The XIV-th congress at Narva fully entered into the question of the medical treatment of drunkards (at present ambulatoria are at work in Tallinn and Tartu, and a home will, it is hoped, be opened in some former landowner's mansion). The XV-th at Tallinn in 1925 dealt with the question of the care for drunkards, joining forces with the cooperative societies and the farmers, not to mention minor questions.

Temperance Organisation Work.

This has made good progress in Estonia. Before the war the maximum number of societies of organised temperance reformers was 61 (in 1901), the maximum number of members 2690 (in 1903). In March 1926 the Estonian Temperance League embraced 115 organisations of adults with about 5000 members, in the Temperance League of the young, which works under its auspices, over 90 organisations with about 7500 members (especially the Students' Temperance Union with about 80 members), in the Women's Temperance League 16 organisations with about 3300 members, in addition to this over 410 Bands of Hope in Schools with over 22,000 members, who at present are not properly affiliated juridically to any league, but whom the recently founded Teacher's Temperance — Education League should group round itself. As a branch of the Temperance League acts also the Christian Temperance League, which unites in itself on a temperance base practically all Estonian churches, especially, however, their temperance organisations and groups. In

addition to this there are several temperance organisations in Estonia not belonging to the Temperance League, the largest of which is the Workers' Temperance Society "Valvaja" in Tallinn, with a partly communistic leaning, the Red Cross Societies at Tallinn, Tartu and Narva, the Society for the Rescuing of Drunkards "Saalem" at Tallinn (with a house of its own) etc. Altogether the number of organised teetotallers in Estonia at present amounts to over 40,000, the great majority of these being young people. Taking Sweden and Norway as standards this number should, however, amount to over 100,000 in our country.

In the organisation of Temperance the attempt has been made to realise in Estonia the principles of American methods of organisation: to create as far as possible temperance organisations groups and cells for each profession and to combine them all into a great united force. The realisation of this comprehensive temperance network is at present proceeding: there are projects for the foundation of temperance organisations for workers, medical-men, railway-workers, etc., for the extension of the net of temperance committees over all the administrative and school districts of the country and for the complete development of central provincial organisations.

The Financing of Temperance Movement.

No ideal movement can continue to exist under present circumstances without a monetary basis, if it wants to attract members. This also applies to the temperance movement and one of the conditions of its development has doubtless been its financial standing.

In the financing of the temperance movement two forms are found everywhere in the world: the self-taxation of the temperance reformers and adherents of the temperance idea, and external, generally state, support. The former alone is in use in America, the latter was almost exclusively the method of financing the Russian temperance curatoria, where in the proper sense of the word "government temperance" was propagated.

The self-taxation of the temperance-reformers is doubtless the most ideal means of financing (in America it brings in millions of dollars yearly), but it presupposes a large number of well-educated, self-sacrificing, understanding and financially powerful teetotallers and adherents of the temperance movement. In the European countries and also in our own these are wanting completely, and therefore a mixed mode is in operation: state support and mutual help of teetotallers and friends of temperance.

In the Russian times the central committee of the Estonian temperance societies only once received a state subsidy, viz. 3000 roubles in 1908. In 1919 the Constituent Assembly voted for the central committee of temperance societies 30,000 marks. In 1920 a law was put in force that $\frac{1}{3}$ of the fines for secret sale of alcohol should go to the support of the temperance movement. At the same time the funds of the former temperance curatoria were handed over

to the central committee of temperance societies. In 1921 a law came into force by which 1 mark (for a time even 1½ mark) was added to the fee for each spirit-ticket for the benefit of the central committee of temperance societies, later for the Temperance League. These sums in 1922 and 1923 amounted to over 6 million marks, later this amount in consequence of the diminution of the consumption of alcohol fell to 4 millions. In 1925, the ticket-system was abolished, and into the budget of 1926 a sum of 4 million marks was introduced for the state support of the Temperance League. Fortunately the income of the Temperance League itself shows a rise. The revenue from the League's own resources was, in Estonian marks:

1919	36,405	1923	1,052,120
1920	322,201	1924	918,123
1921	1,188,738	1925	1,520,066
1922	2,406,256.		

Though only part of these sums comes from the self-taxation of teetotallers, they nevertheless show that the Estonian temperance movement is developing towards an ever increasing economic independence.

Temperance Activity 1919—1926.

This is so wide-spread that it is impossible here to give a more detailed review: the report "Karskustöö Eestis" (Temperance Work in Estonia), of 1924, alone contains 80 pages. I shall here mention only the more important total figures: speeches were held from 1919 to Jan. 1, 1926 to the number of 3670, temperance lessons given 11,839 (to 292,830 pupils), general congresses arranged 7, parochial congresses 55, temperance-education body-culture courses 42, exhibitions taken part in 26 times, literature issued 72 numbers, 123,150 copies, 183 quires, post-cards 31 series, 300,000 cards, hand-bills 516,000. Of periodicals 6 are appearing at present: "Tulev Eesti" (Estonia of To-morrow), an almanac, "Külvaja" (The Sower), a periodical, issued twice monthly, "Kevadik" (Spring-Growth) the organ of the Temperance League of the Young, issued 6 times yearly, "Eesti Naine" (The Estonian Woman) and "Väikeste Sõber" (The Friend of the Little Ones), issued once monthly, by the Women's Temperance League, "Quaestiones alcoholismi et narcomaniae", a scientific-periodical under the editorship of Professor Puusepp, appearing when a necessity for publication arises.

For the encouragement of scientific researches in the alcohol question the administration of the University has offered 41 prize-subjects and granted 17 prizes for approved works. Of other subjects for competition 5 were announced, and 43 works received, the number of prizes granted being 28. The temperance examens passed until April 1, 1926, numbered, in the lowest class, 396; in the intermediate class, 216; and for the highest class several persons are preparing themselves.

In the collection of aids to teaching which is owned by the Temperance League, there are at present 1 globoscope, 11 cinematographs, 9 lanterns for diapositives, 1 film, 2700 lantern-slides, a large number of tables, papier-mâché models, preparations etc. The library of the Temperance League contains literature in Estonian as well as in many foreign languages.

Temperance Work of Women.

The importance of women in temperance work had been mentioned in writings and speeches already towards the end of last century. The creation of an organisation of women for this purpose was first thought in 1922. The Estonian Women's Temperance League was founded in 1923. At present it embraces 16 organisations with over 3000 members, over 300 of whom have taken a vow of total abstinence.

Among the work of the Women's Temperance League there are to be specially mentioned the well-known mothers' courses and national mothers' days with attendances of many hundreds of persons, further the publication of the periodicals "Eesti Naine" and "Väikeste Sõber" (subscribers on April 20, 1926, 2640, numbers of copies printed 5000).

The Estonian organisations of women are generally founded on a basis of total abstinence, with only a few exceptions.

The Estonian Women's Temperance League is a member of the World's Women's Christian Temperance Union. Through its representatives it has taken part in the international temperance congress of women at Edinburgh in 1925, and in the congresses of the neighbouring countries.

Temperance Work of Children and Young People.

The first to draw attention to the training of the Young in the idea of temperance was Dr. Fr. R. Kreutzwald in his work "The Liquor Plague". This was, however, only the expression of a theoretical point of view, without any practical proposals.

The idea of temperance work of the Young after this remained dormant for a long time, until at the beginning of the present century a practical foundation was laid for it. In the schools a great number of temperance lessons were instituted, and beginnings were made of founding bands of hope and juvenile temperance unions, but for this the Russian government refused the permission. Only the temperance society of the Riga Estonian students came into existence at that time.

A new impetus was given to temperance work of children and Young people at the beginning of Estonian independence. The initiator was here Miss Helmi Pett, acting under the auspices of the central committee of Estonian temperance societies; later Mrs. H. Mäelo took the lead. A little later work on a basis of temperance

activity among adolescents was begun by Aleksander Juhanson-Elango, student, and on a basis of temperance activity among children by Eeva Pedriks, student, and from 1922 by the temperance education instructor Julius Elango. It is principally due to their zeal and work that temperance work among Estonian children and adolescents in recent years has made such encouraging progress.

The number of bands of hope, working on a basis of temperance activity among children, and their members, as well as the number of lessons and meetings, have been mentioned above. We add that the Teachers' Temperance League founded in 1925 has now taken upon itself the development of this matter, publishing every year 3 pamphlets, one as a programme for a temperance holiday, the second for a temperance-week, and the third with materials for school temperance competitive essays. These competitions essays it is intended to arrange in our schools in the near future, on the model of Finland, where every year tens of thousands of school-children take part in them.

For the improving the organisation of temperance work among adolescents, the Estonian Temperance League of the Young (Eesti Noorsoo Karskusliit) was founded in 1923, which works under the auspices of the Estonian Temperance League. Its activity has been very animated: at the meetings held in 1923—1925 under its direction 629 special questions were treated, and in the same period its office received 1521 letters and sent out 7353 letters. The revenue in these years has been 1,152,216 marks. There were held: 1 congress, 2 meetings of representatives and 2 courses for adolescents, with a total attendance of 280.

The publications of the Temperance League of the Young until May 1, 1926, are: 5 books, 3 editions of the almanac "Force of Youth", each of 1000 copies, 3 fly-leaves, 4 circulars and since 1923, the periodical "Kevadik" of which at present 5000 copies are printed.

The written competitions have been arranged by the League three times, in two groups, with a total of 103 candidates.

In general it must be stated that the whole of the Estonian temperance organisations of the Young are founded as a basis of total abstinence, with very few exceptions.

With the teetotal youth of foreign countries contact has been established by participation in temperance congresses of the young in Finland, Latvia, Lithuania, Norway and Germany and by exchanging publications with the temperance organising of the young in the just mentioned countries, also with those in Poland, Roumania, Holland, Jugoslavia and Switzerland.

The Estonian temperance movement among the young was described at length by J. Flaig, the leader of the German temperance movement among the young, in his address at the 17-th international temperance congress in Kopenhagen in 1923. He regarded the Estonian temperance movement among the young as a model for the whole world.

Interests and Aims connected with Temperance.

Indirect temperance work is regarded as very important by the Temperance League, but owing to its limited material and intellectual resources it has no possibility of being fully active in this field. In accordance with the principle of the division of labour the Temperance League here leaves a number of objects for work to other organisations and tries to keep in touch with them in the interests of temperance.

For the purpose of promoting educational work dealing with temperance, the Temperance League created the Education League, and this has certainly given a great impetus to educational work, arranging every year scores of educational courses and thousands of speeches and lectures.

The relations between the sporting organisations and the Temperance League are at present not very clear, owing to all kinds of misunderstandings and differences of opinion especially in regard to total abstinence, which will doubtless be solved in future. With the cooperative unions contact has been established in principle for the purpose of utilising the cooperative ideal for temperance work in the creation of people's homes, temperance restaurants, institutions for education and amusement, which would properly be the realisation of the programme of indirect temperance work by the economic-methods of cooperation.

In general the whole of culture and civilisation is connected with the idea of indirect temperance work, and the temperance-reformers are endeavouring as far as their resources permit, to fill the whole of one culture with the idea of temperance.

Temperance Politics and Temperance Legislation.

The temperance question has two equally strong aspects: the educational and the political. The former creates and fosters among the people the understanding of, and the will to, temperance, the latter realises it, regarding the general well-being of the nation and the will of the leading majority as higher than the egoistic love of pleasure, greed, ignorance or degenerate cravings of the mentally inferior classes of the people.

A true temperance policy, however, must be without party bias in political, national, religious and other social questions, it must deal with all parties and be accessible to them all. Only thus can the temperance idea gain an influence on practical life, if all parties, groups and tendencies contribute to the realization of that ideal.

The first party in Estonia to adopt a clear temperance and even prohibition, stand-point was the Estonian Socialist Workers' Party at its 1-st Congress, April 8—9, 1925, resolving to create a temperance organisation in connection with its party. The latter resolution was also taken by the 4-th Estonian Farmers' congress in 1926, as well as by the Estonian Popular Party's congress. It is hoped that all the Estonian political parties will accede to proposals of this nature and create temperance organisations among their adherents.

The Foreign Relations of the Estonian Temperance Movement and its Services in making Estonia known to the Outside World.

As was explained above, the Estonian temperance movement has received important influences from foreign countries, e. g. at the end of the 18-th century from Germany, though, indeed, in a very slight degree, in the second quarter of the 19-th century from America by way of Germany, and Latvia, in the latter part of the same century from Finland and, to a smaller extent, from Sweden. With the international temperance movement relations were established and kept up already at the Russian time: Dr. med. Koppel attended the international temperance congress at London and the Exhibition of Hygiene at Dresden in 1909, and V. Reiman and Jaan Tõnisson took part in the international temperance congress at Stockholm in 1907.

The Estonian Temperance movement, in the other hand, has exercised an influence on Latvia, calling into existence there a temperance movement in 1891, and in 1922 giving to this movement a new impetus after the stagnation following the war. Even in Russia under the Tsardom the Estonian temperance movement has figured as a factor worthy of attention and imitation. The only present influence as a model which can be ascertained, is in Lithuania (competitive essays on temperance in the universities) and in Finland (national temperance holiday in the schools).

From 1919, Estonia has taken part in nearly all the Finnish temperance congresses, in all the Latvian, Lithuanian, Northern and international temperance congresses. The representation of Estonia and the explanations regarding the development of temperance in Estonia have created a very good impression at each of these congresses, and the same impression has been obtained of Estonia by those foreign temperance workers, which have visited Estonia in recent years (4 from America, 2 from England, 1 from Ireland, 2 from France, 2 from Switzerland, 1 from Italy, 1 from Czechoslovakia, 1 from Germany, 1 from Denmark, 5 from Sweden, 7 from Finland, 3 from Latvia, 2 from Lithuania). The Estonian temperance movement has also been described more or less fully in all the temperance periodicals, pamphlets, yearbooks and congress-protocols of the whole world. The temperance movement has made the Estonian name widely known in foreign countries.

That the Estonian temperance movement is highly esteemed in foreign lands is shown by the honour done to this country in proposing hold the XVIII-th International Temperance Congress in Estonia in July 1926, which proposal was agreed to by the representatives of all the temperance organisations of the whole world in the committee for matters concerning international temperance congresses.

As regards the spreading of the knowledge of Estonia and the bringing it into contact with international cultural aspirations the influence of these congresses is of very great importance.

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FOLIA NEUROPATHOLOGICA ESTONIANA

Vol. I—V (1924—1926)

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