Doctoral Thesis

Sober contemporaries for a sober Future: The world of temperance in Bulgaria, 1890-1940

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SOBER CONTEMPORARIES FOR A SOBER FUTURE: THE WORLD OF TEMPERANCE IN BULGARIA, 1890-1940

A thesis submitted in fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of

DOCTOR OF SCIENCE OF ETH ZURICH (DR. SC. ETH ZURICH)

presented by

NIKOLAY GALINOV KAMENOV
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30th May 1984
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accepted on the recommendation of
Prof. Dr. Harald Fischer-Tiné
Prof. Dr. Nada Boškovska
Prof. Dr. Sebastian Conrad

2017
The dissertation consists of a title page, i-xvii pages, 240 pages of main body, bibliography and 34 figures.


Accepted on recommendation of:

Prof. Dr. Harald Fischer-Tiné (ETH Zürich)
Prof. Dr. Nada Boškovska (Universität Zürich)
Prof. Dr. Sebastian Conrad (Freie Universität Berlin)

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Conclusion

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<td>ABCFM</td>
<td>American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>ATMH</td>
<td>Alcohol and Temperance in Modern History: An International Encyclopedia</td>
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<tr>
<td>BCP</td>
<td>Bulgarian Communist Party</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BETU</td>
<td>Bulgarian Evangelical Temperance Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>BNTU</td>
<td>Bulgarian Neutral Temperance Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTF</td>
<td>Bulgarian Temperance Federation</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>BTU</td>
<td>Bulgarian Temperance Union</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CTI</td>
<td>Collegiate and Theological Institute in Samokov</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>CSA</td>
<td>Central State Archives in Sofia, part of the Archives State Agency</td>
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<td>IBAA</td>
<td>International Bureau against Alcoholism</td>
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<td>IOGT</td>
<td>Independent Order of the Good Templars; International Order of the Good Templars</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>MHC</td>
<td>Mount Holyoke College, Massachusetts</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>PTU</td>
<td>Pupils’ Temperance Union (also Pupils’ Neutral Temperance Union in the text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>SEAP</td>
<td>Standard Encyclopedia of the Alcohol Problem</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>STI</td>
<td>Scientific Temperance Instruction</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>TTU</td>
<td>Teachers’ Temperance Union (also Teachers’ Neutral Temperance Union in the text)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>WBM</td>
<td>Women’s Board for Missions</td>
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<tr>
<td>WCTU</td>
<td>Women’s Christian Temperance Union</td>
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<tr>
<td>YNTU</td>
<td>Youth Neutral Temperance Union</td>
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<td>YMCA</td>
<td>Young Men’s Christian Association</td>
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SUMMARY

The dissertation at hand is a historical study of the temperance movement in Bulgaria between 1890 and 1940. Departing from a conventional national historiography, the study takes a global history approach in recovering the ideas, knowledge and organizational structures that informed the movement. Chapter one of the dissertation concentrates on the developments in the fight against alcohol on a global level. It traces the origins of the modern temperance campaigns to the 19th century United States. Further, it sketches a shift in the global center of activities to Central Europe and Switzerland in particular in the early 20th century. On a theoretical level the chapter argues that a perspective from the 'periphery' could be very informative in regard to such shifts of power within global networks of non-governmental actors and epistemic communities. Chapter two of the dissertation deals with the scarcely researched topic of American protestant missionaries on the Balkans. The chapter argues that the efforts of these actors were instrumental in the process of 'territorialization'. American missionaries responded to 'native' demands for modern education and medicine. On a theoretical level, the chapter argues that such efforts were part of a global moral empire, structured around the American Board of Commissionaires for Foreign Missions as well as the World's Women Christian Temperance Union. Chapter three focuses on the interwar period in Bulgaria and sketches the shift from temperance to a 'fight against alcoholism'. The chapter draws attention to the professionalization of the movement – many of the new temperance activists being scientists, medical doctors and teachers – and analyses the discursive shift denoted as 'medicalization'. On a theoretical level, the chapter argues strongly that the discourse on degeneration is prominent within the temperance literature and has thus been popularized more widely through anti-alcoholism activism than through the very specific and expert based eugenics community. Chapter four takes a closer look at the youth temperance movement. The chapter argues that this branch of the movement was in fact the biggest reform movement in Bulgaria in the 1920s and 30s. In addition to this, in the wake of the ban of the communist party, it is argued that the youth movement provided a podium for the dispersal of anarchist and communist ideas in the interwar period. The epilogue of the dissertation sums up briefly the findings of the study and lists some of the lacunae left after the dissertation.
ZUSAMMENFASSUNG

Schichten der Gesellschaft erreicht hat. Das vierte Kapitel fokussiert sich auf die jugendliche Temperenzbewegung und argumentiert, dass sie die grösste Reformbewegung in den 1920ern und 30ern und Bulgarien war. In Bezug auf das Verbot der Kommunistischen Partei in der Zwischenkriegszeit, hat die jugendliche Anti-alkohol Bewegung auch ein Podium für die Verbreitung anarchistischer und kommunistischer Ideen angeboten. Das Nachwort fasst kurz die Schlussergebnissen der Studie zusammen und greift manche auf Lacunae auf, die nach der Studie geblieben sind.
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I would like to extend my warmest gratitude to Prof. Harald Fischer-Tiné. He has been a guiding light in my circuitous academic career for many years now and has helped this study in more ways than I can count. I have relied most extensively on my closest colleague and – in my eyes – soulmate, Dr. Jana Tschurenev. Many of the ideas in the dissertation that bear any resemblance to innovation, were in fact born in conversations with Jana or even borrowed, calqued and/or recycled from her own work. The project was part of a research group headed by Jana and dealing with the global history of the anti-alcohol movement. In this context, I have been lucky to have Dr. Francesco Spöring as a peer and am grateful for his unflinching readiness to help and discuss. Further, I have learned from and have been influenced by Dr. Sönke Bauck, together with whom we all taught a course on our research subject. My academic efforts throughout the PhD study have been endowed with not one but two research groups at my side! Many thanks to my colleagues in Berlin – Dolf-Alexander Neuhaus, Dr. Ying Xiong, Nils Riecken, Stephan Fender, Leonie Herbers, Kerstin Stubenvoll, Yan He and Dr. Dyala Hamzah – who have all contributed with comments, discussions or in their own subtle ways, to the completion of the work at hand. I am heavily indebted to all of them. The rare occasion of discussion of my work with Prof. Nada Boškovska has proven to be informative, intensive and ultimately invaluable. I count myself privileged to have been able to tap into her area expertise. Similarly, talks and discussions with Prof. Sebastian Conrad as well as his written work have given a significant sense of direction to my studies.

Dr. Nitin Varma has helped me in surprising ways throughout my PhD, his last contribution was a gentle push to finish ‘as soon as possible’ and to ‘get rid of it’. My sincerest hope is to learn one day the fine science of floating and the art rope-walking from this intimate guru and best friend of mine. Dr. Maria Framke and Dr. Vasudha Bharadwaj have been extremely generous with their time and knowledge, sharing their experience and providing a guiding hand in some difficult situations. Parts of my work have been considerably improved by the eye of one or another ‘native speaker’. My particular gratitude here extends to Dr. Jessica Pliley and Laura McWilliams. One could never foresee where a semantic non-sense has hid (this very acknowledgements, for example, suffer precisely of such deficiency – they were neither corrected nor proof-read by a ‘native-speaker’). Yulia Manoilova has provided precious aid in deciphering some of the more cryptic French sources. The section on eugenics in chapter three similarly took advantage of the unexpected editorship of the ‘vice book’ by Robert Kramm-Masaoka. I have been thus privileged with some rare comments by a historian of Japan. The sometimes heated debates with Dr. Nitin Sinha have many a time brought into question basic concepts and believes I held and have also solidified and sharpened some of the arguments made in the dissertation, for which I am infinitely thankful. Brother Doni Donev always found time to respite from his theological studies in order to instruct me in the factual history of the Protestantism in Bulgaria.

Conversations with Dr. Christine Whyte on topics ranging from donkey sausages, mid-summer archaeological-cum-swimming-pool digs and/or the occasional Glasgow glassing, have always
reminded me of the importance of locality within the broader picture of the world. As in many situations with Christine, I am lost for words to express my appreciation and regard. Conversely, although we have discussed the malocchio exhibited by Züri goats, the most defining moment of my friendship with Luzia Savary has been our teaching of South Asian history together. My tendency to take unexpected detours into Indian history in the dissertation could be partially traced back to these common efforts with Luzia. Anna Mohr, Judith Grosse, Sara Elmer and Miguel Kempf have all furthered my work and enriched me intellectually, it will be a gross underestimation to say that I have profited more than I could reciprocate.

The staff of several libraries and archives has stood up to the task to guide an inexperienced historian through the labyrinth of sources and periodicals. Despite the dire-straightness in which the SS. Cyril and Methodius National Library in Sofia has found itself in the last decades and despite some bizarre bureaucratic paperwork, the library immaculately delivered all the holdings I needed and managed in addition to provide me with an ‘experimental scanner’. I would like to thank Svetla Tosheva in particular, whose thunderous voice always signaled the arrival of a new pile of temperance periodicals. Despite the looming economic crisis in Bulgaria, I can claim with certainty that the efficiency of the Central State Archive in Sofia in the early stages of my research was hardly matched by many of the exemplary mirror institutions in the ‘West’. My work in the archives at Mount Holyoke College, in the Houghton Library at Harvard, at the Theological Seminary at Columbia has gained immensely from the proverbial East Coast friendliness and US-American down-to-business effectiveness.

My family has been a constant inspiration in my work and a source of joy in times of need. I have digressed from the medical tradition in the family, which has made the finding of a common language with Dr. Emil Kamenov and Dr. Galin Kamenov a sometimes difficult task. Our fast bond, their patience and constant support, however, have meant the world to me even if I have often failed to articulate this. As I saw my grandmother Boyanka Manoilova for the last time, she expressed a concern that my trip to Sofia might interfere with my schedule and affect the work on the dissertation. In her loving memory, I can only note that in this dissertation as in all endeavors throughout my life she has been an irreplaceable pillar of support. When submitting the dissertation to the committee in 2015, I wrote: “Prof. Emil Kamenov is now close to an achievement larger than any trifling academic matter. From the bottom of my heart, I hope to dance at his centennial celebration in February 2016. His first-hand stories about the temperance movement in Bulgaria, his participation in a temperance play as a child and his eventual contribution in the making of public health in the communist state of Bulgaria, have taught me more than most of my dusty sources taken together.” Unfortunately, I was not able to attend his centennial celebration. I had the best of excuses possible – my firstborn child Rio Emil (the latter name after his great grandfather) was born on the 17th of January 2016. Until his passport was issued and we had reached Sofia, the magisterial centennial party was over. I am glad to report, however, that the two Emils, one century in between, laughed at each other with what mostly approximated divine happiness on their toothless face (one only with a set of false teeth).
The year 2016 has been eventful for other reasons as well. By the submission of this copy, I am expecting a second child. I have been on five continents over the year and spent time at places with a rather personal character such as Accra and rural Maharashtra. To this I should add, that one particular person came with unmatched intensity to my life, only to be gone the next second. One hopes that wounds heal and that people can find affection, closeness and love beyond the odds and conventions. I hope that one day G’s time with me will be recalled with some affection and that there is still time for us somewhere, somehow and somewhen.

If I had a bigger heart, could it host my love and gratitude to Diana? Her support has been relentless in the most genuine sense of the word. A colleague joked at the last ENIUGH conference in Paris that I should not bother and be happy about it, ‘after all she can afford a historian’. Relief of pecuniary concerns, however, is the least that she has done for me and my work. It is impossible here to talk of asymmetric ignorance. Reading and the time spent in historical discussions has made her well versed in post-colonial debates and theoretical issues in the sub-discipline of global history. With regard to IFNγ and its role in the life cycle of T lymphocytes, I am as good as illiterate. This has also translated into an imbalanced help – my reading of her work is more pro forma than anything else. I genuinely hope to be able to compensate you one day.
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PERSONAL INFORMATION

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Jacobs University Bremen, Germany. Intercultural Humanities, MA

2003 – 2007
Jacobs University Bremen, Germany History, BA

1998 – 2003
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AWARDS

2007 – 2009
Max Kaase Fellowship: outstanding graduate student at Jacobs University Bremen

PROFESSIONAL EXPERIENCE

06.2015 – onwards
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17.08.2015
Doctoral thesis successfully defended in August 2015, PhD title conferred.

04.04.2011 – 04.17.2011
Guest scholar at the Geistwissenschaftlichen Zentrum Geschichte und


LANGUAGES

Bulgarian mother tongue
English fluent
German fluent
Russian working knowledge
Hindi working knowledge, various courses in India and Switzerland.


Misho and Ida
INTRODUCTION
The palimpsest of global history

Tapping on the ever growing popularity of the catch word ‘globalization’ in the 1990s, a cynical joke summarized the car accident in the Pont de l’Alma tunnel in Paris and subsequent death of the princess of Wales as a combination of varied national influences – French infrastructure, Italian paparazzi, German car, Scottish whiskey, etc. The flattened temporal dimension of the story – all substance in fact originating from a certain nation, but functioning only as an instance devoid of history, one that simply brings closer the ominous collision – depicted a world in which the world could be consumed at once, a new reality of connectedness brought about by capitalism. The dark humor, of course, suggests that such a reality has come at a price and along its own dangers. The concept of globalization captured not only the popular imagination of the 1990s, but also became a descriptive, explanatory and analytical category for disciplines ranging through sociology, political science and economics. In contrast, after some meandering the still budding sub-discipline of global history has abandoned the term ‘globalization’ or at least transformed it simply into one subject of inquiry among many, partially to avoid teleology and partially because of the short-comings of the linearity and uniformity which seemed to be inherent to the term.1

Building on these discussions, a conscious attempt has been made in this study to uphold a critical stance towards simplistic stories of linear globalization, modernization, or diffusion. I do not intend to dwell here on the fine tuning between the concepts ‘transnational’, ‘world’ and ‘global’. This issue has been already discussed in a celebrated talk in the American Historical Review2 and has been subject to relentless debates, manifestos and programmatic statements ever since.3 The AHR conversation, moreover, concluded that more empirical research is needed as opposed to agenda setting pieces – a recommendation I hope I was able to take seriously in the study at hand. My belief is that research itself should produce its own definitions. Instead of setting the tenets of how-it-should-be, I will elaborate more cogently on the analytical framework of the study and the works and materials that have informed it. In addition to this, the archival sources used will be briefly explained and a sketch of the structure of the whole work will be drawn.

Let us begin with the question as to what global history means for this study. I want to again evoke the density of connections and the flattened time chronology of the gloomy Lady Di joke. Global history as understood in this work is best epitomized by a document found in the archive of the Mount Holyoke College (MHC) in Massachusetts, New England. In the second box of archival materials pertaining to Zoe Ann Marie Locke, a graduate of the MHC who was sent as a missionary of the American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions

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1 For a classical critique of the concept of ‘globalization’ see Cooper 2001; also Conrad and Eckert 2007; Conrad 2013, pp 87-111.  
3 See O’Brien 2006; Conrad, Eckert and Freitag (Eds.) 2007; Budde, Conrad and Janz (Eds.) 2010; Middell 2006; Middell and Naumann 2010.
(ABCFM) to ‘European Turkey’, a leather-bound book printed in 1867 could be found. Many global processes and connections of the late 19th century are condensed in both the contents and as we will see in other material aspects of the book. The original book reads right to left, in other words the title page of the book is to be found at what for the English language reader would conventionally consider as the last page of the book. The book is a dual language book, i.e. its text is bilingual. Each page of text written in Ottoman Turkish is followed by a page of translation in newly standardized, mid-nineteenth century Bulgarian. The title page reads Царскýй Наказательный Законникъ: Образ на Хати-Хумаюна – the Ottoman criminal code translated after the original hatt-i humayun. Printed by the government, this document could be seen as one of the attempts in the 1850s and 60s to solidify imperial power within the Ottoman realm, through legal reforms and through active engagement with the various religious and ethnic minorities constituting the empire. With hindsight, one could observe that the date and place of publishing stand evidence to the failure of this project. The book is printed in Русчюкъ [Rustchuk] by the Danubian Ottoman Publishing House, just eleven years before the city was renamed to its present name of Ruse by the marching forces of the Baltic German military engineer and general in the tsarist Russian army Eduard Totleben in 1878.

In itself, the book is already a historical source silently revealing the global processes of territorialization. The triumphal procession of the nation state as a form of legal and legitimate administration of sovereign territorial space between 1870 and 1950 here is countered by an imperial reform project. However, once in the possession of Zoe Ann Marie Locke, the book was loaded with new meaning and different information and became a carrier of yet new global and historically relevant connections. Despite that by this point the contents of the book were dated, i.e. a new legal code in effect in the newly formed Bulgarian nation, the American missionary found the sturdy binding of the book useful for a soft imperial project of her own executed through the 1880s. On what the English language reader would recognize as the title page a pencil handwritten title reads Biographical Sketches of Women engaged in the W.C.T.U. (cf. figures 1 and 2). What follows are press clippings from US periodicals that have published articles on women activists in the Women Christian Temperance Union (WCTU) glued over the hatt-i humayun (figure 3), making the book practically trilingual. It was by now transformed into a palimpsest of global history. Although various periodicals have been used by Locke, the most regular source to overlay the criminal code of the sultanate was the Union Signal – the official organ of the WCTU. Apart from keeping readers up-to-date with temperance activities in the United States, the journal had the important function of delivering reports from missionaries spread throughout the world. It informed its clientele of anti-alcohol activities in far removed places of the globe, legitimizing the existence of the World’s WCTU before its donators and

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4 For more on Locke see the second chapter of the dissertation.
5 Maier 2012. For a clarification of the term see below.
6 See a short summary on the topic in Burbank and Cooper 2010, pp 341-6 under the caption ‘Ottoman Adjustments’. See also on the general ‘inclusiveness’ in the Ottoman Empire ibid, pp 117-48
creating in the process – to refer to what remains the most accomplished study and intricate analysis of the WCTU so far – a moral empire spanning the world. We would return to this point in the first chapter, but for now we should take a further step to see how the global plot thickens even further in our leather bound book.

Figure 1. Opening page of the *hatt-i humayun* [Locke Family Records, MHC, box 2]

Figure 2. Opening page of Zoe Ann Marie Locke’s *Biographical Sketches* [Ibid.]

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7 Tyrell 1991a; Tyrell 2010
Pandita Ramabai, born in Gangamul, Karnataka, in 1858, was a South Asian social reformer and – it might be added universal or at least international – champion of women rights and
emancipation. A legendary figure in the World WCTU, she had allegedly first turned to Brahmo Samaj teachings and ‘broke her caste’ with an intercaste marriage, while later during her stay in England, where she studied educational methods and taught Sanskrit at the Cheltenham College, she converted to Christianity. She famously traveled to the USA, meeting Francis Willard, the second and perhaps best known national President of the WCTU, as well as other activists. Eventually, she became vice president of the union in India. All this brought to her extensive attention and captured the imagination of our missionary in Bulgaria. Ramabai came second only to Francis Willard in Zoe Locke’s collection of press clippings of her role models. Among other poems devoted to Ramabai in the press clippings there is one penned by Lucy Larcom published in The Woman’s Magazine that deserves a quotation at length:

The little Hindu maiden heard a voice amid the lull
Of Singing streams and rustling leaves, in groves in Gungamul;
It swept along the mountain wind down to the western sea –
Heaven whispering to the listening earth, ‘Truth, like the aid, is free!’

That word had winged her father’s feet from fettering caste away,
To give his fledgelings liberty for flight in ampler day
Than man’ close, cage-like code allowed; and so the maiden grew
To reach of thought and insight clear no dim zenana knew.

Child of the lone Ghaut Mountains! flower of India’s wilderness!
She knows that God unsealed her lips her sisters dumb to bless,
Gave her the clew to bring them forth from where they blindly grope,
Bade her unlock their dungeon doors, and light the lamps of hope.

Bravest of Hindu widows! how dare we look at thee,
So fearless in love’s liberty, and say that we are free?
We, who have heard the voice of Christ, and yet remain the slaves
Of indolence and selfishness inured in living graves?

O Ramabai, may we not share thy task almost divine!
The cause is womanhood’s, is Christ’s own work no less than thine.
The Power that unseals sepulchers will move thy little hand!
The stone rolls back – they rise – they breathe – the women of the land!

The poem is engaging at many levels – predating the famous [The] White Man’s Burden and written in New England. In a certain though decidedly dissimilar way it too heralds the American entrance to the imperial club through reference to British imperial and Orientalist tropes – caste, dim zenana, dumb to bless, blindly groping in the dungeon. Such references

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8 For more on Pandita Ramabai and the WCTU see Tschurenev forthcoming. Chakravarti 1998; Kosambi 1988
9 Locke Family Records, MHC, box 2
notwithstanding, the poem seems to endorse a softer imperial project, one that might be willing to engage compradors as the central figures in the civilizing project – how dare we look at thee [...] and say we are free? But even more important for our study is the appearance of the poem in the form of a press clipping in Zoe Locke’s book of heroines. How did the Gangamul born Ramabai made her way to the Balkans in the late 19th century and managed to cover the pages of the obsolete Sultan’s criminal code?

Similar to the globalization joke of the 1990s we could read here a number of flattened stories of globalization some one hundred years earlier. However, it seems to me that a more detailed look into the histories surrounding all these instances – their chronological, social and cultural trajectories – would prove a more gratifying and fruitful exercise. Thus, the material evidence of the recycled hatt-i humayun does not simply symbolize the displacement of one territoriality by another – epitomized by the gluing over of new pages – but instead could be also seen as the story bridging two epochs and the story of overlapping territorialities over time. Conventionally seen as decidedly separate periods, with the dividing line of the Bulgarian independence of 1878, the Ottoman Balkans and Bulgarian nation share more than what immediately meets the eye. The US-American protestant mission named originally European Turkey Mission, subsequently renamed to Balkan mission and finally to Bulgarian Mission would be the most apparent example while taking our book as a departure point. However, the national project itself had also its roots, raison d’être as well as language of reference in the Ottoman times/empire. Another story related to the same national project revealed here is the desire for and formation of new knowledge that was supposed to cater better to the needs of a new national state undergoing radical social transformations. The temperance movement born from the efforts of missionaries like Locke took gradually root in Bulgaria and the Balkans. Temperance became intricately intertwined with contemporary social and political processes, its discourse reflecting at first the formation of the nation state and later, during the interwar period, oscillating between a vision of international system securing peace and a vision of a pure, healthy, and strong nation. But as the example illustrates, and as I will demonstrate in detail, the story of temperance is also in stark contrast to a conventional story of importation, adaptation or translation of ready-made knowledge into the enclosed space of a nation state. The temperance movement in Bulgaria from 1880 to 1940 was a part of a broad, indeed worldwide network(s) of social activism and knowledge production. In this sense, a fuller, riper understanding of the Bulgarian temperance movement should necessarily strive to save its story from the nation.10

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10 Here I refer to Prasenjit Duara’s 1995 celebrated critique of the ‘intimate relationship between the nation-state and nationalism on the one hand and linear, evolutionary history on the other’. Studies on the temperance movement written in Bulgarian have tended to overemphasize an autocephalous character of ‘Bulgarian temperance’ at the expense of historical evidence pointing to the international and global origins and long-lasting connections of the movement.
Paralleling development elsewhere, the story of temperance in Bulgaria entails also a complex and entangled social history. It is a story in which different actors over different periods transformed, communicated and tried to impose morals. It is a story in which missionaries faced what they saw as half-heathens and tried to produce civilized subjects. It is a story in which a ‘vice’ was transformed into a disease and a new set of actors lobbied for bio-political measures in countering the ‘evils’ of alcoholism on a social and state level. Above all, the story of temperance in Bulgaria is also a story of liberation and empowerment. It is the story of the slow formation of a civil society, it tells us how pupils and students exercised in political representation, in managing organizations, editing periodicals and running finances. In the last instance it was a podium for conveying political messages, but also the scene of tensions between political factions that often clashed over their visions of a future world.

Context and analytical framework

Although some of the crucial terms framing the study such as territorilization, soft empire and nation building have already been mentioned en passant, it seems to me that their wide-reaching significance for the whole dissertation necessitates their reiteration, clarification and, sometimes, even their extension. While most of the chapters have their own introduction that goes more into detail of the particular issues covered, it seems to me helpful to sketch some of the most important influences and calques here. To begin with, let us look at the temporal and geographical setting of the study. From the onset of this research into the Bulgarian temperance movement it became apparent that its most suitable temporal boundaries should lie between roughly 1890 and 1940. The intensification of temperance campaigning by the US-American missionaries in European Turkey in 1880s gave institutional fruition in the beginning of the 1890s, when a Bulgarian Temperance Union [Български Въздържателен Съюз] was called into being and a new temperance journal started what was to become a thirty-odd year career. While the interwar period was marked with an extension of the social reach of the temperance campaigns and periodicals as well as an enormous growth in the number of associational structures related to the ‘fight against alcoholism’, the period after the Second World War marked effectively the end of the movement. What used to be a civil-society issue was by roughly 1950 successfully incorporated into the project of social improvement and public health of the newly formed communist state. Apart from setting these temporal boundaries, two particular stages in the history of the movement could be identified leading to a two-tier periodization. Based partially on an institutional change, a glance at the leading actors in the movement or discursive transformations, one could easily identify an initial period from 1890 up to 1920,
marked by protestant campaigning and a discourse inculcated with religious zeal and a desire for a moral reform. A second wave of activism in the 1920s and 30s conversely labelled its efforts as a part of a social-hygiene, public health and essentially scientific project for the improvement of the Bulgarian population and nation.\(^\text{14}\)

The secondary literature devoted to the history of the temperance movement in Bulgaria for the aforementioned period proved to be scant and for certain issues completely non-existent.\(^\text{15}\) Precious little has been written on the issue of the local referenda for the closing of pubs that took place on a large scale in the interwar period.\(^\text{16}\) Contrasting the scarcity of secondary materials was the extraordinary abundance of archival materials related to the history of the movement, a point to which I will return below. Thus, facing the challenge of recovering the broad contours of the study exclusively through archival materials, I first turned to the secondary literature engaging seemingly peripheral or tangential topics. These included central actors in the movement as well as overlapping discourses such as social hygiene and eugenics.

The first set of characters in the story proved to be exceedingly destabilizing with regard to the initial geography of the study. Studies written in the tradition of national historiography and dedicated to the history of the US-American missionaries and the Protestant Christianity in general, held important information with regard to the early temperance campaigns in Bulgaria.\(^\text{17}\) Other studies meeting current academic standards and dealing sometimes with the same actors but from a different perspective, however, made apparent that the US-American missionaries were not necessarily a religious community found within the nation state of Bulgaria, but rather actors who to begin with have crossed the Atlantic Ocean to come to the Balkans. They were caught and concurrently entangled in the complex social, political and territorial transformations taking place around their stations.\(^\text{18}\) Apart from this, it soon became clear that the missionaries were also a part of what has been called a ‘Protestant International’ – a 19\(^{\text{th}}\) and early 20\(^{\text{th}}\) century network of exchange between missionaries that spanned the globe.\(^\text{19}\) As the work at hand argues, this was particularly true also in the context of temperance campaigns. This realization raised analytical issues that could be broadly summarized under the two following rubrics – geography/territorialization and others/othering.

\(^{14}\) Kamenov 2014
\(^{15}\) Some historical essays were occasionally written under the auspices of communist campaigns against alcoholism. Although the study of Petkov 1982 has been similarly heavily influenced by the programmatic language of the early 1980s Bulgarian historiography and was published by the Fatherland Front Press, it provides the most exhaustive – albeit regional – account of the temperance movement between 1920 and 1980.
\(^{16}\) The only historical study of high academic standard on the subject that is known to me is Ivanova 1993, in which the author discusses the failed referendum in Stara Zagora.
\(^{17}\) Kulichev (Ed.) 1994; Kulichev 2008, particularly pp. 265-75
\(^{18}\) For example Reeves-Ellington 2004; Reeves-Ellington 2010; Reeves-Ellington; Reeves-Ellington 2013; Despot 2010
\(^{19}\) Clark and Ledger-Lomas 2012
The ABCFM established a mission in ‘European Turkey’ in the middle of the 19th century. The career of the various stations in Thessaloniki, Eski Zagra (Stara Zagora), Phillipopolis (Plovdiv), Samokov, Sofia, Monastir, etc., witnessed a period in which the Ottoman Empire was swiftly releasing its territorial possessions to the numerous Balkan national independence movements. In certain ways protestant missionaries were in fact instrumental in this process. They helped the nascent Bulgarian national independence movement with the establishment of printing presses, in the process of language standardization and with different educational projects. However, if classical studies such as Ernest Gellner’s Nations and Nationalism and Benedict Andersons’ Imagined Communities could explain these transformations as the inherent logic of the newly formed nation state, some cardinal issues remained unresolved. How could the insularity of the nation state be reconciled with the universalism of the protestant missionaries? The simple answer to this question laid in the plurality of the process of nation building described by Gellner and Anderson. The nation state was a global historical phenomenon. Indeed, the nation state was in fact partially a product of the forming of international relations between states. To grasp best the complex issues involved here I have borrowed the term used by Charles Maier to describe the triumphal march of the nation state. Territorilization was a historic process in which what he calls Leviathan 2.0 was established around the globe. In this sense, the US-American missionaries on the Balkans were agents of territorialization.

The second rubric stems from the issue of what might be called the protestant civilizing mission. In short, the question arose as to what gave the ABCFM missionaries the sense of entitlement that they can save ‘others’? Millenarian zeal offered only a part of the answer. It could not explain the individual missionary choice of making the trans-Atlantic journey. After all, there were enough souls to be tended to in the US itself. Debates on the existence of a ‘soft empire’ held some important clues with this regard. In particular Ian Tyrell’s studies of the WCTU under the title Women’s Empire and his later Reforming the World introduced and developed the notion of ‘moral empire’. As we will see later in this work, US-American missionaries on the Balkans believed to be at the forefront of improving the moral constitution of a population pertaining to what they sometimes saw as only a perfunctory form of Christianity. The issue of the ‘Western’ projection of the Balkans has been sufficiently addressed in Maria Todorova’s classical study Imagining the Balkans. Todorova’s notion of ‘Balkanism’ has provoked heated debates in the circles of historians writing on the region. Todorova has analyzed the creation of Balkanism within the

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20 See for example Daskalov 2004
21 Reeves-Ellington 2013; Kamenov 2014
23 Maier 2012; See also Schulze 2004 for an argument similar to the ‘national competition’.
24 Tyrell 1991a; Tyrell 2010
25 Todorova 2009
framework of a broader hierarchy of ‘othering’. Thus, in her opinion the ‘Western’ literature on the Balkans present us not simply with an incomplete other, but rather with an incomplete self.\textsuperscript{27} The native of the peninsula, in this understanding, being the alter-ego of the ‘Western’ self. Such an interpretation doubtlessly has an analytical appeal. In particular, it very well captures the tension exhibited in the issue of having a protestant mission in a nominally – at least after 1878 – Christian land. In my handling of ABCFM sources I have consciously chosen the term ‘Orientalism’.\textsuperscript{28} It is needless to say that Edward Said’s work had far reaching effects. The wake of his deconstruction of ‘the Orient’ has seen the disappearance of the uncritical use of the word from the academic vocabulary. However, one of Said’s biggest achievements in has been that he perhaps unwittingly sow the seeds of the deconstruction of the still seemingly immovable concept of the ‘West’.\textsuperscript{29} The discursive dialectic between East and West has been a constitutive process for both. The logical resolution of the argument is that if there is no Orient, there is likewise no Occident.

This dissertation follows in these footprints. I do not want to provincialize Europe in recovering some counter tradition that might pose a challenge to the conventional way of history writing of the day.\textsuperscript{30} What better way to provincialize Europe than to focus on its margins? Historical studies of the Balkans usually present us with a Europe that is singularly different from what Dipesh Chakrabarty summed up in and understood by the term – a ‘Western’ intellectual thrust, an economic class and a colonial project, all of which combined came to an unmatched rule of violence and hegemonic suasion over the world. In the history of temperance in Bulgaria, Europe sometimes means the association of remarkably poor peasants, who are subject to the paternalistic care of US-American missionaries and henceforth subjects to a global ‘moral empire’. In particular, some of the tropes found in the protestant literature on the Balkans and in Bulgaria bear an uncanny semblance to what has been called a colonial ‘civilizing mission’.\textsuperscript{31}

The second set of characters in the story of temperance in Bulgaria was the motley conglomeration of medical doctors, teachers, biologists, poets and fiction writers behind the meteoric rise of new anti-alcohol associations around 1920. To recover some of the main institutions and protagonists I again resorted to the secondary literature available on contiguous issues. One particular topic in this regard has been eugenics. Together with temperance, this movement for the improvement of human stock shared space in the broader project of ‘social hygiene’ in the interwar period. Studies on the discourses of ‘degeneration’, ‘racial hygiene’ and eugenics as well as on the institutional history of the movement have multiplied in recent years.\textsuperscript{32} Anti-alcoholism was present but often as a

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\textsuperscript{27} Todorova 2009, p. 19  \\
\textsuperscript{28} Said 1984  \\
\textsuperscript{29} The undying popularity of the concept is evident in the success and celebration of the work of Niall Ferguson, e.g. Ferguson 2012  \\
\textsuperscript{30} Chakrabarty 2000  \\
\textsuperscript{31} Fischer-Tiné and Mann (Eds.) 2004; Barth and Osterhammel (Eds.) 2005; Watt and Mann (Eds.) 2011  \\
\textsuperscript{32} Mircheva 2004; Mircheva 2011; Mircheva 2014; Promitzer 2007; Promitzer 2011
\end{flushleft}
secondary concern in the work of Bulgarian eugenicists. If temperance was a tangential issue for the eugenicists, however, the notions of eugenics, racial hygiene and degeneration were prominent and at times even central for the temperance journals. One of the notable arguments made in the work at hand is that the temperance movement in Bulgaria, with its large associational following and even larger number of devoted periodicals, was the popular vehicle for such notions. Significantly, all-in-all the temperance organizations and campaigners did not endorse negative eugenics, but rather emphasized the importance of the improvement of the material and ‘social’ conditions surrounding groups that were susceptible to alcoholism.

Albeit the issues of power and othering were arguably of a markedly different kind interwar period as compared to earlier evangelical campaigns, they are still recognizable and thinly veiled behind a veneer of science. Short after the end of the Great War the protestant associations lost their monopoly over the ‘alcohol problem’ in Bulgaria. A central issue in the dissertation has been the question as to why this particular caesura around 1920? Why were the protestant organizations displaced and substituted by the new, mushrooming organizations for fighting alcoholism? It is only too easy to note that the former were based on religion and the latter professedly secular. Linear stories of secularization in the 19th century have received some heavy critique in the last decades as has also the broader umbrella theory of modernization. It is enough to refer here to the late Sir Christopher Bayly, who had convincingly argued that an actual rise and global expansion of what he called ‘new-styled’ religion has taken place in the 19th century. Such tectonic processes notwithstanding, it is impossible to ignore the medicalization and scientification of the temperance discourse in Bulgaria. As elsewhere, the language of the temperance campaigns in Bulgaria saw a significant shift. The central issue in 1920s and 30s became alcoholism rather than drunkenness. The drunkard was now an alcoholic. One important qualification should be made here. The medicalization, or more broadly the scientification of the discourse did not mean separate spheres for protestant temperance and anti-alcoholism. If anything, one should speak of a shared terrain – scientist were often inspired by moral zeal. What was labelled as science was often inculcated with prior religious arguments. In contrast, protestant temperance activists were keenly aware of the sway of science, relied heavily on its label and often provided it as a last instance in their publications. All this strongly suggests that a coarse Manichean divide should be abandoned in favor of a more nuanced reading. Success for the temperance campaigns was not cloistered in the question whether it was secular or based on faith, but was a rather diffuse issue of degrees.

33 Negative eugenics is understood here as the forced hindering of reproduction (also through sterilization) as opposed to the positive eugenics’ measures that were put in place to further desired ‘traits’. See also Kamenov forthcoming.
34 Bayly 2004, pp 330-3
35 Levine 1978; Porter 1985; Rimke and Hunt 2002; Tschurenev, Spöring and Große 2014
A final note on the surrounding social and political transformations. Where possible I have tried to present the history of temperance as a thread going through the fabric of social history of the region, major political shifts and disturbances being the visible and sometimes rough seams. Major transformations such as the growing literacy rates, the process of professionalization, nascent urbanization and demographic changes, have accompanied and, as could be anticipated, influenced heavily the history of the temperance movement. To give context to my study I have relied on the well-established secondary literature on the various subjects. The major goal of the temperance campaigners was to overcome the individual and social problems related to drinking. It is my scholarly belief, that neither the problem of drinking could be objectified with hindsight nor could the impact of temperance be quantified. Still, often to my surprise, I have realized the desire of many fellow historians to understand how the two issues informed and influenced each other. Recovering the social history of drinking in Bulgaria remains a difficult task, its reconstruction from secondary materials close to impossible. There have been some exercises in historical anthropology trying to recover the structures of everyday life in the Bulgarian city during the period of ‘national revival’. Other studies, as for example a new study on the history of smoking and tobacco in Bulgaria, have dealt en passant with some drink establishments such as the kruchma, the pub or tavern. In order to provide a necessary background, I have occasionally referred to some contemporary statistics, some literature of the time and finally, with the inevitable bias disclaimer, some of the writings on drinking found in the temperance journals. A social history of drinking in Bulgaria and on the Balkans remains to be written. It has to necessarily rely, however, on sources different from the ones used for this study.

Archival materials used and structure of the dissertation

The primary sources used for the study could be broadly divided into archival materials such as correspondence and institutional documents of temperance associations and periodicals from the time. A major thrust were the documents of the ABCFM in the holdings of the Houghton library at the University of Harvard. The major holdings on European Turkey, the Balkans and eventually Bulgaria treasure invaluable information on the work of the stations, the educational endeavors of the missionaries as well as on the temperance activities organized by the Protestants. In my opinion, the reports also represent a priceless historical source for the region not simply in terms of their substance and systematic production but in one different regard. The sources by the missionaries often represent – or at least claim to do so – the first hand impressions of actors who are allegedly impartial to many of the sudden political alterations. Of course, this does not mean that one should take such reports at face value. The fact that they remain sometimes removed from their immediate political environment, however, makes them into a potential corrective and adds fascinating nuance.

36 Daskalova 1999; Daskalov 2005; Baloutzova 2011
37 Gavrilova 1999
38 Neuburger 2012
to the reading of some otherwise well-known events. In addition to Houghton, some records of ABCFM concerning the Samokov station could be found in the Burke Library, pertaining to the Theological Seminary at the Columbia University. Some documents pertaining to Dr. Kingsbury, his attitude to alcohol and use of the Bible were of particular interest here. The Locke family had a pioneering role in establishing temperance groups for men, women and children in and around the Philippopolis station. The paper pertaining to Zoe Ann Marie Locke, her correspondence to her former fellow students as well as many unpublished materials could be found in the archive at the Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts.

International affiliations and correspondence shifted in the interwar period to central Europe. In this regard, the International Bureau against Alcoholism (IBAA) in Lausanne was perhaps the most important institution for the Bulgarian temperance associations in the 1920s and 30s. The prima facie promising archives in Lausanne and Magdeburg, however, turned out to be devoid of useful sources. This setback was more than compensated by the richness of the sources found on the other side of the correspondence. The Central State Archive (CSA) in Sofia hosts the documents of a number of relevant institutions and the personal papers of some of the most prominent actors in the history of the movement. Thus, the private correspondence of Hristo Dimchev and Dr. Haralampi Neichev revealed precious insights into some of the watershed moments in the history of the movement. Their correspondence with the IBAA, with Dr. Robert Hercod or Auguste Forel similarly puts national developments in broader perspective. While some of the institutional holdings, as for example the one on the Student Temperance Union, possessed only a handful of documents, there have been others, the mastering of which has been a gratifying challenge. The holdings of the Bulgarian Temperance Evangelical Union (BTEU) were the richest. These included the year-book – two handwritten volumes recording the annual meetings of the initial BTU and, once it was renamed, the later meetings of the BTEU. As time progressed, the importance of the BTEU withered vis-à-vis other actors. Judging by their holdings, however, it seems that the Protestants tried to counter the tendency through the exactness of the records they amassed. These very holdings remain an invaluable source for the umbrella organizations of the Bulgarian Neutral Temperance Union and the Bulgarian Temperance Federation in the 1920s and 30s. Further, some of the circular wars fought by different factions within the temperance movement could be only reconstructed through the materials found there.

The bare volume of periodicals devoted to temperance simply necessitated the writing of a history of the movement. There have been numerous monthly institutional journals, journals claiming to be scientific as well as many devoted to children. There were even

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39 Spöring 2014  
40 All the relevant figures will be introduced in some length in the respective chapters. See also Kamenov 2014  
41 Spöring 2014  
42 Ibid.; Tanner 2006
temperance newspapers that came out fortnightly. I will single out the most important ones here. In the initial stages of the BTU two papers printed in Samokov and Plovdiv – *Vuzdurzhatel* [Въздържател; Abstainer] and *Vuzdurzhatelno Zname* [Въздържателно Знаме; Temperance Flag] – were fused.\(^{43}\) As already noted, this was to be the start of a career extending over three decades. In comparison, the most prominent journal of the interwar period was the *Borba s alkoolizma* [sic!, Fight against alcoholism], closely associated with the Independent Order of the Good Templars (IOGT) – a fraternal temperance organization with lodges worldwide.\(^{44}\) The Bulgarian branch of the IOGT was headed by Dr. Neichev, who also acted as editor its journal. As a direct competition to *Borba s alkoolizma* came the official organs of the BTF – *Trezva Borba* [Трезва Борба; Sober Fight] and *Far* [Фар; Lighthouse]. The 1920s and 30s witnessed also the initiation and dramatic growth of the temperance youth movement. This was also reflected in the steady circulation of the teachers’ temperance journal *Sober Education* [Трезва Просвета]. *Sptirtomrazec* [Спиртомразец], later to be renamed to *Trezvache* [Трезваче], was the flagship of the temperance periodicals for children and was again associated to the IOGT and Neichev. Some journals that manage to survive only a couple of years still remain of interest even if only for the question as to what brought about their demise. One such paper was the *Sober Thought* [Трезва Мисъл] published in the mid-1930s and having an open affiliation to anarcho-communists.\(^{45}\) Following the sharp tone of the periodical one can recover some of the broader normative debates raging within the movement. Of the English periodicals I have confined myself to the crown jewel of the WCTU – the *Union Signal*. The reports on the success of the temperance work in Bulgaria as well as the general construction of a global ‘moral empire’ have been the focus of my readings here. Although the IBAA did not have one such prominent journal, its annual reports in the form of books as well as the conference proceedings have compensated this deficiency and provided an invaluable insight of the interwar transnational affiliations as well as broader connections of the Bulgarian movement.

I have kept throughout the dissertation a very close distance to the sources. The apparent downside of this are the perhaps sometimes lengthy quotations. I hope, however, that the reader is rewarded by my choice. I count most quotes as decidedly reverse of tedious. Further, the advantage of this approach to the sources has been an early resolution to the issue of chapterization. Some words here are necessary, however, as the structure of the dissertation is not necessarily intuitive. The choice of four chapters has been based on a combination of chronological, actor-based, institutional and discursive considerations. All of them share, however, a similar inner structure. Chapters begin with an introduction of the

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\(^{43}\) I have used translated titles for the institutions and periodicals that rendered themselves easier in English, for others I have used a simple transcribed version and provided a translation once. If not explicitly stated otherwise, translations in the work are mine.

\(^{44}\) ATMH, pp. 268-72

\(^{45}\) The journal positioned itself in opposition to the ‘Bolsheviks’. With the distance of time, however, one can note that this reflected factional splits and tensions within the radical left. Anarchists and communists shared the same end of the political spectrum.
period and actors at hand. Afterwards the stage is set through a discussion of parallel historical phenomena around the globe and the secondary literature concerned with them. In addition, often the important transnational connections informing the temperance events in Bulgaria are discussed. All chapters are also endowed with an opening visual, chosen to match the central topic of the chapter; this also underlines the importance of visual sources and visual analysis particularly for the study of temperance – a topic explored in detail in chapter 4. The first chapter on the global imaginaire of temperance is thus illustrated with a poster of a temperance crusader that is fighting a serpent suffocating the globe (see figure 4). Hagen Schulze has commented that the nation state needed a perceived danger from without that could be used to mobilize, glue and rally together from within its borders.\(^{46}\) I think this idea could be extended to our case – the creation of a global imagined community that fought against alcohol needed to visualize such a danger from without. The second chapter, devoted to the moral empire of the US-American missionaries on the Balkans, is illustrated by the cover page of a Bulgarian Protestant newspaper from the late 1920s (see figure 6). The United States and Bulgaria are symbolically represented through two female figures protruding from the surface of a section of the globe. While the Bulgarian figure is dressed in some ‘traditional’ attire and waves a handkerchief from the Balkans, the American figure is roughly four times the size of the former and is paradoxically dressed in a Greek tunic with drapery. In a quiet repose reminiscent of one of Michelangelo Buonarroti’s most famous works, she extends her right hand over the Atlantic in a gesture of sublime condescension. America’s commanding presence on the surface of the globe is underscored by the US flag she supports with her left hand. The opening visual of Chapter three is the only one that digresses from the explicit reference to the globe (see figure 11). Here, as in figure 4, we again have a symbolic fight between two figures. I have chosen this particular image from the cover of *Borba alkoolizma* for the seemingly paradoxical depiction of alcoholism – the new scientific and medical term – as a monstrosity similar to the *lamia* from the Bulgarian folklore. Chapter four is devoted to the children and youth branches of the temperance movement. The opening image of the chapter (see figure 14) is from the cover of *Trezvache* and portrays some twenty children dancing hand in hand around a globe stamped with the logo of IOGT. It could be read as an early version of the contemporary idea of ‘celebration of diversity’. The figures of children are consciously representative of ‘races’ and yet form one single race of human children that heralds a globe without the poison of alcohol.

**Overview of the chapters**

The first chapter, by means of its double mandate, sets itself perhaps the most ambitious goal of the dissertation. On the one hand it provides a literature review of English and German studies concerned with the history of temperance and anti-alcohol campaigns. On the other hand the chapter advances an argument of a certain global imaginaire found in

\(^{46}\) Schulze 2004, pp. 267-75
Bulgaria and beyond. The literature review itself serves two functions. First, it draws a map of temperance around the world. In other words, through secondary literature it introduces particular regional activism that has transpired at particular times. In addition, some organizations that had a constitutive role in the formation of a global network of temperance activism, such as WCTU and IOGT, are discussed in more detail. Second, the review also tries to single out some of the more prominent social and political issues that have accompanied temperance campaigns trans-regionally. Under the latter rubric three main topics have been identified and summarized. Temperance in the 19th century was often entangled in labor and class relations. Was there some objective particularity to industrial work that provoked sobriety rules in the broader framework of Taylorism? Further, what was to be the reaction of the left part of the political spectrum? This section discusses some historic evidence from extra-European regions in order to question the ‘objective grounds’ underneath the new forms of work regulation with regard to alcohol. The section also turns attention to the fact that temperance and the ‘alcohol issue’ were often a bone of contention within the left. While many European social democrats saw alcohol consumption as a financial drain on the working family and thought that the ‘wine capital’ should be fought against with temperance campaigns, there were also those who saw alcoholism as a sub product of capitalism. The latter position was strengthened by the fear that pubs might be the only venue for the socialization of the working class. In this line of argumentation, efforts were to be concentrated in fighting capitalism – once toppled the alcohol problem would disappear on its own. Another social cause that intersected with temperance activism were the campaigns for the women’s right to vote. In particular in the United States, there were many suffragists who were also part of the WCTU. Apart from such intersections with early feminism, the history of the temperance movement raises also questions of gendered alcohol consumption – did the women’s participation reflect a male alcohol problem? Although the Bulgarian case differs significantly in the intensity with which the temperance movement supported women’s rights, gender issues were still raised in the discursive format of the ‘Bulgarian woman’s role’ in the family and society. A final issue singled out in the review of the secondary literature is the relation of the alcohol issue to colonial and imperial endeavors. Here again no straight forward answer could be provided. It seems that colonial regimes sometimes supported the alcohol trade, while at other times using temperance campaigns and regulations proved helpful as a form of control and social disciplining. Further, national independence movement similarly sometimes used temperance as a weapon against the colonial fisc, while sometimes resisting dry-regimes through bootlegging and contraband.

The main argument in the first chapter, however, is that the formation of a global temperance activism transpired through a broad and diverse network of actors. Significantly, at certain times there were centers that had a leading voice on a world level. The temperance actors in Bulgaria remained of a peripheral importance on the global stage throughout the period. What this regional perspective could contribute, however, to a
global history is a clear observation of the shift of the center. The US-American leadership in temperance gave way to a new continental European authority in global matters in the fight against alcoholism in the interwar period. Further, the chapter argues that the existence of this moral and/or social hygiene empire was only possible by the means of the mutual constitution of center and periphery. To put it in simplest terms, while the Bulgarian periodicals reported on the development in New England the Union Signal reported from Bulgaria. The World’s WCTU could exert influence only in this context. A central building block in this formation was a global imaginaire. In the case of temperance this meant a representation of a global fight against the alcoholism and a vision of a world free of alcohol.

The second chapter of the dissertation stretches furthest the context of temperance campaigns and the temporal framework of the study. The US-American missionaries on the Balkans are the focus of attention here. This group of actors were the first to initiate the formation of temperance associations, to publish relevant materials on the subject and eventually assist in the formation of the BTU. Temperance, however, was not an isolated activity for the Protestant missionaries but rather a part of a larger package of moral/religious and material/physical improvement. To understand this context a number of issues are discussed. First, the role of the missionaries in the process of national building or, more properly, territorialization on the Balkans. Although prima facie this might seem negligible, after all we are analyzing a very small Protestant community and even smaller number of missionaries, I argue that through their sometimes pioneering endeavors with printing presses and in the field of education, the ABCFM representatives in European Turkey played a significant role in the formation of Bulgarian nation. The main goal of the mission, however, in conformity with the global project of the ABCFM was the winning over of souls for the Protestant faith. This proved to be a challenge. To have more follower or even access to broader layers of society, the missionary had to be responsive to ‘native’ demands. The provision of medical care in Samokov, the ‘modern’ school there and in Sofia all point in this direction. After a discussion of these bridges between the stations and the ‘host society’, the chapter turns to the temperance endeavors of the Locke family and the doyen of sobriety in Bulgaria – Rev. James Clarke.

The year of 1920 marked a caesura in the history of the temperance in Bulgaria. While new organizations were coming to existence and some fledglings were already showing signs of promise, the oldest organization seemed shattered into pieces. The sources of the Evangelical Temperance Union speak of crisis and the need to instantly take appropriate measures in order to survive. What was the reason behind this sudden shift? This is the underlying theme of chapter three. It looks first into some discursive transformations and into the new emphasis on the role ascribed to science in the interwar period. Further, temperance was to be understood as a part of a broader social hygiene project that promised a strong and healthy nation. The efforts of various health reformers, among whom also temperance activists came to read speeches on the subject in parliament, were
crowned with the Law for Public Health in 1929. One issue of special importance with regard to temperance in the broader context of social hygiene was the promotion of eugenics. Temperance papers often dealt with the topic of degeneration and sometimes even suggested measures that could be termed as positive eugenics. In one crucial respect the temperance movement in Bulgaria differed from the general trend elsewhere. In the wake of the National Socialist rise to power in Germany, articles on eugenics in the temperance literature in Bulgaria became more and more cautious and only a few eugenicists suggested measures such as sterilization for alcoholics. The third chapter also dwells on the political tendencies and division within the movement. As elsewhere in Europe, the anti-alcohol campaigns of the 1920s and 30s were led by a loose alliance of social democrats. The movement, however, especially in its youth and pupils’ branches, exhibited a more radical propensity in the direction of the left. In the wake of the ban of the Bulgarian Communist Party and its youth branch many young communists and anarchists saw the temperance movement as the only legitimate podium for the dissemination of their ideas.

The last, fourth chapter of the dissertation is devoted to the educational endeavors of the movement, the youth and pupils’ organizations and the visual medium used in temperance materials and campaigns targeting juveniles. The chapter draws some attention to the US-American experience with Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI) and continues to discuss the attempts to introduce temperance education in the school curriculum in Bulgaria as well as some of the educational methods and experiments that did succeed. The chapter zooms in on the new organizations in the 1920s – the Teachers’ Temperance Union, the Youth and Pupils’ unions, etc. The new quantitative magnitude of the movement translated also into qualitatively new activities such as temperance plays. Some spectacular literary careers – Nikola Vaptsarov’s being a case in point here – had their debut on the pages of temperance newspapers dedicated to the youth. The chapter puts particular emphasis on the visual dimension of the youth temperance periodicals. Taking two particular visuals – a rendering of Balshazaar as King Alcohol ruling the globe [fig. xxx] and the recurring theme of alcohol as a beast [fig. xxx] – the chapter shows that young women and men were not simply passive recipients of visuals, but in fact could interact and reproduce them and eventually even imagine new images and worlds. The chapter argues that the youth temperance movement represented the biggest reform movement in the interwar period in Bulgaria. As it grew it also experienced internal political clashes, discussed in the last section of the chapter.

**A word of caution**

Although the structure and the chapterization sketched above have been the most suitable choice in accordance with the archival materials as well as the historical developments, they also entail a number of drawbacks. As already noted, the structure is not exactly intuitive. The focus on regions, actors and altogether temperance is also not equally distributed through the chapters. The combination of chronological, discursive and actor based approach, however, has led to another more poignant imperfection. There are certain
overlaps and repetitions that necessitate a forewarning. On a discursive level certain issues have percolated through most chapters. The issue of gender and temperance has been raised in most chapters, an observation that might provoke the question as to why there is no chapter dedicated to this intersection. Other issues raised in the temperance literature such as sexual deviancy, prostitution and improper dances – what could be only denoted as a terpsichorean anxiety – are all discussed or mentioned in more than one chapter. Although never reaching any definitive resolution, my dialogue with Todorova’s ‘Balkanism’ is likewise recurrent. The political undercurrents in the different branches of the temperance organizations are also discussed repeatedly. This is especially true for chapter three and four discussing the interwar period, when the moderate left of the political spectrum occupied the higher echelons in the fight ‘against alcoholism’, while communist and anarchist tendencies were more conspicuous in the youth organizations. Individual actors and institutions similarly figure prominently in more than one chapter. With this final note of warning and the hope that this shortcoming will not greatly diminish the pleasure of reading, we turn to the global imaginaire.
CHAPTER 1:

GLOBAL IMAGINAIRE IN THE MUTUAL CONSTITUTION OF CENTER AND PERIPHERY: GLOBAL TEMPERANCE IN BULGARIA AND BEYOND
Figure 4. The Temperance Crusader, 1885. Courtesy: The National Archives.
As already stated in the introduction, a main goal of the whole work is the rescue of the history of the Bulgarian temperance movement from the nation state. What were the actor networks, the intellectual entanglements and social movements transgressing national borders that played into the temperance movement in Bulgaria? The story of this chapter, however, goes beyond this. I hope to convey a message that a certain area focus or more precisely a local perspective can contribute or even produce a global history of its own. In this sense, the explicit contribution of the study in this direction is threefold.

First, an area perspective might be indispensable in the analysis of the formation and inner workings of such global networks. We would return in some detail to the different trajectories and specific application of temperance ideas in different geographical areals, but it suffice for now to say that apart from a diffused percolation of ideas, there were also active proponents of the proliferation of the temperance discourse. Such actors often formed centers in the global anti-alcohol activism. What was the relation of these centers to the temperance ‘periphery’? In other words, what power relations transpire within such a network when analyzed as a single unit? To answer this question we will look into processes of mutual legitimization and see how they worked and benefitted institutions in both center and periphery. Related to the first point, the second tier of contribution towards a global history of temperance in this study would be the interrogation, amendment or even rectification of meta-narratives written from the perspective of the center. In other words, we would see how shifts in power relations, alterations in the degree of credibility of one of the network nodes or even changes in the location of the center and its power of persuasion are sometimes better reflected in historical processes geographically removed from such centers. Writing on the global aspirations of the temperance movement in New England, for example, one might think that the temperance fad has been exhausted by the end of Prohibition in the United States, while missing a historical shift of the global center of temperance (by this time called anti-alcoholism) to Europe and Switzerland in particular. Focusing on the development of the Bulgarian temperance movement and its connections abroad, it becomes obvious that such a shift indeed took place around the First World War and that non-governmental temperance activism subsided only after 1945, increasingly taken over by welfare state policies. The third layer of the study’s contribution towards a global history is its inherent potential to ‘Provincialize Europe’, a project that has accompanied efforts in global history for the last twenty years. When extending his original 1992 essay on Provincializing Europe: Postcoloniality and the Critique of History, Dipesh Chakrabarty put particular emphasis on ‘native’ traditions such as the adda – an institution for intellectual exchange specific to South Asia – in his attempt to steer history away from a Eurocentric perspective/departure point.1 This study will not look into any such ‘native’ traditions or stage any claims for ‘native’ authenticity, but would rather look into a tapestry of influences and pose the question why certain traditions and forms of knowledge gain the upper hand at particular points of time in particular contexts. The capacity of the study to

1 Chakrabarty 2000. See also Conrad, Randeria and Römhild (Eds.) 2011.
provincialize Europe lies in its engagement with what might be called ‘a global imaginaire’. The perhaps surprising appearance of the poem extolling the groves of Gungamul on pages of our palimpsest in the preceding introduction as well as similar references to Orientalist clichés or the more trivial reports of temperance activities throughout the world in the Bulgarian temperance periodicals, signal the entrance of the of the ‘global imaginaire’ in the Balkans. Conversely, the reports of the Bulgarian activities on the pages of the US-American WCTU’s *Union Signal* reveal the place of the Balkans in the American ‘global imaginaire’. Here two subpoints should be noted. First, contrary to Maria Todorova, who does not think it possible to “‘provincialize Europe’ when speaking about the Balkans [...] since the Balkans are Europe, are part of Europe, although, admittedly, for the past several centuries its provincial part or periphery”\(^2\), I think it is possible to execute the project precisely in the act of showing that Europe is not necessarily an indivisible whole. In practical terms this means that a world imagined by the temperance activists in the United States in the late 19th century or in Switzerland in the beginning of the 20th as being under siege of alcohol had one of its constituting parts represented by the Balkans that were in need of educational materials, import of enlightenment and even a ‘civilizing mission’.\(^3\) Secondly, and perhaps more importantly, it will be shown that within this global imaginaire the power relations – and thus the geographical location of the centers – were never stable. This allowed for the possibility – if not the realization – of the Bulgarian temperance movement to become itself a center or a nod in the network. We would see how the correspondence of some temperance proponents and institutions spanned to Japan, India and the West Coast of the United States, while the ‘success’ of some branches of the movement gained international recognition.

To bridge these three layers – global networks, the rectifying of some meta-narratives and the project of provincializing – one theme could be identified as cutting across the various tiers of analysis. It is the different articulations of the world within the temperance discourse that are of particular interest here. How did different temperance actors around the world imagine it? How did the global scope of temperance relate to nationalist strives? What practical role did the ‘global imaginaire’ have for the temperance reform movement? To answer these questions I dwell in more detail into the particularities of having an area perspective in writing a global history of such a movement. Before getting into these questions and solidifying with archival substance the aforementioned threefold contribution to a global history of temperance, however, let us look more closely into the terminology used – what is here understood by definitions such as center/periphery, networks and imaginaire. The former analytical nexus has been usually associated with the work of Immanuel Wallerstein and the idea of ‘world system’ in particular.\(^4\) The theory has come under critique for its overreliance on economic history, for its negligence of highly complex

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\(^2\) Todorova 2009, p. 17

\(^3\) The literature on the ‘civilizing mission’ in colonial and imperial contexts has been growing rapidly in recent years. See for example Osterhammel 2005; Fischer-Tiné and Mann (Eds.) 2004; Watt and Mann (Eds.) 2011

\(^4\) See for example Wallerstein 2000
cultural issues, for its coarse categorization – center, semi-periphery and periphery are the major analytical units – as well as for its implicit denial of agency of the regions falling under the latter rubric. Meanwhile, the sub-discipline of global history has drawn inspiration from calls to approach the conventional colony/metropole binary as a ‘single analytic field’. One of the most significant points, however, put forward by Frederick Cooper and Ann Laura Stoler, is the importance of keeping a close eye on issues of power asymmetries, hierarchies and tensions, despite (or perhaps even because of) this single plain of analysis. Without necessarily subscribing to all of Wallerstein’s views, I have thus borrowed liberally the dichotomy center/periphery to portray some of the stark differences within the temperance movement and its articulations in, for example, the United States, Switzerland and Bulgaria. In my ‘single analytic field’, center and periphery stand to denote contrasting distinctions in terms of public reach, access to resources and degrees of the power of suasion. In combining the two approaches, I have found Enrique Dussel’s critique of Eurocentrism and his advancement of the ‘mutual constituency’ of center and periphery exceedingly helpful.6

Although the center/periphery analytic framework usefully and succinctly encapsulates power asymmetries, it soon proved deficient in reflecting the complexity of actors involved in the knowledge transfer within the global temperance movement. The close archival work with private correspondence has clearly revealed the significance of the temperance actors’ network around the globe. Following the seminal intervention of Manuel Castells on The Rise of the Network Society,7 the sub-discipline of global history has been particularly fond of this particular analytic framework.8 Here again, without necessarily getting involved in the intricacies of the debates, I have liberally used the term network as a descriptive – one allowing to portray a transnational community of temperance activists and ardent letter writers – and analytical category – one that allows to encompass a complex and dense web of connections. The combination of language borrowed simultaneously from ‘world system’ and ‘network society’ theories is far from the historiographic convention of the day, but I hope the more detailed and immediate reference to the archival materials that follows in the work will make apparent the necessity of such seemingly indiscriminate use of center/node.

A word on the already mentioned term of ‘global imaginaire’. Although the term is a direct calque from Rudolph Wagner’s study of one Shanghai illustrated newspaper in the last decades of the 19th century,9 I have extended its meaning beyond its original premise. Discussing the formation of a ‘world community’ of illustrated newspapers, Wagner has observed that “[w]e see the beginnings of a global imaginaire develop, in which images, perspectives, scenes, plot lines, and reader attitudes were increasingly shared, a

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5 Cooper and Stoler (Eds.) 1997
6 Dussel 1998, p. 4
7 Castells 2004
8 See for example Potter 2007; Magee and Thompson 2010
9 Wagner 2007
development eventually finding its most cohesive expression in the universal grammar of the moving image later known under the name of the ‘Hollywood system.’” The global temperance movement and its various regional and periodical articulations doubtlessly shared some similar ‘universal grammar’. Nonetheless, it is my firm belief that the notion of an all-encompassing, global temperance was produced within – and in turn served as a vehicle of and reproduced a certain – awareness of the world, a global consciousness. The emergence of such consciousness has been the subject of historic debates. Mary Pratt has dated back the ‘planetary consciousness’ to the latter half of the 18th century and has described as a European project of constructing ‘global meaning’ through the ‘apparatuses of natural history’. Other authors, such as Sebastian Conrad and Dominic Sachsenmaier, have dated the emergence of a ‘global consciousness’ to the last quarter of the 19th century. Although as we will see there were clear indications of global awareness in the missionary zeal of some of the proponents of temperance in the United States as early as the 1830s, the global consciousness and the extended reach of temperance periodicals ripened only towards the end of the 19th century. An awareness of the world was in a dialectic relation with a global imaginaire – textual and visual portrayals of the world – mutually allowing, informing and reinforcing each other. One example of such an awareness and its articulation through the temperance ‘global imaginaire’ is the opening figure of the chapter, representing the world under the siege of alcohol.

Finally, before we get to the substance of the chapter, some remarks on its structure. The chapter begins with a very brief review on the secondary literature – primarily English and some German studies – on the history of temperance around the world. I have tried to identify some of the recurring themes that have informed such studies and single out some of the debates in way of introduction to the global history I propose with my own specific regional perspective. The themes are broadly divided along issues of labor, resistance and alcohol; gender issues and feminism; imperial history, colonialism and temperance. Once these issues and the most important literature of the respectful domains have been touched upon, we zoom in to our particular region and its connections to the broader world. We see how an area perspective from the periphery can inform a more balanced story and correct some of the fallacies brought by a single, metropolitan departure point. Further, some space is devoted to the protestant and interwar ‘global imaginaires’ as exhibited through the discourse on reform and temperance. Finally, a short passage is devoted to the question of the potential of the periphery, the capacity of some of the temperance institutions in Bulgaria to have had a leading role on a world stage.

Global history of temperance

10 Wagner 2007, p. 106
11 Pratt 2008, pp. 15-36. This has followed a stage of circumnavigating the globe and a later stage of mapping it.
12 Conrad and Sachsenmaier 2007, pp. 8-16
While there were already anxieties about (im)polite drinking in Georgian England,\(^\text{13}\) as indeed in many cultures around the world,\(^\text{14}\) it is widely accepted that the modern temperance movement had its origins in the first quarter of the 19th century.\(^\text{15}\) Importantly, such dating is coterminous with what Harry Levine has aptly called the ‘discovery of addiction’, i.e. the medicalization of heavy alcohol drinking around 1800.\(^\text{16}\) Levine’s interpretation has been heavily reliant on the work of the medical practitioner Benjamin Rush and has prefigured later studies that have located the ‘discovery’ of alcoholism – i.e. the transformation of the ‘drunkard’ into an ‘alcoholic’ – in the latter half of the 19th century.\(^\text{17}\) We would return to these problem in chapter three, devoted primarily to the discursive and institutional shift towards scientific explanations of the ‘Alcohol problem’, but for now if suffices to reiterate that there is a neat coincidence in the literature on the formation of the modern temperance movement and the medical framing of addiction around 1800.

The formation of organized groups for temperance is often traced back to the American Temperance Society (ATS) founded in Boston in 1826.\(^\text{18}\) “Large scale and well-organized temperance associations were, as later temperance campaigners were always quick to recognize, an American idea.”\(^\text{19}\) Indeed, Bulgarian temperance activists in their own historicizing of the movement would often refer to the United States as the place of origin of their anti-alcohol credo. This being said, it is also important to note that it makes little sense to separate British and US American branches of temperance when tracing the global development of the movement. Here, I stand with Brian Harrison – “[t]emperance, peace, anti-slavery, penal reform and Christian missions were all Anglo-American campaigns.”\(^\text{20}\) Indeed, the associational culture inherent in such organizations has been described as originating in an Atlantic circuit.\(^\text{21}\) Although American organizational principles have been influential in England, it seems that a circulation of ideas and comparisons between nations and locales have been integral in the early stages of formation of a global temperance movement.\(^\text{22}\) By any rate, it makes little sense to recover any ‘authenticity’ beyond new organizational principles.

In the early years of the 19th century, the temperance movement was also coterminous with broader evangelical revivalism in Britain and the United States. Although teetotalism was not unanimously embraced by the different religious bodies in Britain in the first half of the century – many thought that temperance was a profoundly secular matter – it seems that in

\(^{13}\) Nicholls 2011, pp. 51-8

\(^{14}\) Mandelbaum 1965

\(^{15}\) Harrison 1971, p. 101

\(^{16}\) Levine 1978, p. 143

\(^{17}\) Rimke and Hunt 2002; May 1997; Levine 1984

\(^{18}\) Kamenov 2014, p. 195

\(^{19}\) Nicholls 2011, p. 97

\(^{20}\) Harrison 1971, p. 101

\(^{21}\) See for example Harland-Jacobs 1999; Downing 2012;

\(^{22}\) Harrison 1971, pp. 101-2
the latter half of the century it was an idea powerful enough to unite different denominations.  

Although no linear correlation between revivalism and temperance could be plotted, it is somewhat safe to conjecture that the two movements have heavily influenced and reinforced each other. The temperance movement was also ‘infused with millenarian rhetoric’ and American temperance preachers often employed ‘a declamatory style that combined religious enthusiasm with a sense of historical destiny’ to depict abstaining in the most positive terms. One important – especially for our study as we would see in the next chapter – methodological commonality between evangelicalism and temperance in the 19th century was the adoption of cheap and wholesale publications. Missionaries were especially fond of the ideology of the movement. Ian Tyrell’s pioneering research has shown how a missionary impulse to reform the world – among and above other things to salvage it from the evils of alcohol – has produced an American moral empire, spanning the world and reflected in the institutional forms and spread of the ABCFM, the WCTU, the Young Men’s Christian Association (YMCA) and its sister organization the Young Women’s Christian Association (YWCA). The WCTU, often building on already existing missionary conduits, has been particularly successful in the creation of a women’s world empire in the two closing decades of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th centuries.

One important feature of the temperance movement in its history early on, as it might be apparent by now, was its border transgressing logic. In Britain associations such as the British Temperance Emigration Society and the British and Foreign Temperance Society were formed. Apart from the already mentioned missionary based temperance endeavors, one fraternal organization of particular importance should be noted. The Independent Order of Good Templars (IOGT) – later also International Order of the Good Templars – was founded by former members of the Knights of Jericho in New York State in 1851. This organization observed ceremonies and used regalia similar to other fraternal associations, such as the Freemasons, and grew over the second half of the 19th century. The history of the global expansion of the IOGT is also pertinent to the intertwining of associational culture between Britain and the United States – thus for example the Order was introduced to British colonies through the channels of empire. Thus, in New Zealand the IOGT had ceased to be ‘American-dominated’. Similar conclusions could be drawn with regard to the IOGT lodges in Jamaica and South Africa. Although I am not familiar with any secondary literature on the IOGT in India, my own primary sources and in particular the

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23 Ibid., pp. 179-95, particularly 188
24 See for example ATMH, pp. 225-7; Kamenov 2014, p. 195
25 Nicholls 2011, p. 101
26 Tyrell 2010
27 Tyrell 1991a and Tyrell 1991b
28 ATMH p. 268; see also Kamenov 2014, pp. 196-7
29 For a similar globalizing of particular association(s) through the channels of empire see Bueltmann 2012
30 Tyrell 1983, p. 284
31 Moore and Johnson 2008; Mills 1980; More on the specific IOGT lodges in South Africa will follow below
correspondence of Bulgarian temperance activists with Good Templars from India seem to suggest a similar picture.\textsuperscript{32}

In the span between roughly 1850 and 1950 the temperance movement saw the development of organizations concerned with the alcohol question on a global scale. Perhaps its most prominent feature was its polyvalence. The ideas of temperance got intertwined in the ideologies of diverse political and social movements. In an often cited article, Imgard Eisenbach-Stangl has summed up this extraordinary malleability and adaptability as follows – “Temperance concerns were therefore combined with all major modern social movements and their ideologies, concerning class, gender, nationality, ethnicity and religion, and also with the social interests and conflicts they expressed.”\textsuperscript{33} I have already noted that temperance was a part of Anglo-American ‘philanthropic package’,\textsuperscript{34} to give a meaningful sketch of the entanglement of temperance with other social and political projects around the world, however, it should necessarily be reduced to three broad clusters – labor and class issues, questions of gender and early feminism, as well as national independence movements and issues of national state formation. Let us take a closer look at those in turn.

\textbf{Labor, resistance and class}

Susana Barrows and Robin Room have drawn our attention to the importance of social aspects of drinking for its proper historical understanding – “[d]rinking, more than most other leisure activities, derives its meaning from its social context and setting.”\textsuperscript{35} Features of drinking such as the timing, place, frequency and above all the company in which one drinks, reveal much about sociability and shared values of the drinkers.\textsuperscript{36} Conversely, a culture that imposes norms over such aspects of drinking or campaigns to regulate them can reveal a great deal about authority, social stratification and power relations.\textsuperscript{37}

Many authors have pointed to demographic changes and work practices as formative components of an exacerbated alcohol problem in the 19\textsuperscript{th} and the early 20\textsuperscript{th} centuries. In many studies, thus, temperance comes as a logical outcome of an objective problem. Industrialization has brought many to the cities and, equally important, to a cash economy. Kate Transchel has juxtaposed a ‘traditional’ drinking culture to a ‘modern’ one in late 19\textsuperscript{th} century Russia. The laxer community control offered by urban settings in this conventional story, has created a more regular and habitual drinking of the newly formed industrial working class.\textsuperscript{38} A similar observation is made by Charles Ambler with regard to the drinking culture of miners in the Copperbelt in Central Africa. Here as well migration, living in

\textsuperscript{32} See below
\textsuperscript{33} Eisenbach-Stangl 2004, p. 61
\textsuperscript{34} Harrison 1971, p. 101
\textsuperscript{35} Barrows and Room 1991, p. 7
\textsuperscript{36} Ibid.; See also the by now dated but still highly engaging paper by Mandelbaum 1965
\textsuperscript{37} See for example Willis 2002, pp. 1-20
\textsuperscript{38} Transchel 2006, pp. 12-38
compounds and the commodification of drink produced sometimes raucous patterns of drinking. 39 “The unfamiliar rhythms of industrial employment forced drinking into restricted periods – the hours after work and especially the weekend.” 40 I would like to turn some particular attention to this quote. It implicitly demarcates a social phenomenon that has been described as resting in the core of ‘modernity’, namely the division of the week in working days and a weekend, the division of the day by hours (a large proportion of them working hours) and the general division of time in work and leisure. 41 Alcohol became increasingly absent in the modern understanding of work, while – as we would see – its consumption within the context of leisure has also produced anxieties among various temperance activists. However, it is of great importance to note that alcohol was not always dissociated from work. In fact, it has held an integral position as part of work and payment of labor in various historical contexts. In a classical study of drink and temperance among the German working class of the 19th century, James Roberts has observed that on the job “drinking punctuated the working day at a number of points. […] The urge to drink was especially great among workers exposed to high and low temperatures, dust, dampness, or noxious fumes. Workers who relied on sheer physical strength also drank heavily, in part to drown out the pain of their exhausting labor.” 42 Similar observations are made also by Manfred Hübner, who has even claimed that in some industrial settings around 1860, more alcohol was consumed during work than afterwards. 43 Drinking as stimulant, however, was not a phenomenon restricted to the factory – ‘Cape smoke’, a form of local brandy in South Africa was used to control, motivate and stimulate agricultural labor as well as labor in the diamond mines. 44 The study which perhaps best captures the caesura between the two forms of work – one boosted by booze and one devoid of it – is Nitin Varma’s work on the career of alcohol in the late 19th century Assam tea plantation. Varma has shown how coolies would get ‘rum as bakshish’ for extra work as well as how it was employed as stimulant. Excise taxes deployed by the colonial government in the newly formed province of Assam – partially informed by a temperance discourse on ‘intoxication’ – as well as managerial anxieties led to attempts of curbing ‘uncontrolled drinking’. 45

How did alcohol disappear from our understanding of work? Of course, a myriad of historical contexts have witnessed an even larger sum of drinking and temperance cultures, projects of regulation and norm. Nonetheless, one can safely assume that moral and biomedical developments within the temperance movement as well as its own geographical and popular spread between 1850 and 1950 had contributed to a dry regime at work. According to Roberts, for employers “the use of alcohol at the work place presented itself

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39 Ambler 1992, pp. 339-66
40 Ibid., p. 342
41 See Gusfield 1991, particularly on the rationalization of leisure, pp. 403-8
42 Roberts 1984, p. 46
43 Hübner 1988, p. 66
44 Mills 1985, p. 225
45 Varma 2009
ultimately as a problem, as an obstacle to industrial work discipline.”⁴⁶ Employers used alcohol as a stimulant and in various other ways to exploit labor, however, “changing perceptions of self-interest ultimately led most employers to the conclusion that they could extract the greatest advantage from their laborers by eliminating alcohol from the work place rather than by providing it.”⁴⁷ Although I agree with Roberts on the issue of changing notions of work and efficiency – beefed up by bio-medical ideas and Taylorism at the end the 19th century – I am more reluctant to accept his implicit suggestion that there is an inherent and objective logic to industrial labor that precludes the drinking of alcohol. For one thing, we could see, as illustrated by our short excursion to the tea gardens of Assam, that similar transformations of the perceptions of work were taking place in a context rather dissimilar to the German factory. If anything, Roberts own studies demonstrate that the change of perception came well after industrial labor had begun taking shape.

Various parts of the world saw various devices for restraining alcohol consumption by labor during work as well as a form of laborers’ sociability. In many cases, the latter was as important as Taylorist anxieties about work efficiency and absenteeism. The sociability of workers – often formed around leisure and consumption of alcohol – could entail dangers for capital. The gold mines in South Africa provide us with an array of actors and strategies – missionaries would promote total abstinence and prohibition, black workers would see beer drinking as an integral part of sociability, while management “deplored absenteeism that followed drinking bouts but recognized worker demand for alcohol as a basic requirement of migration to the mines.”⁴⁸ Mines provided workers with a beer ration, which was often ‘doctored’ – made more potent through adding sugar. If drinking was forbidden in the compounds, workers would frequent rural establishments where police control was more could not be easily established. If there were nearby towns, workers would prefer to live outside the compound and have easier access to alcohol.⁴⁹ Similarly, authorities in the Copperbelt introduced public beerhalls that supposed a more controlled space for drinking. However, neither municipal authorities nor the mining companies could curtail illegal brewing. Further, instead of providing the desired instruments for control, the beerhalls themselves “in fact offered freedom of behavior and association that other forms of drinking did not [...]”⁵⁰ Thomas Klubock has similarly shown that alcohol consumption was a highly contested issue between labor and management. Drinking became a contested terrain, a possibility for copper mineworkers in Chile in the 1930s and 40s for self-assertion. Conflicts between the laborers and the company “over alcohol consumption and gambling formed part of miners’ private, everyday struggle to express their control over their nonwork lives in the camps’ barracks and passageways.”⁵¹ In colonial Gold Coast, the

⁴⁶ Roberts 1981, p. 25
⁴⁷ Ibid., 28
⁴⁸ Moodie 1992, pp. 164-5
⁴⁹ Ibid., pp. 162-86
⁵⁰ Ambler 1992, p. 348
⁵¹ Klubock 1996, pp. 448-9
aforementioned polyvalence of temperance had brought together an unusual alliance of “local chiefs (versed in the ritual use of alcohol), educated Africans and missionary societies in the 1920s” in pursuit of restrictive liquor laws. 52 Rural and urban workers thus felt ‘pitted against’ an attack on akpeteshie – local gin – to a degree that might have helped produce a working-class identity and class consciousness. 53

In many parts of Europe it was close to impossible to imagine a social life of working-class people without alcohol. Both Brian Harrison and James Nicholls have turned our attention to the integral role of alcohol in working-class lives in Britain around 1830. A working Englishman abandoning drink “was isolating himself from a distinct, vigorous, earthy culture – from a whole complex of recreational behavior.” 54 In other words, without the appearance of dry social clubs, entertainment centers, public libraries or cinemas, “there was often literally nowhere for working people to socialize other than the pub.” 55 Nonetheless, the emerging temperance and abstinence societies reveled precisely in this impasse by offering an alternative social venue, a place where people committed to temperance would meet and interact. Further, beginning around this time and extending well into the 20th century, what-might-be-dubbed a socialist temperance discourse developed. At its core was the claim that drinking produces pauperism and prevents political mobilization. The essence of the discourse is best captured through the opening strophes of the Dram-Seller and Dram-Drinker:

The dram-seller’s wife wears silken robes,
Her laces are costly and rare;
Her jewels flash forth with a dazzling light,
From her hands so soft and fair.
The dram-drinker’s wife looks careworn and pale,
With her scanty and faded dress;
Her rags are her laces, her tears are her gems,
As she toils in her wretchedness. 56

We would return to the gender issues informing and produced in such temperance recitals below, but for now it suffices to say that over the century many working class men embraced a form of socialist temperance, characterized by what might be called self-uplift. One example that stands in stark contrast to the already mentioned formation of class-consciousness around akpeteshie in Ghana is Irma Sulkunen’s study of temperance ideology in Finland between 1870 and 1906. Sulkunen has described the movement as a form of ‘civic religion’ and had shown how by Finnish standards it was a mass phenomenon, combining successfully demands for prohibition and franchise and thus becoming the

52 Akyeampong 1996, p. 219
53 Ibid., p. 232
54 Harrison 1971, p. 50
55 Nicholls 2011, p. 101
56 Malins 1890, p. 81
composite of the working class. According to Sulkunen, the Finnish Labour Party which formed in 1899 was ‘a direct result’ of the temperance movement. Such stark contrasts come as a useful reminder that even if a social movement had a global scope and dimension it seldom led to identical outcomes.

The development of socialist temperance did not transpire without contestation from within. In the 1830s and 40s in Britain there was already a schism between teetotalers and moderates. Further, in continental Europe the left of the political spectrum slowly saw a division of opinion with regard to the drink question. By the second half of the 19th century, many of the more orthodox communists saw the drink problem as an offshoot of capitalism. Thus, some leaders of the left anticipated that once structural problems were resolved, the problem of alcoholism among the working-class would be resolved on its own. Temperance activists were blamed for ignoring systemic inequalities. Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels famously mocked ‘temperance fanatics’ in the communist manifesto as desiring to redress social grievances without threatening the existence of bourgeois society. Another recurring trope could be traced to the Engels’ Briefe aus Wuppertal, where he depicted resorting to alcohol as a form of escapism. William Bolitho famously redressed the argument in a captivating metaphor – ‘the shortest way out of Manchester is notoriously a bottle of [...] gin’. Similar arguments could also be found in contemporary social history studies.

Another point of contention was the already noted working-class social life revolving around the pub. Many socialists were afraid of diminishing political fervor or losing popular support altogether. By any rate, a split in the political left on the issue of alcohol along the lines of structure/super structure analysis has been described for different countries as well as on an international level in continental Europe in the early 20th century.

**Early feminism, gender and temperance**

One of the broad social movements with which the temperance movement became increasingly associated towards the end of the 19th century was the suffragists’ struggle for equal rights for women. For reason that will transpire before long, to understand the process of entanglement between the two movements, being global in dimension as well, we should first take a closer look of the developments in the United States. Although drinking and in turn temperance were gendered both in practice and in theory throughout the 19th century, important changes took place in the multifaceted ways in which such gendering transpired. Historians have noted that the antebellum temperance movement had transformed from a solely elitist project into one embraced by a fledgling middle-class. “The middle classes employed the movement to shore up their own position in society and

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57 Sulkunen 1985
58 Harrison 1971, pp. 127-46
59 For Switzerland see Tanner 1986, pp. 152-3; Also Ambler 1992, p. 349
60 Roberts 1985; For late tsarist and early Soviet Russia see Snow 1991
61 Tyrell 1991a, pp. 221-41
to negotiate their own class identity — neither of which were certainties.”62 The antebellum temperance was thus concerned with the construction of an iconic ‘self-made’ man.63 In dialectic relation to this icon was an early rendering of the besotted woman as the most deplorable and revolting outcome of drinking. The particular image of the drunken woman was also a part of a larger conceptualization of domesticity – temperance literature often portrayed the inebriated woman as an angelic creature that has regrettably yielded to the demon rum.64 This gender expedient could explain intemperance, of course, only in an incomplete way. “To win popular support for reform, and to harmonize with middle-class avowals of female virtue, temperance ideologues needed to devise positive, affirming roles for women in the battle against drink.”65 This transpired through the creation of two models. A pitiful, but one that nonetheless deserved sympathy, victim of a drunken husband and a moral role model, a figure larger than life, that could salvage her spouse, family and even humanity at large. What is important to note here, with the progression of the century the first model – the drunken woman – disappeared almost completely from the temperance literature, while the two latter – the victim and the exemplar – secured a hegemonic position in the temperance ideology. This, however, should not be read as a purely discursive instrument devoid of any ‘objective’ dimension and historical evidence. Many historians have pointed to the fact that male drinking was indeed a grave problem in the second half of the 19th century in the United States. Catherin Murdock has put this argument in the most explicit terms: “[d]rink really did kill men and ruin families […] Moreover, the nation’s abusive patterns were strictly gendered. […] Historically, it is not America that has had a drinking problem, it is American men.”66 Whether we agree or not with such sweeping statements, we can safely assume that as the century progressed changing cultural norms stigmatizing women’s inebriety also contributed to a disproportionate consumption along gender lines.67 The most succinct and precise formulation of the interplay of these structures of everyday life and discourse practices has been provided by Mariana Valverde, who has pointed that “the propensity to drink away the family wage and hence waste both biological and the economic capital that women thought men ought to save for fatherhood should not be dismissed as a mere ruse to promote feminist ideas under the cover of acceptable temperance discourse.”68

Without taking away any of the seriousness of such lived experiences, it is a historical fact that many temperance activists believed that the right to vote will promote their cause in parallel perhaps to suffragists who saw temperance rhetoric as viable munition that could most “effectively change attitudes about women’s injustices and encourage women to

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62 Fletcher 2008, p. 9
63 Ibid., pp. 7-29; for the appropriation of this model of masculinity and respectability by the ‘Railroad Brothers’ see Taillon 2003
64 Martin 2008, pp. 15-38
65 Ibid., p. 39
66 Murdock 1998, pp. 3-4; See also Mattingly 1998, p. 13
67 Mattingly 1998, p. 14
68 Valverde 2000, p. 33
become active on their own behalf.” Authors have also shown that temperance activists were particularly attuned to the ‘needs’ and expectations of their audiences, producing altogether a multifaceted and sometimes even contradictory picture. One such facet was a rhetoric of domesticity. Although the credibility of historical accounts claiming the real existence of ‘separate spheres’ have suffered a great deal recently – temperance activists being a most poignant example in the context of our study – it is still important to note, that a language of difference, women’s ‘innate character’ and ‘virtue’, womanhood and motherhood, was successfully employed by women in the movement. Nonetheless, one should not see the power of such rhetoric as one without limits. Ian Tyrell for example has drawn some attention to the so called ‘expediency and justice’ debate, i.e. the thesis that temperance was an expedient in that at its core it mobilized a conservative and middle-class values and functioned as a vehicle for the promotion of women rights. In the process, older arguments based on a liberal creed of justice, arguing for extended rights, were displaced. Temperance, however, was not always expedient and there is evidence that in the context of suffragist campaigns temperance activists had sometimes to pretend that they will not use the vote for a dry regime. Although in late tsarist Russia the temperance movement was not as much influenced and even less so dominated by women as in the United States around 1900, there were still many activists who participated in the movement and simultaneously raised the issue of women’s franchise. However, here similarly, suffragist claims had to be attuned to the audience – many saw an extended vote for women dangerous precisely because of the risk of a prohibition.

The broad changes in the culture of consumption as well as the gender models presented through the temperance literature in the United States took on institutional form as well. If the early antebellum women activists were content with “aiding male temperance activities, either as [...] auxiliary [...] or as passive observers,” over time women began to see devoted temperance organizations as an arena were their demands could be best vocalized and through which they could assert and forward their claims. The aforementioned WCTU founded officially in 1874 illustrates perhaps best the culmination of this process. Eighteen years after its inauguration the WCTU had a membership numbering 150 000 and ‘exerted influence on legislation ranging from temperance to woman suffrage.’ The gender issues of the temperance movement in the United States deserve a special treatment because of the global consciousness within the WCTU, present from its inception.

69 Mattingly 1998, p. 15
70 Ibid., pp. 16-22; See also Tyrell 1991a, pp. 221-3
71 Fletcher 2008, p. 13
72 Mattingly 1998; For the antebellum Washingtonian temperance movement see also Alexander 1988, particularly p. 767
73 Tyrell 1991a, pp. 221-3
74 Herlihy 2002, pp. 90-110
75 Martin 2008, p. 3
76 Clemens 1993, p. 760
77 Tyrell 2010, pp. 74-6; See also Tyrell 1991a; Tyrell 1991b
denominational character allowed it to explore and exploit ABCFM channels and establish lightly relations to Christian organizations pertaining to different denominations. WCTU’s vision of a reformed globe translated into a “bureaucratic structure at a ‘World’ level and a transnational missionary force allied to or responsible for no one country.”  

Based on this ‘innovative global approach,’ the World’s WCTU had dues-paying membership in more than forty countries by 1920. “Its work promoted across the world such secular causes as woman’s suffrage and higher wages, as well as moral and religious campaigns from temperance to anti-prostitution.” Importantly, WCTU’s global strivings for equality did not remain on paper only. Tyrell’s observation could be traced into the secondary literature for a number of regions and countries. Phillida Bunkle for example has claimed that almost all women publicly active before the First World War in New Zealand were members of the WCTU and that the organization “laid the basis for women’s organizations in this country.” Similarly, for the case of Australia it has been noted that the WCTU made fervent campaigns in each colony in Australia and contributed to the success of a number of reforms, “one of the most notable being the enfranchisement of women.” While at first the national WCTU in Canada did not support enfranchisement of women, the issue became divisive in the 1880s and turned into a political goal for the organization by 1890. The case of Japan presents us with a peculiar instance of a national branch with predominantly male presence. Between 1886 and 1913 there were some twelve women from the World’s WCTU who toured or lived in Japan, among them also the aforementioned Pandita Ramabai. Once established in Japan, however, the WCTU found “different venues for its women’s movement and temperance movement.” ‘Japanese progressive men’ turned to be the most reliable collaborators for the WCTU and the national organizations was ran practically by men. When women established their national organization in 1895, which affiliated with the WCTU, it was listed and referred to as ‘the lady’s department’. The reasons for this extraordinary development are beyond the scope of as well as the space allocated in this study, but it is nonetheless important to note that other authors have appraised WCTU’s pioneering role in the creation of public spaces by and for women in Meiji Japan.

Colonialism, race and independence movements

It is difficult to draw a general account of the alcohol and temperance in the context of imperial structures and colonialism. For one thing, the period between 1870 and 1940 saw major transformations throughout the world – monetization, trade, import duties and excise policies brought dramatic changes within individual colonies over time. Further,
different empires pursued different interests that sometimes clashed over the issue of alcohol. A case in point here is the British led campaign against the liquor traffic in West Africa after 1895. Although other campaigns have already brought about international legal agreements – as for example the 1890 Brussel agreement to prohibit alcohol north of 7° latitude in West Africa\textsuperscript{87} – an argument has been advanced by some historians that a major component in the metropolitan campaign against alcohol after 1895 was as a ‘Made in Germany’ scare.\textsuperscript{88} Finally, the colonies of one and the same empire were subject to different policies and followed a different path of development. In other words, although alcohol consumption was a burning issue for non-governmental actors as well as the colonial administration in South Gujarat, Ceylon, the Cape Colony, the Lagos area and Niger River in West Africa and Jamaica between 1895 and 1915, different patterns of consumption, civil temperance organization and colonial policies developed.\textsuperscript{89} The same thing goes with concern to the various French policies in Côte d’Ivoire, Douala and Northern Vietnam.\textsuperscript{90} Nevertheless, some cautious remarks on the complex relation between colonialism, alcohol consumption and its discontents might be fruitful.

The secondary literature focusses usually on a single region and tends to reduce the issue to – or at least analyze in the binary frame of – two colonial policies. The first is related to the revenue and colonial fiscal policies. The various ways of raising taxes on alcohol included licenses for establishments serving drinks, import duties and customs – particularly important in West Africa – and various excises. In an often quoted remark, David Courtwright has summed up this revenue as “the chief financial prop of European colonial regimes.”\textsuperscript{91} The second colonial policy is what often is depicted as an intervention in the lives of colonized people through the control and prohibition of alcohol in different areas. This second trend in the secondary literature is perhaps best captured by Charles Ambler and Jonatan Crush, who have conceptualized the issue of alcohol in late 19\textsuperscript{th} century southern Africa as one stemming from a “confrontation between European and African conceptions of the meaning of alcohol and its role in society.”\textsuperscript{92} They also saw the “rise of an aggressive international temperance movement”\textsuperscript{93} as intrinsic to this confrontation. Added to this, paternalistic and racial constructions informed systems of control and prohibition. Using this binary – state after revenue vs. state that controls the colonized subject – scholars have accordingly set to write histories of resistance. While some have concentrated on the temperance movements as an instrument against the colonial state and its capacity to raise revenue, other have concentrated on the illicit production, trade and consumption as a form of resistance. Borrowing from James Scott, Ambler and Crush have set to recover

\textsuperscript{87} Olorunfemi 1984, p. 232; also Olukoju 1991, pp. 350-2. See the rest of the paper for the difficulties of implementation as well as Heap 1998
\textsuperscript{88} Olorunfemi 1984, pp. 233-5
\textsuperscript{89} Hardiman 1984; Hardiman 1985; Rogers 1989; Fernando 1971; Mills 1980; Moore and Johnson 2008
\textsuperscript{90} White 2007; Schler 2002; Peters 2004
\textsuperscript{91} Courtwright 2001, p. 5
\textsuperscript{92} Ambler and Crush 1992, p. 5
\textsuperscript{93} Ibid.
the latter as a form of ‘hidden transcript’ of the dominated – “a discourse of opposition that encompassed not only the web of alcohol legislation, but the shared experience of racial oppression and economic exploitation that bound drinkers together.”

While drawing attention to this tension between revenue and attempts to control and curb the consumption is indeed helpful to understand central tenets in the colonial policies, it leaves a broad variety of issues unresolved. Authors have drawn attention to the issue of implementation, raising the question whether the colonial state – all its best intentions for an instance taken for granted – could translate a legal framework into reality. Another issue to be taken into consideration is the often competing political parties in the metropole. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, what has to be acknowledged is that the historical reality was almost never a question of either/or. Indeed, colonial policy on alcohol was often some composite, a complex measure of both revenue maximization and control. This is not something I claim to discover, indeed most if not all the authors cited here would agree with this evaluation, but I think it needs some special emphasis due to several reasons. As already implied, a dialectic analysis might be useful for delineating the limits of the colonial power. The deconstruction of the idea of a monolithic colonial regime might further help to see how discourses on alcohol, intemperance and race went back and forth between metropole and colony and informed also medical discourses in Europe and the United States. Finally, I believe that precisely this composite – high revenues from alcoholic beverages concomitantly functioning as an instrument of control of the quantities drunk – is the cornerstone of modern excise policies around the world and a study on its genesis in the colonial context remains to be written. Let us, however, take a closer look at some of the issues and regions concerned with temperance.

A racial and racist discourse is often cited as a driving force behind colonial policies on alcohol. Raymond Dumett, in his evaluation of the social impact of the European trade with alcohol in Asante and the Gold Coast, has come to the conclusion that the European construction of a ‘native’ alcohol problem was indeed not much more than a discourse and, even worse, one that did not take into consideration ‘traditional’ drinking and its ‘functional role’ on the ground. Dumett has paid particular attention to the ‘Native Races and Liquor Traffic United Committee’ and the ‘Aborigines Protection Society’ and to the connection between abolitionism and temperance. The theories advanced by activists in these organizations “on the corruption of Africans by European ‘drink’ coincided with prevailing pseudo-Darwinist notions about the weakness and incapacity of aboriginal race; it was in essence a restatement of the stereotype of the simple-minded native unable to hold his liquor;” while the “antiliquor crusade gave vent to the Victorian compulsion for paternalistic and redemptive social service.” Simon Heap had similarly observed that the liquor trade was caught between two opposing forces – one being ‘the Darwinist-based notion’ that

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94 Ibid.
95 Dumett 1974
96 Ibid., p. 71
Europeans should protect Africans from baneful economic influences, the other being a ‘civilize-through-trade’ concept. While I agree with this assessment I would also like to point out that Social Darwinism itself was not monolithic and that some of its currents had suggested that racial extermination – be it through alcohol – was simply a law of nature. Indeed a closer reading of Darwin might suggest a similar understanding – “When civilized nations come into contact with barbarians the struggle is short, except where a deadly climate gives its aid to the native race. [...] New diseases and vices have in some cases proved highly destructive [...] and so it may be [causing much death] with the evil effects from spirituous liquors, as well as the unconquerably strong taste for them shewn by so many savages.” By any rate, the conventional racial tropes are to be found in the temperance discourse – the ‘helpless, childlike African’ had to be protected and preserved. Importantly, this discourse was not limited to/towards Africa. Although “‘intemperance’ transcended racial boundaries,” ‘Black barbarism’ contraposing ‘White Civilization’ informed the discourse on temperance in Jamaica as well. In her study of tea plantations in Bengal, Piya Chatterjee has similarly turned our attention to the jungli – a term referring to the vernacular landscape of a wild forest, used to classify workers in need of discipline and civilization. Among other things, the plantation worker was a jungli for his/her “proclivity to alcohol.”

Temperance discourse was not safe from racism at ‘home’ either. One important qualification needs to be advanced here. In understanding such paternalistic discourses on ‘protection’ only in the framework of white colonizers and colored colonized, we risk reconstructing the racial lines informing such discourses. It is thus of great importance to note here that ideas of racial degeneration had an enormous impact on public-health discussions and bio-political knowledge production in the metropole. The idea of ‘racial poison’ that could certainly be traced to discussions of the ‘white man’s’ obligation to protect the ‘aboriginals’ from their own insatiable thirst for liquor, went hand in hand with the development of a eugenic discourse on temperance in the early 20th century. It was now the white man’s responsibility to his family and nation to abstain. Indeed, in certain colonial contexts inebriation became equated with ‘racial boundary-crossing’ and ‘white subalterns’ became a danger to the myth of the moral superiority of the ‘governing race’ and, thus, a trigger of imperial anxiety. An even more intriguing and broad development concerning the very core and tensions of liberal modernity relates to the invention of

97 Heap 2005, p. 70
98 See for example Weikart 2003
99 Darwin 2004 [1871], p. 212
100 Heap 2000, p. 31; See also Olukoju 1991, pp. 364-6
101 Moore and Johnson 2008, p. 165
102 Chatterjee 2003, p. 195
103 Fahey 1996; Valverde 1991, particularly on the racism of the WCTU in Canada see pp. 60-1
104 Valverde 2000; see also Weindling 1993a, p. 173 and pp. 185-6 as well as Stepan 1991, pp. 63-101 and p. 85 in particular
105 Fischer-Tiné 2009, pp. 113-5
alcoholism and the question of free will. “[T]he alcoholic’s own willpower is the key element in recovery, even though the very essence of alcoholism is thought to be a defect in the will.”106 For Mariana Valverde this is a “profoundly political paradox that pervades liberal governance in general.”107 One is born free but simultaneously has to be trained — sometimes forcefully and through despotic means — to be able to be free. That the emergence of this tension of liberalism associated with alcoholism and the loss of willpower has some of its ideological antecedents and historical roots in abolitionism, is also to be recovered from Valverde’s succinct title — ’slavery from within’. Another important observation concerning the ‘European’ discourse on alcohol and the way it was ‘imposed’ on the colonies concerns the usage of temperance arguments by a broad variety of actors beyond the missionary corpus. For the case of Nigeria, Heap has observed that “liquor trade critics used temperance equation to further their cause: drinking alcohol was bad, abstinence was good. The critics included a wide cross-section of Nigerians concerned for their fellow citizens in the face of the liquor deluge [...]”108

Scholars of anthropology and history have gone to great lengths in revealing long-standing ‘traditional usage’ of alcoholic beverages, showing as well that liquor was consumed before the arrival of colonial powers and state. Libation offerings at funerals, celebrating weddings and births, seasonal festivities were but a few of occasions upon which alcohol was drunk around the world.109 Traditions, however, were as we know invented, reinvented and sometimes even dis-invented for different political reasons.110 Thus, for example colonized African elite in Southern Rhodesia, anxious about the joint drinking of ‘unattached’ immigrant workers and women in Bulawayo, lobbied for the closing of joint establishments while picking on teetotal arguments of social evils and claiming that such practices were against ‘native custom’.111 Such ‘indigenous’ educated elites often appropriated temperance for their own political goals and used the alcoholism trope to inveigh against the colonial injustices.

Perhaps the best known example for the synchrony between a temperance campaign and the nationalist movement is Gandhi’s embracement of the idea of prohibition.112 It should be noted, however, that the congress party in India appropriated liquor boycotts and temperance somewhat tardily in 1921, while a temperance movement and campaigns in different states had been taking place for a while. Here again, a form of (dis)invention was used as a discursive instrument. Commenting on this David Hardiman has wryly observed that middle-class social reformers “adapted the [temperance] movement to India by arguing that drink was alien to Indian culture. In this they confused their own élite [and high-caste]

106 Valverde 1997, p. 252; also the larger work on the ‘Diseases of the will’, Valverde 1998; Forth 2001
107 Ibid.
108 Heap 2005, p. 70
109 See for example Dumett 1974, pp. 81-8; Hardiman 1985, pp.173-7
110 For the classical study see Hobsbawm and Ranger (Eds.) 1983
111 West 1997
112 Fahey and Manian 2005
values with Indian culture as a whole.” Temperance was not used only by elites and the middle class. There have been a number of studies showing grass-root movements that had a complex genesis and even more intriguing evolvement. Similarly to Hardiman’s comment Lucy Carroll has exposed prohibition as being allegedly a ‘Sanskritic value’ in claiming that a similar ‘sanskritic value’ was once part of the American constitution. Carroll has further shown the crucial role played by Anglo-Indian Temperance Association for the formation of an early temperance movement and percolation of temperance literature. It was, however, the Mahant Kesho Ram Roy’s work among the ‘lower classes in Benares’ and his particular technique of using village panchayats as a way of introduction that reaped dramatic success in the late 1880s and 1890s. The spontaneous Devi movement described in an excellent paper by Hardiman for the Subaltern Studies presents another grass-roots movement that adopted abstinence as a core value. Hardiman has shown how the goddess Devi ‘instructed’ Adivasi in Southern Gujrat through mediums. Apart from such influences, conventionally falling into the category of the supernatural, boycotting of Parsi liquor shops had a solid economic dimension. Abstaining did not simply empower Adivasi in that they saved money, but was also meticulously targeted at the “most rapacious among local exploiters”, evidence for which was the Parsi’s forceful pouring down of alcohol in an abstainer’s throat. A strong case has been also made for the grass-roots character of temperance societies and upsurge of temperance ideology in 1904 in Sri Lanka. Here again a long-standing tradition of total abstinence that had deep roots in “indigenous culture” was evoked by the movement.

Let us finally take a closer look at the economic issues surrounding alcohol in the context of the colonial project. Metropolitan temperance activists were well aware of the discursive strategy of some of the liquor trade advocates, claiming as already noted that it was the law of nature that extinguishes the indigenes and not alcohol. The famous and somewhat lengthy poem The Trial of Sir Jasper, published only three years after The Descent of Man, commented on the issue as follows:

And, not content with sin and death at home,
We give the Demon scope and space to roam.
The means to sadden, sicken, and degrade,
Forms a huge item of our Export trade;
Corrupting Colonies, to make them pay
The cost at which we keep them; rendering worse
Than ‘savages,’ the savages we curse;

113 Hardiman 1985, p. 167
114 See for example Fischer-Tiné and Tchurenev (Eds.) 2014
115 Carroll 1976, pp. 434-40; See also Carroll 1974
116 Hardiman 1984, pp. 218-9
117 Rogers 1989; Cf. Fischer-Tiné and Tchurenev (Eds.) 2014
The aborigines, who, day by day,
Are dying out — and not by slow decay.¹¹⁸

The historical accounts of the liquor trade, however, diverge on their assessment of its social impact. Of course, a main reason for the sometimes diametrically opposing cognizance of authors are the variations through regions and times. As already noted, in his study on the social impact of the liquor trade in the Gold Coast and Asante Dumett has extenuated the baneful effects of the liquor while also correlating the upsurge in the imports and consumption with the upsurge of the whole economy of the region.¹¹⁹ He nonetheless admits that there might have been substantial and not particularly positive departures from traditional drinking beyond his period of inquiry, ending in 1910.¹²⁰ Authors concerned with other regions in West Africa hold opposing believes as to the social impact of imported liquor. Writing on Cameroon, Susan Diduk seems to be in accord even with the missionary led campaigns – “[w]hile certainly fueled by a paternalism which viewed local people as children requiring supervision and discipline, these arguments also grew out of a genuine concern about the detrimental social and health consequences of Schnaps consumption.”¹²¹ In the case of the Lagos region and the Niger delta Simon Heap has emphasized the broader economic implications of the liquor trade. Perhaps the most staggering development was the broadening of the economic function of Gin and its de facto transformation into currency.¹²² To extend a celebrated quote from Emmanuel Akyeampong, that alcohol ‘lubricated social relations’, we might add that it also lubricated economic exchange, adding meaning to the term liquidity. A good global history of the liquor trade, however, remains to be written and should necessarily engage itself with commodity chains. There is a good evidence of the growth of the alcohol industry in Hamburg and its raising exports as well as the need for an Absatzmarkt of the ever growing agricultural sector – particularly potatoes – around the town.¹²³ If custom duties on imported liquor has been used to build transport infrastructure – which in turn helped freight liquor¹²⁴ – it is also interesting to see what added value remained in Hamburg and whether perhaps it has also funded the railway to Berlin.

Even if we doubt that trade could be advantageous for everyone involved, the central tenet of the liberal and neo-liberal economics, there is little doubt of its fiscal contribution to the various colonial regimes or, indeed, to the modern state. There is overwhelming evidence that the colonial state – to use a specific example as a general trend – “manipulated the

¹¹⁸ Hall 1874, pp. 18-9, italic in original
¹¹⁹ Dumett 1974, p. 76
¹²⁰ Ibid., p 97; See also Akyempong 1995
¹²¹ Diduk 1993, p. 9
¹²² Heap 2005, 72-81; notably this did not stop its consumption, people started diluting the bottles with water, spirits were sold at the coast with a stronger alcoholic content than the ones sold (or with which goods were bought) in the hinterland
¹²³ Schröder 1990
¹²⁴ Heap 2000, p. 28
customs tariff regime for the maximum amount of revenue." High revenues were, however, often represented as an attempt on behalf of the particular government at curbing alcohol consumption. Nevertheless, even the reinvestment of portions of the revenue into temperance campaigns was rarely approved by temperance and prohibition exponents. Count Leo Tolstoy famously called the state monopoly and the concurrent state led Guardianship for Public Sobriety a ‘blasphemy’. The fact that many governments relied heavily on excise and other alcohol related taxes often called into question their genuine motives behind their temperance activities. As some colonial governments would raise up to 50% of their revenue from taxes related to alcohol trade and consumption, it did not take an extraordinary stretch of imagination on behalf of national independence movements to conceive of a way that might hurt the fisc and subsequently the colonial regime itself. A number of examples could illuminate the issue. As already noted, the Buddhist revival in Sri Lanka had equally strong rural and urban temperance branches by 1905. When an excise reform was announced by the government in 1912, “western educated Ceylonese […] were quick to realize that in a Buddhist country public anxiety could be exploited on an issue like this in order to embarrass the government.” Different strategies were mobilized in the campaign. Among others, tight relations with temperance activists in London were called into being while a delegation of Ceylonese also presented their case to the House of Commons. Although the peak of the campaign in 1915 was severely suppressed by the colonial government and many “temperance leaders were imprisoned without trial,” the temperance movement has been described as a “stepping-stone to national politics.” Further, “many of the distinguished Ceylonese politicians of the post-1920 era came to prominence through the ‘temperance movement’.” We should not, of course, overstretch the argument and discover a temperance connection in every anti-colonial or political action. In a paper in Past and Present, A. P. Kannagara has denounced the colonial accusations that the ‘communal’ riots of 1915 were organized by temperance leaders. Nevertheless, the author has not challenged the position of the temperance movement within the wider nationalist movement – particularly in the period following the riots – and has duly shown that some of “those shot dead without trial by the police and military […] sixty-nine according to the government and hundreds according to Sinhalese observers […] were prominent local workers in Temperance and Buddhist activities.” As already noted, the Indian National Congress and Gandhi in particular embraced abstinence as an important facet of the Non-cooperation movement, most

125 Heap 2005, p. 71; See also Olukoju 1997
126 See for example Herlihy 2002, p.
127 See for example Heap 2000, p. 32;
128 Fernando 1971, p. 127
129 Ibid., 143
130 Ibid., p. 148
131 Ibid.
132 Kannagara 1984, p. 145
133 Ibid., 145
134 Fahey and Manian 2005
probably having also state revenues in mind. The French colonial state in Vietnam in the early 20th century also faced resistance to its monopoly. Villagers preferred the taste of their ‘traditional’ drink rather than the new centrally produced rice alcohol. Young reformers and radicals saw it wise to “align themselves with the popular Vietnamese antagonism to the alcohol monopoly.”\textsuperscript{135} Expectedly, such activists employed rhetoric drawn from French temperance organizations and exploited connections to such organizations. Importantly, the young Ho Chi Minh included the baneful social effects of alcohol in his discussion of “the worst colonial abuses.”\textsuperscript{136}

Similarly to Tissa Fernando’s assessment of Sri Lanka – although admittedly not as explicitly related to revenue issues – Wallace Mills has argued that African nationalism in the Cape Colony could be traced back to the temperance movement in the late 19th century. As the IOGT lodges were introduced in 1870s in the region, its lofty universalistic claims proved untenable for its white members. Subsequently, an Independent Order of True Templars (IOTT) was organized “on an interracial basis.”\textsuperscript{137} According to the author, the temperance movement – and the IOTT in particular – were part of a larger quest of Africans for a society where one could be treated ‘with dignity and equality’. The IOTT was not simply an ideological antecedent, but also a ‘training ground in organization, leadership and political activities’. This is why according to Wallace one could “view the temperance movement as a precursor of African nationalism.”\textsuperscript{138} Finally, it should be noted that it was not only grassroots movements or a rising ‘native’ elite aspiring for national independence that wanted to regulate and prohibit alcohol. Our discussion of Ambler and Crush has hinted in this direction. We can close this subchapter with a final example from Côte d’Ivoire. It was a particular form of federal taxation and redistribution of revenues – in effect Côte d’Ivoire was not as dependent of the revenues from alcohol as other regions around 1910 – that allowed the governor Gabriel Angoulvant to try to curb the consumption of alcohol in the territories under his authority. White Owen has made a strong argument that a different, long-term economic rationality might have driven such attempts. The strong belief that alcohol leads to sloth and torpidity among the ‘natives’, meant that temperance campaigns and prohibition would have a positive economic effect on the revenues in the long run – an argument underscored by Angoulvant’s insistence that French wine was not as detrimental as alcohol produced elsewhere.\textsuperscript{139}

\textbf{Global history from the European ‘periphery’}

By taking a longue durée bridging the late Ottoman, early national independence and interwar periods in the history of temperance on the Balkans, one enjoys a bird’s eye view of some of the continuities as well as some of the shifts in the global connections that

\textsuperscript{135} Peters 2004, p. 596
\textsuperscript{136} Ibid., 598
\textsuperscript{137} Mills 1980, p. 205
\textsuperscript{138} Ibid., p. 212
\textsuperscript{139} Owen 2007
informed and structured the movement. While initially the stage was set and dominated by the protestant missionaries of the ABCFM, a second wave of activism in the interwar period entertained stronger connections with the International Bureau against Alcoholism (IBAA), later renamed to International Council on Alcohol and Addictions, in Lausanne as well as leading activists in central Europe. Two points need to be drawn out of this. First, such a longue durée allows for a global history that goes beyond the boundaries of America’s moral empire. Only too often has global history been equated, particularly by scholars with direct access to the British Library and to the imperial archives, with new imperial history. I would like to suggest here that a transgression of the imperial boundaries – even if we talk only of a moral empire – could be achieved in twofold manner: by taking an external perspective, one removed from the metropole, and, by taking a longue durée that bridges periods structured around different centers. Secondly, although this shift seems in itself important for the historiography of the movement in the region, it is my contention here that it reveals broader historic implications. It has become somewhat of a common knowledge that temperance in the United States evolved into more radical calls for prohibition. The 18th amendment and its application through the Volstead Act failed. As the conventional story has it, the repeal and the leading role of the United States in the global temperance movement then sealed the faith of anti-alcohol campaigns throughout the world. Although this narrative seems plausible, it fails to take into consideration two crucial historical developments. First, it omits a shift in the center of anti-alcohol activism to central Europe. This important shift transpired through the emergence of a powerful epistemic community around the brink of the 19th century and later took on an institutional form epitomized by the IBAA. Second, the temperance movement did not simply disappear but was rather radically transformed post 1945, its major tenets incorporated in broader welfare state programs.

Let us take Mark Schrad’s The Power of Bad Ideas: Networks, Institutions and the Global Prohibition Wave as an example. The greatest merit of the book doubtlessly lies in Schrad’s capacity to reduce complex historical processes to easily understandable categories such as ‘failed policy’ and ‘bad idea’. An analytical problem arises, however, when this political science approach turns deeply ahistorical. In Schrad’s interpretation, an idea is bad because with hindsight we know that its legal implementation had to be refashioned. Such an analysis ignores its power of mobilization and the fact that at the time of its realization it was broadly seen as a good idea. The study, however, also fails to plot the continuities in temperance activism. “In the end, the decline of the temperance transnational advocacy network was precipitated by the failures of prohibition as a bad policy [...].” To give the

140 Fahey 2006, p. 261 has vapidly observed that on ‘the European continent, most drink reformers were professors and physicians’ without explaining discursive and paradigmatic shifts in the way alcohol was fought
141 Spöring 2014
142 See for example Lucas 2004, who traces discursive changes through a disease model to a public health model. See also Prestwich 1988, pp. 243-81
143 Schrad 2010, p. 58; Nadelmann 1990 on ‘Global Prohibition Regimes’
author some credit, we should note that he somewhat contradictory admits on the same page that associations with “one domestic parent organization or founder (World’s WCTU, WLAA, IPC/WPF) went down with the sinking ship” while ones with more “diverse foundation of support (IOGT, ICAA) proved” more resilient. Indeed, the transnational network fighting alcoholism was alive and well in the interwar period. The archival materials of the Bulgarian temperance organizations show that the global center of activities had shifted to the IBAA and more broadly speaking to Switzerland and central Europe in general. Organizations with long standing traditions and close relations to New England – such as the Bulgarian Evangelical Temperance Union – tried to get into contact with or even re-affiliate to Swiss based religious temperance organizations such as the Blue Cross. Conversely, I would suggest that the retreat of the protestant version of temperance in Bulgaria could be best understood in the light of the financial predicaments faced by the ABCFM in the wake of the Great Depression and not through the prism of failing prohibition.

Importantly, it should be noted that even as reports of the shortcomings of the Prohibition started trickling to the Bulgarian press, prohibition was still seen as a viable way of controlling alcohol. Indeed, the local option was a major success of the temperance movement through the 1920s in Poland and, as we will see in the third chapter, in Bulgaria. Most surprisingly perhaps, it should be noted that the 16th of January was celebrated under the auspices of the temperance movement in Bulgaria throughout the 1920s and beyond. In February 1930 the *Union Signal* published parts of a letter from Sofia on its title page:

Dear Friends in America:
How I wish you could be here today to see all the celebrations for the sixteenth of January. It is really very thrilling to see our people observing the tenth anniversary of your prohibition law, with as much ecstasy as if they were celebrating some big success in Bulgaria. There are groups going around the streets, singing and rejoicing; [...]148

It was not simply that a global temperance network stood its solid ground, but people in different parts of the world still saw prohibition as a good idea and policy despite being aware of its shortcomings.

Another convention in the history writing on temperance has been the already noted equation of industrialization, urbanization and growing numbers of alcoholics. Within this

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144 Ibid.
145 For the almost immediate realization of the failure of the Prohibition and the Volstead Act see for example Welskopp 2010, pp. 123-215 and pp. 477-589; also on prohibition see Tracy 2005
146 See also the case of Gujarat – Hardiman 1984, pp. 221-3. Although the Dewan of Boroda could claim by 1923 (!) that prohibition in the United States had failed, prohibition became a leitmotif for some of the later nationalist campaigns.
147 Zandberg 2014
148 *Union Signal*, LVI:7, p. 1
particular narrative, temperance comes as a response to an objective social problem. Such narrative comes logically under strain when a regional or peripheral perspective is taken. As already noted in the discussion on labor, alcohol was seen as a stimulant and aid to industrial work well into the 19th century. Conversely, although colonies experiencing ‘gin deluge’ also went through tectonic social shifts, these transformations did not necessarily follow the same path. Our reading of alcoholism only too readily yields to a wage explanation. A highly illuminating example with this regard could be drawn from the unpublished memoirs of one of the leading figures in the Bulgarian temperance movement. One of Hristo Dimchev’s formative memories – at least according to his autobiography – has been the image of a poor farmer from his region around Prilep in Macedonia, whose compulsive drinking habits and debts to the pub owner were a major burden to his family.\textsuperscript{149} In other words, the synchronicity of drinking around the world presented an opportunity for a global reform movement. By any rate, if the missionary and later scientific (or at least popular science) reports are to be believed, the alcohol problem personified by drunkards and alcoholics respectively did not know a significant urban/rural division.

The regional perspective on the other hand could be profoundly improved by a closer look into the correspondence with the respective centers. As already noted, such a history should be necessarily rescued from the nation state. However, a study concerned with a particular region might profit beyond the recovery of a global movement – purposeful absences in some archives might be filled through unexpected circuits of information. In simplest terms – one can always find additional information in the communication with the headquarters of international organizations. An illuminative example could be drawn from the regular clashes of the different temperance organizations in the interwar period. Although the circulars present us with rather explicit language and sometimes even personal attacks, they rarely name the chain of command involved and leave the personal conflicts somewhat veiled. Conversely, when we open a letter from Hercod to Dimchev we can see the culprits revealed – “Je ne me souviens plus si je vous au écrit que le conflit, en ce qui concerne la Fédération du pasteur Popoff et Dr Neytcheff au sujet de l’organisation de ma tournée et celle de Miss Slack, avait été réglé en ce sens que la Fédération acceptait la proposition de partager l’organisation, une des parties se chargerait de la tournée en Province, et l’autre de Sofia.”\textsuperscript{150} But so, how did such a network work?

**Global imaginaire in the protestant temperance discourse**

The establishment of a global network of temperance activists transpired through the mutual constitution of a center and periphery that usually legitimized formally each other’s existence. The first explicitly global in claim temperance efforts could be traced to the ABCFM which provided an “early conduit of transnational temperance communication. […] The moralistic temperance message resonated within the missionary community, since of

\textsuperscript{149} CSA 1272K, au 1, p. 6
\textsuperscript{150} CSA 1272K, au 86, p. 9
the sixteen men who founded the ATS, fourteen were ABCFM members.” Mark Schrad has turned our attention to the fourth annual report of the American Temperance Society dating back to 1831, in which the gospel is seen as a sure weapon against all intoxicants on a global level – “Hottentot and the Hindoo, the Greenlander and Tahitian, will unite with the inhabitants of the Emerald Isle, the Caledonian, European, Asiatic, African and American of every name, in ceasing to do evil.” A year later the report gives details on the temperance front in Africa, China and the Sandwich Islands and refers even more explicitly to the world as a whole.

Let ministers and churches [...] persuade all, from supreme regard to God, and good will to men, to do the same, and the night and wo of ages will pass away, and the Sun of Righteousness, rising in his glory, will pour round the globe the life and bliss of universal and unceasing day. [...] A single owner of rum in the United States, who sinks it in the earth, rather than poison and destroy his fellow men, may exert influence in the promotion of salvation over the whole earth; while he, who, from the paltry love of gain, continues to sell it, tends to perpetuate sin and death throughout the human family, forever.153

American temperance efforts had spilled over national borders already in the first half of the 19th century by the means of the sometimes unsynchronized efforts of various ABCFM missionaries. Ian Tyrell has summed up the intertwining of the missionary impulse and temperance and their global projection as follows –

The gospel command and the institutional connections ensured that temperance reformers would value international work. Since they conceived of intemperance as a heinous sin and an obstacle to gospel work, they took it as axiomatic that temperance must triumph everywhere if the ABCFM was to succeed. ‘The world of the Lord’ would ‘run swiftly’ in a sober world and usher in the fruits of ‘millennial glory,’ said the founders of the American Temperance Society.154

By the late 19th century such efforts took on a more centralized and institutionalized form epitomized by the World’s WCTU.155 The particular global, millenarian role of the USA in things ‘temperance’ was explicitly articulated for example by Mary A. Livermore, who saw her country as ‘Messiah of the nations’ and motivated Mary Leavitt to make an epic 8 year trip around the world under the auspices of the World’s WCTU.156

151 Schrad 2010, p. 36
152 Ibid., p. 37 cf. American Temperance Society 1831, pp. 53-4
153 American Temperance Society 1832, pp. 53-5
154 Tyrell 1991a, p. 12
155 Ibid., pp. 11-34
156 Ibid., p. 11
The creation and/or the reproduction of a ‘global imaginaire’ worked through the reports of the various missionaries to the *Union Signal*. Similarly, later other organizations as for example the IOGT and the IBAA, also published reports from their local branches or affiliates in various forms. The work of the global temperance movement between 1880 and 1940 thus “was not limited to grand lodges and world conferences; another important development was the proliferation of press coverage of foreign temperance developments. Temperance societies developed in-house presses to publish books, temperance tracts, sermons, and periodicals for members and subscribers.”157 Ian Tyrell, who has based one of his major works *Woman’s World, Woman’s Empire* partially on an extensive analysis of the *Union Signal* comments that throughout the life of the paper “[...] an uneven if surprising amount of such material was published. A five-year sample between 1885 and 1925 shows that a median figure of approximately 12.5 percent of all *Union Signal* copy was given over to reporting international events, places, and personnel.”158 In years hosting international conventions, editorials devoted even more space to such materials.

Due to spatial concerns we can take a short glance in only one anecdotal example of such reports in the *Union Signal* which, however, in my understanding reveals much with regard to the inner workings of the women’s temperance empire. In February 1904 the *Union Signal* published an article under the title *Narrow Escape from Drowning: Miss Kara Smart Meets with a Serious Accident – Drunken Japanese Responsible*.159 The article came only three weeks after a title page extolment of Miss Smart’s ‘great success’ in works against alcohol, claiming that her labors have won 1227 new temperance members in Japan – 485 women for the WCTU, 267 children for the Loyal Temperance League and 475 men for the Men’s Temperance League.160 The February article was now based on excerpts of a ‘personal letter to Miss Smart’s mother’. I will shortly quote the highlights of Smart’s escapade to which the *Union Signal* devoted almost a whole page.

The other evening, as I was coming home, after a day’s absence, traveling over the same road I have traveled hundreds of times, my jinrikisha man turned abruptly and darted off the road into the big canal along which the road runs. [...] I was hurled into a gulf of pitch darkness and knew nothing more until I struck the water some fifteen feet distant. Down, down I went, for it was high tide fortunately (or I’d have had a broken head or neck most likely), and as the cold water rushed in mouth, ears, nose, there came to me like a flash father’s instructions of many years ago: [...] immediately proceeded to follow instructions to the letter. [...] They got me home looking like a drowned rat [...] toppled onto a chair in the hall, but I didn’t faint. [...] the doctor came [...] ordered whisky post haste! I refused to take it – told him

157 Schrad 2010, p. 45
158 Tyrell 1991a, p. 36
159 *Union Signal*, XXIX:40, p. 3
160 *Union Signal*, XXIX:39, p. 1
that there were better remedies. He said No! I said Yes! and stuck to it […]
How did it happen? Oh, the man was full of sake, of course! I guess I’ll never
get over the fun […] call me ‘a good sailor,’ ‘a temperance comet,’ […] The
largest newspaper of Japan reported it, giving all details, and the Japanese
temperance leaders […] say ‘It’s the best thing you’ve done yet!’ That
whereas I have heretofore reached thousands, now I have reached millions.
[…] This is the third narrow escape I have had in three months […] I am as
careful as I can be and do not needlessly run into danger, but you know this is
not yet a civilized country, and even if it were — well, they have a few
accidents in civilized countries, too, I notice.\textsuperscript{161}

The reference to the tension between civilization and not-yet-civilized – indeed, such things
could happen anywhere – seem to me most revealing as to the self-proclaimed role taken
by the ‘temperance comet’. A civilizing mission or – to refer again to Ian Tyrell – women’s
moral empire brought to the forefront the white woman’s burdens.

Although perhaps never so spectacular, reports from Bulgaria to the \textit{Union Signal}, served a
similar purpose in establishing a central role of the World’s WCTU in the world-wide crusade
against alcohol and thereby legitimizing its existence. Thus, an article noted that with the
help of the government of the newly independent state of Bulgaria, temperance activities
were on the right track.

The cordial co-operation of three of the Bulgarian ministers of King
Ferdinand’s cabinet, the Bulgarian consular agents in Monastir and Salonica,
and the director of the girls’ gymnasium in the latter city; also the influence of
the Bulgarian Exarch of Constantinople give every expectation of a thorough
distribution of the present issue of 150,000 temperance leaflets, wherever
the Bulgarian language is spoken in America, as well as in Bulgaria and
Macedonia. A Sofia paper published for priests has made a request for 1200
copies of each of three tracts, that it may send them out with its regular
issues. […] This is a little of the leaven which is leavening the public opinion in
Bulgaria upon the temperance question, and is a direct result of American
missionary in that young kingdom.\textsuperscript{162}

Some months later Rev. James Clarke supplied a two-page article – that made the title page
of the \textit{Union Signal} – in which he detailed the production of temperance tracts and their
distribution and the country’s overall progress in the temperance reform project. The
developments in Bulgaria even put in question its position vis-à-vis the United States. If the
pace of the reform minded temperance proponents was kept, the article conjectured, some
innovative legislation might even precede developments in the center of the moral empire.

\textsuperscript{161} \textit{Union Signal}, XXIX:40, p. 3
\textsuperscript{162} Ibid., XXXVII:16, p. 4
“That God has already given such wonderful success [...] is an assurance [...] that local option, if not full prohibition, will be secured by energetic and capable Bulgaria, even before it shall triumph in among the slower moving conglomerate elements in the United States.”163 Particularly eloquent were the addresses given by Ellen Stone – an American missionary that became a public figure following her kidnapping by Macedonian revolutionaries and ‘America’s first modern hostage crisis’164 – after her return for good to the United States with concern to the temperance cause on the Balkans and Bulgaria in particular. In Stone’s public talks one could again find an explicit reference to a ‘global imaginaire’: “In the fullness of God’s time the call of the W.C.T.U. came to the women of Bulgaria, to enroll themselves among the white ribbon hosts who were to encircle the globe.”165 Some three years after this address, Ellen Stone spoke again, this time before the National WCTU convention in Omaha, Nebraska, and portrayed the role of the United States and American missionaries in particular in the establishment of a what-might-be-dubbed a new world order:

Emerging but fifteen months since from the terrible oppressions of nearly five centuries under the Moslem yoke [here the Young Turk Revolution of July 1908 is meant, NK], the cosmopolitan nations of European and Asiatic Turkey are appealing to no other nation as they appeal to the United States, for leadership in establishing their systems of popular education, their philanthropic institutions, hospitals, orphanages, etc. They generously ascribe the inspiration and courage to make their ‘strike for liberty’ in large measure to the influence of the teachings of American missionaries among them, scattering the Bible everywhere, and promulgating its principles.166

Indeed, the speech given by Ellen Stone was announced under the title of ‘Bulgaria and Macedonia as a Field for the W.C.T.U.’. Nonetheless, it was not simply a mutual constitution of a center and periphery – again we have an explicit reference to a higher register of a world-as-a-whole operational space.

We missionaries of the Cross in other lands loyally acknowledge, fellow white ribboners, that

'Before all lands from East to West,
We love our native land the best;'
yet not alone for her sake do we wage this struggle for purity against vileness;
for soberness against drunkenness; for the weak and tempted against the
The official periodical of the evangelical temperance society in Bulgaria was similarly inculcated with a global imaginaire. In parallel to the *Union Signal* the Bulgarian dedicated temperance periodical *Vuzdurzhatel* [Въздържател, Abstainer] devoted up to a third of its pages to international news, reports and translated articles. Although in the early years of its existence its editors were careful to self-ascribe an explicit dependence on and/or relation to the ABCFM or the WCTU, an implicit understanding of the protestant connection was to be found in the frequent reference to the original sources of the translated articles, many of which stemmed from New England. *Vuzdurzhatel* did, however, explicitly acknowledge the role of the American civil associations for the spread of temperance around the world. In an article published in 1895 the author observed that “[…] the temperance idea is a novel idea. […] Its birth could be traced back to England. However, its more established form was first reached in America, where thanks to the warm reception and its propitious message, it had reached thousands of followers, who participate actively in its spread, execution and achievement.”168 Sometimes circulars of the World’s WCTU found their way to the pages of the journal.169 An article commemorating the 90th anniversary of the abolitionist and prohibitionist General Neal S. Dow also encouraged the readers of *Vuzdurzhatel* to celebrate his birthday – ”[…] all temperance organizations around the world are cordially asked to celebrate the 90th birthday of this old man in a suitable way.”170 The periodical published also often reports from international conventions – in the 1890s no delegates were sent – again usually translations from articles found in different U.S. periodicals.171

Stories from around the world were often used as exemplary models that could be followed. In passing we could note here some examples for the width and breadth of this early global imaginaire. In the first year of its existence, *Vuzdurzhatel* reported on the success of the Norwegian temperance activists in their use of visual means and implied that such success could be achieved through government aid:

One of the ways in which they work is the gluing [лепение!] of pictures at the most conspicuous [личните!] places, depicting the bad effects of the intoxicating drinks as well as the good effects of the total abstinence. This is a great idea. Without a doubt such pictures, put at the right place where

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167 Ibid., italic in original
168 Vuzdurzhatel II:1, p. 3
169 Ibid., II:1, p. 12
170 Ibid., I:5, p. 33
171 See for example the report from the International Congress against Alcoholism in Basel in August 1895, Vuzdurzhatel II:10, pp. 1-2
everyone could see them, produce great good. The Norwegian government has aided the work of this organization last year with 10 500 lv.\textsuperscript{172}

The reference to the Gujarati town of Navsari must have appeared even more exotic to the readers of \textit{Vuzdurzhatel}. Nevertheless, such positive examples were indivisible in the formation of a global imagined community that fought alcohol. “The people of the small town of Navsari, India, have revolted against inebriating drinks. They have installed their own secret police to catch whoever drinks spirit drinks. Each culprit is fined [щрафира!] 10 rupees [рупи!].”\textsuperscript{173} Some of the references had their own history of circulation through newspapers and journals, one sensational story for example was the frequently cited decision of the inhabitants of the Okushiri Island to be sworn in abstinence.\textsuperscript{174}

Some materials had undergone a circuitous journey until they have found a place in the Bulgarian temperance journal of the 1890s. Guy de Maupassant’s \textit{The Drunkard}, published in parts over three issues, was signed at the end as ‘translated from Russian by Mitev’.\textsuperscript{175} France and Paris in particular seem to have been often used as a negative contrast, a counter-example of intemperance in the Anglo-American press of the time. One article refers to the English Periodical Fortnightly Review and claims that ‘belle France’ is breeding drunkards.\textsuperscript{176} Another article opens with ‘the New York Tribune correspondent to Paris reports’ and goes on to portray a catastrophic story of the debauchery of Russian officers visiting Paris and their hospitable French counterparts. The results are ‘Une aфreuse migraine' and complains such as 'Ma pauvre tête! Ma pauvre tête!'\textsuperscript{177} The story ends with a more explicit reference to the global imaginaire – “Many heads beside the French ones twinge [щтракатъ, sic!] because of the constant consumption of inebriating drinks as a sign of hospitality. This is a detrimental social habit that should be rooted out in our homeland, as well as in other countries.”\textsuperscript{178}

The mutual constitution of center and periphery, a temperance community spanning the globe, was not exhausted with positive and negative examples from the-world-out-there. Referring to international temperance activities with a national Bulgarian temperance movement as a backdrop was not the only expression of the global imaginaire. Often examples from Bulgaria were given with a surrounding world as a backdrop. The report of a ‘gruesome murder’ committed on the 17\textsuperscript{th} of November 1894 in the Danubian town of Svishtov, fueled by the debauched drinking of ‘some Turks’ posed the question as to who is to be blamed. Several possible answers to the question were discussed in short – is it the

\begin{thebibliography}{99}
\bibitem{172} Vuzdurzhatel, I:2, pp. 10-1
\bibitem{173} Ibid., II:1, p. 14; On south Gujarat see also the celebrated subaltern studies of Hardiman 1984 and Hardiman 1985
\bibitem{174} Ibid., II:11, pp. 8-9; the story is to be found in newspapers at different times and in different regions around the world
\bibitem{175} Ibid., I:13, p. 169
\bibitem{176} Ibid., I:21-22, p. 169
\bibitem{177} Ibid., I:6, p 44
\bibitem{178} Ibid.
\end{thebibliography}
Global Imaginaire

Nikolay Kamenov

murderer, is it the alcohol per se or is it the pub owner who allowed for such a depraved drinking? While the murderer has lost his agency to the alcohol – more on this in the chapter on science and temperance – the article claimed that it would be ‘stupid’ to blame the alcohol as it was only a substance without a soul. The pub owner was after legitimate profit and subsequently also could not be blamed. Finally, the law was held responsible, since it should have licensed or – at best – prohibited the sale and consumption of alcohol. “Many will laugh at this suggestion as something impractical and unrealistic. But this is not true. Such prohibition has already applied in some states and has proven its practicality.”179 Such articles stand evidence for the way the global imaginaire permeated seemingly ‘local’ issues.

The rubric miscellaneous hosted initially many short international news, while other foreign translated articles were scattered around the journal. With concern to the global imaginaire it is important to note that a specific rubric ‘Around the World’ was established in 1897, crowning the so far sometimes unsystematic reports from different locales. The rubric provided a detailed temperance report from a single country in every issue of the journal. Apart from articles detailing how the alcohol pest has been fought in Australia180 and Brazil181 – also providing information on some consumption practices there – one article under the rubric Around the World is of particular importance to us and our choice of the global imaginaire as an analytical category. In 1897 the July issue of Vuzdurzhatel devoted its global rubric to Bulgaria – a choice which needed an explanation by the editors. “The readers might say that whatever has to be said about the temperance in Bulgaria we already know – no need to talk or write about it. We have an opposing opinion on this issue and this is why we will treat the subject as if we are not Bulgarians and we do not live in Bulgaria.”182

Global imaginaire in the interwar period in the Bulgarian anti-alcohol movement

As we have observed the Protestant temperance movement was not the only successful project in the history of anti-alcohol activism in Bulgaria, neither was it worldwide. Let us take a closer look at the global imaginaire produced within the institutional framework of the already mentioned IOGT. This organization, instrumental in what I would call a second wave of temperance activism in Bulgaria after 1920, stemmed from fraternal lodges founded in the mid-19th century in the United States. Although the lodges followed ceremonial rights quite similar to the ones followed by freemasonry lodges, a major difference was the admission of women as members from the very inception of the IOGT and its explicit aim at reforming the world and relieving it from the curse alcohol. On the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the order, William W. Turnbull summarized the raison d’être of the IOGT as follows:

179 Ibid., II:1, pp. 9-10
180 Ibid., IV:4, pp. 53-5
181 Ibid., IV:5, pp. 66-7
182 Ibid., IV:7, pp. 98-9
Its main object is to secure personal abstinence from the use of all intoxicating drinks as a beverage, and the prohibition of the manufacture, importation and sale of intoxicating drinks. Its great aim is to secure a sober world, whose peoples shall be free from the blight of intemperance and in whose commerce no intoxicating liquors shall have a place.183

Although such announcements might strike as somewhat immodest, by 1901 the IOGT had in reality established lodges around the world, and, moreover, branched into several competing strands – a point to which we would return shortly. Importantly, the global scope of operation was envisioned and set early on in the history of the IOGT – in 1864 the report of the Ohio lodge, counting some 68 000 members, written by the Templar Hastings claimed that:

In the work of temperance there is no need for any national distinction, and the I.O.G.T. know none. Every member may say in this respect at least, ‘My country is the world, and all mankind are my countrymen,’ for we recognize in every human being a brother.

However, the report went on to contextualize this universalist drive – doubtlessly influenced by abolitionism at the time – within a Christian paradigm.

The Bible reveals to us the fact that we are the children of a common parent, that God hath made of one blood all nations of men to dwell upon the face of the earth,’ and that all mankind are equally the objects of His love and care.184

Such claims notwithstanding, the first schism in the IOGT split the organization in the 1870s precisely because of the question of racial barring and segregation along lodge lines.185 Auguste Forel186 wrote a short history of the IOGT and its European tradition in particular. He summarized this early split as follows – „[...] Im Jahre 1875 trennte sich der Orden in einen amerikanischen und einen europäischen Zweig, weil die Amerikaner den Farbigen durchaus nicht die gleichen Rechte wie den Weißen zugestehen wollten. Doch gelang es 1887 zu Saratoga [Saratoga Spring, New York, NK], die beiden Zweige wieder zu vereinigen; nun gleichberechtigt.“187 Insistence on a Protestant paradigm, however, led later to a larger split within the lodges in continental Europe. Describing how a Protestant affiliation has created hindrances and complications in the process of founding new lodges in Belgium and Hungary, Forel justified his decision to introduce new rites devoid of any confessional affiliation. “Wenn man in der Praxis konfessionell neutral und tolerant sein will, und

183 Turnbull 1901, p. 5
184 Cited in ibid., p. 48
185 Fahey 1996
186 For a detailed introduction of Forel see chapter 3. Also Spöring 2014; Tanner 2006; Leist (Ed.) 2006
187 Forel 1906, p. 5; See also Zandberg 2014 for the hindrances faced by the IOGT in Poland in the early 20th century.
tatsächlich ist, wie der I.O.G.T., muß man es auch in der Form sein. Es genügt nicht, einzelne Einklammerungen, 'Stille Gebete' [...] zu gestatten.” One had to have the courage to introduce a ritual free from any credo and religious formula. Unfortunately, not much historical work has been devoted to this split. One avenue that might prove fruitful for the further research and analysis would be a comparative study exploring the split in freemasonry organizations – the so-called continental or ‘Latin Masonry’ and Anglo-American traditions – that seemingly went over similar issues of freed slaves and religion at almost the same time. A controversy between the Grand Orient and the British masons over the question of belief in a Supreme Being led to a schism in the 1870s, only to try to bridge difference in the interwar period – astoundingly similar as in the case of the IOGT – in the interwar period in Switzerland.

The first attempts to import the IOGT organizational form in Bulgaria, however, proved not particularly assuaged by the new neutral rite. The first lodge which was personally initiated by Forel ceased functioning soon after he left Bulgaria, a somewhat irritating development that the grand temperance activist ascribed to the vagaries of war. When a protégé of his, Hristo Dimchev who had studied in Switzerland, was assigned the task of reinvigorating the lodge (or creating a new one) in 1915 a heated correspondence ensued. Forel’s letter signed on the 23rd of December 1914 deserves some space here:

Ce que vous dites me rappelle bien tous nos commencements en Suisse en 1892. Votre question du rituel m’a été souvent posée. C’est une vieille histoire. D’un autre côté, quand nous supprimons des loges tout le bon ordre et le rituel, l’expérience prouve que les gens ne font plus rien et que les sociétés s’endorment. Je ne me rappelle plus si je vous ai envoyé un rituel français, sinon je vous en ferai envoyer un par fr. Schwab (vous avez oubliez de dater votre lettre). Vous paraissiez avoir un peu oublié qu’une grande partie du rituel est facultative, c’est à dire qu’elle peut être supprimée ou remplacée à volonté. Ce qui reste est bien peu de chose et sert seulement à maintenir le bon ordre. On peut autant qu’on veut racourcir [sic!] les séances un quart d’heure et faire ensuite des séances ouvertes. On peut remplacer avantageusement les régalias par des rubans meilleur marché.

Mais l’important et ce que nous ne pouvons pas supprimer sans désorganiser l’Ordre entier et lui faire perdre toutes ses forces sont les choses suivantes:

1.) l’engagement solennel pris devant la loge et son texts tel qu’il est.
2.) les séances régulières tous les 8 jours
3) un minimum de forme rituelle contenant avant tout l’ordre des travaux a la page 6 et le mot de passe qui sert en même temps à assurer le payement des

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188 Ibid., p. 6
189 For a notable exception Spöring 2014
190 Harland-Jacobs 2007, p. 288. See also p. 219
191 Kamenov 2014, pp. 208-10
It is unclear whether the IOGT’s principles truly met with resistance or whether it was perhaps Dimchev’s personal unwillingness to create a lodge that might risk antagonizing the first batch of Templars – the crème de la crème in Sofia – from the original 1910 lodge. A couple of months later Forel tried to encourage him again – “La grande affaire, cher frère, c’est la persévérance, tout est là. On finit par triompher de toutes les préventions et des difficultés quand on ne lâche pas et qu’on ne se décourage pas malgré tout. Je vous prie de saluer affectueusement les membres de votre famille et vos amis qui veulent entrer dans l’Ordre.” By the 10th of Match 1915 Forel’s own perseverance had disappeared into thin air and had given way to an air of impatience – “Ma secrétaire soeur Schenkel s’occupe avec grand succès et dévouement de nos enfants ici à Yvorne. Elle a déjà 50 membres dans notre petit village. […] Elle vous expliquera la grande liberté dont jouissent nos unions juvéniles et la grand facilite avec laquelle vous pourriez les affilier à la loge en espérance sans qu’il y air besoin d’un rituel que les bulgares aiment si peu!”

It will be naive to read these sources at their face value. It took only five years and the firebrand enthusiasm of Haralampi Neichev – admittedly ready to circumnavigate or even bend some of the rules – for the IOGT to really take root in Bulgaria. The language of universalism was invoked heavily in the defense of the IOGT and as a counter to any other form of organization. At the peak of some of the most heated controversies within the temperance movement in the 1930s Neichev wrote a letter to the Bulgarian Temperance Federation in which the operation of the IOGT in Bulgaria was explicitly legitimized on the grounds of its connections abroad – a form of global imaginaire that was prevalent at the time. “Dear Sirs, we regret the need to note once again that your unscrupulous actions, with which your Temp. Federation has treated the temperance movement in general and our IOGT – the oldest neutral and the only international union in the country – continue to this very day.” Such claims were supported by Neichev’s own entrances at international conferences as well as reports written for ‘international publications’, i.e. for periodicals outside Bulgaria. The International Year-Book on the Alcohol Question published in 1925 thus devoted a chapter – the only one specifically focusing on one state – to the issue of ‘l’alcool, l’alcoolisme et l’antialcoolism en Bulgarie’. Neichev’s thoughts on the historical developments in drinking habits are interesting as they presented the Ottoman times in radically new light within the national discourse, namely for its positive influence on the alcohol habits of the Bulgarians.
Sous le joug turc (1393-1878), en général, comme aussi pendant les premières années de la libération, la Bulgarie n’était pas un pays fortement alcoolisé. Tout au contraire. La population turque était sobre en vertu des préceptes du Coran, qui défendent la consommation des boissons alcooliques. Les Bulgares, bons paysans, travailleurs irréprochables, en état de servitude, étaient sobres aussi. Le vin a toujours été la boisson nationale, le pays étant riche en vignobles. Dans les villages on buvait de l’eau de vie de prunes et de marc, de sa propre fabrication. Mais les masses populaires n’abusaient pas d’alcool et passaient pour sobres. On s’enivrait parfois en hiver, un temps de repos pour les paysans, pendant les noces, toujours très bruyantes. Les Bulgares étaient enclaves des Turcs, et comme enclaves astreints au travail, ils devaient être sobres. […] Le tableau est aujourd’hui complètement change. La ‘civilisation’ se développe! Le pays connait déjà bien des ruines, des accidents nombreux, des meurtres, dus à la consommation toujours croissante de l’alcool.\(^{197}\)

It is important to note that temperance discourse around the world would often resorted to a form of historicizing, revealing a deeply permeating anxiety of the present – a phenomenon one historian has called a ‘drinking crisis.’\(^{198}\) Opposed to such a crisis often a pristine past, when allegedly drinking did not present a social problem, is juxtaposed. That such thoughts in the case of Bulgaria were rather the product of imagination than a historical reflection of everyday practices in the Ottoman Empire could be deduced by the existence of a branch of the ministry of finance of the Ottoman Empire specifically devoted to taxing vineyards and later gathering excise taxes.\(^{199}\) Some recent research has also shed some light on the drinking culture in Istanbul in the 19th century.\(^{200}\) Such historical Orientalisms notwithstanding, Neichev’s piece remains an invaluable source for its statistical tabulations quantifying the developments in the alcohol consumption in the early 20th century in the newly independent nation state of Bulgaria.\(^{201}\) The picture depicted by the numbers was indeed bleak – there was some decline in the consumption of wine that was more than compensated by the consumption of distilled liquor. Further, it should be noted that the phylloxera ‘plague’ first came to Bulgaria in the 1890s, while the Bulgarian Statistical Year-Book lists the first ‘American’ grafted vineyards around 1903.\(^{202}\) The production of some alcoholic beverages – beer being a case in point here – had grown more

\(^{197}\) Neichev 1925, pp. 100-1
\(^{198}\) Willis 2002, pp. 2-5; See also Tschurenev, Spöring and Große 2014
\(^{199}\) Cosgel 2005, p. 573; See also Halenko 2004 and Magic 2011 for raki and wine production in the 16th century.
\(^{200}\) Georgeon 2002
\(^{201}\) A more exhaustive information is available through the Statistical Yearbooks of the National Statistical Institute, the first issue of the series, however, was published only in 1910. All Statistical Year-Books are available through the website of the NSI at http://statlib.nsi.bg:8181/isisenstat/SSP/isisframes-basic.html. Still, the article at hand has sampled various statistical information around the theme of alcohol consumption – imports, excises, industrial production as well as estimates on the consumption starting in the late 1890s.
\(^{202}\) SYB 1910, p. 193
than fivefold in the span between 1895 and 1922. Still, Neichev did not factor in the growth of population and the numbers remain difficult to prove, leaving plenty of space for a social history of alcohol consumption on the Balkans in the late 19th and early 20th century.

The IOGT’s global imaginaire had even a travelogue under the title Als Guttemplar durch den Balkan in its record. In the book, often bordering with an amateur anthropologic study, Prof. Dr. Reinhard Strecker and his wife described their travelling through, the brotherly welcome they received as well as the new acquaintances they acquired in Serbia, Turkey and Bulgaria. Discussing the various difficulties faced by the Balkan states, the Streckers finished the book with a plaidoyer for a new progressive form of Balkan and European territoriality that would supposedly safeguard the Balkans and Europe from the blight of wars. “Vereinigte Balkanvölker innerhalb der Vereinigten Staaten Europas: Das ist der Weg, der gegangen muss. Wir Guttempler in Deutschland und auf dem Balkan haben diesen Weg eingeschlagen. Bodenreformer, Friedensfreunde und andere Vertreter einer vernünftigen Politik haben auch schon die Gangbarkeit dieses Weges erprobt.”203 This imaginary forerunner of the European Union could be also found in earlier publications by Forel. Forel had previously criticized bitterly the Balkan war and had declared himself in favor of a Balkan confederation mimicking the Helvetic one in an article under the title Les Etats Balkaniques et la Possibilité d’une Confédération Entre Eux.204

The Bulgarian temperance periodicals of the 1920s and 30s also frequently exposed a global imaginaire. Already the inaugural issue in January 1922 of the new Borba s Akoholizma (Fight against Alcoholism) signaled its affinity with the protestant global imaginaire – one priest B. Georgiev delivered an inspirational poem for the title page:

[...] Spirit and nicotine - two terrible dragons,
Reign destruction throughout the world,
Their food: liver, heart and brain,
Miserable tears, awful troubles.
Fight!205

Similarly to Vuzdurzhatel the new journal devoted a considerable proportion of its space to materials concerned with international developments and to success stories from particular countries around the world. The question as to why such a broad vision of the world is needed for a journal published and primarily read within the borders of a small nation state was even explained with a dedicated article from Dr. Robert Hercod – a good Templar himself and director of the International Bureau against Alcoholism – under the title International Solidarity in the Fight with Alcohol. According to Hercod any information regarding anti-alcohol campaigns from around the world was precious. Methods could not be directly copied – one should keep in mind racial, cultural and geographical difference –

203 Strecker 1932, pp. 103-4
204 Forel 1918
205 Borba s Alkoholizma, I:1, p. 1
but with this small disclaimer, ‘foreign’ methods were still precious and people around the world could learn a lot from one another. “A scientific study concerned with alcohol and heredity produced in Sweden or France, in the United States or Austria, is all the same of major interest to all combatants against alcohol, who can draw advantage from it. That is why a Bulgarian anti-alcohol reformer, who wants to support his argument with the newest and most established facts, needs to be aware of them.”

In the early twenties there was another branch of temperance that had a global agenda. For a while, a world-wide prohibition was thought, if not feasible in the short term, at least possible in the future. “The aim of the movement for complete prohibition of the spirit trade could be expressed in the following words: 'The whole world is my homeland and the whole of humanity are my brothers.' This form of universalism and the aforementioned capacity of the temperance movement – the fact that in historical terms it was a good idea – to incorporate, overlap or fuse with other ideas and movements were also reflected in other calls for world reform. A case in point are the pacifist calls in the 1930s (see figure 5). In March 1931 for example the title page article of Borba invited abstainers to join a pacifist club – “Voila, the ‘Union for World Peace’ is knocking on our conscious.”

The potential for taking a central stage

One of the most important and interesting aspects of the global temperance network was the potential it created for a peripheral nod to transform itself into a global center. While we have already discussed the shift of importance from New England to Switzerland, this last section of the chapter shortly sketches the potential exhibited by the Bulgarian movement to become a center in the global circulation of knowledge relating to anti-alcoholism particularly in the interwar period. This potential came about primarily through the persona and work of Hristo Dimchev. His youth association received its international recognition perhaps first at the International Conference against Alcoholism in Belgium in 1928. Dimchev was invited to hold a presentation to which he complied with a title L’éducation antialcoolique de la jeunesse. He began modestly, claiming that to speak with authority one should have a broad view of what is happening in different countries and be able to compare the diverse methods applied in various locales. Nonetheless, Dimchev elaborated on the success of the Bulgarian youth temperance organization. He concluded – “Mon ambition sera satisfaite, si au moins j’ai pu jeter un peu de lumière sur notre jeune mouvement bulgare et si, en traitant ce sujet vaste et intéressant, j’ai pu suggérer à d’autres l’ambition d’en faire davantage.”

We would return to the international recognition of the youth movement in the chapter devoted to temperance instruction and work with children, but for now we can use this presentation at an international conference as an entry point to the global correspondence and connections that Dimchev enjoyed.

206 Ibid., I:3, p. 35; For a discussion on Hercod and his scientific universalism see also Spöring 2014
207 Ibid., II:1, p. 4
208 Ibid., X:1, p. 1
209 CSA 1272K, au 117, pp. 1-4
Dimchev received often inquiries about the methods and progress of youth and pupils’ unions from around the world. The three languages in which such letters were written were German, French and English. A letter from Latvia asked for some information on the scientific work done in Bulgaria — “Geehrter Kampfgenosse! [...]Im Namen der L.U.S.A.B. (Verein der studierenden Abstinenten der Universität Lettlands) bitten wir um Auskunft über die Abstinenzperiodik Journale und Zeitungen, sowie über Abstinenz betreffende wissenschaftliche Arbeiten, die in Bulgarien herauskommen.”  In 1929 Dimchev received a message from one Guy Springsteel from the state of Washington.

Today I was reading a story written by you, as the correspondent to our magazine the 'International Student'. I think it is wonderful to see the youth of Bulgaria taking up the fight against alcohol. This is why I wanted to write to you. [...]It is my sincere desire to correspond with some young man, of about 19-25 years old, who would like to write to me. I am president of the International Relations Society in my school. [...] Do you think that you could find some young man who also desires to write to students in the United States?  

The IOGT functioned also as a conduit for such correspondence and indeed opened up the possibility of writing to brothers (and less so to sisters) in foreign countries on the first place. One pen friend of Dimchev for example was E. B. Grey, chief Templar in Ambala, India. Exchange of postcards and stamps was also flanked by general information of the operations of the order. “We are rather a small lodge at present, we have 41 lodges with a total membership of about 600, chiefly military, consequently every winter we lose a lot of our members who go Home for discharge and who then join up with the Home Lodges, consequently we are a recruiting ground for the Home Lodges as well as for India. We have about half a dozen Indian Lodges but we are hoping to increase in that direction in the future.” An important side note here is that although the IOGT could bridge the distance between continents, it still could not overcome racial barring within the colonial regime itself – grand Templar Grey’s boasting about the opening of ‘Indian lodges’ pointing at the segregation of ‘European’ and ‘Native’ members in India in the 1920s.

210 Ibid., au 54, p. 1
211 Ibid., au 55, pp. 1-2
212 Ibid., au 105, p. 2
213 Ibid., au 105, p. 1
The global temperance network, its publications and conferences, allowed not only for such correspondence but also for extended relations in which the Bulgarian youth association would have a leading position vis-à-vis groups from the furthest corners of the world. This development is perhaps best illustrated by Dimchev’s correspondence with Eiji Aoyagi. When the Prohibition League in Tokyo was planning the elaborate celebration of its tenth year anniversary since its founding in 1921, Dimchev received a letter asking for materials from Bulgaria. “As one part of this celebration we are hoping to assemble an exhibit of representative books, pamphlets, leaflets, etc. Which will demonstrate the world-wide work being done along the lines of prohibition and temperance. We cordially solicit your
assistance. We will be very glad to receive from you any material for this exhibition.”214 The gathering of materials here, however, reflects not simply the global imaginaire of the abstainers in Tokyo but also the prominence achieved by the work of Dimchev. Writing four years later, Aoyagi acknowledged this again – “Hearing of the splendid and sistematic [sic] work of your organization, I am sure that you are doing a great deal for all the youth of the world. [...] We feel that we have not done sufficient to make our movement closely allied with the world-wide movement and with great zeal we propose in the future and in many ways, to execute various plans.”215 The message went on to ask again for materials and help from its Bulgarian brothers. Aoyagi’s messages are of particular interest also for their timing – Japan’s actions in Manchuria and the growing international criticism are reflected in his letters and in his desire for a better publicity. “Kindly be good enough to send us such a message. We desire it very much. Just now Japan in many ways has become the focus for all the eyes of the world. But we ourselves will work that Japan may become the focus of the world’s attention in the matter of activity for students in anti-alcohol work.”216 When a letter of acknowledgement was sent in May of the same year, Aoyagi expressed his gratitude and again referred to a global imaginaire as the only possible context for fighting alcohol.

Owing to your favours, our convention was very successful, indeed rare in recent time and our fighting spirit for the activity to Anti-alcohol was blazed up. Probably, we think that such a movement is supported not only by our own sincerity, but also by the earnest comprehension and sympathy of every civilized man arrounding [sic] us. Nay, it must be supported by all nations, so far as they are concerned. In this meaning it will be world thing [sic].217

Apart from such palpable contacts and correspondence, the Bulgarian anti-alcohol activists also imagined having a leading role on an international scale – a discursive instrument used more for mobilizing and lobbying in legislative reforms than anything else. Within a competitive territorial system of nation states, temperance activists promised a competitive edge if their legislative plans were to be accepted. The above cited projection of Clarke that prohibition will be “secured by energetic and capable Bulgaria, even before it shall triumph in among the slower moving conglomerate elements in the United States”218 is but one example of many. We would return to this point later when we discuss the proposed eugenic measures in the 1930s. The temperance discourse also historicized Bulgarian autocephalous attempts to fight alcohol at a time when the newly independent nation was establishing a national history. One of the often repeated tropes was the Bulgarian leading historical role in the fight against drunkenness – taken up by the early medieval Bulgarian

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214 Ibid., au 106, p. 7
215 Ibid., au 107, p. 8
216 Ibid.
217 Ibid., au 107, p. 12
218 Union Signal, XXXVII:48, p. 2
ruler Krum. “La première loi bulgare contre l’alcoolisme date de 704 après J.-C, quand le roi-khan Kroum édicta une loi pour déraciner les vignobles.” This idea was most probably born from some references to Krum in the 10th century Byzantine encyclopedia Lexicon of Suidas. Upon asking the Avars for the reason of their downfall, Krum gets to know the various social problems of the Avars and comes up with a number of laws in attempt to avoid them in his own country. Among other things, he also “ordered that the legs of thieves should be broken and all vineyards should be uprooted.” The latter measure is still somewhat at odds with other legends found in Byzantine annals and particularly with the one that described Krum’s decision to fashion a giblet out of the skull of his opponent, the Byzantine emperor Nicephorus. Apart from the legend that Krum drank wine from this horrendous artefact, the annals also suggest that it took place only days after Nicephorus had raided Krum’s capital and had helped himself to the Bulgarian wine stockpiles. Naturally, such legends were absent in the historical excursions of the interwar temperance discourse.

Although the potential for becoming an important hub for a global circulation of temperance ideas existed, it never translated into reality. This being said, the very potential reveals uncertainties and fissures in the structures of moral empires and international epistemic communities. Tony Ballantyne have commented on the imperial connections to the metropole and the metaphor of the radians of the wheel on the one hand and the separate colonial/nation state histories on the other. In contrast, his study on Orientalism and Race: Aryanism in the British Empire used ‘webs as its organizing analytical metaphor’. This idea could certainly be extended beyond imperial history – be it even its global dimension – and used for epistemic communities and moral empires. Activists in New England and later Lausanne were not simply emanating knowledge to their temperance outposts throughout the world but were also heavily dependent on global reports and a language of universal fight against alcohol for their own legitimization. Further, Dimchev’s correspondence is a showcase for connections over and beyond an epistemic center. Indeed, a global web of temperance activists allowed for the seemingly implausible connection between Sliven and Ambala in the interwar period.

Conclusion

The chapter has focused on the question of the dynamic relation between a peripheral, metropolitan and global perspective in the practice of historiography. The global temperance movement and its regional issuance on the Balkans presents us with a commanding evidence of the inner working of on particular global movement. Both the American moral empire extending to European Turkey and the Balkans as well as the epistemic community’s interwar network display on first glance strong impulses from a

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219 Neichev 1925, p. 106
220 Petkov 2008, p. 24
221 Crampton 2005, p. 10
center – New England for the former and Lausanne for the latter more diffused interwar network. However, a closer look allows us to comprehend these extensive connections as a single historical unit. A mutual constituency of center and periphery was possible not only through the mutual legitimization of temperance organizations but also through the appropriation of a global imaginaire – the world, the globe and/or humankind was/were under the siege of alcohol and in need of concerted counteraction. In addition, a certain regional perspective allows us to rethink and even rectify some of the metanarratives that are written from the perspective of the center. A closer look and the development and transformation of the temperance movement on the Balkans and Bulgaria clearly shows that the decisive contacts abroad shifted from New England to Switzerland and Central Europe – the global center of temperance activism was relocated in the early 20th century and the interwar period in particular. Such a shift cannot be reduced to a simplistic explanation of the failure of Prohibition in the US but should be read against a number of complex and intertwined factors. Among others, these include the scientification/medicalization of the fight against alcohol, the relations of the IBAA with the League of Nations,222 the financial predicaments faced by the ABCFM in the wake of the Great Depression. Finally, the mutual constituency of center and periphery – their reading in a single analytic unit – allows us also to see the fissures in the power asymmetry in the global anti-alcohol networks. Connections within the interwar epistemic community were not simply spanning from the metropolitan experts to the periphery and did not preclude the formation of webs that in certain ways by-passed the authority of the experts. Such connections allowed for the formation of new nodes of importance and centers in the global movement.

222 See for example Bourmaud 2013 and Spöring 2014
CHAPTER 2:

AMERICAN MISSIONARIES AND THE BALKANS: AGENTS OF TERRITORIALITY, MODERNITY AND TEMPERANCE
Figure 6. “America, hello!” A visual representation of the trans-Atlantic relationship between Bulgaria and the United States. [title page of the 1929 February issue of Duhovna Obnova]
“The session was opened with a sermon and a song from the head of the Sofia Temperance Company – Mr. Iv. B. Kasûrov.”1 The first meeting of the constitutive assembly of the Bulgarian Temperance Union (BTU) took place in the morning on the 31st of March 1893 in the town of Samokov. Present at the meeting were representatives of seven temperance groups. The company from Sofia was strongest in terms of the number of its emissaries – Mrs. Kasûrova, Pastor M. N. Popov, Mr. Kasûrov and Mr. Iv. Stoyanov. There were representatives from Pazardzhik (at the time Tatar Pazardzhik), Haskovo, Plovdiv and Yambol. Hosting the meeting was the Samokov group represented by the American missionary James Clarke and V. Chakalov. The temperance group from Varna could not send any representatives – the city lies over the Balkan Mountains, some five hundred kilometers away from Samokov – and therefore authorized Kasûrov to stand as proxy for its interests. The discussions in the morning revolved around the question whether the time was ripe to organize the different groups into a common union. In contrast to what could be called an overwhelming enthusiasm for creating various temperance organizations in the 1920s, which will be discussed in detail in the next chapter, the evangelical activists of the late 19th century, operating in the newly created state of Bulgaria, were by and large ‘grounded’ in their undertakings and followed a rigorous bottom-up approach of assessing prospective outcomes. Nonetheless, despite some cautiously voiced reminders of the precarious financial state of the various temperance groups, the majority of representatives centered around the opinion that a new union should be called into existence. The first article of the statute of the new organization stated that any “temperance group in Bulgaria, be it men’s or women’s, could become a member of the Union, once it writes to the board, while its formal acceptance will take place at the next yearly meeting.”2 The two direct citations here are given in anticipation of the two central issues of this chapter. The issue of the sermon, or in other words the religious and moral entanglements of the temperance discourse and its evangelical roots, and the issue of Bulgaria, or in other words the question of territoriarity, nation formation and identity and the relation of the temperance movement to these broader historical processes. Indeed, a page onwards into the hand-minuted Yearbook of the Bulgarian Temperance Union one finds the two issues intertwined in the new motto of the union under article two of the statute – ‘For God, Home and Homeland’.3

To address the genesis of temperance campaigning in Bulgaria adequately, however, a broader context of protestant activities needs to be presented. The issue of alcohol and the creation of temperance groups and various media were squarely rooted in the larger missionary and ‘native’ protestant activities of educational, social and philanthropic work. The various branches of the American Missions in Bulgaria shared common resources, were usually executed by the same historical actors and were often reported to the same American Board of Commissioners for Foreign Missions (ABCFM) in the United States. The

1 CSA, 1027K, au 1, p. 2 (handwritten, archival pagination incomplete)
2 Ibid., pp. 2-3 (my italic)
3 Ibid., p. 4. For more on the motto and its origin see below.
report to the Woman’s Board of Missions on the American Kindergarten in Sofia for 1925 is highly illustrative in this respect. Elizabeth Clarke, who was the leading figure behind the establishment and running of this institution, listed the various organizations that found shelter in the building of the Kindergarten:

During these years it has cradled not only the mission enterprises – the kindergarten, the primary school, but various other infants as well, the English Speaking League, long ago established in a home of its own, the Alumnae Association, the L.S.L., the Sofia S.P.C.A., all of which have now moved out of their nursery. The Y.M.C.A. made this one of its way stations to present quarters, as also did the Blue Triangle. For years this was the headquarters of one branch of the Parent Teachers Association under the leadership of one of our tenants. It is still the home a literary society of teachers, of another made up of young men and women which hopes soon to build for itself. An older group of men and women also meets [in] the hall from week to week to browse [sic] for spiritual food in various fields. Here more than once Miss Baird has gathered the Bible workers for their summer school. Here the W.C.T.U. organizes its work, gives its lectures, and holds its monthly [sic] social meetings. Here various temperance bodies gather occasionally and here the youngest of them all, the two months old Young People Temp. Soc. outgrowth of the pupil and students movement [sic], has taken refuge from the various restaurants which have been its shelter during the first weeks of its existence.4

A similar broad array of activities and sharing of resources is characteristic for the whole period at hand. Indeed, there is evidence that interests on the ground and in Boston, where the interdenominational ABCFM was based, would sporadically clash over the priorities of the missionaries, while the emphasis on certain activities shifted a number of times.5 The steady correspondence and ‘reports from the field’, however, insured that planning and execution were more often in tune than not. An analysis of the missionary activities in general and the temperance movement in particular, needs to take into consideration not only the missionary work on the ground, in itself ‘a contact zone’ as we will see later in the chapter, but also the more distant, global entanglements, bringing together the Balkan Peninsula and New England. Decoupling the different branches of activity, as for example emphasizing proselytizing efforts, and/or presenting them in an exclusively national framework runs a high risk of analytical deficiency.

Literature Review and Structure of the Chapter

4 ABCFM 9.5.1.: Box 1, folder 24.
5 See for example Reeves-Ellington 2010, pp. 272-4
The Bulgarian literature on the subject of Protestant Missions has long been suffering from an almost hermetically enclosed, national perspective. The first American Missions in the Balkans were established long before the Russo-Turkish war in what was then categorized by the ABCFM as ‘European Turkey’ – indeed, following the nomenclature of the mission archives and the different names adopted in different periods for the same cluster of stations might be used as an evidence of its own for the territorial transformations. National historiography, however, in its warranted emphasis on the role of the Orthodox Church in the National Independence Movement, has often unjustly neglected or even purposefully disregarded the historical agency of the protestant missions in the period the Vazrazhdane\(^6\) in the 19th century. An illustrative example could be drawn from the historical portrayals of the introduction of the Cyrillic printing press in Smyrna. Only too often has the national historiography expected anachronistically the role the press had to play in the ensuing independence movement. Consequently, this particular institution is usually associated with Konstantin Fotinov’s Lyuboslovie\(^7\) while often detached from possible protestant connection. Richard Crampton’s A Concise History of Bulgaria, for example, mentions en passant the origin of the first Slav type printing press in the Ottoman Empire as a project of the British and Foreign Bible Society.\(^8\) In her study Literacy, Books, Readers and Reading in Bulgaria on the Way to Modernity (19th – early 20th C) Krassimira Daskalova leaves out entirely a discussion on the printing press in Smyrna and its origin.\(^9\) Similarly, in her study on the Bulgarian intellectual elite in the 18th to the mid-19th century, Rumiana Radkova discusses Fotinov’s work and again portrayal is devoid of any protestant collaboration in Smyrna.\(^10\) To do Radkova justice, we should note that she mentions elsewhere – if not acknowledges – the role of the American missionary Elias Riggs in the printing of the New Testament in Smyrna.\(^11\) Similarly, the general role of protestant missions in the period of national formation is often underrated, while missionaries are portrayed at best as nuisance and more often as intruders. Nikolay Genchev’s otherwise minutely researched work on the City of Plovdiv and its contributions to the larger processes of national formation, depicts the protestant missionary in a similar vein. While the initial arrival of the missionaries James Clarke and William Meriam, pace Genchev, coincided with clashes between Greek and Bulgarian religious fractions and thus passed unnoticed, they were later ‘discovered with amazement as new foreign bodies in the life of Plovdiv’.\(^12\) Further, in a somewhat contradictory fashion, Genchev describes American missionaries as siding with the Bulgarians against the Greek in the Church struggles of the early 1860s, but concludes that the ‘Plovdiv mission did not succeed in its goal, because it came in a period in which the

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\(^6\) Also known as the Bulgarian National Revival this is the period of the 19th century leading to the National Independence of 1878

\(^7\) Danova 1994

\(^8\) Crampton 2005, p. 63

\(^9\) Daskalova 1999, pp. 81-5

\(^10\) Radkova 1986, pp. 323-5; See a later discussion on Fotinov in Radkova 1995, pp. 153-62. It should be noted that this came after Danova 1994 monograph on the issue.

\(^11\) Radkova 1983

\(^12\) Genchev 2007, p. 289 [my translation]
Bulgarian Revival processes and the national consolidation were already in a very advanced stage. Under these circumstances its [the mission’s] propaganda could not reverberate in the hearts of the Bulgarians’. The issue of ‘foreign’ propaganda and the notion of ‘cultural imperialism’ will be addressed in detail later in this chapter. Let us first, however, address the opposing end-of-the-continuum pitfall in the secondary literature handling the subject. Two historical accounts – an edited volume under the title *Heralds of Truth: A History of the Evangelical Churches in Bulgaria* and a monograph titled *Contributions of the Protestants to the Bulgarian People*, published in 1994 and 2008 respectively – although proffering useful chronological references tend to take the missionary activities at their face value. Similarly, the premises of Georgi Genov’s arguably more grounded and elaborate study titled *The American Contribution to the Renaissance of the Bulgarian National Spirit with special Regards to the Personality of Elias Riggs* seem highly uncritical – ‘About the big friends of Bulgaria Elias and Mary Riggs, about their work, inspired by high morality and philanthropy, I want to narrate in this study’. Such studies make a warranted attempt to depict and sometimes analyze the role American missionaries in the processes of territorialization taking place on the Balkan Peninsula in the 19th century. Without departing from a tradition of national historiography, however, the activities of the missions are not necessarily seen as a contribution in the historical process of construction of national identity, but rather as a timely and welcome aid from ‘without’ that ‘our’ contemporary historiography has to recognize and honor.

The deficiencies of the national paradigm have been to an extent addressed in a number of studies that deal in various frames with the protestant engagements in the Balkans. A recent edited volume of the History Department of the New Bulgarian University is a helpful correction in this respect, particularly the chapters written by Roumen Genov, Plamen Tzvetkov and Ömer Turan. Andrea Despot’s monograph *Amerikas Weg auf den Balkan*, taking a relatively longue durée of one hundred years, manages to engage the formation of various national entities and follow the missionary activities in this particular context of territorial and language transformation. The work of Barbara Reeves-Ellington is exemplary in this respect, for bringing on a single analytical plain not only New England and Bulgaria-in-the-making, but also the broader context of the Ottoman Empire. To that a number of dissertations should be noted. Tatyana Nestorova’s *American Missionaries among the Bulgarians (1858-1912)*, although failing to overcome some of the aforementioned deficiencies of the national perspective, has been an important reference source and a chronological guideline. Heather Bailey’s dissertation at the University of Illinois Urbana looks at *American Protestant Influence in the Balkans, 1918-1939*, which covers the later

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13 Ibid., pp. 299-300 [my translation]
14 Kulichev (Ed.) 1994; Kulichev 2008
15 Genov 2000-2001, p. 4. This does not seem to stay in the commercial way of the book which meanwhile has evolved and been published in its third edition.
16 Genov et al (Eds.) 2007
17 Reeves-Ellington 2004; Reeves-Ellington 2010
18 Nestorova 1987
period of the work at hand, but also purposefully looks into the goals of the missionaries, obstacles they were facing and, finally, influences they would exert during the interwar years.\textsuperscript{19} Although by now dated in some of its conclusions, the dissertation of Paul Benjamin Mojzes under the title \textit{A History of the Congregational and Methodist Churches in Bulgaria and Yugoslavia}, submitted at the Boston University Graduate School with an awe inspiring length of some 700 pages, is a good entry point into protestant denominational differences in the Balkans.

The problem of hermetically enclosed nationalities becomes even more pronounced with concern to the historiography dealing with the period subject to the study at hand. If anything the brink of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century was marked by an intensified process of territorialization and a larger array of international ‘influences’ in the Balkan Peninsula. The newly formed state of Bulgaria went through dramatic social and demographic shifts. Still, the from of what might be called an Ottoman ecumene was not as abrupt as many historians have tried to depict it. One poignant example in the register of national history writing is the regular omission of the swiftly dwindling, but still very much present Turkish minority in the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century.\textsuperscript{20} The consolidated national elite still retained an elderly generation of Turkish and Greek speaking ‘Bulgarians’ among its members, while a new generation turned more often to other European languages and especially so towards the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century. Meanwhile the Bulgarian language itself continued its standardization through an accelerated growth of publishing and a major increase in literacy throughout the period at hand.\textsuperscript{21} This overlapping of various cultural and political influences – be it Greek, Ottoman, English, French, Russian or, indeed, American – seems to me a critical characteristic of the period and vital in the continual process of national formation inherent to the period.\textsuperscript{22} The American Missionaries in European Turkey, in the Balkans and in Bulgaria and their various activities should be thus seen as constituting – that is simultaneously a part of as well as constructing – this particular context.

The specific contribution of the protestant building block to the Balkan equation could be largely divided into two main branches. These are first the role played in the processes of territorialization on the Balkans in general and in the national formation of Bulgaria in particular; and, second, the introduction of what might be called a global evangelical ecumene to the region. We will discuss both of these protestant manifestations, the first situated largely outside of the period at hand and consequently poorer in terms of temperance activities (although as we will see the temperance discourse, for example, was from its inception on concerned with national issues) would be only shortly touched upon, while the second will form the theoretical thrust of the chapter. For this purpose, we should take also a closer look at the literature available on the subject. It is only recently that

\begin{itemize}
\item \textsuperscript{19} Bailey 1990
\item \textsuperscript{20} Turan 1998
\item \textsuperscript{21} Daskalova 1999 inter alia
\item \textsuperscript{22} On the continuation of the process of national formation post-independence see Elenkov 1998
\end{itemize}
historians have turned their attention to the global dimension and growth of the protestant missions of the 19th and 20th century. Partially the reason for this lacuna has been the well-established understanding of a ubiquitous process of secularization as a main characteristic of the ‘modern state’. We will discuss the issue of secular vs. religious in some more detail later in the next chapter; it suffices to note for now that it was the late Christopher Bayly’s *The Birth of the Modern World* that seconded a new interest in the rise of ‘new-style’ religion and the global growth of religious movements in the 19th century.  

23 A recent contribution to this growing field has been an edited volume studying the *Religious Internationals in the Modern World: Globalization and Faith Communities since 1750*. The most illuminating contribution in the volume with regard to the dissertation at hand has been Christopher Clark and Michael Ledger-Lomas’ article on the *Protestant International*. In this study the two authors accentuate the role of mass print and institutions such as the British and Foreign Bible Society for the creation of a global protestant ecumene. Such a perspective allows for an analytical framework encompassing both American and British missionary activities, the forms of ‘indigenous’ Protestantism as well as the exchange of ideas and practices among different denominations. Indeed, indications for British and American collaboration abound. Of particular importance for this study was the multi directional transfer of ideas concerning temperance and temperance instruction in particular.

Earlier historical accounts of the spread of Protestantism around the world focused on the relation between missions, commercial interests and imperial projects. In an often cited and criticized article Brian Stanley discussed the vital role that commerce played in the missionary *Weltanschauung* in the 1840s and 50s. “It was the means whereby providence welded together duty and interest, the channel through which the reflex benefit of Britain’s missionary role in the world returned to her own advantage.”  

26 In his discussion of *The Religious Propaganda and Educational Activities of the American Bible Societies in Bulgaria in the 19th Century* Peter Shopov asserts in a similar vein that American missionaries around the world would ‘smoothen the way – economic, political and spiritual – for the penetration of the merchants as well as defend the political interests of USA’. Such language of penetration and infiltration conveys strongly a notion of closed – albeit permeable – vessels. Indeed, the article is exemplary with concern to the eerie consummation between crude – if at all comprehended – Marxism and nationalism so characteristic of the Bulgarian historiography of the 1970s. Commenting on the self-perception among missionaries to be agents of civilization, i.e. seeing their role on par with a civilizing mission, Shopov comments that their ‘self-confidence and presumption […] were a consequence of their apparent lack

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23 Bayly 2004, pp. 325-65  
24 Green and Viaene (Eds.) 2012  
25 Clark and Ledger-Lomas 2012, pp. 23-52  
26 Stanley 1983, p. 75  
27 Shopov 1974, p. 150
of knowledge of Bulgarian history, its ancient culture and greatness’.\textsuperscript{28} The view that Christianity and commerce were inseparable for the British missionaries around mid-19\textsuperscript{th} century has been challenged successfully by Andrew Porter, who noted that the tandem varied geographically. It was seen as highly attractive for those thinking of Africa and not much for those dealing with India and China. Moreover, it varied also historically, as relations between Evangelicals and governments would evolve. All in all, Porter concludes, “the association of commerce and Christianity was never complete.”\textsuperscript{29} One often cited example, countering the mission-equals-commerce thesis, is the position taken by Protestants on the issue of alcohol traffic. Thus, although it has been suggested that in an earlier context missionaries anticipated – if not even wished for – the war supposed to open China,\textsuperscript{30} by the brink of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century voices against the liquor and opium traffic had consolidated.\textsuperscript{31} Referring intentionally to an earlier project for the ‘protection of aborigines’, a volume under the title \textit{Protection of Native Races against Intoxicants and Opium: Based on Testimony of One Hundred Missionaries and Travelers} was collected and published in 1900.\textsuperscript{32} The Reverend Fred L. Kingsbury reported from Bulgaria:

\begin{quote}
Strong drink is the bane of Samokov. I know one street in that city that nearly every shop of which is a rum shop. Casks of rum reported to be from America are everywhere. Let Christians in America do everything that can be done to put a stop to the sending of intoxicants into mission lands.\textsuperscript{33}
\end{quote}

This claim was substantiated by the editors with a later date memorandum supplied by the Boston Custom House for the fiscal year 1898-9.\textsuperscript{34}

Since the 1990s, a new thrust of scholarship inspired by post-colonial theory has added substantially to the debates on the history of Protestant missions. Based on the premise of the power/knowledge cluster, such studies have recognized the complicit nature of missionary’s writings and ideas with various forms of hierarchy construction as well as practices of domination. Anna Johnston has noted that “Christian missionary activity was central to the work of European colonialism”.\textsuperscript{35} In his extensive account on the history of the British Missionary enterprise Jeffrey Cox has succinctly summarized this relation by stating that “[...] British missionaries were deeply implicated in imperialism.”\textsuperscript{36} Notwithstanding such claims, the notion of ‘cultural imperialism’ has become highly disputed. Among other criticisms, the notion of cultures as ‘essentially and \textit{wholly coherent’ and the consequent representation of missionary influences as something foreign have

\begin{footnotes}
\item[28] Ibid., 159
\item[29] Porter 1985, p. 616; See also the extension of the argument in Porter 2004
\item[30] See for example Fay 1971
\item[31] See for example Tyrell 2010, pp. 146-65
\item[32] Crafts (Ed.) 1900
\item[33] Kingsbury 1900, p. 75
\item[34] Crafts (Ed.) 1900, p. 49
\item[35] Johnston 2003, p. 13
\item[36] Cox 2008, p. 13
\end{footnotes}
been challenged.37 The grounds of ‘cultural imperialism’ have been, if anything, even more contested in the case of the ABCFM, not least perhaps because of the apparent absence of formal colonies to accompany American missions abroad. Here again the imagined ‘national or cultural authenticity’, the ‘disregard’ of the agency of the ‘acted upon’ as well as the sharp dichotomy between ‘actor’ and ‘acted upon’ have been questioned.38 Such shrewd critique notwithstanding, the existence of power relations within the system of protestant missions – subject, of course, to denominational, geographical and chronological change – seems beyond doubt. To borrow a synthesis of this particular debate from Ian Tyrell’s Reforming the World: the Creation of America’s Moral Empire – “‘Cultural imperialism’ is [...] too blunt an instrument to fully comprehend these relationships, but connections with the power of colonialism and imperialism there certainly were.”39 In this vein, it could be noted that direct missionary support for imperial engagements is not a prerequisite – although the comic relief coining of the English and French navies as a ‘Society for the Diffusion of Cannon Balls’40 certainly brings the message forcefully home – for the study of ‘ideological dominance’, as proposed some eighty years ago.41 It is precisely the ‘spontaneous consent’, its varied modalities and/or absence that are of interest to this chapter. Addressing a similar issue – although admittedly in relation to a different subject and in a later period – Rob Kroes has encouraged a focus on the ‘receiving end’.42 Studies following the logic of this programmatic paper, as for example the aforementioned account on the women education in the European part of the Ottoman Empire by Reeves-Ellington, have produced highly impressive results. The strength of this perspective lies undoubtedly in the added emphasis on the complexity of the processes of mediation and reception, moving beyond a story of relative advantage. What could be added to this, however, is an attempt of bridging not only the personalities of the ‘actors’ and ‘acted upon’, but also the historical geographies of center and periphery. It was at latest Ann Laura Stoler and Frederick Cooper’s treatment of ‘metropole and colony in a single analytical field’ that marked a new interest in the ‘reverse’ flux or in other words the role of periphery in the making of the center.43 The historiography concerned with protestant missions too has picked on this theme. In her Religion and Empire at Home Susan Thorne has noted that “[...] the missionary movement would become a crucial conduit through which political intelligence and cultural influences as well as people travelled between the British Empire and its Victorian home front.”44 Similarly, for the American story a strong case has been made for the role of the missionaries in the molding of the discourse on race (or heathens respectively), while also often trying to raise support for Asian immigrants.45 And while it is difficult to assert that New England was

37 Porter 1997, p. 373. Original italic
38 Dunch 2002, p. 318
39 Tyrell 2010, p. 5
40 Harris 1991, p. 329
41 Gramsci 1971
42 Kroes in Bender (ed.) 2002, pp. 295-313
43 Cooper and Stoler (eds) 1997, pp. 1-56
44 Thorne 2006, pp. 144-5
45 Snow 2007
formed in the image of the Balkans the way “Europe was made by its imperial projects”, we would see in this chapter that reports from Bulgaria, as for example on the pages of the Union Signal, certainly helped in the fashioning of a ‘moral empire’ encompassing the globe.

A topic addressed sufficiently in the literature in general is the relationship between missionaries and ‘native’ preachers. In the case of the Bulgarian mission these relations played a crucial role in the temperance movement – the publication of temperance pamphlets, booklets and posters in the period between 1890 and 1920 remained concentrated in the hands of missionaries, while on the other hand the organizational matters within the Temperance Union were almost exclusively managed by protestants native to the region. It is important, however, to note that the most active organizational figures among the Protestants in Bulgaria, notably Rev. Marko N. Popoff and Dr. Furnajieff, studied in New England. A focus on the activities of the missionaries combined with a glimpse on the relations between ‘moral imperialists’ and ‘compradors’ is also a good entry point to the question of the role of the missionaries vis-à-vis and within the host society.

As already noted, the history writing on the subject of religion in the late 19th century has for long been scarce. One reason for this was the over confidence of the emergence of secular modernity. In his The Age of Capital Eric Hobsbawm notably commented that “[e]ducated men of this period were not merely proud of their sciences, but prepared to subordinate all other forms of intellectual activity to them.” Such men, according to Hobsbawm, “had no serious doubts about the direction in which they were going and ought to go.” But even if we take for granted that religion as such was giving ground to science in the metropole, a glimpse at the global picture conveys a sense of religious resurgence, or to use Christopher Bayly’s succinct description – “the nineteenth century saw the triumphal reemergence and expansion of ‘religion’ the sense in which we now use the term.” Instead of constructing a new religion/science dichotomy, however, Bayly shows that religious authorities made a series of “tactical retreats in order to conquer new areas of cultural and social life.” Other authors have drawn attention to the fact that the reach of secular knowledge and Christianity has been constantly shifting throughout history. One historical development of importance for this study is the formation of a protestant institutional body for publishing of scientific tracts in Victorian Britain, not least because of their wide spatial and temporal circulation. Sometimes such works reached the Balkans through American missionaries at the end of the century. The protestant answer to the growing importance of science in mid-nineteenth century Britain “was to produce alternative works of Christian popular science, thereby creating a genre that survived the secularization of professional

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46 Cooper and Stoler (eds) 1997, p. 1
47 Hobsbawm 1975, p. 251
48 Ibid., 253
49 Bayly 2004, p. 325, my emphasis
50 Ibid., p. 330
51 Asad 1993; on religion and science see also Brooke and Numbers (Eds.) 2011
science.”52 Such engagements could be interpreted as retreats or, conversely, as an important endeavor to model and steer modernity in accordance with broad Christian goals. Outside the metropole the question of the relationship between religion, science and education had the additional dimension of playing out of stark colonial power relations. In the introduction to his edited volume Conversion to Modernities: The Globalization of Christianity, Peter van der Veer comments that the “nineteenth-century colony was an ideal arena for heated debates among the British about the location of religion in modernity, and about experiments in secular education that could not yet take place in Britain.”53 What becomes increasingly evident in the correspondence of American Missionaries on the Balkans in the period between 1890 and 1933 is their growing role as ‘modernizers’.

Steering tentatively away from debates on ‘multiple modernities’ or ‘our modernity’,54 this chapter will show how missionaries on the ground perceived themselves as promoters of modernity by means of aiding a national building project, by providing secular education and last, but certainly not least, by means of their audible advocacy of temperance. The chapter is broadly divided in four parts. The first one deals with the continual role that protestant churches played in the processes of territoriality taking place in the period. The second section of the chapter deals with the self-perception of the missionaries and the closely related project of ‘modernity’ and secular schooling. An important point raised in this part of the chapter is the evidence brought forward of a certain ‘native demand’ for modernity to which missionaries tended. The next section on temperance will examine the different channels for the dissemination of such ideas – organizations, periodicals and other media. To this a discussion of the gender discourse in the protestant temperance literature will be added. In all these sections an attempt would be made to draw comparison with similar phenomena taking place in different parts of the world where protestant American missionaries were active. This brings us to the fourth, final part of the chapter dealing with the global entanglements of the American protestant mission and the creation of a ‘moral empire’. The creation of a global ecumene will be examined through the various reports of ‘exotic parts’ of the world in Bulgarian protestant and particularly temperance periodicals as well as through the back-flow of reports to New England, finding space eventually on the pages of papers such as the Union Signal.

Territoriality

In a special issue of the journal Духовна Обнова (Spiritual Renovation) from 1929, dedicated to the relation between ‘America and Bulgaria’ (see figure 6), Stoyan Vatralski – the first Bulgarian graduate of Harvard, poet, Y.M.C.A. activist and temperance champion – listed four factors for the success of ‘our [Bulgarian] independence’. These were: the Bulgarian revolutionaries and independence activists such as Rakovski, Hazhi Dimitar, Levski,
Benkovski, etc; the Americans, evangelicals and philanthropists: missionaries, professors and correspondents; the Englishman Gladstone, the greatest European statesman at this time, and one of the most nobly-glorious in the world history; and Alexander II, duly acclaimed, pace Vatralski, Tsar Liberator (Освободител). The author was certainly right in pointing to the contribution of the American missionaries to the national independence movement, although their role in the process of territorialisation was perhaps not as straightforward as he saw it. A global perspective on statehood in the late nineteenth century cannot but render the period as marked by the victory marsh of a new form of administration - the nation state. Charles Maier has termed the phenomenon as *Leviathan 2.0* in reference to the changed reach and enterprise of the state - “[b]y the late nineteenth century, states possessed a degree of dedication to governance, of bureaucratic functionality, of at-oneness with fixed territorial space, of belief in their own competitive mission, that was unprecedented.” An important point in this excerpt is the reference to competitiveness, indicating that the process of national formation simultaneously created and took place in an *international* context. With hindsight we can also assert that this process became a global phenomenon. Analyzing the role of the American mission in the Balkan Peninsula with regard to the ensuing processes of territorialisation, it is important to note that their role did not simply contribute to the Bulgarian national independence, but rather spilled over in the period post 1878, marked by further ‘nation building’ in Bulgaria.

A global preoccupation of Protestants in the 19th century was the translation, printing and distribution of the Bible through networks of colporteurs. The passionate belief in the truths and values found in the New Testament and the perceived need for their dissemination were manifested in the creation of the *British and Foreign Bible Society* (BFBS) in 1804. The organizers behind this extraordinarily productive institution have been described as ‘saints of publishing’, not least because of their zeal to spread the Gospel. Some estimates show that by the 1880s the BFBS has circulated around one hundred million copies of the Scriptures in Britain and abroad. Doubtlessly this success could be ascribed to the cheapness of the Bibles produced. The American Bible Society, for example, managed to gradually reduce the price of its standard Bible to 3 cents at the end of the 19th century. Protestant Missionaries attempted to distribute Bibles in diverse localities for free. Such endeavours did not necessarily succeed in spreading the Gospel as such – the usage of the paper on which these Scriptures were printed by its Cantonese recipients to cover various needs provoked derisive comments on behalf of Catholic priests, claiming that the Gospel is to be taught not simply printed. Although numbers do not mean much on their own, it is

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55 Vatralski 1929, p. 7  
56 Maier 2012, p. 37  
57 Elenkov 1998  
58 Howsam 2002, pp. 1-34  
59 Clark and Ledger-Lomas 2012, p.30  
60 Fay 1971, pp. 149-51
still impossible to negate that the mass production of books had ripple effects on languages, grammars and other published materials.

One printing press concerned with the publishing of the Gospel with the help of the BFMS as well as the ABCFM was situated in Smyrna. Having procured Cyrillic type from the United States and commissioned Neofit Rilski to translate the Bible, the production of the Bulgarian New Testament started in 1840 under the leadership of Elias Riggs and Konstint Fotinov. Notably this first edition of the New Testament in new-Bulgarian came at a time in which the language itself was undergoing a process of standardization. The classical study of *The Coming of the Book* by Lucien Febvre and Henri-Jean Martin has pointed to the relation between printing and the formation of new lingual standards – printing “helped mould our modern European languages.” Albeit its modern formation took place in the 19th century, the Bulgarian language did not make an exception from this general pattern. The very first print book in new-Bulgarian is considered to have been published in 1806. The existence of parallel dialects has been seen by many authors as a hindrance for the growth of readership and literary audience at the time. Indeed, the aforementioned Fotinov’s *Lyuboslavie* was met presumably with some resistance due to its usage of the archaic and largely unused church-Slavonic language. Debates on the standardization of the language were already in full motion when Riggs himself published a Bulgarian grammar. Bulgarian was also not the only language whose modern formation was influenced by American and British protestant missionaries around the world. Thus, for example, Ross King has pointed to the ‘missionary spelling reform debate’ that took place between 1902 and 1906 in Korea and has made a strong argument that protestant missionaries were highly influential in the process of modernization of Korean. A more elaborate account has been made also for the Protestants in Fuzhou and their role in ‘nation’ formation and creation of ‘modern’ China. Jean and John Comaroff have turned our attention to the anthropological and linguistic studies of British ‘evangelists’ in South Africa and the related formation of ‘Tswana’ nation. The educational efforts of the British missionary William Carey in Bengal have presumably led “to the flowering of the Bengali language and literature.”

The printing of the New Testament and the partaking in the grammar debates were, of course, not the only way in which the American Protestants played a role in the Balkan territoriality. Benedict Anderson has famously commented on the relation between print capitalism, the formation of a knowledge base shared by a literate elite and the consequent

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61 See for example Stoyanov 1964, pp. 45-6; Genov 2000-2001, pp. 18-22; Crampton 2007, p. 58
62 Febvre and Martin 1990 (English Translation), p. 319
63 Daskalova 1999, pp. 79-90
64 Genov 2000-2001, p. 4
65 For a general account see Smalley 1991
66 King 2004
67 Dunch 2001
68 Comaroff and Comaroff 1997, pp. 387-8
69 Siddiq 1961, p. 204
national building.\textsuperscript{70} Taken as an example, the Smyrna printing press engaged far beyond scriptural works. A number of protestant tracts and manuals were translated into Bulgarian. Most significant for the study at hand was the publishing of a pamphlet concerned with immoderate drinking by Zahari Knjažeski under the title Коренья на пиянството и каква полза принася на ония, що пият много, most probably a translation of the book The Tree of Intemperance.\textsuperscript{71} The publishing endeavors of the Protestants were one of the main pillars of work at the end of the 19\textsuperscript{th} century in newly independent Bulgaria and into the 20\textsuperscript{th}. The point could not be overestimated as indeed processes of territorialization and national formation and consolidation continued well until the Second World War and beyond. The monthly magazine \textit{Zornitza} [Зорница, Morning Star], originally commenced in 1864 and transformed into a newspaper in the 1870s, was published in Constantinople, where the editorial was hosted at the Bible House, and received as one of the most important media at the time, notably covering the April Uprising. The paper moved to Philippopolis only in 1902 and later, in the 1920s, to Samokov and Sofia.\textsuperscript{72} The high quality of the paper vis-à-vis its relatively affordable price throughout its existence can be explained with the financial and infrastructural support of the ABCFM. \textit{Zornitza} suffered at various stages severe financial strains and would encourage its subscribers to pay up their debts, necessitating subsidies from the mission. An annual report for 1923-1924 of the publishing department of the Bulgaria Mission to the ABCFM, signed by R. Merkham, states:

\[\ldots\] We are now helping edit Zornitza and are paying four thousand levs towards its maintenance. We advise that from January on the Mission give no financial help to the paper. It is now able to support itself. It has about five thousand subscribers of which \textit{about four thousand} will pay their subscription. The paper is read by not less than ten thousand people.\textsuperscript{73}

The precarious financial strains faced by \textit{Zornitza} were made worse by the competition of the temperance newspaper \textit{Vuzdurzhatel} (Abstainer) – starting in 1894 under the title \textit{Vuzdurzhatelno Zname} and published until 1929 – and other papers with Christian affiliation aiming at a similar market niche. The report of the Philippopolis station of 1910 explained the fall in the number of subscribers of \textit{Zornitza} with the “starting of a new monthly Temperance Paper by the Temperance Union, at 1/2 the price of the Zornitza (and very many of our people are too poor to take two Papers)”.\textsuperscript{74} A ‘saint of publishing’ with concern to temperance certainly could be found in the person of the missionary James Franklin Clarke. Moving to Philippopolis in 1859, by 1900 he was the most senior and influential veteran in the ‘field’. His various reports of the temperance activities of the mission transformed into a fund-raising booklet titled \textit{Temperance Work in Bulgaria: Its Success} and

\textsuperscript{70} Anderson 2006 (rev. ed.)  
\textsuperscript{71} Genov 2000-2001, pp. 34-5  
\textsuperscript{72} See for example Zornitza’s anniversary issue of April 8\textsuperscript{th}, 1931  
\textsuperscript{73} ABCFM, 17.8, v. 5, 84:2, my emphasis  
\textsuperscript{74} ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 41:2-3, handwritten
aimed at New England recipients. His report of 1914, written shortly before his death, depicts vividly his passionate engagement with the anti-alcohol cause. “In both of the years [1913-14, NK] 50 of the Reform Bureau posters and 50 of the 'Five Steps of a Drunkard' have been posted in the streets and this week (Apr 14) 100 copies will be put on the streets to preach temperance to many who, otherwise, would not know the danger of drinking.” An earlier report from April 2nd 1912, gave an account of the production and dispersal to various schools in “Bulgaria, Macedonia and Eur. Turkey, including at his special request, the Bulgarian exarch [sic] in Constantinople.” The money spent for these endeavors came from a life insurance policy that had matured in 1900, loaned to friends for the purpose of house building and received back by Clarke. Astonishingly, his health condition at the time would not allow for ambulatory employment:

Nearly all the work reported as done in the past years has been done while I have been lying in bed, not in any pain, but to avoid strokes of Arteriosclorosis [sic] which follow the strokes of apoplexy which I had in 1909. They have made me unconscious and unable to read, speak or talk for several days. They have come about one in 35-40 days. The last one was March 22. (31st time).

If this had not sufficed to convey piety and martyrdom to the Board, Clarke had also noted that the affection he felt for the various stations and preachers was so deep that “for the past three months, when conscious, [he has] daily prayed individually for each one and for the four schools pleading especially the unlimited promises in John 15.”

The educational endeavors the missionaries pursued constituted another pillar in the language standardization and subsequently in the national formation. We would discuss in more detail the various schools later in the chapter, but it suffice for now to refer to the Robert College in Constantinople. Established in 1863 it taught many Bulgarian speaking students, who upon graduating would become part of a growing professional, business and administrative elite in the newly independent Bulgarian nation state. The subversive potential and, indeed, the effect exercised by the Robert College contrary to the state reform policy promoting Ottomanness, did not remain unnoticed by the imperial government. The American Institution was even blamed by some for the loss of Bulgaria and seen with growing suspicion by the Ottoman government.

The question of territoriality begs a glimpse into the nomenclature of the ABCFM archives. In what could be called an ‘epistemic uncertainty’ – to borrow the term from a colleague

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75 Clarke 1914
76 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 281:4, handwritten
77 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 80:1, handwritten
78 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 281:6, handwritten
79 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 80:4, handwritten
80 Salt 2002, p. 309; See also Salt 1993, p. 38
concerned with the colonial state archive—a the ABCFM changed the name of the Mission responsible for more or less the same stations and managed by the same people not less than thrice. First the *European Turkey Mission* branched out of the Turkey Mission; second, reports streamed to Boston from the *Balkan Mission* in the beginning of the 20th century, to finally settle in its last years as a *Mission to Bulgaria*. When eventually the *Balkan Mission* was split in different branches along national lines the annual report noted that “[o]ne of the most painful decision of the annual meeting was our decision vote to separate the Greek and Bulgarian branches of our work. This matter has been under discussion for more that [sic] a year and during all that time many of us have continued to hope that these two fields of our work might continue to be united under the Balkan Mission.”

This ‘epistemic uncertainty’, of course, reflected changes in the political and territorial reality in the ‘field’, best captured by a document sent from the Salonica Station of the *Balkan Mission*, reporting for the years from April 1st, 1912 to April 15th, 1914:

> The kaleidoscopic [sic] territorial changes of the past two years are reflected in the following facts. At the time of our last mission meeting our station reported [illegible] preaching points, all in Turkish territory. In Mitrovita meetings were stopped [due to] death and removal of members. In Djumai Baala and Gurmen they died out. So a year [illegible] ago we had three preaching points in Greek territory, two in Servian, and eighteen in Bulgarian. Today we have five in Greek territory, five in Servian and five in Bulgarian, altho [sic] there would be ten in Bulgarian if Razlog were counted in as last year. Four have been practically wiped out.

Such severe blows were not necessarily seen as a stumbling block to Protestants work, but rather as compelling evidence that missionary endeavors were indeed needed — “We may say firstly that the Balkan wars have conclusively proved the need to missionary work in all the Balkan States and the unworthiness of the Eastern Orthodox Church to be regarded as a Christian institution.” Such reports from the Balkans have been described by Maria Todorova if not as initial than at least a conclusive point of departure in the formation of a discourse on *Balkanism* by the ‘civilized world’. ABCFM’s ‘epistemic uncertainty’ did not, however, simply reflect territorial changes and parcelation but also hopes for the future and failures in the missionary plan. Ömer Turan has accused the American mission of preferential treatment — “Bulgarians were the missionaries’ most favored nation in the Balkan region.” Indeed, the archival record abounds with evidence of impartiality – missionaries in Samokov and Philippopolis tended

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81 Stoler 2009, particularly pp. 1-15
82 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 5, 10:3, correction in original
83 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 88:1
84 ABCFM, 17.8, v. 1, 88:2-3, my emphasis
85 Todorova 2009, pp. 3-4
86 Turan 2000, p. 134
to associate with the Bulgarian national cause. Writing to the board in 1885, the year of the unification of Eastern Rumelia and the Principality of Bulgaria, Ursula Marsh expressed her sympathies with the Bulgarian national cause and extrapolated clearly to the ABCFM – “I know that you read with interest all news from this part of the world, and that you must sympathize with our brave Bulgarians, and wish them God-speed in their struggles for freedom.”

Ignes Abott reported from Samokov on the 10th of October 1912, informing the Woman’s Board that the school was used to accommodate soldiers. What impressed her most was “the unfeigned joy with which the order for mobilization was received everywhere. The Bulgarians for years have been longing for the opportunity to free their brothers in Macedonia from Turkish cruelty.”

What is insufficiently underscored in Turan’s argument, however, is the historical contingency and temporal dimension of the process of territorialization. Indeed, it would be misleading to use Marsh’s letter uncritically as a reflection of a historical given. National borders, but also identities and even languages were in flux, at a time when new media such as the affordable press, as well as the schooling, played a crucial role in the process of ‘enlightening’ and uplift, but also in drawing borders.

Modernity and half-heathens

Writing from Samokov back to the Mount Holyoke Seminary on the occasion of the fifth Lulasti class letter, Zoe Ann Marinda Locke informed her former classmates of the family blessings God had bestowed upon her since her entrance into service of the European Turkey Mission. “Three lively, merry little girls look up in my face and call me mamma! With all the joy they bring, comes a great burden of responsibility. In a heathen land, or one nearly as bad as a heathen land, they must be shielded from its baneful influences and trained for Heaven.”

I have chosen this excerpt not as proof for the arguably binary Weltanschauung of the missionaries – if anything such citations should be read against the background of the larger work of missionaries as well as against the intended audience in mind. Missionaries perceived their work as absolutely necessary for the saving of heathen souls and, by extension, as fundamental for the improvement of the world at large. To justify these essential efforts, however, they would often report to the Board or to newspapers ‘back home’ with an emphasis of the poverty of their surroundings and the ‘debasement’ of the heathens. The particular example was a part of a series of letters to former classmates and could be read as an example for the circulation of the heathen discourse, used here as a mild attempt to boast on one’s own courage in the face of difficulty. The excerpt was chosen, however, for its almost uncannily confirmative relation to Maria Todorova’s argument on the difference between the ‘Balkans’ and the ‘Orient’. Famously, Todorova pronounced that Balkanism was not a subspecies of Orientalism and

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87 ABCFM 16.9, v. 21, 108:1, my emphasis
88 ABCFM 16.9.4, v. 7
89 Locke Family Papers, MHC
90 Snow 2007, pp. 10-1
that one could not provincialize Europe while writing on the Balkans, because they are a part of Europe. The Balkans, pace Todorova, were different from the ‘intangible’ Orient in their crude poverty and real existence. The Balkans had an ‘in-between’ quality, a transitional character that could have made them into an incomplete other, “instead they are constructed not as other but as incomplete self.”

True, the ‘heathenism’ from our quote was used widely by missionaries to denote a category, admittedly more fluid than the biological premise of race, but one that nonetheless formed superior and inferior rungs of a civilization ladder. Thus, according to Esme Cleall “‘Christian’ and ‘heathen’ were absolute and adverse conditions, the denial of ambiguous ground between them and the unquestioning assumption that the former was desirable and the later abominable – is rooted in the logic of difference [...].” The excerpt from Locke’s letter, however, presents us exactly with such middle ground – seemingly confirming in-betweenness of the Balkans – ‘a heathen land, or one nearly as bad as heathen’. What is conspicuously absent from Todorova’s argument, however, is the dialectical relation between categories, between subjects and objects, ‘others’ and ‘selves’. To quote from Edward Said’s most familiar work – “[t]he construction of identity – for identity, whether of Orient or Occident, France or Britain, while obviously a repository of distinct collective experiences, is finally a construction in my [Said’s, NK] opinion – involves the construction of opposites and ‘others’ whose actuality is always subject to the continuous interpretation and re-interpretation of their differences from ‘us’.”

The Occident was created by the construction of the other or – to give credit to Maria Todorova – by the construction of different types of others. The othering of the Balkans similarly produced selves, Europe, ‘high-civilization’, the very intangible West. Again, to come back to our anecdotal excerpt for the purpose of illustrating the point – Locke’s daughters were to be ‘shielded from its [almost heathen land’s] baneful influences and trained for Heaven’. American missionaries constructed themselves on the first place as messengers of the Gospel on the Balkans and, increasingly after the brink of the 20th century and especially into the 20s, as agents of modernity. The latter role could be roughly summarized in a two-tier formation – firstly, missionaries, as elsewhere, despite cases of conspicuous frugality, in general lived materially better lives than their ‘native’ peers; secondly, missionaries lived in a period of rapid demographical and social change, accompanied with processes of industrialization and urbanization. The period of Leviathan 2.0 on the Balkans was marked by an overall ‘demand’ for modernization, not least because of the supplementary international competition. Missionaries tried to fulfill such demands through modern schools, broader dissemination of knowledge and modern medicine.

The members of the European Turkey/Balkan/Bulgarian ABCFM mission had various reasons to fear their surroundings and feel antagonized vis-à-vis the ‘natives’. James Clarke, the aforementioned temperance activist, and William Meriam moved to Philippopolis in 1859.

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91 Todorova 2009, p. 18
92 Cleall 2012, p. 3
93 Said 1979, p. 332
94 For a general discussion see Snow 2007, p. 9
Three years later, shortly after his 30th birthday, Clarke had the unenviable task of reporting the murder of his senior colleague to the Board. The incident took place on July, 3rd close to Harmanli, during Mr. and Mrs. Meriam’s journey back to Philippopolis after a visit to the Mission’s main station in Constantinople. According to a letter from Adrianople, villagers had warned Meriam of impending danger.

Several suspicious persons – armed horsemen – had just passed through the place. The villagers, alarmed at the sight and the strange questions and actions of these horsemen, endeavored to dissuade Mr. Meriam from proceeding; but as there were others willing to start – a company of five wagons and fifteen men, two of who were mounted and well-armed Government guards – they apprehended no danger. Mr. Meriam had with him one of Colt’s best revolvers, and expressed no fear.95

In the ensuing confrontation and shootout was reported again in a later issue of the Missionary Herald. “Mr. Meriam, who was sitting by the side of the driver, wishing to intimidate the robbers, fired four shots towards them without taking aim, stretching his arm at the side of the talacca.”96 Their flight was eventually stopped by the killing of one of the cart’s horses, Meriam in ‘the process of alighting’ was pierced by two ‘balls’ on his right side. The assassin ignominiously stamped upon the face of his victim.97 In his reports to the Board Clarke spoke of ‘overwhelming sorrow’ caused by the loss of a Brother he looked up to. In response to the mounting diplomatic pressure, the ‘Porte’ proved surprisingly efficient in the investigation of the murder. It traced, prosecuted, issued a verdict upon and eventually executed one of the robbers on January 7th 1863 in Adrianople. In a report of the same month to the board, Clarke reported the proceedings and exonerated his brother of any responsibility for the incident. While boarding a ship bound for Constantinople the alleged assassin was arrested and, subsequently, Meriam’s pistol was found in his possessions. “It was completely loaded – an evidence that he [Meriam, NK] did not fire upon the robbers – for the assassin did not know how to load it.”98

The strains and uncertainties of uprisings and wars likewise tested regularly the faith of the missionaries. Thus, Ursula Marsh reported on the 8th of August the flight of her family from Eski Zagra in the conclusive days of the Russo-Turkish war.

For days we had prayed hour by hour for wisdom to know what to do, and when Sulieman [sic] Pacha’s bombshells began to whiz over our heads as we sat at the dinner table, we sprang to our feet, gathered together a change or

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95 Missionary Herald, v. 58, p. 267
96 Ibid., p. 316
97 Ibid., p. 317
98 ABCFM 16.9, v. 4, 164:1, handwritten
two for the children, a few medicines, all our silver, our hammock, and Mr. Marsh’s revolver [...]\textsuperscript{99}

After that, the Marshes found shelter at Mr. Bond’s house situated in the Turkish quarter of the town. Neighbors came to the rescue of the Americans – “[g]un and axe in hand they guarded the doors from those barbarous Circassion soldiers, who were thirsting for infidel blood and gold. Since, three times they [the neighbors, NK] saved the lives of our husbands [...]”\textsuperscript{100} The next night the Christian quarter of the city was set alight. A day later, family Marsh, family Bond, together with some ‘servants’ and ‘dependants’ crowded closely together and rode out of the city between “smoking heaps of ruins, and over dead bodies of men and women [...]”,\textsuperscript{101} to eventually reach safely – albeit after much deprivation – Constantinople. The strain of the period stretching between the April Uprising and the end of the Russo-Turkish war and the succeeding relief of the missionaries is discernible in Clarke’s annual report from the Samokov mission, written in July 1878.

Our Heavenly Father has kindly + safely kept us all during the past years changes from the war, which has desolated so large a portion of our mission field. For months hostile armies were within 2-3 days of our homes. Refugee Turks filled this place, while crowds of others passed through or near it – towards Constantinople. The reckless, lawless Circassian, in their ravages, spared no race or creed + caused even the Turks to dread them.\textsuperscript{102}

The unification of 1885, the Ilinden–Preobrazhenie Uprising of 1903 and the aforementioned Balkan Wars, marked further peaks of tension for the missionaries and made only more explicit the frailty of the missions in these ‘dark’ and ‘unruly’ lands.

If all this was not enough, America experienced its first ‘hostage crisis’, during the Miss Stone Affair of 1901-1902.\textsuperscript{103} The missionary and WCTU activist Ellen Stone and her escort Katerina Tsilka were kidnapped by Yane Sandanski, Hristo Chernopeev and their brigands in September of 1901.\textsuperscript{104} The ‘hostage crisis’ ended after an extensive fund raiser in the United States – at a period in which governments were still negotiating with terrorists – led the payment of a substantial ransom to the Internal Macedonian-Adrianople Revolutionary Organization in the beginning of 1902 and the subsequent release of the two women. The missionaries became something of a sensation in the United States and internationally, not least because of Tsilka’s pregnancy and successful giving of birth during captivity.\textsuperscript{105} The ransom money was used by the Internal Macedonian Revolutionary Organization for the

\textsuperscript{99} ABCFM 16.9, v. 21 102:1, handwritten
\textsuperscript{100} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{101} Ibid.
\textsuperscript{102} ABCFM records at Burke
\textsuperscript{103} Carpenter 2003; Boškovska 2008
\textsuperscript{104} Some of the Bulgarian sources date the incident to August of the same year, doubtless because of the use of the usage of the Julian calendar in Bulgaria until the end of March 1916, replaced then by the Gregorian.
\textsuperscript{105} See for example ABCFM, Haskell papers
procurement of weaponry, while the ABCFM wrote to its benefactors with the request to use the remaining money of the fund raising campaign for the strengthening of the Balkan Mission.106

Missionaries often experienced open antagonism in the face of the Orthodox clergy, who saw their professional situation endangered by a ‘foreign intrusion’ and competition. The difficulties faced by Miriam and Clarke in the early days of the Philippopolis’ protestant school are well documented, the most illustrative example is the anathemas against this educational endeavor pronounced allegedly in all orthodox churches of the town in September 1960.107 In Eski Zagra the protestant efforts in providing girls’ education were similarly seen by a newly formed Orthodox bourgeoisie as a looming danger and moved the town’s elite into financing their own, ‘indigenous’ projects for women education.108 In another letter to the _Lulasti_, dated to 1871, Zoe Ann Marinda Locke expressed regret in the face of the exclusionary policies pursued by the Orthodox clergy in Samokov.

The care of my house and children, necessarily take [sic] up much of the time I would like to bestow upon the poor women about me. The Bulgarian women do not call upon me at all, as they have been forbidden to do so by the priests who have anathematized us, as if we were very bad people. If I could get some assistance in my housework, I might be able to go among them and show them we are not such as they had supposed, but it is almost impossible to get any help, for if a girl of the middle class goes out to service, she degrades herself, and if she marries at all, must take a lower rank. [...] In many things, Bulgaria is more than a hundred years behind America.109

In addition to these hostile tactics employed by orthodox clergymen the mission also suffered from occasional property damage. Earthquakes were reported to the boards and damages assessed. During times of crisis the amicable communication with the local population was often severely disrupted, property was stoned and even burned. To draw shortly on one of the most perspicacious insights of the post-colonial studies, it should be noted that the prose of ‘counter insurgency’110 written by American missionaries in Bulgaria never depicted such incidents of human agency as natural disasters and/or irrational, but rather accentuated on the treacherous nature of the perpetrators. The 1910 annual report of the Philippopolis station remarked on a “[...] sad event in our village work which we [the missionaries, NK] trust will be overruled for good was the burning of the church in Abdulare, one night in the 'Week of Prayer'. It was without question set on fire by an enemy of our

107 Genchev 2007, p. 408
108 Reeves-Ellington 2004
109 Locke Family Papers, box 1, MHC
110 Here I am referring to Ranajit Guha’s discussion of the portraying of peasant rebellions as natural catastrophes and thus concealing the human agency behind such events. See Guha 1983.
work.” Even so, salvation was just around the corner, it was only a question of time and work. The same report noted that funds were already being raised for the rebuilding of the church in Abdulare. In another report, written from the Salonica station in 1909, Edward Haskell reported on the rebuilding of the church by his brethren in Koleshino. The new building was a commodious structure that could host – and was rewarded with – a large congregation. “Certain relatives of the incendiaries already attend services and I have strong hopes that it will be my privilege to receive to church membership some of the very men whose hands applied the torch to the first building.” Indeed, the same report almost vindicated the aforementioned ‘captor’ of Miss Stone, Chernopeev, who at the time was a tithe collector in Koleshino and ‘heartily supported’ the erection of the building in question.

Such incidents – be it clashes with the Orthodox clergy, kidnappings and wars, although perceived as profoundly heathen, were not perceived as a constitutive, long-term part of the missionaries’ predicament on the Balkans. They were rather seen as crises, as ruptures in the plan and obstructions to be overcome with more devotion and work. What seemed to be of continuous and growing concern were the material deficiencies of the surroundings and the educational needs of the ‘natives’. The interwar period must have been particularly alarming for the commissioners reading reports from the Balkans. Some challenged the project of evangelizing or even the nature of the mission. In this respect, Agnes Baird’s report on woman’s work for women from 1925 deserves some length:

I have never been impressed so strongly before as this year with the fact that the progress of the kingdom of God can be hindered by as despicable a little enemy as mud. [...] It seems to me that our work lacks the practical application of the ideas of human welfare for which we as Christian stand. For example, I have asked myself and others: ‘Why is it that we allow mud to hinder our work? Why are there no dry streets leading at least to our Christian churches or meeting places?’ Something must be lacking in the Christianity we profess when year after year, for nearly two whole generations now of Protestant Christianity in Bulgaria our Christian communities allow women to pick their arduous steps thru seas of mud, to the only source of water supply in order to bring home only two small receptacles of water? [...] I fear we have given the people more philosophy and abstract ideas at the expense of practical applications, object lessons, in Christian standards of living. Human welfare was a subject very dear to the heart of Jesus. [...] I am convinced that the kingdom of God on earth means clean, happy children, beautiful flowers and lawns in the villages, drained

111 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 41:3, handwritten
112 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 84:9
streets and good sidewalks, not to mention farm machinery which would free in time Bulgarian Women from their heavy, degrading toil in the fields.  

The same year saw the unexpected resignation of Robert Merkham from his missionary commission. After some apparent clashes with the more conservative voices among his peers over the substance of the articles he tended to write for *Zornitza*, Merkham wrote an extraordinary letter to the Board in which he contested the very nature of the mission. His refusal to proselytize was based on his doubt of the overall positive effect of evangelizing Orthodox Christians, hinting that there were more pressing matters in his host society. Further, he made an astounding challenge to the Protestant understanding of god –

[...] as I live and work at present I am not an asset to a Protestant movement, which pretends to base all its teachings and activities on Jesus' life and words for I see very plainly that I havenot [sic] put my life on the Jesus' basis. Jesus of Nazareth was a sort of mendicant spiritual reformer. He was terribly radical and extreme. He [...] began to proclaim a rapidly approaching kingdom in which the poor and humble would be happy. [...] His teachings are not altogether clear, nor were his actions always consistent, but he seemed to believe that he could win his cause through the sheer force of love and sacrifice.  

Although increasingly alarming in the 1920s, reports complaining about the lack of infrastructure and the overwhelming poverty hindering the missionary work could be found throughout the period between 1880 and 1930 – if anything, the material conditions surrounding the Protestants have improved tremendously in the period. We would see very similar complaints in an earlier – 1890s – medical report of Dr. Kingsbury, whose account on rum imports was already mentioned. Material and spiritual deficiencies were often juxtaposed throughout the period with a ‘native desire’ for improvement, to which missionaries – especially on the ground – felt obliged to respond. Indeed, a failure to satisfy a ‘demand’ or a loss of opportunity to other ‘suppliers’ usually translated into bitter reports to the board.

Before digging into Dr. Kingsbury’s report, however, a general word on the Protestantism – healthcare blend is required. Medical missions, also known as ‘Clinical Christianity’, around the world often presented a favorable and sometimes even the only available channel for communicating the word of the Gospel. David Hardiman has observed that medical missionaries in colonial settings “provided a combination of Christian conviction, imperial mission and science, a compelling amalgam for an age in which each such value was held in high regard.” 115 Rosemary Fitzgerald has similarly observed that such endeavors were in fact often the most “impressive and persuasive means of presenting the gospel message to

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113 ABCFM 17.7, v. 5, 95:2-3  
114 ABCFM 17.8, v. 5, 85:3  
115 Hardiman 2006, p. 5
the peoples of other cultures and faiths” and that “[m]edical agents were assigned a vanguard place in the missionary army”. In some cases the medical missionaries were the only entry point into a ‘heathen’ host society. In the eve of the first Opium War, for example, the Ophthalmic Hospital at the Fungtai factory, ran by Peter Parker, was the most promising of all the protestant activities in Canton, the rest of the missionary endeavors practically nonfunctional. Medical missions, however, became hugely successful around the world towards the second half of the 19th and in the beginning of the twentieth century. Importantly, one should note that the spread of ‘western’ medicine in general, and clinical Christianity in particular, was neither a one way transfer nor was such benevolence devoid of power mechanisms. Various authors have written on the production of medical knowledge in the colonies. The language employed by missionaries tended to conflate sickness and moral deprivation. Whole geographical regions, cultural and/or religious communities became symbols for sickness. “Africa was constructed as a ‘sick continent’, a ‘wound’ or a ‘sore’ upon the earth”, while China became the ‘sick man of Asia’. Closer to our study, of course, is the 19th century Orientalist trope of the ‘sick man of Europe’ used in anticipation of the decline of the Ottoman Empire.

Kingsbury’s report on his medical work submitted in 1898 started with the following somber observation:

In the midst of a driving storm, on a certain Friday evening, the writer with his wife + 9-month old baby boy, entered the city of Samokov with as ardent hopes as ever medical missionary entertained as he first set foot on missionary soil. Viewed from the pinnacle of those hopes the present might rather be called, ‘Decline + Fall of the hopes of a medical missionary’ than a Report.

What followed was a general complaint of the array of activities in which the doctor participated. These ranged from the publishing department to the Collegial and Theological Institute, leaving Kingsbury no time and energy for his medical work. The daily régime of Dr. Kingsbury included visits to patients’ homes from 2 p.m. till dark, carrying ‘relief from pain’, ‘health to those smitten by disease’ and occasionally ‘bringing back to life’. “While engaged in such efforts [...] I attempt by words taken largely from my great Exemplar to bring the thought to these with whom I am brought into contact to the subject of all most vital, that of practical, personal religion.” Most encouraging in this respect were two patients of

116 Fitzgerald 2001, p. 89
117 Fay 1971, pp. 152-3;
118 See for example Comaroff and Comaroff 1997, pp. 323-364
119 For a bibliographical essay on Pidgin-Knowledge and medical knowledge in particular see Fischer-Tiné 2013
120 Cleall 2012, p. 79
121 Heinrich 2008
122 Çırakman 2002, pp. 164-182
123 ABCFM records at Burke, MRL: Section 12, series 3, handwritten
124 Ibid.
Kingsbury’s. One underwent an operation of a ‘carious bone’ and another, according to the good doctor, was an ‘inveterate drunkard’. Both learned to ‘love the Bible’ and ardently discussed passages from it with the doctor during the span of the life extension they received at his hands. What confounds in the report, however, is the thinly covered criticism vis-à-vis the Board/mission. The doctor remarked, for example, that it is “well known [that] I am not allowed to give medicines save to persons connected with our schools” – the remark contrasted against a challenge to the Board to try and empathize with his position:

During the day on which I am writing I have seen one case of pulmonary consumption in a little girl of nine. The family is poverty stricken. A brother with strong natural tendencies toward the same disease has become anemic + will probably follow his sister. Judge if you can of such an appalling condition. Put yourself in a physician's place with a strong desire to cure the disease for which you are called to prescribe. Here is a boy whom your skill can save, but the obstacles are simply insurmountable.125

The language and rhetoric used by Dr. Kingsbury for the description of his medical activities in Samokov – an admittedly un-colonial setting – is markedly different from what the aforementioned discourses equating regions and inherent moral deficiencies with sickness. True, ‘ignorance’ was an impediment. Patients would undergo ‘prescriptions’ from two medical doctors simultaneously. Paupers in rural areas, for whom medical assistance remained financially inaccessible, would seek traditional help. Nonetheless, Dr. Kingsbury would emphasize material poverty as a reason for tuberculosis, Blight’s disease – a generic term at the time for nephrological illnesses – and anemia.

Not only demand could not be satisfied, but the medical mission was also slowly losing ground to ‘native competition’. According to various calculations, there were between 100 and 150 doctors in the Principality and Eastern Rumelia, holding medical degrees from various European Universities around 1880, the year in which Kingsbury moved to Samokov.126 In contrast, the number of physicians in Bulgaria in 1903 has been put at 559.127 At the brink of the 20th century there were already heated debates in the newly emerged professional body as to the future direction of the healthcare in the Bulgarian nation – a more social model advocated by the ‘orahovists’, with an emphasis on prophylaxis, cheapness and state involvement posed against a model furthered by the ‘rusevs’, emphasizing the need for private practice.128 Samokov’s report to the Board in 1910 reflected on these changes and could not find a niche for the mission with respect to

125 Ibid.
126 See for example Kuyumdjieva 1995, pp. 106-11. Again, this study anticipates in a somewhat anachronistic manner the formation of the Bulgarian nation, emphasizing on ‘Bulgarian’ higher-education degree owners, admittedly educated in Constantinople and elsewhere. It is not entirely clear what was the number of ‘Greek’ and ‘Turkish’ medical doctors operating among the respectful communities in urban centers such as Rustchuk, Shumen and Philippopolis.
127 Daskalov 2005, v. 2, pp. 56-62
128 Ibid., pp. 50-3
medical work. “From 1880 to 1897 one of the missionaries, Dr. Kingsbury, was engaged in medical work. When he left the station all medical work was discontinued. Bulgaria is now so well supplied with physicians and hospitals that we have not [sic] reason to ask for a medical missionary.”  

Figure 7. CTI in Samokov, natural history museum and classroom. ABCFM, Haskell Papers.

Figure 8. CTI in Samkov, physical cabinet. ABCFM, Haskell Papers.

129 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 57:2, handwritten
Other ‘native demands’, however, could be satisfied. A project of exceeding importance and success for the missionary enterprise was related to their schools in Bulgaria. American Protestants became involved in practically all levels of education – from Sunday Schooling and Bible women teaching village children to read and write to the Salonica’s Agricultural and Industrial Institute. A report written before the unfolding of the Miss Stone Affair, commented on the wish of the villagers in ‘Yakarooda’ for their children to acquire literacy:

The ignorance of the people is quite an obstacle to the truth. Many are not able to read. This condition will not exist for a long time for the greatest desire exists on the part of the parents that their children should be educated. We learn from Miss Stone that so great is this desire that the Bible woman stationed there has been pressed into the service of teaching the children.\(^{130}\)

The most successful endeavor in the period between 1890 and 1920 was the Collegial and Theological Institute (CTI) in Samokov. After the first attempts by Meriam and Clarke to establish a school in Philippopolis failed,\(^{131}\) a new, this time successful attempt was made to found a more formal school in Samokov in the beginning of the 1870s. The new institution started separate scientific and theological programs. The former conferred diplomas after a successful 6 year course, while the latter came as an additional 1 year course. The institution, thus, straddled what otherwise appeared to be an unbridgeable gulf between secular modernity and religious belief. Indeed, the scientific knowledge instruction was in fact a way to attain large number of students and broader social recognition. A very similar project in Beirut at the same time has been shrewdly dubbed a “Gospel of science”. In her analysis Marwa Elshakry maintains that the ‘missionary propagation of science was shaped ultimately by the pressure of local demands’.\(^{132}\) Nonetheless, she also draws attention to the limits of such propagation – notably to the teaching of natural history in its Darwinian and evolutionary version.\(^{133}\) As elsewhere, Protestants in Bulgaria were exceedingly skeptical of the theory of evolution. The aforementioned Vatralski summed the epistemic uncertainties and restated God as final authority in a short poem in the *Christian World* under the title Еволюция и дяволовия (Evolution and devilution). In the poem he expressed his uncertainty on the issue of the beastly origin of man, but ascertained that without faith today’s man is ‘half-devil and a whole beast’.\(^{134}\) Save for the occasional mentioning of biology and eugenics in the letters of the mud adversary Agnes Baird, it is impossible to find any debates on Darwinism in the correspondence to the Board. It is,

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\(^{130}\) ABCFM records at Burke, MRL: Section 12, series 3, handwritten
\(^{131}\) Meriam’s untimely death and the sporadic violence in the face of the local population are only a part of the story here. American missionaries were also involved in diplomacy and politics and it has been suggested that they have taken an opposing side vis-à-vis the Russian diplomacy in Phillipopolis. See for example Reeves-Ellington 2004.
\(^{132}\) Elshakry 2012, p. 181
\(^{133}\) Ibid., pp. 207-11
\(^{134}\) *Christian World*, XXIII: 4
however, safe to assume that the CTI have steered away from such discussions. Still, the curriculum of the CTI was regularly updated in accordance with the state requirements. When the ministry of education sent its inspector in the beginning of the 1910 school year, the mission had every reason to be proud. The inspector spent “parts of three days and gave most of one day to our school, visiting several classes and getting a general idea of its work, methods and equipment”, showing himself at the end impressed and “decidedly encouraging”. The inspector assured Mr. Ostrander, the director of the school, of a favorable report to the ministry. 135 Although the missionaries associated with the schools would often lament the condition of the building, a thinly disguised way to request money for the renovation of the building, the school itself has emerged as something of a model institution at the time (see figures 7 and 8). An earlier report on the annual meeting of the same year had accounted for the spending of 200 dollars for the purchase of “physical and chemical apparatus [sic]”, 100 dollars of which were, however, not Board’s money but raised “from the ladies of the Presbyterian church of Lyons, N.Y. in memory of Mrs. L. A. Ostrander.” 136

The CTI was so well received that the government suggested repeatedly that it should move out of Samokov – a somewhat secluded mountain town – and to Sofia, where more students could profit from its courses. Further, the government made repeated efforts to incentivize the American Protestants with offerings of land. The letter from the 19th regular Narodno Sabranie, informing of its decision taken at an extraordinary session of the body on the 12th of June 1920 is illustrative of this attitude. The parliament granted ‘perpetuity without a right of condemnation’ to the American protestant mission of 190 decares of land in the vicinity of Gorna Bania on the condition

[...] that within a period of three years, reckoned from 12/VI of this year, the construction of really modern, model institutions, with all equipments, shall begin. State control of these educational institutions [reserves the right to, NK]. The private properties, which will be included in these 190 dekars [sic], will be condemned by law for public (social) benefit [...]. 137

It is difficult to conceive of a language expressing more vividly the role assigned to the American Protestant Mission within its dialectical relations with the host society in Bulgaria and beyond. A ‘condensed statement’ on the missionary work dated February 2nd 1923 and signed by L. Ostrander, Inez Abbott and M. Ostrander even commented that government officials have recognized the ‘defects and dangerous’ within the Bulgarian educational system and even told missionary representatives that “We are dissatisfied with our own system. We give you a free hand to develop the kind of school which you think will be most

135 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 49:3-4
136 ABCFM records at Burke, MRL: Section 12, series 3
137 ABCFM 17.8, vol. 5, 1:1, my emphasis; cf. ibid. 12:3
helpful to Bulgaria. Give us a model after which we can pattern.” 138 One can doubt the credibility of the citation to the Board, but what is beyond doubt is that once the American College was opened in Sofia in the end of 1920s, it proved an immediate success.

Without denying their enlightening potential and broader social contribution, one should note that such institutions went often hand-in-hand with political agendas, while reflecting and sometimes reinforcing existing power relations. I am far from claiming that the CTI or the various other institutions were ‘masks of conquest’, 139 though it is not easy to doubt that the eventual goal of the American Mission in Bulgaria was – to paraphrase a post-colonial favorite140 – to produce Bulgarians in blood and language, but Protestant in ethics, education and worldview. The ultimate dream of the mission was also to educate a class of comprador preachers who – getting paid decidedly less by the Board – would spread further the word of the Gospel. This dream went not completely unfulfilled:

Almost without exception, the preachers and teachers who have carried on the native work of the Mission have received their training in whole or in part in the Institute [CTI in Samokov, NK]. By its constant and faithful presentation of gospel Christianity, and by its hearty participation in various social and moral reforms and in philanthropic movements, it has exerted a significant leavening influence upon the life of the nation.141

Similarly, it is difficult to speak of a ‘chiliasm of despair’ – the, by now controversial, way that E. P. Thompson used to describe evangelical endeavors in a different context. True, the CTI came up with an Industrial Department that consisted of a carpentry shop and a press office and provided a “valuable education effect in teaching the dignity of labor”. 142 Nevertheless, this department provided many of the poor students in the CTI with an income that could cover part of their tuition and room and board expenses. Needless to say, the products of such education could not always be steered in the desired direction, much less entirely controlled. It is enough to mention that Georgi Dimitrov, later to become a head of the Third Comintern and confidant to Joseph Stalin, was working at the press and arguably abused its resources to print communist pamphlets. The annual report from the CTI to the board for the year 1923-4, in the wake of the September communist uprising, contained an even more surprising information with regard to one of the CTI’s teachers. The counter-communist measures undertaken by the government involved the “rearrest [sic] of

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138 ABCFM 17.8, vol. 5, 275:3
139 Here I refer to the work of Gauri Viswanathan 1989, who exposes educational projects of enlightening and civilizing in colonial contexts as ‘masks of conquest’
140 The quote from a Thomas Babington Macaulay’s speech on British education in India made in Parliament in 1835, in which he states that the colonial project should aim at creating “a class of persons Indian in blood and color, but English in tastes, in opinions, in morals and in intellect,” has become a favorite example in textbooks on colonialism.
141 ABCFM records at Burke, MRL: Section 12, series 3
142 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 65 cf. 72
one of our teachers and his imprisonment for nearly three weeks with constant uncertainty as to his ultimate fate [...]”143

As already noted, schools played also an integral part in the territorial processes in the Balkans. Protestant schools, for their sake, sometimes inadvertently and sometimes as a part of a general strategy, pursued language policies that were very much in the center of such territorial processes. Ömer Turan has made the following remarks on the language policies of the mission: “American missionaries did not consider the Macedonians to be a distinct nation from the Bulgarians and thought their language was simply a dialect of Bulgarian. In this view, all of Macedonia was merely a part of a greater Bulgaria.” 144 Reports from the Monastir school seem to sustain Turan’s argument. Fannie Bond reported to the Board upon settling in Monastir in late 1883 that she finds it hard to “accustom herself to the way and language of this [sic] people.” In her opinion the language spoken in Monastir was a travesty of Bulgarian.

It is a poor enough language as it is, but they mix it up so and speak it so ungrammatically, that it is really painful to me. I shall find it hard not to fall into their use of it, but I am determined as far as possible to cling to the pure Bulgarian and educate the people to its proper use. [...] It was rather amusing to have them tell me that little by little, we would learn the Bulgarian.145

As one could expect, in the wake of the Balkan wars the issue of the official school language loomed large. The report for the school year 1913-1914 from Monastir, now ‘Servian’ territory, lamented the language policies imposed by the government. Bulgarian had to be dropped at once from the curriculum, while the inspectors from the ministry of education made it clear to the school council that it was ‘entirely agreeable’ to substitute the dropped language with ‘Servian’.

Fortunately [sic] for us the government claims that 'Macedonian' is the southern dialect of Servian [sic] so we claimed the right of using 'Macedonian' in all explanations and oral teaching. Our primary teachers are all of them ‘Macedonian’ girls so thus easily was the matter of the language spoken in the school room solved.146

In agreement with Turan’s argument that the American Protestants promoted the Bulgarian language, a small point could be added. It is important to note that in a number of regions in the Balkans different language communities coexisted. This is most apparent in the case of urban settings. Further, what is visible from the American Perspective is that languages were in the process of formation and standardization and, perhaps even more importantly,
differentiation and settling markers of distinction were produced in parallel. In this sense, the role of American missionaries in process of territorilization, i.e. nation state formation, could not be overstressed here.

Schools provided also a podium for the formation of ‘morality’ and for the early teaching of what might be called ‘civil society’ structures. The CTI in Samokov, for example, accommodated a number of pupils’ clubs – some of them organized by teachers – ranging from a literary society to Choral Club, Relief Society as well as temperance organization and the YMCA.147 The temperance society at the CTI would be run by pupils only and would consist of up to 40 members. The activities in the various years included lantern shows given in the villages in the vicinity of Samokov, ‘Christmas entertainments’, including the staging of Molière’s *L’Avare*,148 as well as “going out into the streets [of Samokov, NK] to look for those in a condition to need their help, and assisting the teachers in the giving of public temperance entertainments.”149 Slippages of morality and temperance could be found in other endeavors. We already noted that resources were shared and the Kindergarten hosted at various points of time more or less each and every Protestant project in Sofia. Language classes were also often spiced up with issues of morality. A report from Sofia to the WBM in 1925 reported that Mrs. King, additionally to her work in the Kindergarten Training School, gave English lessons for another 6 hours per week at the YMCA in Sofia. These classes were visited by ‘Persians, Russians, Armenians, Jews and Bulgarians’, all eager to learn a truly international language. The lessons included also the usual package of “side lights on temperance, morality, hygiene and etiquette.”150

Protestants were keenly aware of and often seeking to exert more political and social influence. Inez Abott, writing to the WMB on the occasion of Elizabeth Clarke’s resignation, expressed concerns about losing ground if Clarke’s demands were not to be met and she would be really left to resign. Tensions between the WMB and Elizabeth Clarke had been growing over the years, the missionary requesting repeatedly additional money for the extension of her activities. The WMB, which was usually more liberal with its money than the ABCFM, renowned for its caution in financial matters, could not meet all of Clarke’s demands. In 1919 the WMB received a letter from her, saying that the voice of the Board is not the voice of God, but rather “the voice of the Congregational Church which is not infallible any more than is the Pope.”151 The subsequent threat of resigning was accompanied by a flood of letters of support from her colleagues on the ground. Abott’s letter read:

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147 The United States have been described as ‘a nation of organizers’ in Skocpol, Ganz and Munson 2000. The CTI in Samokov certainly did not miss on the fervor of establishing organizations.
148 Cf. CTI reports from ABSFM 17.8, v. 1 and ABCFM 17.8, v. 5
149 ABCFM records at Burke, MRL: Section 12, series 3
150 ABCFM 17.7, v. 5, 95:10
151 ABCFM 9.5.1, box 5:57, handwritten
The Kindergarten activities in this building have brought Miss Clark into close contact with a large number of influential people in Sofia – in whose homes she has exerted a real influence – not simply thru the children attending the Kindergarten, but thru her visits in these homes, with doors wide open to her, and thru the mothers meetings and special lectures and entertainments. [...] Should Miss Clarke sever her connection with the Board she would be obliged to give up most of the activities that have given her such a place of importance in the capital, as she would need to devote practically all her time to earning a livelihood. That she should need to do this, and that the work so dear to us all, should thus be deprived of her judgment and statesmanship, is to us an unthinkable situation.152

Similarly, James Clarke – the champion of temperance and father of Elizabeth – boasted to the Board that, while he was sick, the Queen has visited him a number of times and sent flowers regularly.153

It is difficult to ascertain what groups were – to use the modern marketing jargon – targeted. Even more so if we take a longue durée perspective. In the beginning of its existence Zornitza tended to a literate elite. By 1900, although the literacy rates were still decidedly lower than the European average, the picture has changed. Even in rural areas there were relatively affluent villages. An example for such could be found in the story of the well-off peasant Illia Vankov, who maintained an astoundingly well apprised diary around the brink of the new century.154 A critical literate mass by this time had a broader array of periodicals to choose from. Further, although it has been suggested by some historians that the elite would send its progeny to be educated by the Protestants, it is very difficult to maintain the argument for the whole period and even less so for the various education institutions ran by the American missionaries.155 The long-term goal certainly was to produce an elite of the alumni of the CTI, but there were stretches of time after Independence that presented Protestants with an easier access to impoverished rural communities and, conversely, offered such communities hope for upward social mobility. The desire to exert influence in high society and possibly politically remained, however, present throughout the period. Discussions as to how exactly to achieve such influence, provoked by a certain Mr. Momchiloff, were even held at the annual meeting of the mission in 1915.156 Nevertheless, the general attitude of the missionaries was very pliable and, indeed, responsive to the demands they would face on the ground.

152 ABCFM 9.5.1, box 5
153 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 80, handwritten
154 Terajima (Ed.) 1997
155 See for example a short discussion on the American Sunday schools in Bulgaria and their ‘working class’ clientele in Daskalova 1999, pp. 56-7
156 ABCFM 17.8, v. 1, 3:2
Temperance

One area, in which the Protestants had a free hand in exerting influence and, indeed, had a monopolistic stature in Bulgaria until the early 1920s, was the issue of abstaining from alcohol consumption. Temperance was part of the program and ammunition of Protestants on both sides of the Atlantic dating as far back as the 1820s. Religious and moral arguments, inspired above all from the evangelical Awakening, were the propellant of the early temperance campaigns in the United States. Similarly, Teetotalism in Great Britain played “an integral part in the revivals which enlisted many hearers as members”.¹⁵⁷ Although it is difficult to establish any straightforward causation between the Awakening(s) in Britain and temperance, different authors have noted that the two movements have dialectically informed and reinforced each other.¹⁵⁸ What made temperance a movement of social importance in the 19th century both in the US and the UK, however, was the aforementioned Protestant’s heavy reliance on the press or, in other words, on the medium of the cheap pamphlet and book. Additionally, as we would see in chapter four, the temperance campaigns used also increasingly visual media as a channel for conveying their message. As missions tried to disseminate the Evangelical Awakening and the word of the Gospel around the world, so did also protestant temperance literature. The public sphere in the US and Britain saw a dramatic expansion of non-governmental organizations involved directly or tangentially with temperance over the 19th century. Such included The Blue Ribbon, Sons of Temperance, The Good Templars, The Band of Hope, The Salvation Army – to name only a few. Additionally, temperance organizations with explicitly religious affiliations entered the scene. An important case in point for our study is the US based Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WCTU). As noted, it was ‘overtly political’ in its agenda and effects on women’s rights and suffrage.¹⁵⁹ Under the auspices of its extraordinarily charismatic president Francis Willard, the WCTU initiated its international work in the late 70s and early 80s. The World’s WCTU work, however, was given an impetus above all by Mary Leavitt’s tour around the world. Instead of the proverbial 80 days, Leavitt’s journey lasted almost 8 years and took her to all populated continents.¹⁶⁰ The World’s WCTU proved highly successful in rallying missionary support and, perhaps even more importantly, in taking advantage of the existing ABCFM and WMB structures and networks.

As elsewhere, the question of intoxication was of exceeding importance for the missionaries of the European Turkey/Balkan/Bulgarian Missions as well as for the ‘native’ Protestants. Indeed, the temperance efforts were often seen as an integral part of the spread of the Gospel. Writing on account of her kindergarten in Sofia, the aforementioned Elizabeth Clarke posed some rhetorical questions to the board. “The incarnate Will has come to set

¹⁵⁷ Harrison 1971, p. 171
¹⁵⁸ Billington 1979; Blocker et al 2003, pp. 225-7
¹⁵⁹ Tyrell 1991a, p. 2
¹⁶⁰ Ibid., pp. 1-61
the captive free-from ignorance, degradation-sin. Is there any one greater source of all these than alcohol? Are we as Christs [sic] representatives doing all we can to dry up this source?” Of course, in an environment that often offered an easy access to wine and distilled beverages, the translation of this life-philosophy into practice required rigorous discipline. Protestants were always cautious not to allow any slippage of intemperance in their ranks. Writing a letter in 1890 Zoe Anne Marinda Locke commented on the behavior of Nenna Kochova, the preparatory school teacher in Yambol, that had previously studied at the CTI in Samokov. “She seems to be given to much dress, and company, and I would judge is not a very aggressive Christian. [...] She was a member of the Temperance Society in Samokov but she does not wish to stick to her pledge – says she like wine, though I hardly can think she is not joking.” Some 35 years later we are informed by Elizabeth Clarke that ‘no one is safe’ while the menace of alcohol evil is unchained, i.e. alcohol production and trade is legal.

Not long ago the young mother of three dear children herself a temperance worker, wrote me in anguish of soul that her husband a member of an evangelical church was being snare the subtile [sic] enemy. It was the old story, a glass of beer for the sake of being a comradly [sic] on his business trips, then the dimijohn [sic] brought home to supply his 1-2 glasses of wine at each meal—which must also be offered to the children-then intoxication with all its attendants evils-and then?

Another example could be drawn from the newspaper of the Temperance Union. In 1897 the temperance group of Varna decided to cancel its membership at the Bulgarian Temperance Union. The official organ of the Union reacted with an article on its title page characterized with – to say the least – vivid language.

With great sorrow we learn that the Varna Temperance Group has decided to commit a suicide with the philosophical and entirely clear statement that ‘if one is a Christian, he or she could not be threatened by drunkenness and, thus, there is no need for an additional temperance oath.’ According to the experience of the better educated Christian peoples – and we are completely in accord with this – temperance groups are needed and they do crucial work in the fight against a rising evil and help immensely the Christian church through their clear and decided attitude towards this evil.

161 ABCFM 9.5.1, box 1, folder 24
162 Locke Family Papers, MHC
163 ABCFM 9.5.1, box 1, folder 24
164 Vuzdurzhatel, VI:4, pp. 49-50
The persistency of the Protestant alertness seems to have paid off by the 1900, by which time it seems that the word abstainer became associated in the Bulgarian language with the Evangelical branch of Christianity.\footnote{CSA 1272K, au 1:2, p. 1}

The question of consumption of alcoholic beverages over the period is difficult to quantify. The ‘real’ existence of the problem is beyond the scope of this study, it suffices, however, to indicate to some important clues. That alcohol consumption was widespread through the Ottoman Empire is evident from the history of the şire, muskirat and zecriye resmi, taxing wine and alcohol consumption through different channels. The Ministry of Finance of the Ottoman Empire had a separate department dealing with the collection of such taxes.\footnote{Shaw 1975, pp. 441-2}

Nor was alcohol drinking exclusive to the Christian citizens of the empire, although admittedly it was on the ‘margins’ of the upright Muslim society.\footnote{Georgeon 2002, pp. 7-30} Quantifying drinking habits in the new Bulgarian nation-state is not easier. Where existent statistical yearbooks show growth of the production and revenues of the period from 1890 to the Second World War. There are, of course, occasional disturbances in this pattern caused by wars. The reliability of such statistics is called into question not simply because of the annexations and losses of territory, but also because of the only fragile correspondence between trade and taxation, not to mention consumption. Some sources that quantified and historicized alcohol consumption and stemmed from the temperance movement in the 1920s and 30s, as for example the already mentioned statistical tabulations published by Haralampi Neichev in the 1925 International Year-Book on the Alcohol Question, similarly remain invaluable informative, but still ridden with methodological loopholes. A source that brings the point of the problem of quantifying squarely home is the aforementioned Diary of a Bulgarian Peasant. Illia Vankov, owner of a midsized vineyard in the region of Shumen, meticulously documented the various stages of production, from grape cutting to distilling, of Rakia and its eventual marketing to neighbors in the year of 1900. Of course, such transactions remained beyond the tax collecting grip of the state.\footnote{Terajima (Ed.) 1997} The source holds even more astounding qualitative evidence with regard to the drinking culture in villages, albeit one highly implicit in nature. Although different aspects of daily life – work, meals, socializing – are fastidiously described, there is no mentioning of drinking! Nonetheless, there are a number of indications that drinking indeed occurred occasionally if not regularly. Thus, on the day of Трифон Зарезан, the day of wine-growers, celebrated officially by the Bulgarian Orthodox Church, Illia Vankov joined other viticulturists in the ceremonial cutting of grapevines, a tradition that extends to contemporary times and culminates with – in the best case – moderate consumption of wine. Although there is no single word or any entry on drinking in the diary, there is a mentioning of celebration and of the regretful loss of
Vankov’s knife, who went looking for it on the next day. Even more importantly, there are regular familial and amicable get-togethers of the Vankovs and their friends, often accompanied with card playing, eating and chatting. Again, although there no word on drinking is spent, the evenings would often culminate with singing. The implications of this conspicuous absence are not immediately clear. It might have been a personal choice not to put something inappropriate on paper or, conversely, it could have rather appeared as something too trivial to be recorded. What could be concluded, however, from this invaluable source on everyday life in a Balkan village in 1900, is the ease and immediateness of access to distilled beverages in wine growing regions for both producers and consumers.

Putting Vankov’s diary aside, references to drinking and carousing abound in the Bulgarian belletristic of the time. Rajna Gavrilova’s historic-anthropological study of the Vazrazhdane refers to a number of literary sources that point to public inebriety and notes that two professions – teachers and orthodox priests – the drinking habits of whom particularly came under social surveillance in the period. Additionally, the Balkan kruchma epitomized heavy drinking and was in the focus of protestant temperance campaigns. Other social venues, however, such as the kafene – the Ottoman original of the European coffeehouse – mekhana – the tavern – and the bakal – the village store – also served alcohol. Indeed, for many observers the demarcation lines between these different locales became, increasingly so in small towns, blurred. One venue that is almost entirely absent in the secondary literature, but cannot be overlooked in the primary sources, is the so-called café chantant. This particular locale saw its boom in the beginning of the 20th century. It combined alcohol drinking and singing shows, offered jobs to young girls and attracted many visitors in the growing cities. The drinking, the transgression of gender roles and the sometimes ambiguous role of the singers made the café chantant a preferred target of the temperance literature which depicted often – along with the kruchma – as a place of dreadful depravity.

Another institution particular for the black list of the Protestants on the Balkans deserving mentioning here was the so-called cherpene. Similarly to the Russian practice of drinking after pomoch, the help given by friends and neighbors in the countryside, the act of treating one another upon a business deal, a job well done or simply a birthday, seems to have been common throughout the Balkans and known under the name of cherpene.

The American Missionaries’ concerns over alcohol of the in the Balkan Mission started to take on organizational dimensions in the 1880s. Zoe Ann Marinda Locke, the Mount Holyoke

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169 Ibid., pp. 21-2. Also worth mentioning is the fact that there was no ‘meeting of the agricultural society in the evening because of the Zarezan’.
170 For example ibid., p. 22.
171 Gavrilova 1999, pp. 303-7
172 Neuburger 2013, p. 12 cf. pp. 18-22
173 Vuzdurzhatelno zname, I:7, pp. 50-2 cf. Vuzdurzhatel, I:10, pp. 3-8
174 Herlihy 2002, pp. 70-1
175 Vuzdurzhatelno zname, I:2, pp. 9-10
graduate we already got familiar with, organized the first women organization and kept correspondence with the WCTU.\textsuperscript{176} George and Ursula Marsh organized groups in Philippopolis for men and children respectively.\textsuperscript{177} The growing number of local temperance groups in the 1880s was reflected in the creation of a Bulgarian Temperance Union (BTU) in Samokov in 1893. A decision was taken to set the press of the Union in Sofia, print 1000 copies of the new inaugural statutes of the organization and start a newspaper under the title Българско Въздържателно Знаме (Bulgarian Temperance Flag), later simply Vuzdurzhatel [Въздържател, Abstainer]. The structure of the Union was open to all ‘women and men’ groups willing to become members – affiliation was voted among the already existing members and the new ones were officially welcomed in the subsequent year. Two aspects with this regard strike the reader immediately. First, it was a Bulgarian union, indeed, ran by Bulgarians – ‘native’ Protestants. Secondly, the union was notably build along overtly democratic structures. The diverse groups chose an official representative who had a vote at the annual meetings of the BTU. Before going further into detail with concern to the activities of the temperance champions, these two interrelated issues should be shortly analyzed.

The role of the Protestant Missions in the ongoing processes of territorialization were already discussed in some detail. It suffices here to note that this new non-governmental organization operated explicitly within the logic of national states, although this did not necessarily meant respecting national borders. The official organ of the BTU had to change its name a number of times; the word Bulgarian was dropped in order for the newspaper to reach ‘fellow Bulgarians’ residing in neighboring countries. The board of the BTU followed a rotational principle and a new executive body would be voted every year. Strikingly, there is no American Missionary to be seen on the board throughout its existence. One apparent reason is noted in one of the first acts of the Union – letters of gratitude were to be send to Zoe Locke and George Marsh in the US, the former already retired by 1893, the latter being on furlough in the same year. Nevertheless, the meetings of the BTU took place immediately before the annual meeting of the Board, no doubt a measure to save money for travel, making the absence of the missionaries from the board even more perplexing. Some indication of the reasoning behind could be found in one of the first issues of the Въздържател. In an article ironically titled ‘A Reader Wants Freedom’, the editorial felt obliged to reply to a letter from a reader from the village of Krasnovo, who accused the newspaper of promoting foreign interests and that Americans were its patrons.\textsuperscript{178} In its reply the editorial claimed that it had to do with ‘neither Americans nor Africans’. Of course, this claim was, to say the least, not entirely correct. A number of the most active members of the BTU throughout the years such as Ivan Sechanov, Marko Popov and Dimitar Furnadjiev were, in fact, full time preachers, showing prominently in discussions for the

\textsuperscript{176} Locke Family Papers, MHC
\textsuperscript{177} CSA, 1027K, au 1; Clarke 1909, p. 3
\textsuperscript{178} Vuzdurzhatelno Zname, i:3, pp. 19-20
development of the mission, but less prominently on the ABCFM pay list. Further suspicions with concern to the degree of honesty surrounding the neither-American-nor-African claim arise from the already mentioned debates among the Missionaries, who while facing financial bottle-necks at certain points of time discussed freely the potential restructuring of Vuzdurzhatel and its merger with Zornitza. Further, discussions of the management of Zornitza in the early 1920s also produced slippages that revealed an ill disguised attempt to represent the evangelical newspaper as having nothing to do with the ‘Americans’. A letter to the board in 1924 warned against Mr. Markham’s resignation. “The Z. has had enormous success and has made great advances due to Mr. Markham’s [sic] editorship, and his withdrawal would work corresponding harm. (It might be well to say that he is not officially called editor, but all know that he is really so.)”

The conspicuous absence of missionaries in the board of the BTU had another important implication. The union was also meant as a school for citizenship and participation in civil society. The BTU copied procedures and structures from the Mission. Although individual missionaries expressed doubts in their private correspondence, as for example Zoe Locke, with regard to the capacity of the native Protestants to stick to the rules of representation and not abuse this structure, the BTU offered an expedient podium for training in the management of a periodical as well as other organizational structures. Importantly, the outsourcing of the temperance work to the BTU and the occasional supervision allowed the missionaries to concentrate on the organization of schools and other activities. This is not to say that missionaries themselves were not active temperance promoters. As we have seen in the case of Clarke’s fixation on the printing temperance literature and in cases where temperance work cut across structural delineations, missionaries were if anything vigorous champions in the anti-alcohol campaigns. The organization of the BTU and its newspaper were, however, formally left to first generation of compradors. One important implication of this framework the admission of orthodox temperance groups – such as the one from Etropole – as well as evangelical temperance groups from the northern side of the Balkan, the region operated by the English Methodists.

The New England protestant legacy in the organization of the BTU is apparent in the aforementioned direct borrowing of the motto – ‘For God, Home and Homeland’ (see figure 9 from the title page of Vuzdurzhatel). The BTU adopted thus the slogan of the World Women’s Christian Temperance Union (WWCTU).

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179 See for example ABCFM 17.8, v. 5, 16. The ten American missionaries received 16 272 dollars and 31 cents, according to the estimates for the year of 1924. The next twenty pastors, preachers and colporteurs shared 6 208 dollars and 80 cents among themselves. Women on the ABCFM pay roll similarly received, according to the same table, half of the money their husbands would pocket.

180 ABCFM 17.8, v. 5, 18:1, my emphasis

181 Locke Family Papers, MHC

182 CSA, 1027K, au 1, list of member groups
The English version of the WWCTU’s motto itself went through various stages to finally transform to ‘For God and Home and Every Land’.\textsuperscript{183} Such transformations reflected also larger processes of territorialization and WWCTU stance with this regard. It was not simply a \textit{Weltanschauung}, but a rather pervasive \textit{Anschauung über die Welt}, one that namely saw and prescribed the world as composed of nations, adding up to an international community. As we would see in the next chapter, a markedly different temperance discourse developed in the 1920s, one coalescing pacifist and socialist elements, putting emphasis on the universal character of humanity and expressing – what with hindsight could be called – healthy skeps with regard to the nation.

This is not to say that \textit{Vuzdurzhatel} was exclusively focused on the nation state. On the contrary, the world was very present in the protestant periodicals and temperance literature in particular. Depictions of ‘exotic places’, ‘modern European and North American’

\textsuperscript{183} In her programmatic book \textit{Do Everything: A Handbook for the World’s White Ribboners}, Francis Willard, known affectionately as Frank among friends, recalls that the original motto with the words ‘native land’ was recommended by her and adopted by the Illinois branch of the WCTU and later on by the national structures of the union in the United States. The WWCTU adopted in turn ‘every land’, although it seems that the original motto referred to humanity at large. Cf. Willard (1895), pp. 20-1; SEAP, p. 2900 and Tyrell 1991a, p. 45
measures against alcohol as well as a converse depictions of the depravity and downfall of the ‘modern’, industrialized world, all helped in the creation of a certain global consciousness. The issue of one’s position, development and trajectory vis-à-vis ‘the others’ was squarely in the center of this world-awareness. One example of such dialectic is presented by Reeves-Ellington, who has shown how prominent Orientalisms such as Sati and binding of feet found their way to early issues of Zornitza – another example of the protestant global imaginaire on the Balkans. As the newspaper was published in Constantinople it could not touch upon the issue of gender in the Muslim world, but the aforementioned widow burning and infanticide were used in making some gender progressive demands on behalf of the women’s association activists Evgeniya Kissimova.\[184\] Similarly, Vuzdurzhatel published a rubric ‘Temperance around the World’, reporting on various temperance activities and drinking habits. Some articles must have appeared decidedly exotic and foreign to the late nineteenth century Balkan reader. An article on the temperance in Brazil slid into an anthropological description of the production of saliva fermented maize – most probably Chicha – by ‘aborigines of the heartland’. The corn is “[…] chewed primarily by women, spat into a pot, some water is poured over and left to boil up (ferment). Afterwards more water is added and it is used for imbibing. One-two glasses from this peculiar wine supposedly make the head dizzy and the heart merry.”\[185\] The description of Cauim, a beer made of manioc, sounded even more inviting. The fermented beverage was to be drunk after two-three days and had a ‘spicy-pleasant taste’. The article draws to a conclusion with a harsh criticism of the Catholic Church and its indolence with regard to alcohol in Brazil. The editorial, however, assured its readers that the various Evangelical Churches in America have begun a battle against alcohol since the 1880s. The rubric ‘Temperance around the World’ brought home the issue of nation-among-others later in the same year with an article on Bulgaria. “Our readers could say that what we have to say about the temperance in Bulgaria is already known and, thus, there is no need to write and talk about it. We are of a different opinion on this issue and that is why we treat the question as if we are not Bulgarians and as if we do not live in Bulgaria.”\[186\] What followed was a report of the organizational and legal progress of the temperance cause in Bulgaria.

A very different facet of the same global consciousness is to be observed in New England. The headquarters of the World’s WCTU were the center of this globally spanning ‘moral empire’. Reports from around the world to the Union Signal were usually written by American missionaries who organized branches locally. Ellen Stone, for example, addressed the World’s WCTU convention in 1906 and her talk was transformed into an article for the title page of The Union Signal in November of Same year under the title ‘Bulgaria’s Response to the Call of the W.C.T.U.’. Explaining how the Turkish government has curtailed the rights of assembly and looks with ‘disfavor upon conventions, associations, unions and public

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\[184\] Reeves-Ellington 2010, pp. 269- 92; also Reeves-Ellington 2015; on the general issue of missions and gender see Huber and Lutkehaus (Eds.) 1999; also Bendroth and Brereton (Eds.) 2002

\[185\] Vuzdurzhatel, VI:5, p. 66

\[186\] Vuzdurzhatel, VI:7, p. 98, my emphasis
gatherings of all kinds, especially among its non-Moslem or nominally Christian subjects’, Stone informed the WCTU convention why the work in Macedonia has been impeded. “I confine myself, therefore, to the progress of your movement in Bulgaria [...].” 187 The article described in some detail the work of Zoe Locke and James Clarke, noting that the seeds of temperance have been sown and even have given fruit in most surprising ways and places. Thus, a village Miss Stone visited, a place ‘which probably never had been visited by an evangelical worker, unless possibly colporteur’, had closed its pub following a general consensus of the village community. “There are some of the features of the temperance work in Bulgaria, in which we who have been permitted to see and know the changes wrought, wish you to rejoice with us. ‘Not unto us, O Lord, not unto us, but unto Thy name, give glory!’”188 Similarly, a title page article in 1911 under the title Temperance Reform in Bulgaria, written by James Clarke, opens honoring the former WCTU president – “Special temperance efforts in Bulgaria commenced in 1888, when Frances E. Willard requested Mrs. Zoe A. M. Locke to take charge of this work in Bulgaria.” 189 It goes without saying, that an emphasis on the WCTU as an emanating force rather than Zoe Locke’s own agency in the matter depicted a globe spanned over by a ‘moral empire’ centered on a metropole in New England/Evanston.

But how was the message of temperance conveyed to the immoderate Balkan peasant, practicing čerpene regularly within his/her rural community? In other words, what were the essential brinks of the chain? We have touched on the extent of the printed materials – most of the pamphlets being translations of English and American temperance materials. A lot of the visual materials employed by the protestants were also direct borrowings, a point to which we will return in chapter 4 in our discussion on visuals. Importantly, temperance materials reached an audience beyond the growing literate part of the Balkan population. Posters, as for example the Five Steps of the Drunkard (see figure 10), conveyed a strong message even to people who would not be able to read the accompanying text. Additionally, magic-lantern shows were screened and accompanied by talks throughout the period.

Zoe Locke wrote in a letter dated April 19th 1890, that the WCTU meeting of the previous evening was well attended and successful, while this “evening we are to have the magic-lantern entertainment which Mr. Tongerov is to give. I do not care to go as I have seen it several times.” 190 Such shows bridged the gap between literate and illiterate and were available even to the poorer strata of society, gathering often a significant crowd of people. Taking into consideration the constant financial problems faced by the BTU, discussions were held as to whether the entrance to such venues should be free. Even when there was a

187 The Union Signal, XXXII:48, p. 1
188 Ibid., p. 2
189!The Union Signal, XXXVII:48, p. 1
190 Locke Family Papers, MHC
symbolic charge, however, it seems that the coveted lantern image was still accessible to people outside of the monetary exchange system.

![Figure 10. The five steps that lead to complete depravity. [Locke papers, MHC]]
On the evening of the 8th of April the Bulgarian Temperance Union gave a public event, which was visited by a large public. The speaker was the chairman of the Union Mr. V. Iv. Shopov. He spoke on the cards, with which the detrimental effect of alcohol to the stomach is depicted. Images were shown also by the mean of the magic lantern. 10 lv were gathered, 7.20 of which in money and 2.80 in eggs. This event was more than successful. Everything evinced that the lecture produced a good impression. With this event the convention of the Bulgarian Temperance Union, held in the village of Kaylya Dere on the 8th of April 1898, came to a close.191

In addition to magic-lantern shows, the reception side of the temperance message was broadened also by practice of reading out loud. Reading audiences seem to have developed a taste for a good and expressive presentations as reports from such events suggest. A letter from Haskovo to the editor of Vuzdurzhatel informed of the latest venue there.

Mrs. Pilaševa read out an article from the Bulg. Vuzd. Zn., titled The Confession of a Drunkard, with a considerable mastery and skill. The reading was as good as the article itself. [...] Then Mr. B. Komatev gave a talk in praise of temperance. If the speaker had read louder, the talk would have left a better impression. [...] Songs were rather good and were listened to with gusto by the public.192

The temperance gospel, however, was not only meant for the poor and was received also in the higher echelons of the capital’s growing urban society. Pamphlets and appeals were sent to the parliament. Albeit criticized for its pro forma character and refusal to be implemented by the police,193 by 1895 a bill initiated by Ivan Gueshov, the then minister of finance, for the limiting of drunkenness turned into law. The local option, which gain in prominence in the 1920s and the various legal endeavors against alcohol consumption and trade will be discussed in more detail in the next chapter, it suffices here to note that legal measure in the Bulgarian nation state did not differ significantly from laws of the same character and period adopted elsewhere in Europe.

The entangled temperance story of New England and the Balkans produced various convergences and divergences. One issue that stands out with its decidedly different articulation in the United States and on the Balkans was the intersection of gender and temperance. As already noted, by the 1870s the temperance movement in America has become a conduit for public participation of women in pursue of political rights,194 gradually overshadowing an antebellum discourse on the intersection of domesticity and

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191 CSA, 1027K, au 1, p. 24-5 (handwritten, archival pagination incomplete), my emphasis
192 Vuzdurzhatel, VI:2, p. 30
193 Vuzdurzhatel, VI:7, p. 99
194 Bordin 1981; Tyrell 1991, pp. 221-41
temperance.\textsuperscript{195} The WCTU played a crucial role in this process, restricting men’s participation in the organization to financial contributions. Frances Willard herself, although admittedly employing freely the home and mother trope, was never married. It was Willard’s suffragist message that was grounded on the issue of temperance, stating namely that only full participation could secure women’s and children’s protection against intemperate husbands and fathers. Indeed, Willard’s goal was – if not to inverse – to equate gender roles through “the inclusion for men in the home and women in the government.”\textsuperscript{196} The literature on the subject of women and temperance activism promoted by the BTU had a rather different approach with concern to the ‘role of women’. An article from 1894 discussing the \textit{Contemporary Bulgarian Woman and her Influence on the Coming Generation} illustrates best the dominating discourse in the period until the 1920s. The article opens with a note that discussions are raging in the ‘educated world’ as to the capabilities and responsibilities of women, but soon turns to a higher authority:

God, who is impeccable, himself drew the demarcation between the man and woman and the particular spheres of their activities. Hence, it is more useful not to discuss the question of what the women might be able to achieve within the realm of the men’s empire, but rather how she could be most beneficial in the circle of her own Kingdom.\textsuperscript{197}

As in many other contexts, the role of the women in this particular discourse is limited to the domestic sphere and rearing of children, while simultaneously the nation is represented as a mother figure in need of protection.\textsuperscript{198} “You, in whose heart throbs pure Bulgarian blood, you who have any spark of true patriotism, do whatever you can for the rectifying of our Bulgarian mother, and you will honorably deserve the name: savior of Bulgaria.”\textsuperscript{199} The parallels with other nationalisms, as for example discourses in Bengal taking place around the same time, exhibit astounding similarities and deserve a short excursion here. Partha Chatterjee has drawn attention to the \textit{Ghôre/Baire} separation of gender roles\textsuperscript{200} – the political activism in the public sphere on behalf of men, facing the degrading influences of modernity, while the domestic sphere remains a repository of higher values, where women reign.\textsuperscript{201} Charu Gupta has challenged this position, pointing to the fact that these spheres were never imagined as completely separate. An illustrative example being the rigorous dress code for women in public space. “The moralism of dress and fashion reform was no less than an attempt to abolish fashion itself. Women were dress with grim respectability and decency, with no hint of sexual allure.”\textsuperscript{202} The same concerns with sexuality are to be

\begin{flushright}
\textsuperscript{195} Martin 2008  \\
\textsuperscript{196} Marilley 1993, p. 139  \\
\textsuperscript{197} Vuydurhatelno Zname, I:7, p. 52  \\
\textsuperscript{198} Parker and Russo et al 1992  \\
\textsuperscript{199} Vuydurhatelno Zname, I:7, p. 52  \\
\textsuperscript{200} Ghôre/Baire separate spheres are usually translated as ‘home and the world’.  \\
\textsuperscript{201} Chatterjee 1989  \\
\textsuperscript{202} Gupta 2001, p. 142
\end{flushright}
found in the temperance discourse at hand. If one needs to bluntly summarize the message conveyed, it could be said that the preferred sphere of activity is the home, while if short egression is necessary, than it should be undertaken with utmost caution and decorum. Miss Kasûrova saw her city in different light:

What do we see on Sofia’s streets today? Why, the whole of Europe has moved to Sofia. How many of the so-called intelligent Misses would you see wearing dresses made of Bulgarian šajak [a coarse woolen cloth, similar to the French fries, NK]? But they cannot, because one šajačena dress could last at least five years, while fashions change with all the four seasons of the year. [...] A woman, who is passionately infatuated with the fashions, could not be a really beneficial housewife [къшница!] and a good mother.203

Temperance activists in the United States were also concerned with the appropriate dress and attire, but their writings with this regard seem to have taken a different turn with the advance of the 19th century. An early example was the Bloomers Dress, characterized with wide and functional trousers promoted by Amelia Bloomer in her temperance journal The Lily.204 The particular combination of temperance and dress could also be found in the business and political endeavors of New York’s Demorest family, whose commercialization of the dress paper patterns has been dubbed a force in the ‘democratization of fashion’.205 Frances Willard herself took an earnest stance on the question with a pamphlet titled Dress and Vice, in which she claimed that “every punctured ear, bandaged waist and high heeled shoe is a reminder that manhood and womanhood are yet under the curse transmitted by their ignorant and semi-barbarous ancestry.”206 However, it was by no means any natural difference between the sexes that produced a desire for adornment. Young women were as much God creatures as any boy, indeed their soul was made in his image. Girls were rather conditioned by their parents at home and above all by their toys:

Most of all they learn it from their wretched, heathenish dolls. Girls are systematically drilled into the lust of the eye and the pride of life; into false standards of taste, and those worldly estimates of value which look only upon the outward adorning; and in this hateful school their teacher is the doll, with simpering face and fluffy hair, bespangled robes and perfect artificiality.207

Nonetheless, one could see light at the end of the tunnel. Science was a “great renovator and women [were] now students of its sacred revelations.”208 Frances Willard even promoted a costume of her own in the Union Signal, the emphasis of which fell however not

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203 Vuydurhatelno Zname, I:7, p. 53
204 Fischer 1997
205 Walsh 1979; See also Ross 1963
206 Willard [Undated], p. 4
207 Ibid., p. 5
208 Ibid., p. 8, my emphasis
on severe austerity, but rather on a strategic combination of the advantages in presenting simultaneously ‘a moral and feminine character’.209

Meanwhile, in the temperance literature the women of Bulgaria were also made by God. Indeed, they were the “most useful creatures of all.”210 The materials of the woman’s making were finer – as she came last – and thus it is said “she is the crown of creation.”211 Nevertheless, her role was intricately bound and limited to rearing children. It was claimed, that none was as affectionate with children as the mother. She would spend hours at a time next to the cradle and just when she falls asleep, the child has woken again and cries. “She wakes without cursing, she folds the diaper, puts it to sleep and instead of muttering in indignation she covers it with kisses.”212 Such views in the temperance literature culminated in appeals to the bona fide consciousness of women, asking for their fair share of work.

17,000 pubs in Bulgaria bring thousands of evils both on homes as well as on the state. That is why we turn to you, mothers and daughters, to take active part in the temperance battle. Your powerful influence is capable of removing that evil. Make your homes the most attractive place for your husbands, brothers and sons; that way it will be for them the kindest place on earth!213

Importantly, calls for political participation in the Bulgarian temperance literature were next to absent, the emphasis falling rather on the tropes of motherhood and nation. The argument made for this period will be extended in the next chapter for the interwar period, where discussions on the right to vote in local referenda entered the scene.

Conclusion

A number of points in this chapter deserve reiteration. The ABCFM missions on the Balkans, in its various nomenclature permutations, took part in the creation of a global ‘moral empire’. Although the mission did not flank any ‘real’ colonial project, it could be noted that the means employed did not differ significantly from missionary endeavors elsewhere. These ranged from the production and distribution of the Bible in Bulgarian, as well as other printed materials, to philanthropic activities and relief efforts in times of war and disaster. Above all, the ABCFM proved quick to respond to ‘native demands’, becoming an active agent in processes of territorialization and ‘modernization’. This was done chiefly by the means of ‘modern’ schools and education, but also through the diffusion of useful knowledge. One promising conduit for reaching to the ‘native’ society proved to be the graduates of the CTI. Temperance was an issue of exceeding importance to the Protestants on the Balkans, communicating its gospel in various contexts – schools, language classes, relief efforts, etc. Different temperance groups were also organized formally in a national

210 Vuzdurzhatel, VI:3, p. 35
211 Ibid.
212 Ibid.
213 Undated pamphlet – Vuzdurzhatelna Biblioteka No 17, p. 7, Locke Family Papers, MHC
Union under the discrete aegis of the Board. The Union produced its own print materials, conducted readings and magic-lantern shows. Additionally, it could be seen as an important step in the process of ‘nativization’ of the Evangelical mission, creating an able body of compradors, trained in organizational matters through the editing of the temperance newspaper and the management of the BTU. With this turning over of the relay we turn to the next chapter.
CHAPTER 3:

SCIENCE, MEDICALIZATION AND POLITICS — THE SECOND WAVE OF ANTI-ALCOHOL ACTIVITIES IN BULGARIA, 1920 TO 1940
Figure 11. Title page of *Borba s alcoolizma*.
While on an educational visit in New England in 1922, provided from the congregational church in Bulgaria, Rev. Dimitar Furnadjieff was asked by the Bulgarian Temperance Union to make an additional stop in Toronto and represent his nation’s efforts at the International Convention against Alcoholism. After visiting the Toronto conference, Furnadjieff wrote from New York back to his colleagues in Bulgaria and tried to ascertain the place of the protestant church in the temperance movement. “The Savior has given us one rule to judge worldly matters: ‘by their fruits you should know them’. Is the trade with spirits a good or a bad tree? [...] History proves that no movement for the improvement of man has ever succeeded without the help of the church.” With such rhetoric evoking God, Furnadjieff hinted at the existence of other models in the anti-alcohol campaigning, but concurrently claimed also that success was assured only on the solid ground of faith and through the participation of the church. Such claims notwithstanding, the internal evaluation of the evangelical temperance union produced during the annual meeting in 1923 came to alarming conclusions. The head of the organization, pastor Marco Popov, used particularly strong language to describe what he saw as a serious crisis within the union. Popov requested the renewed efforts of his fellow clergymen. “The Sofia [Evangelical, NK] Temperance Group has been for the last three-four years severely ill. For the year 1921-1922, it could be said that it was in death pangs. [...] Our goal is to broaden the reach of the Evangelical Temperance; otherwise the first will be last.” Such a development could easily have been interpreted as a logical ‘decline and fall’ of a protestant temperance project in a predominantly orthodox – not to mention wine producing – country if it was not for the spectacular growth in the number and overall membership of the anti-alcohol organizations in the beginning of the 1920s. The competitive nature of the temperance or as newly dubbed anti-alcoholism movement, the definition used by the new activists, is revealed by Popov’s allegorical use of Mathew's Biblical promise. The ‘last would be first’ (and vice versa) referred to the historical role of the evangelicals in the establishment of the movement in Bulgaria. The pastor warned that if urgent measures were not taken their organization will in effect lose ground to the new activists that proclaimed a fight against alcoholism. So who were these actors and, perhaps even more importantly, what did their version of temperance have to offer as an added value? This chapter is structured around this question. It looks in detail into the period characterized by what I have identified as a second wave of temperance activism in Bulgaria, namely the span between 1920 and 1944.

The chapter is divided into four sections. First, it looks into the new scientific character of the temperance discourse. More precisely, it looks at what was perceived of as science by the freshly baked members of the anti-alcoholism movement and represented as such by its new leading figures. As we would see, the protestant temperance movement in Bulgaria was not prompt enough as well as not sufficiently vociferous in its recognition of the

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1 World League against Alcoholism. International Convention 1922, p. 44
2 CSA 1027K, au 6, 1-5, handwritten
3 CSA 1027K, au 6, 25-29, handwritten
scientific anti-alcoholism as the new engine of the movement. Moreover, it failed to convince potential members that it was based on modern, scientific principles. Finally and perhaps crucially, the protestant union did not manage to secure an important affiliation with an international temperance organization at a time in which the ‘global center’ of epistemic temperance, as we have discussed in the first chapter, has shifted to Europe. As we would see, the gradual reducing of the importance of the protestant temperance union and its eventual driving into a corner was in fact marked by severe competition and power games among the different temperance groups. The next two sections deal with the intertwining of social hygiene and eugenics in the temperance discourse in the interwar period. At first glance these two anti-alcohol articulations – a eugenicist’s and a social hygienist’s one – seem like they could not be more distinct. Particularly from the perspective of negative eugenics, social hygiene appears to be counterproductive, indeed designed to help or alleviate the conditions of people exhibiting ‘undesirable traits’. Historical hindsight of the 20th century tends to equate eugenics with the National Socialist crimes, falsely limiting it to the radical right of the political spectrum. Such renditions notwithstanding, as elsewhere social hygiene and eugenics in Bulgaria were deeply interwoven. Many social democrats drawn to positive thinking identified eugenics as a most progressive measure for dealing with mounting social problems. This intersection is prominent in the literature devoted to anti-alcohol campaigning in the interwar period. Although admittedly the temperance periodicals in Bulgaria did not promote sterilization, they were still inculcated with articles on heredity and, thus, at least implicitly suggested eugenic measures to fight against alcoholism. The two sections deal precisely with the juncture of social hygiene and eugenics in the case of temperance campaigns in Bulgaria, disentangling different scientific and political influences, but also pointing to important distinctions between the proponents of different camps that crystalized in the years preceding the Second World War. The sections also look into the global spread and intertwining of social hygiene and eugenics as well as their intersection with the temperance movement. For this purpose, the chapter outlines intellectual developments with concern to the social hygiene movement around the world and effects, forms and articulations in the Bulgarian context. Similarly, recent historiographical developments extending the history of eugenics well beyond Nazi Germany will be addressed. Although discussions of such history outside the Bulgarian context would remain for obvious reasons descriptive, I hope that the affinity and correspondence to developments in my specific case study as well as the effect on the analytical tools employed would become apparent. The chapter also sheds light on infrequently studied phenomena such as the counter eugenic thought that has developed in the late 1930s. In this I hope to draw attention to the complexities and pluralistic nature of the ideas of heredity, degeneration and eugenics – in both its positive as well as negative coating – and their entanglement with social hygiene and temperance in particular.

4 Tanner 2012, p. 470; Promitzer 2011, p. 53
Needless to say, ideas such as degeneration and purity were not completely new to the temperance discourse in Bulgaria. The protestant literature had articles devoted to the subjects as early as 1893. However, these notions took a central stage for the first time in the interwar period. Behind the veil of scientific ‘objectivity’ social hygiene and – admittedly to a lesser extent – eugenics became part of an anti-alcoholism discourse of progress and improvement in Bulgaria. The sketching of the global trends in these sections would hopefully contribute not only to contextualize an isolated case study, the occurrences taking place in Bulgaria being, of course, not isolated. Nor does such a sketch aim only at describing the connections or what has become more fashionably known as ‘currents’ that produced a transnational epistemic community. In aggregating some secondary literature, the chapter would try to show that what seem to be discrete cases in the national/international history tradition, are in fact vibrant contributors to a whole. The global spread of the eugenics and the social hygiene projects was in itself seemingly larger than the sum of its parts. Indeed, the interconnectedness of the temperance movement in Bulgaria in the interwar period, its utilization of knowledge transfer channels, including knowledge concerned with social hygiene and eugenics, and, finally, its ‘international’ legitimization make an isolated study of a national case for this period seem to be a futile and highly reductionist scholarly pursuit. The last section of the chapter sketches the political activities and affiliations of the interwar Bulgarian temperance movement in the context of the national politics of the time.

Medicalization, scientification and the word of the Gospel

The Bulgarian Temperance Union (BTU), an organization almost exclusively made up of protestant associations, survived the Great War and entered the year of 1920 with a virtual monopoly over the associational campaigning against alcohol in Bulgaria. There have been attempts to organize along different lines. To reiterate an example from the first chapter, the Swiss entomologist, psychiatrist and sexologist Auguste Forel, one of the leading temperance figures in Europe and, for that matter, the globe in the early 20th century, founded new lodges of the International Order of the Good Templars (IOGT) during visits in Sofia and Plovdiv in 1910. Thus, according to some accounts, after a particularly successful lecture given by Forel on the topic of alcohol in Sofia, some 80 people decided in the heat of the moment to join this fraternal abstinence organization. The lodge, however, did not survive for long. A couple of months into its existence the attendance at its meetings had dropped to only several people. The IOGT was forcefully revived after the war by Dr. Haralampi Neichev and became one of the leading temperance organizations in the interwar period. Neichev had studied at the Military Medical Academy in Saint Petersburg and worked for the Severny Vestnik, associated with Narodniki and socialist ideas at the time. He was also a chief editor of Social Health [Обществено Здраве] during the First World

5 See Rosenberg 2012, pp. 815-48
6 CSA 1072K, au 2, pp 16-23. See also Kamenov 2014, pp 208-10
7 CSA 713K, Исторически Справка
War, where he had published a number of articles on the issue of alcohol consumption. In connection to such articles, Neichev was contacted by Histo Dimchev, a fellow temperance activist. Dimchev, who had studied in Neuchatel, had become a member of an IOGT lodge in Switzerland and had met Forel in person in June 1914. After finishing his studies he took the post of a teacher and was stationed in Sliven. The two fellow-abstainers traveled together to Switzerland in 1921. From the 22nd to the 27th of August they attended the 16th International Congress against Alcoholism taking place in Lausanne and from there on they traveled to Yvorne to visit Forel in his home. This visit and the establishment of personal contacts with Robert Hercod, Paul-Maurice Legrain and Forel could be seen as a watershed in the development of the temperance movement in Bulgaria and as the beginning of a rapid expansion of the movement. Dimchev had already organized a pupil’s temperance group at the school he was teaching, but continued to expand the organization to other schools. Neichev took on to revive the IOGT. By the mid-1920s the two organizations had a membership counting well into the thousands.

To put this sudden growth in perspective, it would be helpful to take a step back and look into the files of the protestant temperance union at the time. The first observation is that the activities of the different protestant groups were palpably curtailed during the war. Thus, a memo written in 1920, discussed the last five years of the BTU, showing that apparently there were no annual conventions of the Union in the span between 1915 and 1920. The author claimed that the ‘Bulgarian Temperance Union had barely survived the war’. Although it might come as no surprise that a non-government, non-profit organization, part of a reform movement, faced difficulties of various nature during the war, including impeded associational regime through the wartime authorities and the fact that members were at the front, shortages of paper, etc., such developments should not necessarily be taken for granted. The notion that drink was dampening the war effort, if not being even more damaging than the enemy, gathered momentum in some countries, leading governments to ponder over prohibition and to subsidize temperance campaigns.

A couple of years after the report on the temperance operations during the war, coinciding with the above cited comments of the head of the Sofia temperance group Marko Popov that his group was in ‘death pangs’, came another report on the state of the whole BTU. It was also notably short of any positive assessments. Indeed, after referring to some correspondence with the individual groups, the author of the report claimed that everything “[...] shows that we are a remiss organization. We need to tighten the rungs around the barrel, otherwise the organization will break up completely.” The choice of words, penned by a temperance activist – ‘tightening the rungs of the barrel’ – was in itself interesting. The author, however, continued in a more conventional way. He defended the union and hoped

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8 CSA 1072K, au 2, p. 67
9 CSA 1072K, au 2, p. 106
10 CSA 1027K, au 5, p. 47, handwritten
11 See for example Weir 1984, pp. 101-4, discussing the case of England
12 CSA 1027K, au 6, p. 18, handwritten
for a prospective animation - "Our union has a raison d’être (right to existence) [sic]. We represent the oldest temperance organizations in Bulgaria. We have given the earliest temperance literature to our people. Have we made everything possible? [...] No, the future holds for us a lot of very intensive work."  

By 1924 the BTU assessed its position as even more dire. Active intervention was needed. At the congress in the same year, the executive board listened to the reports of Elizabeth Clarke, Marko Popov and others and taking into consideration "[…] 2) that our activities have apparently dwindled in size, but the groups are still holding their positions; 3) that there have been reports of intemperate protestants; 4) that the anti-alcohol movement is getting stronger and wins new members in Bulgaria; it decided: [...] that it should restart the vigorous campaigns [...]"

The BTU meanwhile could not improve its strained financial situation. An affiliation with an international organization did not mean an inflow of money, the model with which the Protestants were acquainted from the financial aid they used to get from the Board. In fact meant the exact opposite – an additional expenditure. In return for a membership fee at the World League against Alcoholism or the International Bureau against Alcoholism, organizations would receive the latest ‘agitation’ materials and would be kept up-to-date with regard to any legislative innovations, international congresses or scientific developments. The yearbook of the Temperance Union around 1915 lists the decision to “establish contact with organizations in the United States working on the question of temperance and to ask for their moral as well as material support [...]”.

With concern to money, the Bulgarian Protestants expected a diametrically opposing model to what was already established as practice of the international temperance organizations. This could be also seen in a letter by Ernest Cherrington to the BTU, dated the 16th of November 1920, in which he noted with regret that although the World League against Alcoholism had already gladly worked with the temperance forces in Bulgaria, the League itself was facing financial difficulties and was unable to help. In another letter from 1924, Cherrington responded to a financial plead with the resolute statement that he could not contribute to the employment of one Mr. Gheorgieff ‘as a temperance worker in Bulgaria’. Similarly, a letter from Hercod diplomatically informed the BTU that "[...] la cotisation minimale pour les sociétés est de 10 francs suisses par an (5 francs pour les particuliers). Tous nos adhérents reçoivent notre rapport annuel. À tous les souscripteurs de 20 francs et au-dessus, nous envoyons un exemplaire de notre annuaire et nous serons heureux, en outre, de servir des abonnements de notre revue, à titre gracieux, aux sociétés qui nous verseront des souscriptions de quelque importance." The funds of the BTU, however, were insufficient for such a membership or alternatively the management of the Union preferred to channel

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13 CSA 1027K, au 6, p. 22, handwritten
14 CSA 1027K, au 7, p. 60
15 CSA 1027K, au 1, 68, handwritten
16 CSA 1027K, au 5, p. 63
17 CSA 1027K, au 7, p. 85
18 CSA 1027K, au 7, p. 33
them in other activities. This left the Protestants devoid of an important international affiliation and made their claim over a leading position in the temperance movement even more untenable.  

The issue of the name of the BTU was subsequently soon brought to the fore. A letter signed by the union of the pupil’s temperance associations dated 1924, addressed to the ‘evangelical temperance union’, put into question whether it was appropriate for the Protestants to retain the possession of the name ‘Bulgarian Union’. There were already many other organizations, some of them boasting larger memberships than the BTU itself. Many of those were not represented in the structures of the union. The Pupils’ Union, the founding of which was erstwhile met enthusiastically by the BTU and marked with an official telegram with wishes, was now becoming a threat to the Protestant temperance structures. After some heated in-house debates, the Protestant abstainers decided to part with the old name and by May 1926 Vuzdurzhatel became an ‘official organ of the Bulgarian Evangelical Temperance Union’. That the question of the name was by no means a trifling issue becomes even more transparent if we look at some of the financial support that the government offered to the temperance activists in the early 1920s. One of the very few documents, bearing the names of both Marko N. Popov, the protestant priest of a notoriously conservative disposition, and of Dr. Neichev, was a receipt dated 26th of January 1923. “The undersigned representative of the association for the fight against alcoholism ’Auguste Forel’, in Sofia, acknowledges with this letter, that I [sic!] have received from the treasurer of the Bulgarian Temperance Union the sum of four thousand leva that was given by the directorate for Public Health, after our lobbying using the name of the Bulgarian Evangelical Union.” What is, however, even more astounding in the document, is acknowledgement of taxing the IOGT for using the name of the BTU: “The undersigned confirms that the abovementioned sum of five thousand leva is given through the lobbying of the Aug. Forel lodge, but using the name of the Bulgarian Temperance Union. Because of this, the association Auguste Forel gave a share of thousand leva to the Bulgarian Temperance Union.”

Neichev’s fund raising skills seem to have been far more advanced than the Protestants’. In a manner very similar to the BTU’s strategy with regard to its name, Neichev created a secretariat for ‘all the temperance organizations in Bulgaria’. This institution provided the organizations with office materials, publishing materials, diverse visuals – among which also photographic portraits of Forel, badges and the likes. In addition, it soon started to sell non-

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19 For the issue of legitimization through ‘international’ affiliation and recognition see the first chapter on global history of temperance.
20 CSA 1027K, au 33, pp 76-7, handwritten
21 CSA 1027k, au 1, p. 74, handwritten
22 CSA 1027K, au 2, p. 6 and pp 12-6, handwritten
23 Vuzdurzhatel, XII:5
24 CSA 1027K, au 50, p. 257, my italic
25 Ibid., my italic
alcoholic wine and acted as a go-between in the trading of machinery for the production of such wine. The secretariat also advertised the produce of a cooperative, based in Lovech and specialized in making non-alcoholic wine. It comes as no surprise that there were mounting concerns that some – if not all – of these activities were lucrative in character and that the secretariat was not necessarily a non-profit organization, but rather an enterprise geared to the pursuit of monetary gain. Neichev himself was vigilant towards new-comers that might intrude and threaten his ‘market share’. In a circular dated 2nd of April 1924 he lamented that “[…] unidentified, complete strangers to the temperance movement, observing the enormous growth of our movement, without permission from anyone, have printed two images with anti-alcohol contents apparently with commercial purposes in mind.”

Here we can make an illuminating juxtaposition to some of the fund raising activities of the Protestants. Sent in January 1928 a circular to the groups read:

[…] give generously for the reinforcement of the movement – that is an evangelical project! Every evangelical who has not paid his mite should feel affronted, that he was not honored to help, just in the way that the Ephraimites felt insulted by the Gideon for not calling them to fight the Midian, while Gideon won alone with his 300 men. (Judges 8). These are real Israelites! They do not celebrate ready served victories, but feel denigrated that they were not honored to pay their tribute to the common good of their people.27

Neichev’s own commercial success, however, had also an adverse effect when it was brought to the limelight. He was accused of mercantilism during the ongoing frictions with other organizations.28 We would return to the clashes raging between the various groups and actors that marked the late 1920s and early 1930s in the section dealing with the political engagements of the temperance movement. It suffices for now to note that the Protestant organization had to give up its claim over ‘Bulgarian Temperance Union’ and had to team up with other organizations into a ‘Neutral Union’ and later a ‘Temperance Federation’, so that it could preserve some role in the broader movement.

To what particularity of the Protestant version of temperance could we ascribe its shortcomings? Or to put it differently, in what qualities did the other organizations excel? What were the defining differences? Certainly there were numerous departures from established practices. For one thing, the new anti-alcoholism activists chose or, perhaps more precisely, were endowed with a more urban setting for their operational arena. Sofia quickly became a hub for the overall movement, while other cities as for example Veliko Turnovo, Sliven and Lom hosted at times the various unions – pupils’, teachers’, etc. This does not mean that the organizations were not active in the countryside. On the contrary,
they sometimes purposefully chose villages for annual meetings, campaigns were executed ahead of the local option referenda and correspondence with member associations ‘on the ground’ was to be continuously carried out. However, the umbrella unions did not run into any additional expenditure of energy or finance in providing for their members in the countryside. This dissimilarity vis-à-vis the protestant temperance groups was not absolute, but still clearly discernible. One example we have already seen were missionaries who would spend months at a time on their tours. Protestant temperance activists would also tour the countryside, putting a strain on the union’s finances and prompting the executive board to often lobby to the Minister of Railway for free tickets for ‘temperance agitators’.\(^{29}\) Attempts to outsource the expenditure to the recipients, i.e. to make the local groups pay for the visitors’ lectures, were often met with resistance.\(^{30}\) Indeed, the evangelical temperance union could be seen as more of a bottom-up organization, in which the umbrella board was predominantly concerned with the activities of the individual associations rather than tuning them to its own agenda. In addition, it remained a part of a larger package of Protestantism. Although the BTU was a separate organization, i.e. not part of the Mission, a lot of the activities were directed to individual protestant communities and performed by reverends.

Related to the urban-rural divide, there was another intrinsic characteristic of the new organizations that gave them an overwhelming advantage. Most were shaped along professional lines, i.e. doctor’s temperance union, railway workers’ union, teachers’ union, reflecting a growing professionalization in Bulgaria. All in all, they were directed at a literate membership as in the case of the pupils’ union.\(^{31}\) The IOGT was an exclusive fraternal organization and, for that matter, a highly elitist one. In comparison, we could note that some of the protestant temperance groups were singularly poor – the yearbook of the evangelical union often lists letters from absentees from the annual conventions, apologizing and grounding their failure to attend with a deficiency of funds.\(^{32}\) Particularly moving are letters of associations unable to pay their symbolic membership fee, but asking to remain in the union and claiming that their temperance ideals have never waned.

Undoubtedly, all these divergences played their role. The new temperance groups explored new avenues in their money raising efforts and seem to have been more successful. They had a more urban focus and were aiming at and consisted of a new professional and literate class. If we, however, try to single out one crucial reason for the retreat of the evangelical temperance union or, conversely, for the seemingly unchecked growth of the other organizations, we would necessarily have to point to the medicalization, or more precisely

\(^{29}\) CSA 1027K, au 1, p. 61, handwritten, cf. CSA 1027K, au 2, p. 11, handwritten
\(^{30}\) CSA 1027K, au 11, p. 97
\(^{31}\) Although admittedly Bulgaria was still a very rural and agrarian country, by the 1920s-30s there were more than incremental changes in terms of professionalization. See for example Daskalov 2005. For a strikingly similar argument concerning professionalization and temperance for the case of tsarist Russia, see Transchel 2006, pp. 44-53.
\(^{32}\) CSA 1027K, au 1, handwritten
scientification, of the temperance discourse. This is not to suggest any positivist story of scientific triumph nor does it mean any straightforward process of secularization in which religious groups give way to ‘modern scientists’. If anything, the Protestant clergy in Bulgaria, as elsewhere, was not hesitant to acknowledge the merits of science and to try to use it in accordance with its own agenda. Conversely, scientific temperance journals would often borrow a moral tone and argumentation from reform movements and religious literature. In this sense, it seems futile to distinguish between ‘real’/‘objective’ science and morally laden pseudo-science— at best we can define what journals pertained to the popular science and what was generally perceived to be ‘real’ science at the time. What could be distinguished, however, is the intentional labelling as scientific/medical vis-à-vis a religious one and the language used in the various periodicals. Running the risk of simplifying some highly complex material and a history of intricate networks and multifaceted borrowings, I would suggest that the main characteristic of the second wave of temperance activities in Bulgaria was a new, scientific discourse on temperance. Institutions that mastered its language, that managed to label their literature as scientific and/or to present their political demands as based on science, gained the upper hand. This development in fact reflected a ‘demand’ for science that was well recognized by the Protestant reformers, who in their internal memos often expressed a desire to have more scientific articles in their journal. Nonetheless, they could not shed the evangelical label off their union. The label became an indication not only of their religious agenda. It was also to the advantage of their temperance competitors as a sign of the ‘wrong’ religion. The old argument that the Protestant version of Christianity was something foreign to the Bulgarian people was used by some temperance activists as a direct assault on their competition. Before we look in detail into these developments, however, it would be helpful to step back and examine the process of scientification/medicalization from a global perspective. This would help to put the Bulgarian case in context and define where its antecedents – if any – lie.

As already discussed in the previous chapter, recent historiography has reproached critically the theories of modernization and secularization. Particularly the latter has come under fire in the discipline of global history, where the so-called ‘new styled religions’ of the late 19th century has been proven as more successful, or at least having more numerous followers, than earlier religious movements.33 The motif of secularization in the 19th century England, for example, has been described as ‘vastly overblown’ and in some recent historiography the ‘crisis of faith’ has been transformed into a ‘crisis of doubt’.34 Nonetheless, it is very difficult to reject accounts that show the accruing of a new social meaning of science in the 19th century.35 In this sense, institutional history might not be the best tool of analysis of the interplay between science and religion. Perhaps an account using anthropological theory, as for instance structural functionalism, could tell us more about the new social function of

33 Bayly 2004, pp
34 Larsen 2006, pp 1-17
35 For a classical account see Hobsbawm 1975, pp 251-76
A helpful example in this regard is the work of the Sri Lankan born social anthropologist Stanley Tambiah on *Magic, science, religion, and the scope of rationality*. Tambiah’s intellectual contemplation of the three social domains explores the history of debates on their ‘demarcation, differentiation and overlap’. A genealogy of the three categories thus shows overlaps, shifting boundaries and occasionally shared terrains. Such a point of departure allows us to ask whether in a particular point of time and place, science took over a social function that was previously squarely positioned in the domain of religion. In my opinion, the changing nature of the temperance discourse over the period at hand allows us to answer this question positively. It is helpful to reiterate that this is not an attempt to depict a simplistic account of religion being displaced by science, but rather to show how certain forms of knowledge rendered themselves more in line with the broader social structures and attitudes of their time. What could be seen in this regard as a decisive evidence in this particular study are the calls for more ‘scientific articles’ found in the internal memos of the Evangelical Temperance Union. In this, I hope, the work at hand is also in accord with histories of knowledge that are not predominantly concerned with the institutional framework from which such knowledge originates, but rather with its implications in terms of power relations. To use Michel Foucault’s words, the analysis of statements that stake a claim over truth is “not so much a matter of knowing what external power imposes itself on science, as of what effects of power circulate among scientific statements, what constitutes, as it were, their internal régime of power, and how and why at certain moments that régime undergoes a global modification.”

A good departure in the analysis of the ‘global modification’ in the way statements about temperance were made could be found in a seminal article by Harry Levine published in 1978. In what the author calls ‘the discovery of addiction’, Levine dates the modern understanding of alcoholism back to the beginning of the 19th century. “This new paradigm or model defined addiction as a central problem in drug use and diagnosed it as a disease, or disease-like. The idea that alcoholism is a progressive disease – the chief symptom of which is loss of control over drinking behavior, and whose only remedy is abstinence from all alcoholic beverages – is now about 175 or 200 years old, but no older.” Whether one can trace back this shift, or in other words locate a discontinuity, so precisely to the beginning of the 19th century, remains in my opinion, Levine’s strong language notwithstanding, inconclusive and certainly impossible for a larger global context. Levine’s focus being on North America and providing a sort of genealogy of the idea of alcoholism makes the use of the study as a departure point still very fruitful. Other authors, as for example Roy Porter, have pushed the idea of drunkenness as a form of disease to Georgian times and have tentatively talked of ‘pre-history of alcoholism’. What could be certainly acknowledged, however, is a gradual approximation to a medical model in the English

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36 Tambiah 1990, my italic
37 Foucault 1980, pp 112-3
38 Levine 1978, p. 143
39 Porter 1985; See also May 1997
speaking world of the 19th century. In particular, in the wake of the seminal studies of Thomas Trotter and Benjamin Rush, medical doctors in the United States and Great Britain started to associate habitual drinking with a number of accompanying conditions/diseases. The identification of habitual drunkenness itself with a medical condition also took place in the long 19th century and was associated with changes in the language surrounding the regular consumption of alcohol. A citation at length from Roy Porter’s introduction to an edited version of Trotter’s ‘medical, philosophical, and chemical’ essay on ‘drunkenness and its effects on the human body’ is illustrative in this respect:

More challenging [than the association with disorders/diseases, NK] was the claim advanced frequently in the first half of the nineteenth century that heavy and persistent alcohol consumption was itself a disease in its own right, or at least a key symptom of some underlying disease. In other words, just as one would speak of a consumptive or an epileptic as someone suffering from a serious ailment, so the habitual drunkard was equally to be regarded as a diseased person, falling within the province of medicine to diagnose and treat. Thus the drunkard – a wretch traditionally seen as suffering from moral or religious weakness – came to be medicalized, and the ‘disease concept’ of drunkenness was crystalized, leading by the mid-nineteenth century to the notion of the disease of ‘alcoholism’ and of the ‘alcoholic’ as a suitable case for medical attention.40

This is of particular interest for our case. The 1910s and particularly the 1920s saw a very similar shift in the temperance discourse in Bulgaria. If the subject matter of the old Vuzdurzhatel journal was drunkenness and the culprit was the drunkard [пиянство/пияница], the new debates would revolve around alcoholism and alcoholics [алкохолизъм and алкоолизъм/алкохолик and алкоолик]. Similarly, the old notion of temperance [въздържание] remained imbued in the new temperance organizations – which is why I broadly use ‘temperance’ for the names of the various unions. The movement’s goals, however, were more often summarized and denoted as a battle against alcoholism [борба срещу алкохолизма].

The discursive transition from drunkenness to alcoholism was never straightforward or complete. In terms of institutional demarcations, it is important to note that throughout the globe in 19th century and even later on, there were medical doctors that thought that moderate quantities of alcohol are salubrious or that drinking could have a good therapeutic implementation as a pain killer. Peter McCandless has shown for the case of Britain that as late as the mid-19th century there were alienists – admittedly a minority – who even believed in a linear correlation between drinking and recovery. The more one drank the faster one was expected to convalesce!41 Similarly, during the Prohibition in the United

40 Porter 1988, Kindle positions 168-74
41 McCandless 1984, p. 51
States, there was an organized attempt on behalf of some members of the medical profession to secure the right to prescribe alcoholic beverages for their therapeutic effects.42

The embracing of the Scientific Temperance Instruction and science in general by the WCTU in the United States has already shown us how blurred institutional demarcations between scientific and religious temperance really were. The medicalization of the discourse, at hand here, does not in itself presuppose an ‘objective’ science. Indeed, a lot of the scientific argumentation was often based on moral zeal and borrowed from a language of religious reform. In their article From sinners to degenerates: the medicalization of morality in the 19th c., Heidi Rimke and Alan Hunt argue in similar lines, that “the shift from moral code to moral insanity should not be understood as a manifestation of an Enlightenment process of the displacement of religion by medicine […]”, rather they try to show how “the practices and discourses put into action result from quite distinct and often contradictory elements.”43 By the end of the 19th century “an alliance had developed between moral codes rooted in the Christian tradition and the ‘new’ medical and psychological discourses. This alliance took the form of the ‘social and moral hygiene’ movement which played a significant role in the fields of both moral regulation and public hygiene in the early years of the 20th century.”44 Authors writing from the perspective of the history of religion have similarly noted a ‘secularisation of sin’ in the 19th century.45 Elsewhere, the shift has been also analyzed from a legal history perspective and summed up as ‘from vice to disease’.46 We will come back to the issue of social hygiene and its temperance formulation in the next section of the chapter, but for now let us return to the Protestant’s reaction to the crisis in their temperance union.

From the beginning of the Protestant mission in European Turkey, through independence to its eventual closing, missionaries and the boards of the different stations were outspokenly conscious and sensitive on the issue of science. Many believed that it was the mission’s role to provide the host society with modern knowledge, with the hope perhaps of winning converts in the process. A report from the Philippopolis Station for the year 1914-1915 to the Board is illustrative in its expressiveness:

“[…The question [also] arises whether the preaching in our field has not tended to alienate the educated classes by decrying the teachings of science as given in every high grade university in the world, including those of the most outspoken Christian character and influence. This attitude, fostered by the Zornitza [the evangelical paper in Bulgaria, NK], may not have played a great part in preventing progress, but one can hardly believe it entirely devoid

42 Appel 2008; see also Zimmerman 1993
43 Rimke and Hunt 2002, p. 61
44 Ibid., p. 59
45 Erdozain 2011
46 Johnstone 1996
of influence. Moreover the materialistic philosophy of Haeckel and Nitsche [sic!], spread broadcast among Bulgarian youth in translations, has not been faced by our Mission with a counter-philosophy which meets such men on their own ground as Sir Oliver Lodge has met them in Eng’d. The questions of eager youth, based on the science to-day, have been answered with explanations based on the thought of 1860 and 1870.”

This extraordinary critique reflects partially the internal struggles between different missionaries and stations. It provides us, however, also with the sense of historicity of the author unveiled in his claim that outdated materials make their way to the journal. The quotation exhibits the conviction of the author of the report that the use of state-of-the-art science would serve the mission best. Such concerns, of course, were not limited to questions of philosophy and faith, but also to the more practical issue of temperance. As early as 1901 the protocol of the annual convention of the temperance union lists a decision to “invite doctors [medical doctors, NK] to hold lectures on the question of temperance”. Doctors were also seen as unalienable part of the local-option efforts – the unanimous opinion of the BTU by 1920 was that a new convention should gather in Sofia, including “doctors, professor, lawyers”, all in favor of the closing of pubs. By 1924, when the crisis in the union called for congressional resolutions, two of the decisions read “to act through larger distribution of good scientific and popular literature” and to “[...] improve and diversify the organ of the union [Vuzdurzhatel, NK]”. In 1927 the editor of the journal even tried to move the ministry of education to officially endorse it as an educational material – “I have asked the ministry of education to officially acknowledge the journal, but they wanted 500lv for it, so I cancelled my request.”

Referring to the STI in the United States, in what could be called a Foucauldian twist, the 1905 entrance in the yearbook of the temperance union claimed knowledge is power [Знанието е сила] and protocolled calls for the introduction of scientific temperance in schools. Petitions to the government were written regularly with this regard. The use of the Scientific Temperance Journal, published in the United States, as a preferred choice for the assembling of the Vuzdurzhatel by the Protestants is also documented. When Vuzdurzhatel restarted its publishing in 1910 after several years of hiatus, the editorial summed up the goals of the journal anew. "The task of Vuzdurzhatel - followed rigorously by an editorial committee - will be to explain to the Bulgarian reading community the effects of
alcohol, *from a scientific perspective*, on the body, mind and soul of the human.*"\(^{55}\) Exactly how the journal was supposed to explain the detriments of alcohol on the human soul from a scientific perspective remained unclear, but the explicit desire to move in this direction is illustrative enough.

To tie the knot here, I would give a last example of the high role assigned to science by the Protestants in the 1920s. In an opening article of *Vuzdurzhatel* in February 1926 titled ‘the verdict of science’ [Вердиктътъ на науката!], signed as ‘a translation by Al. Georgiev’, various scientific proves for the insidious nature of alcohol were given. The American Medical Association was referred to as well as the policies of some American insurance companies. In the end

> [t]he mask of alcohol is removed by science. In the dawn of intelligence and conscience in the world, there is enough reason why its century old reign over human dignity should end. Nonetheless, there is still an honorable place for alcohol in the industry. As a source of warmth, light, power, as an agent for the furthering of science and mechanics, it could be potentially a blessing; as a drink it is a blow for human progress.\(^{56}\)

It would be unfair, however, to claim that this affair with science came at the expense of faith. A striking example is delivered by the *Vuzdurzhatel*’s own attempt at historicizing the worldwide mushrooming of temperance organizations in the 1920s. In a cover article in September 1928, three potential reasons were listed as an explanation of this growth. The first was that science had proven that alcohol was detrimental for the individual and for the future generations. The second one pointed to the effects brought about by the ‘barbaric war’. Finally, the third, related to the second, listed the tough economic and social conditions as a reason. After all three explanations were discussed in detail and rejected, an overarching solution to the historic question was found – true religion. The synthesis brought about by the author was that ‘all freedom movements’ were based on well understood Christianity.\(^{57}\) With this immovable faith and stubborn insistence on the role of religion at the background, we can turn to our next section.

**Temperance and the tapestry of social hygiene**

Setting the objectives of the new Bulgarian temperance journal *Borba s Alkoolizma* (Борба с алкоолизма, sic! *Fight against Alcoholism*), the editor Haralampi Neichev commented in 1922 "[...] the alcohol, this unmatched destroyer of human society, of the individual and the family, completely unbothered, widely supported by ignorance, misery, tradition, by the state officials and capital, grows ever deeper roots in our unfortunate and weary country. [...] Our goals are clear: radiating streams of light to uncover the nature of our insidious

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55 Vuzdurzhatel VII:1, p. 1, my italic
56 Vuzdurzhatel XII:2, p. 19
57 Vuzdurzhatel XIV:7, pp 97-9
enemy in the spirit of truth and science. [...]" 58 Indeed, the journal later became an ‘Organ of the Union for Fight against Alcoholism, IOGT in Bulgaria’ and, although not completely undisputed, something of a flagship of the Bulgarian interwar temperance movement, boasting a stable circulation of up to 3000 copies until 1941. The journal did not limit its concerns exclusively to the question of alcoholism, but also published original and translated articles on other issues relevant to the global ‘social hygiene’ movement at the time. Venereal diseases, tuberculosis and drug abuse were also discussed on the pages of Borba, often referring to the underlying ‘social’ context causing these ‘scourges of modernity’. The socialist leaning of the journal was further underscored by the occasional critique, as already noted in the citation above, of what was seen as alarming consummation of capital and state. Many authors believed that capitalism was directly responsible for the drink problem through the alcohol market as well as implicitly involved, perhaps to an even greater social detriment, through creating an impoverished working class bound to drink. With regard to the alcohol question the state, depending on excise taxes, was viewed as having an ambivalent role at best and as being deeply implicated at worst. Even more surprisingly, clinicians and psychiatrists also supported the ‘social hygienic/medical’ understanding of temperance and endorsed it. Writing in 1937 on the subject of therapeutic measures for ‘chronic alcoholics’ the psychiatrist Dr. Uzunov noted that “without doubt the conditions of the external environment – the general social conditions – are conducive in our reality to the rise of alcoholism. The hard work for mere survival, the misery, the excessive irrational work, the bad example of family and company, the organized supply by state and capital [...] all incite alcoholism.” 59

The social hygiene movement took shape towards the end of the 19th century and reached its peak in the interwar period, 60 leading in various contexts to new legislation aiming to improve the fitness of the populations of various ‘nation states’. 61 Main concerns of the movement were ailments and diseases perceived as having a ‘social’ background and/or consequences that strained and threatened the social organism. 62 In many western countries, venereal diseases, tuberculosis, alcoholism and mental illness were most prominently in the focus of medical doctors and reformers. The particular legislative and educational measures varied from country to country. 63 They were partially informed by earlier public health campaigns as well as reform ‘crusades’, but in general exceeded in

58 Borba s Alkoolizma, I:1, p. 2
59 Uzunov 1937, p. 135
60 Two major trends have been singled out as formative for these processes in the literature. For the ‘biologization’ of social thought and the rise of social Darwinism see for example Jones 1980. For similarly early study of the ‘medicalization’ of power following Foucault see Armstrong 1983.
61 For a recent and excellent account on bio-politics and moral reforms between 1880 and 1950 see Tschurenev, Spöring and Grosse 2014. See also Turda (Ed.) 2013 on ‘crafting humans’ and ‘better’ nations.
62 For the idea of sickness as a social phenomenon see for example Baldwin 2005, pp. 21-3; Porter and Porter 1988, pp. 94-5; Waitzkin 1981. Even at its peak, bacteriology never completely dispelled environmentalist causes.
63 For a longue durée perspective, taking as case studies different national projects in a discussion of the relation between public medicine and the modern state, see Porter (Ed.) 1994.
effect any previous form of bio-political intervention. In the United States, for instance, “[i]n the course of relatively brief period of time, a little over a decade, (1907-1920) the social hygienists were able to bring about far reaching legislative and bureaucratic changes with respect to sexuality that dwarfed the changes accomplished by their predecessors in the purity crusade.”

The movement was also instrumental in introducing new forms of sex education that moved “away from purity and solidified the place of social hygiene as a reform discourse” in the United Kingdom, Australia and the United States. Similarly, advocating prevention of alcoholism brought hygiene and temperance classes to schools in Britain. Scientific Temperance Instruction in the United States also tried, albeit not always successfully, to label its cause as ‘scientific’ and a matter of ‘social hygiene’. The social welfare policies in Germany in the 1920s have been characterized by Paul Weindling as dominated by social hygiene and ‘socialization of health’ in general. Around the same time, social hygiene as an academic discipline entered medical universities. Alfred Grotjahn, conventionally credited with the invention of the fateful term Sozialhygiene, held the newly formed chair with the same name at the University of Berlin in 1920. In the Soviet Union too, the novel discipline of Social Hygiene enjoyed a flourishing period in the early 1920s eventually losing momentum towards the end of the decade by which time identifying illness with deficient social conditions came to be seen as a critique of the Soviet regime.

Most of the social hygiene schemes, particularly its manifold eugenic articulations, aimed at the improvement of the national fitness and health as well as ‘racial betterment’ of future generations. Nonetheless, the social hygiene programs were not simply implemented more or less simultaneously by various nation-states, but had a rather transnational – if not a supranational – dimension. On the one hand they were advocated by institutions such as the League of Nations Health Organization, the International Labour Organisation, the Rockefeller Foundation and the Pasteur Institute, to name just a few. The Rockefeller Foundation was incidentally also instrumental in the framing of the Bulgarian interwar Public Health legislation – some of the health measures “proved to be a translation of the health welfare provisions in New York State - the state where the first Bulgarian scholars on a Rockefeller grant had been trained in public health.” On the other hand transnational epistemic communities were also instrumental in the dissemination of an arguably ‘universal’ scientific ‘truth’ of academic medicine and social hygiene in particular. Not surprisingly, medical doctors, members of such an epistemic community, were the ones

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64 Luker 1998, p.614;
65 Egan and Hawkes 2010a, p. 58; see also Egan and Hawkes 2010b, pp. 51-73; Imber 1984; on the issue of mental hygiene and education in the US see Cohen 1983.
66 Berridge 1990, p. 1005
67 Zimmerman 1992, pp. 28-9
68 Weindling 1993 (a), pp. 342-68
69 Solomon 1990a and Solomon 1990b; See also Hoffman 2011, kindle positions 2155-637 for a different interpretation.
70 Schneider (Ed.) 2002; Weindling (Ed.) 1995; Weindling 1993 (b); Roemer 1994
71 Baloutzova 2011, p. 62
72 Weindling 1995, p. 4
who introduced the notions of public health, preventive medicine and social hygiene in Bulgaria. Public health and sanitary laws, promulgated around the brink of the 20th century, had a lasting effect on the healthcare in the newly formed nation. The debates looming around the time revolved around the ideas of Dr. Peter Orahovac and Dr. Marin Rusev. Orahovac, who has studied medicine in Moscow, was in favor of a system providing wider access and focusing on sanitation, similar to the Russian zemstvo medicine.73 Rusev and his adherents, most of whom had studied in universities in Western Europe, were in favor of a system emphasizing the role of the private praxis.74 Notwithstanding such debates, it seems that the state’s ability to intervene in matters of public health was severely limited by financial and personnel shortcomings before the First World War.75 Even the comprehensive 1929 law of Public Health remained to a large degree “wishful thinking.”76 More important for our study, however, was the healthcare program developed by Haralmpi Neichev for the Workers’ Social Democratic Party in 1919, only a couple of years before he devoted his energies almost exclusively to the fight against alcoholism.77 Neichev was a graduate of the Military Medical Academy in Saint Petersburg and worked for the Severny Vestnik, associated with Narodniks and socialist ideas at the time.78 In the program titled ‘Sanitary-social policy’, Neichev spoke in favor of various reforms in the Ministry of Health, suggested a mandatory sanitary work and puericultural education for young women and singled out tuberculosis, malaria, mental sickness, alcoholism, prostitution and venereal diseases as the main concerns of social medicine. Indeed, according to Neichev the political and medical aspirations were identical:

“Socialism is the strongest, the most secure, the healthiest hygiene, the best assainissement [асенизация], the mightiest remedy. Socialism and hygiene is one and the same thing. They both want the reforming of life and putting it on a new basis, that would guarantee the development and survival of the individual and the mass, that would heal the whole life and put forward measures, that would not aim at curing ailments but at their prevention, that would fight the very roots of evils and misfortune at its stem.”79

The multi-faceted political entanglements of the social hygiene movement in Europe and Bulgaria cannot be discussed here at length. Suffice it to note, that there was often an

73 Zemstvo medicine was a particular form of public health aiming at rural populations. Zemstvo came into being in the latter half of the 19th century and was marked by its social character and mistrust in the private praxis. For the premature ‘death’ of the zemstvo and its continuities after 1919 see Hutchison 1990 and Hoffman 2011, kindle positions 2155-637
74 Daskalov 2005, p. 50
75 Crampton 2007, p. 305
76 Baloutzova 2011, pp. 64-8
77 Kamenov 2014
78 CSA 713K, Историческа Справка. Narodniks were the members of the 19th century Russian, socialist movement that hoped to reform and liberalize society through propaganda among and politicization of the peasantry.
79 Neichev 1919, p. 12
apparent overlapping of cadres, with many social hygiene activists having affiliations with the left part of the political spectrum, while many social democratic projects entailed medical programs emphasizing prevention and hygiene. We will return to these entanglements later in the chapter in the discussion of eugenics.

Social hygiene was endorsed by Forel in a letter for the inaugural issue of the Borba journal. “With pleasure I acknowledge the new anti-alcohol journal, edited by you. [...] Today, the hygiene must go forward, breaking out of its earlier individual frame and becoming truly social.”80 Subsequently, although Borba was formally devoted to the fight against alcoholism, the materials published in the journal often discussed other ‘social’ diseases, arguably related to alcohol or social hygiene in general.

One constant concern for the temperance activists was the seemingly causal relationship between alcoholism and venereal diseases. This, again, was perfectly in line with the position of Forel, who repeatedly claimed that the majority of patients suffering from a venereal disease were infected under an inebriated condition.81 Borba was often able to achieve a balancing act between a discourse portraying women as a vehicle of such infections and one framing women as innocent victims of drunken husbands suffering from what in contemporary terms would be denoted as sexually transmitted diseases. An article by Iv. P. Andreev, for example, opened with the remark that alcohol “presents an evil gift to the woman and family – sexual diseases”, but also discussed the possibility of establishing controlled red light districts and claiming that “alcoholism and venereality [венеризма, sic!] are brothers by birth.”82 The article ended with an upbeat claim that in the combination of “feminism [феминизма] and anti-alcoholism the liberated woman would be conceived and born.”83 Another article in the same issue of the journal, this time written by one Miss Z. Stankova from Vidin, under the title ‘Let us draw the woman to our cause’, put more emphasis on the intrinsic liability of fathers and husbands.

[...] The young woman, daughter of an alcoholic, is completely desperate. Her foremost education comes in the form of beating and vulgar swearing, courtesy of her drunken father! [...] She becomes engaged with a person she does not know, whose past she is unaware of, becoming often a victim not only of an alcoholic husband, but also of various venereal diseases.84

Although such depictions could be paralleled with the campaigns led by British feminists against sexual vice and masculine domination around the turn of the century,85 the Bulgarian interwar temperance discourse fell decidedly short of a demand for political equality. Indeed, even the author of the aforementioned article conditioned political rights

80 Borba s Alkoolizma, l:1, p. 1, my italic
81 See for example Forel 1908, p. 286
82 Borba, V:2, p. 24
83 Ibid., p. 26
84 Ibid., pp. 19-20
85 Valverde 2000, p. 34
on the maternal status – “Only when her [the woman’s] appearance ceases to be her *raison d’être*, only when she satisfies her maternal duty, she can freely enter the sphere of public and social work.” Even when the ‘local option’ took off in the 20s and, according to some estimates by the ministry health, hundreds of pubs were closed after local referenda, women’s political participation remained a point of tension. Addressing the parliament in 1929 on the occasion of the new Public Health Bill, Neichev commented on the women’s right to vote in pub-closing referenda:

No race, no family can exist without the woman. They will say: she does not drink; she does not need to vote. Yes, but when the husband comes back drunk, she is the one who gets beaten, she is the one who has to go without food. That is the time when he wants an intercourse, because you know what alcohol is – it brings up all the vilest [низменни, from the Russian низменен] of instincts. And that is why children are weak! [...] Our wish to endow voting rights for women for the local option is absolutely minimal. The Women’s Union has probably addressed you with their demands, perhaps exaggerated, according to you. After the war in many places women have complete political rights. In Sweden there was a woman minister. Here, however, the issue is closing pubs [кръчмите] and there is absolutely no danger for anyone. This is a question of defending the nation.

Although the women vote for parliamentary elections was allowed only in 1938, article 195 of the Law for Public Health extended the right to vote for the local option to ‘all men and women over 21’ in 1929.

The depiction of sexual vice in the temperance literature was another issue that could hardly overcome the bridge between its moral and religious discursive predecessors and arguably modern ‘scientific’ argumentation. Neichev for example claimed that “onanism is a form of deception of the Creator, it is a shameful insult [позорно оскърбление] to Mother Nature, it is a shameless exploitation of the highest endowment of the human kind.” Another author, a teacher under the name of Bor. Iliev, however, portrayed masturbation as a social and even an infectious disease and consequently a concern of social hygiene.

If we take Francis Bacon’s thought 'Scientia est sapientia' to be correct, we would definitely conclude that it also refers to the sexual question, i.e. that knowledge about this issue is also needed. For me it is a fact, the sphere of

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86 *Borba*, V:2, p. 20. This, however, should not discredit Miss Stankova as any way reactionary. As elsewhere, it was both feminists and anti-feminists who saw the reproduction ‘duty’ as an inextricable part of national/imperial/racial politics. For excellent discussion of the ‘Mother of the Race’ see Valverde 1992.
86 Ibid., p. 26
87 CSA 372K, a. 2292. See also Ivanova 1993, p. 367
88 *Borba*, VIII:8, p. 119
89 Crampton 2007, p. 251
90 *Borba*, XVIII:4, p. 62
sexuality is an enigma for the pupils, their lack of knowledge with concern to the sexual life and its development, leading to all sorts of perversions and succumbing to the dreadful vice of onanism. It could be safely claimed that the latter is based above all on ignorance and lack of knowledge [...] Due to such ignorance many pupils get addicted to onanism. [...] There was a case in which one pupil infected a whole class with this vice.91

That the scientia sexualis, a pupil’s familiarity with which the author is pleading for, was “[...] subordinated in the main to the imperatives of a morality whose divisions it reiterated under the guise of the medical norm [...]”, has been well established for different contexts in recent years. In the Bulgarian case the discourse over hygiene in schools picked up pace around the turn of the century and a journal devoted to subject started in 1905.93 The fitness of the progeny and, by extension, the fitness of the newly independent nation state, was to be improved by the means of a new professional figure bridging medical and educational work – the teacher-doctor. The competences of this new ‘hybrid institution’ extended beyond the therapeutic realm and well into the pedagogical, teaching children of the fundamental ‘sanitary demands of the body, clothing, and dwelling’, about infectious and hereditary diseases as well as the ones brought up by poor living conditions.94 What stands out in the citation above, however, is the addictive characteristic of onanism which it shares with alcoholism. Not only is onanism a ‘disease of the will’, thus reserving a place in the popular scientific temperance literature, but it further exhibits a contagious character, calling for sanitary and social hygiene measures.95

The moral ethos presided over many of the scientific articles targeting – or having as subject matter – children and youth. The journals associated with Protestantism were particularly fond of the science/religion amalgamation. In 1910 Rev. Furnadjiev listed the hygiene recommendations written by a teacher from the village of Papazlii in the Stanimaka region, today’s Popovica close to Asenovgrad, one Mr. G. Prodanov, welcoming it as a direly needed contribution. In his analysis Furnadjiev claimed that “[...] to have a hygienic life in our society, our schools, through their teachers, should embrace this honorable project and without doubt they will eventually succeed.”96 And among the recommendations and warnings given – “drunkenness [пиянството] opens the door to the following diseases: tuberculosis, insanity and lunacy; it is the vice in the man, which smoothens the way for other diseases; it fills up prisons and mental asylums.”97 An even more biblical reference

91 Ibid., IV:9-10, pp. 138-40
92 Foucault 1990, p. 53
93 Mircheva 2007
94 Ibid.
95 An early but still useful account, sketching the history of the frightful consequences of onanism and the medical concerns related to it, is MacDonald 1967. See also Jordanova 1987; Egan and Hawkes 2007
96 Vuzdurzhatel, VII:1, p. 6
97 Vuzdurzhatel, VII:1, p. 7
with regard to social hygiene is to be found in the form of appeal to the Bulgarian citizens in 1935:

Boys and girls deplore their sordid life and often put an end to it to escape the burdensome ignominy. The press is full with their tragedies. The hospitals, hotels and homes hide the heavy consequences of the lewdness. Venereality [sic!] is widespread and threatens to degenerate [!] and ruin our beautiful country. Divorces corrode our precious Bulgarian home and dissipate the progeny as if being leprous. [...] The home has been replaced by pubs, beerhouses, bars, aperitifs [аперитиви, establishments that serve aperitifs, NK], underground gardens [!], cabarets and entertainment houses. Today’s society has taken the road once taken by Sodom, Gomorrah, Admah and Zeboiim, the cities that foundered in the Dead Sea, due to their debaucheries and loose life.98

This article, published by the newspaper of the Pazardzhik Evangelical Temperance group, is very elucidating for its usage of ‘venereality’ and ‘degeneration’. Although we could see that such language had been already embraced by the Protestants, it is striking that venereal diseases do not threaten to degenerate the progeny. Instead, somewhat in contrast to the scientific convention of the time, the ‘venereality’ skips a pace and directly threatens ‘our beautiful country’. Although it is the contemporary society’s lewdness that leads to ruin, the phenomenon does not present anything new. The knowledge of debauchery and downfall was to be found already in the Old Testament.

**Eugenics, racial poisons and temperance**

The eugenics movement in the young Balkan state was another, albeit looser, association that implicitly addressed demands to the state with regard to stemming alcoholism in the interwar period. Arguing in line with German *Rassenhygieniker* and contrary to the temperance activists, Bulgarian eugenicists shifted the emphasis from the ‘original’ social causes to what was perceived to be the consequences of alcohol abuse. Thus, Stefan Konsulov, one of the leading figures in this movement, commented on what he saw as a betrayal of posterity – “[t]he alcoholism of the parents is a crime against the children. In this regard, education would startle many who have already succumbed to the vice, [and] would protect others, who in their ignorance would likely yield to this temptation. If all these people had enough culture and anti-alcohol instruction, education would have sufficed in the fight against this social evil.”99 Lamenting that the Bulgarian society was far from such a high educational standard and reckoning that the majority of the population would not be able to summon enough strength to resist the alcohol evil, Konsulov concluded that society and state should take on responsibility in such cases. “From a social perspective, all

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98 Vuzdruzhatelnii vesti, III:1-2, pp. 1-2
99 Konsulov 1937, p. 153
measures for the gradual elimination of alcoholism, even the most draconian ones, are completely justified.” Written in the wake of the German National Socialist Gesetz zur Verhütung erbkranken Nachwuchses, Konsulov’s comments came as nothing short of an appeal for forced sterilization.

In a seminal work on eugenics in Latin America published in 1991 Nancy Stepan has prefigured some of the post-colonial theory and global history debates of the 90s and 2000s, noting that there is a need to appreciate “the contribution a region such as Latin America can make to our knowledge of how ideas become part of the complex fabric of social and political life.” One of the foremost problems in the historiography of eugenics and racial hygiene has thus been its constant association with Nazi Germany. Stepan has criticized this on two accounts. “First, it conceals crucial continuities in eugenics between the fascist and pre-fascist periods. Second, it tempts historians to avoid discussing the involvement of many other nations in the eugenics experiment.” To this I would add a third, in my opinion crucial point – the equation of fascism and race hygiene tends to obfuscate and veil the role of eugenics as a vehicle of and for the agendas of other political movements and parties. Surging research on the issue has in recent years to a large degree addressed these deficiencies. A myriad of books have shed light on the eugenic ideas and practices in North America. An important development, in this respect, has been the exposition of continuities in the period after the Second World War – “American eugenicists, like many German eugenicists prior to National Socialism, did not identify with the Nazi version of eugenics and therefore saw no reason to alter their own eugenic goals even after 1945 (though they were careful to monitor their language, avoiding explicit racial comments that could associate them with the Nazis).” Following a paper by Frank Dikötter that pointed to the absence of scholarly interest in the eugenics outside Europe – “ignoring entire subcontinents such as India” – there have been important contributions concerning the British Raj. A recent, excellent study of santati-śāstra and eugenics discourses in popular Hindi literature in the beginning of the 20th century has further complicated any simplistic history of ‘diffusionism’ in favor of a more open approach pointing to entanglements and multiple origins. Yuehtsen Juliette Chung has analyzed and compared notions of eugenics in the context of Sino-Japanese relations in the first half of the twentieth century. Another transnational study focused on the transfer of ideas between Germany and the United States. Alongside this, there have been other attempts

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100 Ibid.
101 Stepan 1991, p. 3
102 Ibid., pp. 4-5
103 Kline 2001, p. 6. See also Ordover 2003; Stern 2005; on media and representation of eugenics see Pernick 1999. For Canada see McLaren 1990.
104 Dikötter 1998, p. 472
105 See Hodges 2006; Hodges 2008
106 Savary 2014
107 Chung 2002
108 Kühl 1994
to rescue the history of racial hygiene and eugenics from the nation state.\textsuperscript{109} Recent studies of various European regions have also shown that eugenics’ science and practices were not restricted to Nazi Germany, but were also present in various forms – importantly for this study – in Central and Eastern Europe.\textsuperscript{110} Eugenics was also present throughout the political spectrum. According to one author the “variety of political leanings suggests that, for some eugenicists, political identification was opportunistic, a platform for advancing their technocratic dreams of controlled progress and medical care.”\textsuperscript{111} For others such ‘eugenics and political party affiliations’ meant professional and economic advancement.\textsuperscript{112} What could be added here is the reverse perspective, namely the advancement of political projects through the eugenic fad. It appealed even to Spanish anarchists and early Soviet communists, albeit admittedly only for a limited period.\textsuperscript{113} Indeed, its main characteristic in Europe well into the 30s – to borrow from a colleague writing on the polish eugenic movement – was its ‘progressivism’.\textsuperscript{114} Turning our attention away from the theoretical incompatibilities, studies have shed light on the deeply rooted affinities between social democratic projects and eugenics in Germany before 1933.\textsuperscript{115} A genealogical analysis of the aspiration of creating a better society has even led to the suggestion that eugenic ideas have their origin in socialist thought.\textsuperscript{116} This connection is by no means restricted to the history of the German social democratic project. Leading figures in the Fabian Society, such as Beatrice and Sydney Webb, have expressed ideas on heredity and degeneration, which with hindsight have a distinct eugenic aftertaste.\textsuperscript{117} In particular, the fear of degeneration caused by alcoholism played an important role in socialist thought. In this sense, I would suggest that the scientific approach towards alcoholism and its articulation in the form of popular temperance campaigns in the beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century has been instrumental in bridging the respective agendas of socialism, social hygiene and eugenics.\textsuperscript{118}

According to Paul Weindling temperance and anti-alcoholism organizations in particular “were the breeding ground for later, more comprehensive programs of ‘racial’ and ‘social’ hygiene.”\textsuperscript{119} Thus, the problem of alcoholism and degeneration marked Grotjahn’s first endeavors in combining social science and medicine around the turn of the century.

\begin{footnotes}
\footnote{Adams 1990 (Ed.); Bashford and Levine (Eds.) 2010; Kühl 1997; see also Solomon 2006 on medical cooperation between Germany and Russia}
\footnote{Turda and Weindling (Eds.) 2007; Promitzer, Trubeta and Turda (Eds.), 2011; see also Solomon 2006 on medical cooperation between Germany and Russia}
\footnote{Bucur 2010, p. 403}
\footnote{Ibid.}
\footnote{Cleminson 2000; Krementsov 2010; Adams 1990; see also Krementsov for the failed international congress on genetics in 1937 in Soviet Russia.}
\footnote{Gawin 2007, p. 167; see also Turda 2010 on the relation between ‘modernism’ and eugenics; also on progressivism and eugenics in Kemalist Turkey Alemdaroğlu 2005, pp. 68-74}
\footnote{Schwartz 1995}
\footnote{Schwartz 1994}
\footnote{Niemann-Findeisen 2004. For the question of alcohol see in particular pp. 93-4}
\footnote{See for example how a medical investigation translated into a campaign against maternal drinking in Edwardian England in Gutzke 1984}
\footnote{Weindling 1993a, p. 185}
\end{footnotes}
Alcoholism was related according to him to “a range of degenerative conditions such as obesity and heart disease, as well as prostitution and criminality.” 120 Alfred Ploetz, remembered today for coining the term *Rassenhygiene*, did an internship at the lunatic asylum Burghölzli near Zürich. 121 Significantly, his training took place at a time when the aforementioned Auguste Forel was the director of the clinic and performed sterilizations and castrations of mentally ill and alcoholics. 122 Although Ploetz “had harbored certain proeugenic sentiments” even before starting his medical education, he “moved a step closer to articulating the need for race hygiene as a result of it. His experiences in the psychiatric hospital acquainted him with the so-called mental defectives and focused his attention to one cause of the problem: alcoholism.” 123 Largely because of scientific and social hygiene discussions with Forel on the subject of alcohol and heredity, Ploetz became an abstainer. Later he also “found that the campaign against alcoholism was an effective channel for popularizing racial hygiene and winning over medical experts to the cause.” 124 Thus, the international congress against alcoholism that Ploetz helped organize in Bremen in 1903 provided him with long-lasting and valuable contacts and a platform for promoting racial hygiene. Ernst Rüdin, another infamous eugenicist widely recognized for his later role in framing the National Socialist racial hygiene policy, was the one to draw the strongest parallel of heredity, degeneration and alcoholism at the Bremen congress. According to him, alcohol had a detrimental – if not exterminating – character for the ‘racial evolution’. Rüdin came to the conclusion that abortion and marriage laws should be imposed to meet this problem, the starkest expression of which was the idea that alcoholics should be subject to a ‘small operation’ if they necessarily want to get married. 125

The notion of alcohol as inhibitor of ‘racial evolution’ or the even more pronounced idea of alcohol-as-racial-poison need some elucidation here. Many commentators have portrayed eugenics as a ‘pseudo-science’. Although with hindsight such a definition appears very convincing, it tends to confuse the historical reality of eugenics as a widely accepted science and the fact that in many cases it proved exceedingly persuasive from an epistemic perspective. At this particular juncture, the theories dealing with alcoholism played a specific role – at a first glance they appear to a baffling degree neo-Lamarckian at a time when the research of August Weissmann and Gregor Mendel had supposedly proven that acquired characteristics cannot be inherited. Nonetheless, the discussions and scientific uncertainties of the time should not be lightly dismissed. Medical doctors were baffled by a number of infectious, physiological and genetic phenomena that could not easily be

120 Ibid.
121 Weiss 1987, p. 200
122 Kuechenhoff 2008
123 Weiss 1987, p. 200. On the intersection of psychiatry and the temperance movement see Lengwiler 2014. A small omission in this otherwise excellent study is the work of Sergei Korsakoff on alcoholic paralysis and psychosis – the latter also known as alcohol amnestic disorder.
124 Weindling 1993 (a), p. 185
125 Ibid., pp. 185-6; See also the bio-political debates on alcoholism and eugenics in late tsarist Russia in Felder 2014
reconciled with the idea of the non-hereditary nature of acquired characteristics. Two points with this regard seem significant for our study. Congenital infections caused by various microbiological agents, leading to an irregular development of the fetus present one such phenomenon. Although ‘venereal diseases’ seemed to be an ‘acquired characteristic’ – a disease obtained in an individuals’ lifetime – they still could be transmitted through the placenta to the fetus. Further, teratogenic effects – caused among other things by alcohol consumption during pregnancy – also could not easily be reconciled with theories of hereditary characteristics. Not accidentally both alcoholism and venereal diseases were defined as ‘racial poisons’ – called this way in tune with the belief that although they might be acquired they could still lead “to permanent, hereditary degenerations that in the long run could affect entire populations or nations.”

Such understandings admittedly picked on older, 19th century ideas of degeneration, but were also squarely set in the scientific discussions taking place in the beginning of the 20th century. Indeed, the point of departure for Forel’s understanding of the hereditary problem of alcoholism was based on Weissmann’s germ theory. Thus, Forel explained at the Fourth International Congress against Alcoholism in the Hague in 1892, that there were three mechanisms through which alcohol exerted a degenerative influence. First, it could poison the fetus in the utero (something which today would be denoted as a teratogenic effect); second, it could poison the germ plasm – Blastotoxie – if one of the parents was inebriated during the coitus of conception; finally, the germ plasm could be poisoned by chronic alcoholism – Blastophtorie.

In Bulgaria, hereditary concerns are first discernible in the so-called statutes of the Exarchate – the marriage regulation of the newly formed Bulgarian Church. Thus, church statutes voted in parliament in the 1880s, listed requirements for the conclusion of a lawful marriage, among others a prerequisite for marriage was that neither party was suffering from ‘insanity or epilepsy’. In the interwar period a number of legislative undertakings for premarital certificates gradually shifted the prerogatives over preventive endeavors from the exclusive church right over marriage to a public health issue administered by the state. By the end of the 1920s a small group of professionals with a German academic background, among others the already mentioned Stefan Konsulov, became devoted exclusively to ‘racial hygiene’. The group took an institutional form in 1928 under the name Bulgarian Society for Racial Hygiene, but soon came to an end. A second attempt to establish a formal umbrella took place in 1934, during the putschist, right-wing government of Kimon Georgiev, this time under the new name Bulgarian Society for Eugenics. The relaunch was marked by the publishing of the journal Nation and Progeny.

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126 Stepan 1991, p. 85. For ‘racial poisons’ see also Weindling 1993 (a), pp. 171-88; Valverde 2000
127 See for example Bynum 1984; Pick 1989
128 Snelders, Meijman and Pieters 2007, p. 227
129 Mircheva 2011, p. 241; For earlier statutes with similar eugenic see Promitzer 2007, pp. 223-4
130 Baloutzova 2011, p. 49; Mircheva 2011
but the organization also failed within the span of a year. In order to gain their agenda an institutional harbor they joined the Bulgarian Society for Hygiene and Preventive Medicine in 1936, an association which likewise dealt with eugenic issues, but not as its primary aim and then only on a rather moderate level.

All in all, the social impact of Bulgarian eugenicists has been evaluated as modest, their intellectual aspirations remaining “dreams to a large extent.” Another author has noted that ‘ultimately’ – that is to say until 1945 – “the potential of eugenics in Bulgaria to inspire radical, transformative action in the name of the 'national organism' remained to a great extent latent; the effects that it produced were more rhetorical and less regulatory.” In this, a parallel might be drawn to the eugenic projects in the Scandinavian context, where eugenic organizations “[...] were weak. It was an area for expertise rather than democratic politics.”

In contrast to sterilization laws in the various Scandinavian welfare states, however, such initiatives in Bulgaria failed. The only legal articulation of negative eugenics came in the form of marital health in the above mentioned statutes or the Public Health Law of 1929. New research, however, has drawn attention to the positive eugenics regulation. Maternal and child healthcare services starting from the early 20s were informed by social hygiene notions and culminated in the pro-natalist law for Mnogodetni families. Such developments were not dissimilar to state engagements with positive eugenics elsewhere, as for example in the case of France. Further, as I show, a eugenics discourse, disseminating ideas of hereditary, degeneration and even the infamous cost-benefit analysis – juxtaposing the state’s expenses for ‘feeble minded’ vis-à-vis the financial difficulties of healthy families – was very prominent in temperance literature until 1933, thus reaching wide sections of the population.

Articles on alcohol and degeneration were published regularly in the journal Borba. Indeed, it could be claimed that the temperance literature in the period was inculcated with the question of heredity and the degenerative character of alcohol. The results of parents’ drinking on the progeny were summed up by Neichev as follows “[...] epilepsy, idiocy, impaired growth, degenerates, weakness, proneness to disease and lability, neurasthenia and hysteria of the children, etc. Infant mortality is substantially higher.” Usually, such articles were based on an amalgamation of translated articles of scientific studies, but also with some original contributions by some prominent European scholars – Auguste Forel being a case in point here.

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131 Promitzer 2011, 56-7
132 Ibid., p. 57
133 Ibid., p. 59
134 Mircheva 2011, p. 269
135 Roll-Hansen 2005, p. 259
137 Schneider 2002, pp. 116-145
138 Borba, IV:2, p. 18
The *Borba* journal, however, was not the only temperance periodical publishing extensively on the issues of degeneration and racial poison. Journals associated with the Bulgarian Temperance Federation were particularly active. Two figures need to be mentioned with this regard here. Dr. Dimo Burilkov, who had studied in Odessa and Lausanne, headed different social hygiene initiatives in the 1920s and 1930s, was chief editor of *Sober fight* [Трезва борба] and a chairman of the BTF between 1933 and 1941.\(^{139}\) Burilkov published in various forms on the question of ‘social hygiene’. In his book on the *Social fight against the venereal diseases* – published in 1937 and subtitled with the remark ‘against social diseases social measures are needed’ – Burilkov ventured into the question of prostitution. “From the perspective of preventing venereal diseases, a prostitute is every woman or every man, that yield to indiscriminate sexual relations with many individuals, independently of the reason – be it sexual deviance, disease or for money.”\(^{140}\) In what could be denoted as the manifesto of the BTF – a booklet under the title *Fight for sobriety* – Burilkov made an attempt to systematically list what he saw as medical, social and political entanglements of alcohol consumption, claiming that ‘the misdeeds of morphinism and cocainism are relatively inconsequential’ in comparison to the widespread ones brought by alcoholism.\(^{141}\)

The text freely acknowledged that the alcohol question was related ‘to important fiscal interests of the state’, but reminded its readers that scientific research has ‘conclusively’ determined the following: “1) the alcohol is poison for the organism […]; 4) the alcohol, through the parents affects the progeny, which is underdeveloped, weak, has high mortality [!] and a high number of neurological and mental diseases [нервни и душевни разстройства].”\(^{142}\) Dr. Nikola Stanchev, was another activist who worked side-by-side with Burilkov in the federation and on the publishing/writing front. Having studied medicine in Vienna in the early 1920s, Stanchev seems to have been particularly well versed in the language of degeneration, publishing in various periodicals on the looming ‘degeneration and death’ of the Bulgarian people. “Many would smile disparagingly to this call and would say ‘Futile […’] The demographic data in Bulgaria, however, brings us to contemplation, gives rise to sad thoughts and causes our soul to rebel.”\(^{143}\) In particular, he wrote many a times on the ‘exogenous fetal damage’ – Blastophtorie.\(^{144}\)

In an article under the title ‘If you get drunk, expect an idiot!’, the question of intoxication during conception – as captured in Forel’s notion of *Blastotoxie* – was addressed on the pages of *Borba*. The article opened with the recognition that many scientists are inclined to acknowledge only the role of ‘chronic alcoholism’ and not the occasional inebriety in the degeneration of the progeny. Nonetheless, there were indications that a single slip might be disastrous. Referring to a study conducted by Italian scientist Pier Luigi Fiorani-Gallotta at

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\(^{139}\) Baloutzova 2011, p. 177; CSA 619K, Историческа справка

\(^{140}\) Burilkov 1937, p. 15, bold in original

\(^{141}\) Burilkov [udated], p. 5

\(^{142}\) Ibid., pp. 11-2; for Burilkov’s thoughts on hereditary see *Sober society* [Трезво общество], II:7, pp. 185-8

\(^{143}\) CSA 1043K, op 2, au 404, p. 28 [from a newspaper Попет, 20.4.1936]

\(^{144}\) CSA 1043K, op 2, au 405, pp. 26-8 cf. CSA 1043K, op 2, au 321, pp. 1-14 [handwritten]; CSA 1043K, op 2, au 412, p. 64
Padua University, the text went into describing a healthy family – an intelligent, tradesman and his intelligent, normal wife, who had already created a healthy son and three daughters, all of them normal.

Friends of the father managed to sway him to drink excessively once. He comes back home inebriated and has a sexual intercourse [полово общиране] with his wife. The fruit of this is a daughter, now around 10 years old, microcephalic, a complete idiot, unable to speak: she expresses all her impressions and sensations (warmth, hunger, sleep) in in comprehensible, incoherent sounds. The mimics of her face are also completely idiotic.\footnote{Borba, IX:5, p. 76}

![Figure 12. Sketch of ‘alcoholic polio’.](borba-s-alkoolizma-i-5-72)

Such articles were sometimes flanked by visual materials circulating transnationally among temperance and eugenic activists. Such materials included photographs of miscarried
fetuses, depicting fetal malformations attributed to alcohol consumption. One particular visual, published a number of times in different temperance periodicals of the time, including the children’s magazine Trezvache [Трезваче; Little Sober Chap], depicted a group of children, one of them supported by crutches. Under the title ‘Alcoholic polio’ [Алкоолен детски паралич, sic!], the suggestive picture was accompanied with the transcription of the conversation (see figure 12). “Boy, why do you have crutches? Well, because my father frequented the pubs!”

Race and racial hygiene in the 1930s

Temperance campaigns in Bulgaria seem to have had a broad public support, as evidenced by the large circulations of periodicals, but also the popularity of public lectures and demonstrations during the interwar period. Temperance activists were more successful in spreading their gospel in comparison to the eugenicists that were proposing more drastic actions. Further, anti-alcohol activists were not simply influential in swaying public opinion, but also in terms of legal initiatives and regulations. The Ministry of Health, for example, created an Inspectorate of Alcoholism in 1929, while various other demands of the campaigners were met in the Public Health Law of the same year. Addressing the parliament on the issue of the bill, Neichev started his speech with a reference to alcohol as ‘racial poison’:

The issue, which I will address today, has not been touched upon by our laws so far, but times are such, that it is essential to inquire into the factors that are destroying our race. Our current bill is significant not because it foresees a fight against the repercussions of the evils that are eating into public's health, but because it aims at preventing the populace [народа] from these evils.146

Such statements notwithstanding, it is of crucial importance to note the more complex attitude of the anti-alcoholism campaigners with regard to eugenics and race. In one crucial regard the temperance journals took a more moderate position. Although, as we already noted, the temperance periodicals were inundated with the debate on hereditary issues and alcoholism, the notion of sterilization was hardly ever discussed, let alone endorsed.147 In contrast to this, the eugenic society and Konsulov in particular saw a forced depriving of

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146 Ibid., VIII:6, p. 84
147 There are two notable exceptions out of some dozen periodicals for the whole of the interwar period. In 1934, the already mentioned Stanchev published an article titled “Sterilization of the unfit and hereditary diseased individuals” in Sober fight, II:16, (1934), p. 2. The article based its argumentation on a pamphlet ‘published in California’ and finished on an optimistic note, claiming that even in ‘this field’ much success awaits his fellow temperance reformers. This notwithstanding, the topic was not pursued further in this newspaper, suggesting that Stanchev’s suggestions met with criticism. Another article in the newspaper of the Neutral Youth Temperance Union, written by one Dr. Eftim Petrov, discussed in favorable terms the issue of eugenics and sterilization in particular. Nonetheless, this article also made a provision that “[...] it is absolutely unthinkable to have any eugenic measures before improving the social conditions of the broad social layers.” – Sober youth [Трезва младеж], IX:6, p. 2.
fertility as a viable option. Additionally, it should be noted that although alcohol was a factor ‘destroying our race’, the notion of race in the Bulgarian temperance literature oscillated between an all-encompassing human race, endangered by alcohol, to a more conventional vehicle of nationalism and – if not racism – racialism. Scientific temperance managed to frame the notion of race within a discourse of human race facing the detriments of an external threat – alcohol and, as a consequence, degeneration. Authors have recently pointed to this more historically elusive side of race – the notion of race allowed for various interpretations, offered ‘a common ground for conflict’ and could even be employed by Universalists. Importantly for our study, a similar articulation of race took place even in the context of German racial hygiene – some left leaning eugenicists “preferred ‘Rassehygiene’; the omitted ‘n’ indicated that they were speaking of only one race, the human species.”

The Bulgarian temperance literature knew, however, also more racialist readings of the notion of race. Although articles often challenged and reversed conventions, depicting idyllic ‘African’ settings devoid of alcohol and a ‘modern’ setting, plagued by alcohol, venereal diseases and war, there were also slippages of color. Neichev, who traveled in the late 30s to a conference in Finland, claimed that without any doubt, Finland was one of the leaders among the most peaceful and civilized [културни] nations of the world. “Like Sweden, Norway, Iceland, Denmark, Finland glitters with its civilization, as much external - technical and material - as internal - spiritual and of the soul, that is of course more precious and rare.“ More disturbing were earlier statements by Neichev, where instead of civilization the catch word was race. After visiting Sweden Neichev wrote the following panegyrics:

And the people? - Children! Genuine children! Their rusty, flaxen blond hairs, ash-blue and dove-like eyes, breathing with such sincerity, with such trust, such childrenness [детскост, sic!], as if the whole country is populated by immature people, ready to believe in any fable you tell them. In comparison to these virgin [девствени] people we are dodgers and slyboots, self-seeking and egoistic. Swedes are a smart, developed, [and] deep race [...] There is no apish fashion, no rouged mugs [червисаните мутри], nor shameful dances or the provocative wooing typical of the distorted nations, in the list of which we are also enrolled!

One can only imagine the bafflement that these statements caused to the readers of Borba. This discursive strategy of self-deprecation, however, was not completely unfamiliar to the

148 Promitzer 2007, p. 231
149 Kamenov 2014
150 Geulen 2007
151 Graham 1977, p. 1139
152 Borba, XIX:3, p. 36
153 Ibid., IX:7, p. 130
temperance literature – the reports and news from around the world often swung between positive role models and intimidating stories of ruin and degradation. What is noteworthy in the quotation is the framing of the Swedish role model around the notion of race. Still, Swedes are a ‘developed’ race, leaving space for progress beyond biology, while fashion and the application of rouge could seemingly still be conditioned by social upbringing and education. The usage of race was further complicated after the taking of power of the National Socialist Party in Germany. Indeed, it seems that the German racial hygiene legal initiatives had a sobering – to play with the word – effect on the temperance activists in Bulgaria. While in the period until 1933 it was not unusual for the Borba journal to have a first page article on ‘inheritance and alcohol’, 154 or to display Swiss post stamps – “Le schnaps ruine la famille et la race!” – as an example of progressive state involvement (see figure 13). At least in Borba, however, articles on degeneration, racial poison and hereditary encumbrance were virtually non-existent in the span between 1933 and 1939. Such issues resurfaced in 1940, addressed only occasionally and in the form of translated articles from the German press, while no suggestions to follow this model were made. Neichev’s own articles instead focused on the detrimental effects of alcohol on the body – liver failures and brain damage, the damage on cell structure and the effects on the ability to work.

This particular caesura is even more apparent in the works of Asen Zlatarov. Zlatarov, who had studied chemistry in Geneva between 1904 and 1907 and held a doctoral title in physics and chemistry from the University of Grenoble. He was an internationally renowned scientist and a major public figure in Bulgaria right until his untimely death in December 1936. Among other interests, Zlatarov also devoted time to scientific work on the chemistry of alcohol and to public temperance activities. His first work on the subject was written during his specialization in Munich and published in Sofia in 1910, in the Journal for Contemporary Hygiene [Съвременна хигиена] under the title ‘Fight with Alcohol’ [борба с алкохола]. The author claimed that “irrespective of the form of intake of alcohol, it remains a poison, which destroys the nervous system and causes feeblemindedness [слабоумие], idiocy, lunacy and crime.” 155 Further, Zlatarov listed the effects of drunkenness [пиянството] and remarkably his point number six was titled ‘the decay of race’.

If the dangers of alcohol were limited to the individual, who was consuming it, its destructive action would still have been not so wide-reaching. But alcohol affects also the progeny, because the children of alcoholics are weak, feeble, hypochondriacs [ипохондрици, sic!], incapable, susceptible to tuberculosis and scrofula, and usually become themselves alcoholics. 156

154 For example Ibid., X:2, pp. 17-20
155 Zlatarov 1966 [republished], v. 2, p. 325
156 Ibid., p. 330
Zlatarov became a stern supporter of the Soviet Union in the 1920s, writing an exceedingly positive account of his visit in the Land of the Soviets [Страната на съветите]. With the rise of the Nazi Party in Germany, Zlatarov publicly equated racism and Hitlerism, claiming that race theories of the ‘Gobineau type’ were reactionary and antagonistic to the working-class. In an interview published in November 1933, he cited a speech made by Adolf Hitler, in which the latter claimed that ‘there are no classes. Class is caste [каста, most probably referring to Hitler’s notion of Stand/Stände] and caste is race.’ In response to this, Zlatarov referred to ‘honest, unforged science’, personified by Franz Weidenreich and Franz Boas, who had proven the fallacious character of racist theories.

Zlatarov’s critique of Nazi racism reverberated in the whole of society and the temperance press of the late 30s in particular. Thus, in a broad article in January 1936, titled Alcoholism and Progeny for the temperance journal Sober Thought [Трезва Мисъл], Nikolay Iovchev

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157 Zlatarov 1966 [republished], v. 1, p. 358
reviewed some scientific publications dealing with alcoholism, heredity and degeneration. Again, here the author came to the conclusion that the fetus ‘degenerates’ when the germ plasm of either of the parents is poisoned or when the mother is drinking during pregnancy. Nonetheless, he concluded that “all evidence points to the fact that the alcoholic heredity is a temporary heredity.” And further, “dipsomania could only occur under particular conditions; if we remove these conditions – also if we teach a person, prone to drunkenness, in the spirit of temperance – in a short span of time, it will be possible to expunge all negative effects of alcohol over humanity.” According to the author, the function of the temperance movement consisted in promoting ‘rational changes’ within the existing social framework. An even firmer position came in the form of a highly polemic article written by the same author a month later addressing the question of eugenics. A cause for agitation was a lecture given by Stefan Konsulov in February of 1936 in the salon of the Slavic Society. During his talk, Konsulov had claimed that the degeneration of the ancient Greek and Roman societies had taken place by means of low reproduction rates on behalf of the high classes, combined with the high fertility on the lowest rungs of society. In his article Iovchev vehemently rejected such speculation, claiming that “the Greek and Roman cultures degraded because these people raised caste division into a cult – some degenerated due to penury and privation, others due to opulence and debauchery.” Iovchev referred also to Kropotkin and claimed that humans have evolved beyond ‘natural selection’, nowadays it was ‘mutual help – for strong and weak alike – that assured prosperity of the whole in the fight for survival.’ Iovchev ended with the grim remark that Konsulov followed blindly the ‘German experience’ and as a consequence, if he was able to exercise any executive power – as a director of Public Health for example – he would ‘improve’ the country through “sterilization and neutering.” The journal Sober Thought notably published articles in the cosmopolitan idiom Esperanto, suggesting a readership with left, internationalist and pacifist inclination. One article dealt with racism and contemporary social life – ‘Rasismo kaj la nuntempa sociala vivo de la popoloj.’ It claimed that no races exist but a human race – “[...] pure and impure races do not exist, but only human beings and people who aspire to a brighter life under the warm, fraternal rays of the dawn of the new day.”

**Politics, policies and clashes**

First, a short word on the internal power struggles within the temperance movement as a whole might be necessary to get a crispier picture of the meaning and context of the political affiliations of the different organizations. As already noted, the first attempts to bring

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158 Sober thought, I:2-3, (1936), p. 6
159 Ibid.
160 Sober thought, I:4, (1936), p. 9
161 Ibid., p. 10
162 Ibid.
163 Ibid., III:6-7, (1938), 8-9. [Racism and the contemporary social life of people]
164 Ibid., p. 9
different branches of the movement under one roof were part of IOGT’s ‘anti-alcohol secretariat’. The fact that the secretariat tried to position itself as a hub for the whole movement, without any formal previous arrangement, and Neichev’s own mercantile interests in this exercise, soon became a point of tension. In a meeting in late 1926, other organizations asked the secretariat to make its accounts transparent. This practice was already established by other organizations, as for example the Protestants. An internal memo of the Evangelical Temperance Union from the 1st of December notes that upon the refusal of the secretariat and its claim that in fact it has a negative saldo, but ‘all expenses are met by the IOGT’, the ‘pupils’ and youth temperance unions decided to organize a new center for the coordination of the temperance organizations in Bulgaria’. The building up of tension between the IOGT and the pupils’ organizations is reflected also in an article in Borba claiming that the faults of the pupils’ movement could be essentially ascribed to the fact that it is made of pupils:

For the shortcomings of the pupils’ movement - their report noted lack of tightness, discipline, weak responsiveness of the branches, tendency towards fruitless bickering and ruinous quarrels, faulty book keeping, etc. All this naturally could be ascribed to cultural, domestic, educational and age reasons, which would in time - given a strong desire and investment of effort on behalf of the stronger elements [my italic] in the movement - disappear.

This heavily laden language was used to, perhaps not completely unjustly, counter accuse Neichev for the government’s decision to close the pupils’ union. Two new attempts to create an umbrella organization for the whole movement came in quick succession in 1926 and 1927. These were the Bulgarian Neutral Temperance Union and the Bulgarian Temperance Federation respectively. The latter attempt proved to be more successful, concentrating the resources of the different branches and having a stable reach through its publications. The creation of an ‘official organ’ of the BTF combined with the financial dire straits in which the Protestants found themselves towards the end of the 1920s, led to the decision to abandon the temperance veteran Vuzdurzhatel for a share in the new journal Far [Фар, Lighthouse]. Reverends Popov, Furnadjiev and Al. Georgiev, continued to write articles for this journal and occasionally for the newspaper Sober fight. The federation was, however, not only a success story. Although the IOGT was among the founding members, it very soon started to resist what Neichev saw as ‘external’ impulses to centralize. Indeed, the federation threatened to undermine his power base, encouraging all temperance literature publishers to join forces within the project of a new scientific journal – Far. Sensing his demise within the framework of a broader structure and perhaps even

165 CSA 1027K, au 10, p. 44
166 Borba, III:7, pp 97-8
167 See for example Vuzdurzhatel, XIII:3, pp 41-2
168 The bulletin of the BTF from the 25th of November 1928 speaks of the need of ‘a single organ’. See CSA 1027K, au 12, p. 16
calculating that his influence and reach – through Borba but also crucially through the children’s Trezvache [Трезваче, Little sober chap] – would suffice to have an independent structure, Neichev decided to make an open claim to power within the movement. Through the late 1920s and early 1930s the IOGT entered and left the Federation a number of times, comradely correspondence was often supervened by defaming articles, only to be followed again by a truce presumably in the name of the higher volition of the movement. The details, some leaving a rather embarrassing aftertaste in the reader and sometimes resembling the penny press of the late 20th and the early 21st century in style, could be spared here. Nor will I dwell on the dynamics and power shifts in the movement in length – this particular face of the story does not necessarily add to the general history of the movement. For this, I will limit myself to a few examples illustrating the atmosphere that surrounded the relations between some of the branches. An IOGT circular from April 1928 claimed that the board of its organization had learned of its expulsion from the BTF from the media and then lists a number of perceived affronts:

With a feeling of deepest regret, we first read in the newspaper and only afterwards in your organ, about the expulsion of the I.O.G.T. from the BTF [...].
1) We have not received any messages informing us that we are expelled from the BTF, we read of it in the newspaper Mir
2) Elementary courtesy necessitated the judged to be informed of the decision
3) The BTF has turned into a Bolshevik court [...] To all this we answer: [...] 4) We did not pay the membership fee because all we get are insults 5) That we do not want to participate in some publication activities – it is our good right [...] 169

If we too rashly decide to take sides on such evidence, we only need to read on the pages of Vuzdurzhatel that “instead of cherishing their publication as all these periodicals in fact contribute to the movement in their own way, Dr. Neichev has often called other temperance journals [other than the ones he edited, NK] rags [парцали!] and has called for their boycott.”170 The under-the-belt blows seem to have been delivered in all directions and did not necessarily recognize political demarcations – the conservative Protestant branch, sending and receiving telegrams to the Tsar for his Birthday, managed to work with some left radical activists within the federation, while social democrats from different organizations failed to find a common language.

Before we turn to the political affiliations in Bulgaria, let us turn to the more global context and the ideologies informing them. In a seminal article summarizing the transition from

169 CSA 1027K, au 12, p. 4
170 Vuzdurzhatel, XII:9, p. 143
temperance movements to state action in the latter half of the 20th century in the industrialized world, Irmgard Eisenbach-Stangl has commented that temperance concerns were “combined with all major modern social movements and their ideologies, concerning class, gender, nationality, ethnicity and religion, and also with the social interests and conflicts they expressed.”

Temperance was often also linked to xenophobia – particularly in North America minorities and immigrants were suspected of excessive and/or uncivilized drinking. The first half of the 20th century in continental Europe, however, was marked by temperance campaigns that were more closely related to labor movements and socialist projects. The social democratic stance in Switzerland epitomized by Forel was something of a role model for other countries in Europe. In the Benelux Jacob van Rees – who was also the founder of the IOGT in the Netherlands – and Émile Vandervelde – secretary of the International Socialist Bureau between 1900 and 1918 and later a Health Minister in Belgium – were particularly active with regard to the ‘alcohol question’. The projects led by social democrats exhibit individual as well as organizational overlaps with anti-militarist campaigns, the Esperanto movement, vegetarianism, etc.

Needless to say, such connections notwithstanding, the left of the political spectrum in Europe was not necessarily unified on the ‘alcohol question’. As early as 1848, in their Manifest der kommunistischen Partei, Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels commented on what they saw as the ‘konservative[n] oder Bourgeois-Socialismus’ and listed ‘Mäßigkeit-Vereinsstifter’ together with ‘Achselasser der Thierquälerei’ and ‘Winkelreformers der buntscheckigsten Art’ as part of this conglomerate.

The conclusion of the section of the manifesto reads – “Ihr Socialismus besteht eben in der Behauptung, daß die Bourgeois Bourgeois sind - im Interesse der arbeitenden Klasse.” Such derision of the mid-nineteenth century temperance campaigns did not advance the cause of the early 20th century anti-alcoholism in the ranks of the hardline left. Karl Kautsky position on the issue has become proverbial. For him the alcohol abuse was an effect of and inseparable from industrial capitalism. Thus, the fight against alcoholism could be subsumed in the task of creating socialism, i.e. once the material basis could be transformed the problem was expected to expire on its own. Moreover, campaigns for the closing of pubs endangered not only some of the working class’ most valued traditions of pleasure, but also the most important socializing – if not one of political ferment – venue.

Similar debates were raging in pre-revolutionary Russia, where ‘assimilative’ arguments could be heard from the side of narodniki and agrarian socialists, but where on the other side state campaigns were severely criticized by leading Bolsheviks as a smoke screen. According to one author, Lenin had in fact strongly implied

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171 Eisenbach-Stangl 2004, p. 61
172 Ibid.
173 Kamenov 2014, p. 199
174 For information on van Rees’ and Vandervelde’s relation to the temperance movement see SEAP, pp. 2256-7 and pp. 2749-1
175 See for example ATMH, pp. 633-5 for an account of early vegetarianism and Teetotalism amalgamation
176 Marx and Engels 1848, p. 20
177 Ibid., p. 21
178 Roberts 1984, pp 86-8; See also Roberts 1985
that heavy drinking “[…] along with other factors of urban life, might even be progressive in relation to the life and values of the villages the workers had left.”

This, however, did not stop the Council of People’s Commissars from accelerating temperance reforms and, in fact, reinforcing the prohibition laws they had inherited from the tsarist government. The so-called dry law [сухой закон] was in effect until 1925, the Soviet Union itself witnessing regularly ‘sobriety’ campaigns throughout its history, the latest prohibition legislation marking its last years.

The period designated as War Communism – 1918 to 1921 – was also marked by grain shortages, leading to the Bolshevik’s denouncement of bootleggers [самогонщики] as enemies of the revolution and state.

In Bulgaria most of the leading temperance campaigners in the interwar period were of the social democratic hue. Hence, understandably the temperance literature took the position of the ‘Mäßigkeit-Vereinsstifter’, claiming that only through active campaigning and education any progress on the front against alcohol could be achieved. One article in Borba, published in 1931, referred to the Vienna conference of the International Working Union of Socialist Parties that had taken place some 10 years earlier and described the ‘heated debates’ on the issue as to whether moderation or prohibition should be the socialist dictum. The author of the article noted that “the one who is able to analyze but wishes to close his eyes for the devastations of alcoholism is, of course, no real socialist.”

A year earlier, the Soviet sobriety campaigns of the late 1920s were used as evidence against Kautsky’s argumentation. “The new trend in the fight is based on the idea of hard work through temperance and fortifying of the Bolshevik’s regime. […] It is interesting to note, that Bolsheviks and communists – even socialists for that matter – repeated like parrots earlier that alcoholism is a product only of the economic conditions; it is conditioned by capitalism, whose prodigy it supposedly is. This is a true non-sense that in fact backs the spreading of alcoholism among the masses. […] Today true work is done in Russia.”

Neichev himself oscillated in his political statements. Thus, in 1924, only a year after the September Uprising, organized by the Bulgarian Communist Party (BCP), and its subsequent bloody suppression, Borba came out with a cover article on the government plans to change the excise taxes law passed by the previous ‘orange’ government of Alexander Stamboliiski.

[...] In the past, when bureaucracy and workers have risen, demanding bread and improvement in their life, Bulgarian governments have used force and bullets, barracks and prison, to extinguish justified demands and have not yielded to any petition! Today, to a handful of pub owners, who in view of their ignominious vocation - selling poison and crimes - should be walking with their heads bowed, concessions are made. […] No concessions to the

179 Snow 1991, p. 250
180 White 1996
181 Transchel 2006, p. 70
182 Borba s Alkoolizma, X:2, p. 23
183 Borba s Alkoolizma, IX:3, pp 38-9
alcoholic beast! Comrades, no matter how many you are, no matter where you are, rise up, protest in villages and cities against these extortionists.\textsuperscript{184}

The language here is all the more astonishing, taking into consideration the fact that the government of Alexandur Tsankov has used the September Uprising as a pretext for the curbing of political rights and liberties.\textsuperscript{185} The St. Nedelya Church Assault of April 16\textsuperscript{th} 1925 – a terrorist act organized again by the BCP, which has claimed the lives of some 150 people, many of whom part of the military and political elite of the country – was marked by a new wave of arrests and political persecution. This time Neichev was careful to openly dissociate himself with any possible communist influences. In a cover article of the \textit{Borba} journal, using extraordinarily expressive language, he denounced the terrorist act and proclaimed that humanity is not sober.\textsuperscript{186} Neichev’s article, however, was still no match for the Protestant’s denouncement of the ‘infernal act’, describing the organizers as “[…] rabid with rage, people who want to get a grip on power and dispose of others’ possessions.”\textsuperscript{187}

The vociferous renouncements of terrorism notwithstanding, there are indications of the development of more radical branches within the temperance movement. A pamphlet printed by the Bulgarian Temperance Federation addressed the people of Lovech, where the annual meeting of the organization was taking place in August 1932, reads: “[o]n Sunday, during the common manifestation of our associations, […] we met with a truly treacherous challenge that might spread unrest in your souls if we do not entirely address it. […] as we were marching through the city a group of youngsters with red placards [плакарди] and communist salutes tried to appropriate our manifestation.”\textsuperscript{188} After some hustle the police arrested the ‘intruders’. The popularity of the temperance movement made it a sought after companion, its periodicals a coveted podium for the conveying of political messages. Indeed, as we would see in the next chapter, the success of the pupils’ temperance organizations was partially due to its attraction as a perfectly legitimate platform for public and political activities. The fact that the ideology underpinning temperance seemed relatively innocuous provided perhaps the only broad-base associational platform available to high school students at the time. At least one author has claimed that youth communist organizations, following instructions from Moscow, tried on purpose to infiltrate the pupils’ associations and commandeer them from within. Such a development does not seem implausible, especially in the wake of the ‘Tsankovist terror’\textsuperscript{189} and the Law for the Defense of the Nation passed in April 1924 as a reaction to the September uprising and banning the

\textsuperscript{184} Borba s Alkoolizma, III:8, pp 113-5
\textsuperscript{185} Crampton 2005, p. 153
\textsuperscript{186} Borba s Alkoolizma, IV:5, pp 65-6
\textsuperscript{187} Vuzdurzhatel, XI:5, p. 65
\textsuperscript{188} CSA 1027K, au 16, 199 cf. Far, III:6, pp 187-90
\textsuperscript{189} Crampton 2007, pp 236-9; See also Statelova and Grüncharov 2006, pp 400-38
BCP and its Youth branch. According to Pavel Petkov, after the St. Nedelya Assault, the underground Youth Communist Union has concentrated its activities in the mass pupils’ organizations, because this was the only way for legal work among high school students. This was also in accord with the resolution of the youth convention in Moscow 1926, in which it was pronounced that ‘In schools there are various cultural, enlightening, temperance, anti-alcohol, esperantist and other associations. [...] Our comrades should infiltrate them and create com-fractions and through them make everything possible to take the leadership under their influence.’

Unfortunately, due to the fallacious character of the reference given by the author this claim could not be sufficiently confirmed. Still, there are other indications that on the one hand there were similar attempts taking place and on the other that there were many left leaning members of the temperance movement. According to a personal testimony in the form of a short autobiography, the aforementioned BTF activist Dr. Stanchev, for example, claimed that he had become a member of the Workers’ Youth League [Работнически младежки съюз] and the communist party as early as 1920, before leaving for Austria. This affidavit was written after 1945, in an atmosphere that encouraged many anti-alcohol activists to portray the former movement as being highly ‘progressive’, and as such should not be granted credibility lightly. Still, it seems that deliberately misleading on the issue of political affiliation might have been more precarious than the potential benefits it might have brought.

One important window into the story of the political entanglements of the temperance movement is the action/reaction of the state. Through 1927 and 1928, for example, some pupils’ associations were closed by the government of Andrei Lyapchev. In April of the latter year, with circular No. 1346, the Ministry of Education pronounced a ban of the umbrella organization – the pupils’ union – grounding its decision on ‘fear of communist activities’. On 20th of April this pronouncement was flanked by an article in the Demokraticheski Sgovor, the newspaper and official organ of the governing coalition at the time, claiming that “[…] the congresses of the pupils' union have been a dismal sight – there, papers were read on the topic of temperance by sundry communists, anarchists, and conspirators, with a very explicit tendency.” These developments and state intrusion were perceived by all branches of the temperance movement as a particularly unpleasant blow to their project. Instead of catalyzing some unified reaction, however, it solidified the lines of competition. Thus, the Protestants’ journal listed the problems and enemies of temperance: “[…] There are also internal enemies, who are often more dangerous than the external ones. Often

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190 Panaîotov and Nikolova (eds) 1999, p. 168; See also Statelova and Grüncharov 2006, pp 400-38
191 Petkov 1982, p. 9
192 CSA 1043K, au 1, p. 1
193 CSA 1027K, au 12, p. 4
194 CSA 1027k, au 12, p. 5
people enter in our midst, who under the veil of temperance try only to promote 'lefty' [левичарски] trends. This became the reason for the banning of the Pupils' Neutral Temperance Union. These people are enemies of our movement."¹⁹⁵ Similar calls for caution and for the preserving of the ‘neutral character’ of the movement could be found also in Bulgarian Temperance Federation circulars from 1932.¹⁹⁶ Accusations of this kind were often taken very personally by Neichev, who would plunge in counter polemic and regularly instigate circular wars. To be fair to his character, however, we should note that he was also swift in his plead to the ministry of education to allow the re-opening of the pupils’ union. After expressing his deep regret at the banning of the organization and providing a summary of the evils brought about by alcohol and venereal diseases, Neichev appealed to the good disposition of the minister. He admitted that the control over the union was lost,

[h]owever, we do not believe that the developments have reached such an extent (even in far off places), that communism has infiltrated the schools to such a degree, so that an organization as bright as the Pupils' Neutral Temperance Union and its groups should be banned. [...] More pedagogical approach is needed. [...] This is why we turn to you, Mr. Minister [...], begging you to approach the subject with more paternal feeling and less as a stepmother [...]”¹⁹⁷

Although the restarting of the union took some time,¹⁹⁸ the individual groups were allowed again in the same year with another circular of the ministry. However, teachers were now supposed to oversee their activities and potentially carry responsibility for the activities of the groups. Hristo Dimchev was commissioned by the ministry to visit and inspect schools and give advice as to the steering of pupils' temperance groups.¹⁹⁹ These were also not the last attempts on behalf of the state to impose tighter control on the temperance movement. For example, the government of Devetnaiseti, which had proven to be led by “effective conspirators and energetic rulers, but [...] not expert politicians”,²⁰⁰ established a new ‘administration for social renovation’ [Дирекция на обществената обнова] with the sole purpose of applying censorship on non-governmental organizations. A ban on all public meetings of temperance associations triggered even a protest and a visit by Burilkov and the then secretary of the BTF Boris Naumov to the aforementioned administration, leading summarily to the suspension of these limitations.²⁰¹ During this short-lived attempt of establishing a totalitarian state – the government survived only one year – temperance organizations sent circulars reminding members that all activities should be synchronized.

¹⁹⁵ Vuzdurzhatel, XV:7, pp 98-9
¹⁹⁶ CSA 1027K, au 16, 162 and ibid., 179-89
¹⁹⁷ CSA 1027K, au 12, p. 10
¹⁹⁸ The ministry of education renewed the license of the union only in February 2932. See for example Far, III:2, pp 33-4
¹⁹⁹ CSA 1027K, au 12, p. 16
²⁰⁰ Crampton 2005, p. 160
²⁰¹ Sober fight, III:9, p. 1
with and approved by the ‘administration’ and that, regretfully, no more free train tickets were available for temperance agitation. When in the end of June 1935 the new government dissembled the ‘administration for social renovation’, the official newspaper of the BTF, commented that the only thing for which this censorship instrument would be remembered among abstainers is the ‘gross injustice’ it has done to the temperance movement. Finally, there are also indications that at least one government has tried to plant an undercover agent in one of the temperance associations. All this evidence should serve as a reminder that although associational culture existed in pre-communist Bulgaria, the reach of the governmental censorship and associational control at the time should not be underestimated.

It would be grossly unfair, however, to claim that the state was callous or, for that matter, primarily hostile towards the strivings of the abstainers. The years in the beginning of the century were marked by the state support for the production of wine. There were laws passed for the prevention of vineyards from phylloxera, reliefs on excise taxes as well as stipends for students studying vine growing and production abroad. Although it might seem paradoxical, it was the agrarian government of Stamboliiski which initiated bills for the reduction of alcoholism and allowed for local referenda for the villages to decide on the closing of pubs. Of a more anecdotal character was the imposing of the custom taxes to the French legation in Sofia in the years immediately following the Great War. The diplomatic corpus enjoyed an exemption of taxes on luxury items in accordance to the Neuilly-sur-Seine treaty, which seems to have led some high ranking diplomats to specialize in and perfect smuggling schemes. At the Sofia main station, three of the railway wagons of a freight train, full with Champagne, addressed to the French legation and bearing signs ‘pour un usage personnel’, were confiscated.

The ministry of health also published its own pamphlet on the ‘danger of DRUNKENNESS (alcoolism) [sic!]’, a document reflecting among other things the aforementioned interplay between the two terms. The pamphlet was apparently targeting the urban professional class as it read:

The drinking of spirit beverages, even within rationing that does not cause drunkenness, causes a chronic poisoning of the organism. The one who discreetly and regularly drinks his rakyia [ракийцата] before every meal; the

\[\text{\footnotesize 202 CSA 1027K, au 19, pp 108-9}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 203 Sober fight, III:13, p. 1}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 204 CSA 2124K, au 5986}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 205 Valkov 2009}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 206 See for example Statelova and Grüncharov 2006, pp 181-2 and 190-1}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 207 This was in article 112 of the reformed Law on Excise taxes. For a discussion of the law in the temperance literature see Vuzdurzhatel, XIII:9, pp 131-3; there is some sketchy evidence of ‘local option’ referenda that have taken place earlier – one even in 1911, see CSA, 372K, au 2297, p. 1 – but the legal basis allowing for it remains unclear.}\]
\[\text{\footnotesize 208 Statelova and Grüncharov 2006, p. 350}\]
one who drinks every evening in company or alone, devours [поглъща] a couple of glasses of beer in the beer house or wine in the pub, is a greater drunkard then the peasant, who gets wasted once a month and falls into stupor. All this notwithstanding, that the former might be an honorable citizen or a high ranking clerk, while the latter might be a mocking stock and an object of pity to the former.209

By the late 1930s the government seemed more prone to accept the calls for collaboration. One circular to schools by the ministry of education from 28th of January 1937 for example endorsed the pupils’ and the teachers’ temperance unions and asked schools administrations to “support all educational and temperance activities of these two unions.”210

Stamboliiski’s ‘local option’ legislation was superseded by the aforementioned law of Public Health from 1929. Article 175 of the law obliged municipal boards to organize a referendum if a procedure of gathering signatures of local residents in support of the closing of the pub(s) was duly followed.211 The local option seems to have been applied on a large scale. A survey commissioned by the Ministry of Health [Главна дирекция на народното здраве] in connection to the implementation of its Public Health law and the article for referenda in particular, found out that by December 15th there were 14 153 pubs for a population of 6 006 000 in Bulgaria. A somewhat rough – if not misleading – calculation, made with a pencil, produced one pub for every 500 people.212 Further, the document claimed that there have been 547 pubs closed by referenda. What this meant in practical terms is unclear – the survey also notes that there have been pubs that have re-opened. Calls made by the BTF for the ‘implementation of the decisions of already enacted referenda’ show that a positive outcome of the plebiscite did not necessarily translate into reality.213 Apart from this, pub closing did not mean a ban on production, trade or drinking, putting further into question the feasibility of such measures. Most of the pub closings took place in villages, but there is also evidence that small towns as for example Kostenetz had moved to close their alcohol selling locals.214 Although the initiatives in bigger cities like Stara Zagora failed, the fact that temperance activists managed to propagate the local option and produce plebiscites is in itself illustrative.215

The law for Public Health was welcomed on the pages of Borba as a great success and a victory of the temperance movement. In particular, the prospective position of Health

209 CSA 1027K, au 51, p. 47 [undated, folder with materials from 1921-1922]
210 CSA 1027K, au 40, p. 1
211 For a discussion of the law see for example Borba s Alkoolizma, VIII:6, p. 82; See also the Stenographic Logs of the 22nd Ordinary National Assembly, p. 161
212 CSA 372K, au 2292, p. 40
213 CSA 1027K, au 11, p. 27
214 Vuzdurzhatel, XI:2, 30
215 See Ivanova 1993 for the case of Stara Zagora
Inspector, responsible for the issue of alcoholism was met with highly positive reception.\textsuperscript{216} Two years into its existence, however, \textit{Borba} came out with a front page article under the title ‘Law and Reality’. Among other things the article noted that the institution of the inspectorate has remained only on paper. In November 1934, the Ministry of Health inaugurated the long awaited inspectorate devoted exclusively to the project of curbing alcoholism.\textsuperscript{217} The position of head of the Inspectorate was given to one Dr. S. Tiutiundjievi, allegedly not an active member of the movement. Judging by the heated frictions that ensued, it might be conjectured that the position had a substantial pecuniary appeal. In any case, the Inspectorate did not have any considerable contribution to the movement and the role of the state remained limited well until the end of the Second World War, when new Public Institutions for fighting alcoholism were established.

\textbf{Conclusion}

The continual scientification of the alcohol problem gradually transformed it from a religious and moral concern into an important pillar of the social hygiene movement. Alcoholism got enmeshed with other social ‘scourges’ such as venereal diseases, sexual deviancy and tuberculosis, together sharing a particular language bridging morality and science, often framing such problems as vice. Social hygiene itself was deeply interwoven with eugenic thought, its undercurrents of hereditary thought and fears of degeneration being a case in point. Many prominent social hygiene activists – or social democrats for that matter – were also involved in promoting racial hygiene and negative eugenics. The temperance discourse in Bulgaria did not differ from this general trend in Europe. Although the popular scientific temperance movement was relatively belated and came into full swing only in the 1920s, it was similarly a part of a social hygiene project and shared a language of racial poison and vice with health projects in Europe and beyond. Nonetheless, concerns about the hereditary problems brought by alcoholism did not automatically translate into an appeal for negative eugenics. On the contrary, in Bulgaria the example of Nazi race legislation led to the equation of racism, Nazism and eugenics and the formation of a counter-discourse prefiguring the post-war rejection of racial hygiene. That this counter-discourse did not always question in detail the core of the hereditary thought exhibits one fascinating facet of the temperance project that often managed to balance between different, sometimes competing, political and organizational goals.

All this evidence suggests that the identification of eugenics and Nazism and Nazi Germany in particular was already in the making before the Second World War and before the horrors of the Holocaust were committed. This discursive equation, however, solidified in the years immediately after the end of the war. In practical terms the denazification process in Eastern Europe meant that “most of the supporters of eugenics were either purged from their official positions, regardless of their actual actions on behalf of fascist governments

\textsuperscript{216} Borba s Alkoolizma, VIII:2, pp 17-20
\textsuperscript{217} CSA 372K, au 2295, pp 1-3; See also Far, V:4, pp 188-9
and ideas, or had to make a volte-face in their public statements in order to continue to work in a professional capacity.” 218 In the case of Konsulov this meant even a forced labor term in prison, before he could return to his professional work. Importantly, the political implications of negative eugenics evidently did not escape Konsulov as he wrote a letter to Teofim Lysenko already in 1943, expressing interest in his work and claiming that he himself has changed his biological views.219 The disassociation of the temperance literature in Bulgaria with negative eugenics did not necessarily mean a complete divorce with hereditary thought. In the light of new studies emphasizing the continuity of eugenic thought, the last point could not be stressed enough.220 Thus, even if progressive political and economic thought rejected forced sterilization, it still could not completely disregard ‘progressive’ science, but could only try to accommodate it within its own positivist framework.

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218 Bucur 2010, pp. 407-8
219 CSA 1618K, Историческа Справка
220 In this regard it is important to note that figures like Dr. Nikola Stanchev – the activists who had called for the sterilization of unfit from the pages of Sober fight – remained a high standing public figure meeting even with the communist leader Todor Zhivkov and promoting new state anti-alcohol campaigns, see CSA 1043K, au 1, p. 5. Apart from this example of a continuation of work by an individual, it could be noted that a broad spectrum of pro-natalist and positive eugenic laws remained in force throughout the second half of the 20th century and throughout Europe.
CHAPTER 4:

THE YOUTH TEMPERANCE MOVEMENT IN BULGARIA:
GOALS, MEDIA AND POLITICS
Figure 14. Children dance around the globe. *Trezvache*, XIII:6, p. 1
Addressing the adolescent readers of *Spirtomrazec* in the early 1927, one R. Belchev compared America with a ‘great teacher’ [велика учителка]. “Somewhere far away from us, between the Great and the Atlantic Oceans, lies the continent [материк] of Columbus. […] Everyone’s soul trembles when they speak of the land of the dollar, as they call it. And why does this country holds such a spell on us? Because there is a wonderful legislation there. [Prohibition, NK]. In our country such legislation could be passed only when you [the audience of *Spirtomrazec*, NK] become full citizens.”¹ The message conveyed here was a frank expression of one of the central tenets of the temperance movement. The moral obligation to teach the next generation about the poisonous nature of alcohol and the virtues of complete abstinence, however, had a practical and strategic added value. It was a life-cycle stratagem of duration and had a nation-wide dimension.² Children were seen as a new beginning, a *tabula rasa* on which the new moral norms, scientific ways and medical prescriptions could be written. Once children had reached maturity they would also be able to change legislation in ways suitable to a progressive and sober nation, one in complete accordance with the views of the temperance activists. These views were most explicit in the beginning of the 1920s and although they changed gradually in the 1930s, I will argue in this chapter that this original impulse was indeed of a life-cycle nature and duration and brought about influential social and political changes. In other words, we can see a trans-generational chain between protestant activists affecting young men around 1900, who in their turn accommodated a youth temperance movement in the interwar period. The temperance children of the 1920s and 30s themselves were instrumental in the formation of a civil society in the period. The success of the youth movement did not protect it from political tensions. Indeed, the youth temperance movement tended to appeal to and reproduce the left of the political spectrum. Surprisingly, the life-cycle repercussions are evident even in the 1980s. The communist and state elite of the time reminisced of the movement and claimed that the youth underground of the BCP was concentrated in temperance organizations. Based on the sheer number of children associations and periodicals, even a cautious argument about the effect on the long-term consumption patterns could be extended. Finally, activists in the movement were also part of the state politics and campaigns against alcohol in the new communist state of Bulgaria.

To start with, the youth wing of the temperance movement in Bulgaria was perhaps the most numerous and influential reform movement in the interwar period. Institutionally the issue of temperance among the youth was addressed by four main entities – the Teachers’ Temperance Union [Учителски Въздържателен Съюз] (TTU), the Pupils’ Temperance Union [Ученически Въздържателен Съюз] (PTU, generally between 12 and 16 years of age),

¹ *Spirtomrazec*, III:6, p. 3
² I have chosen the concept of life-cycle for the plurality of meanings it entails (see for example O’Rand and Krecker 1990 on the ‘concepts’ of life-cycle). Used broadly in sociology, anthropology and economics, the idea of life-cycle is often ‘applied metaphorically or heuristically to initiate analyses of developmental or maturational phenomena across social domains from individuals to organizations’ (Ibid., p. 242). In this chapter we concentrate on such maturational aspects – children active in the temperance movement grew sometimes to be abstainers or activists themselves – as well as on developmental aspects in the history of the institutions. To these we also add, however, aspects of trans-generational affects as found in the concept of life-cycle or, in other words, a form of reproduction of norms. How were subsequent generations brought into and influence by temperance ideology?
the Youth Temperance Union [Младежки Въздържателен Съюз] (YTU, for teenagers that often had already graduated from school) and the Students’ Temperance Union [Студентски Въздържателен Съюз] (STU). The example of the YTU illustrates best the life-cycle issues involved in the program of temperance upbringing as it was created by current or former members of the Pupils’ Union and gained momentum in the 1930s. Apart from the teachers’ organization, all these were representative umbrella bodies of the numerous organizations active in primary schools and high schools in both villages and cities. All of these organizations – safe for the students who published only edited volumes – also had periodicals boldly called official organs. These were Anti-alcohol List, later Sober Education [Трезва просвета], Sobriety [Трезвеност, Trezvenost] and the Spitromrazec [Спиртомразец, Spirtomrazec] respectively. The sheer numbers of circulation point to the influence of the movement. For a short while at least two periodicals came out in numbers over 20 000. In addition, many small organizations on the ground experimented in publishing their own local periodicals.

What were the prerequisites and what were the effects of this foudroyant development? Where there effects on the drinking habits of the ‘Bulgarian people’? These questions remain difficult to answer and are entirely unquantifiable. If anything, drinking habits were in flux independently of the temperance movement due to broader economic, political and social change. The right question then is in what direction did the temperance movement and its particular focus on juveniles and education affected the change of alcohol consumption? Although still admittedly short of a straight-forward answer, this final chapter will sketch the prerequisites, describe the political goals and clashes, focus in detail on the various cultural expressions of the abstaining youth and note some of the self-proclaimed ‘successes’. In this circumvent way, I hope to compensate for the lack of any exhaustive preceding social history of drinking for the region without reducing or unnecessarily simplifying any of the complexities of the historical issue.

For this purpose, the chapter is divided in six main parts. In the first subchapter, I will discuss the early protestant as well as later secular attempts for introducing and formalizing temperance education within the school curriculum. Although these efforts seem to have failed, i.e. no compulsory STI was introduced as a separate subject, they were nonetheless instrumental in the channeling of this educational impulse through non-governmental organizations and various cultural activities and performances. This will be discussed shortly in the second part of the chapter. The third section of the chapter deals with the new institutions established around 1920 and the new activities they were engaged with. Visuals, concerning the global imaginaire as seen by and depicted for youth, will also discussed in the fourth subchapter. One specific, recurring visual theme representing alcohol as a monster will also be discussed. The fifth section of the chapter is devoted to the poetry and prose written by and for youths. In addition, we also take a closer look into plays and the hugely popular juvenile theatrical temperance performances at the time, a historical phenomenon completely and undeservedly ignored by scholars of the region so far. The question of inebriety and disinhibition was particularly searing at its intersection with dance – the way

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3 See for example CSA, 1665К, Историческа справка
juveniles were supposed to dance in the context of temperance will also be devoted some
space under this rubric.

Finally, the last section will address some of the political issues associated with the movement
and their reflection on the educational materials and the general development of the youth
organizations. Here we will revisit some of the issues raised already in the previous chapter –
socialist ideas, notions of nation and globe as well as racial hygiene.

**Childhood, science and curriculum**

The notion that the formative youth years are of crucial importance for the upbringing of
moral and sober citizens – as many other strategies deployed by the global temperance
movement – could be traced back to the religious revivals in Britain and the United States.
Here again, similar to our prior discussion on the ‘discovery of alcoholism’ and its precedents
in the late 18th century, there have been studies pointing to the precursors of the children’s
temperance literature of the 19th century. In particular, the German speaking realm and the
Britain saw some literature addressing the issue of drunkenness which was particularly
devoted to children.\(^4\) The preferred format of such works was a short story with a graphic,
straightforward moral at the end. These works also travelled across the ocean and were cross-
translated. Importantly, some of these works also experimented with imagery. Within and in
direct relation to the text, lithographs represented drunks in rags. Such intermediality thought
already at that time particularly suitable for children.\(^5\) The works written for children in the
mid nineteenth century, however, were quantitatively and qualitatively different. For one
thing, due to the exponential growth of literacy and temperance literature, including above
all the periodicals meant for children, their reach was substantially widened. As part of a full-
fledged reform movement the educational materials were now also more diverse and
numerous. In addition, general temperance literature took a more pointed stance on the
relation between an individual’s life-cycle and alcohol. A particularly prominent sub-genre
were the so-called temperance narratives, “a cusp between the novel and autobiography”,\(^6\)
often recounting how a young man succumbed to alcohol and the subsequent stages of his
degradation. An aggregate image for this came in the classic lithograph by Nathaniel Currier
*The Drunkard’s Progress: From the first Glass to the Grave*. This is not to say that reform was
impossible or absent in the temperance literature.\(^7\) This would have been a breach in one of
the central teachings of the movement at the time, namely that, similarly to heathen souls
that were always redeemable, even the most hardened drunkard was salvageable through
penance and renunciation of alcohol. If drunkards could be reformed, youths were still
perceived by temperance activists to be particularly endangered. They were especially
susceptible to the demon drink. Once on the wrong path it was exceedingly difficult to bring
them back. This precarious, liminal phase in the individual’s life presented, however, also
unexpected opportunities, which could be exploited by the friends of temperance. In other
words, children were also equally susceptible to the gospel of temperance. If they were

\(^4\) Giles 1991
\(^5\) Ibid., p. 300
\(^6\) Crowley 1999, p. 3
\(^7\) See for example Crowley 1999, pp. 97-110
swayed by the right education on alcohol there would not be any need to reform drunkards in the future. Moreover, they could even be turned into temperance workers, and recruited for the movement in early youth.

To come back to Currier’s image of the “drunkard’s progress”, it is worth noting that it depicted an initial climbing-up on the ladder. Although this might have been the deceitful bliss of alcohol and bad company, it also addressed some of the attractive facets of being inebriated. Images in the latter part of the 19th century, however, concentrated more on the downward part of the progress (regress) and degradation (see figure 15). Similarly, the iconic poster used by Reverend James Clarke for thousands of street posters in Bulgaria, showed only the downward stages (see figure 16). Notably, the supporting diagonal text ran “the descending is seamless, the climb quite strenuous.” Before we move to our regional case study, however, we should take a closer look at the preceding experiments with temperance education in the United States and some of the issues that might be raised from a historiographic perspective.

Figure 15. The Drunkard’s Progress, published by Nathaniel Currier c. 1846. Online archives of the Library of congress, http://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/ppmsca/32700/32719v.jpg
Many studies in history have been influenced by the work of Louis Althusser on the reproduction of the relations of production through the ideological state apparatuses in general and schools in particular. Less attention, however, has been paid to the possibility of any progressive developments within the state educational system or, for that matter, within the extracurricular context of working-class children. This trend has changed recently, with studies putting more emphasis on the possibilities open to children of modest background as well as their own agency. In the context of the Band of Hope in England, for example, “the formation of masculinity for working and middle-class boys was intended to develop them as independent, self-sufficient, physically strong and sober men.” Thus, the history of the anti-alcohol movement among juveniles presents us with a theme suitable for extending the arguments made in favor of a more balanced reading of the ‘reproduction of the relations of production’. As we will see, in Bulgaria extra-curriculum activities and groups similarly enjoyed a large degree of self-sufficiency and – albeit sometimes curbed by the government – had an unprecedented agency and could exert substantial influence on public life.

Let us, however, first turn to some of the successful and failed curriculum reform stories. By the end of the 19th century, partially through endogenous processes of moral suasion sketched above, the US temperance movement had become fully devoted to the idea of promoting temperance in schools. The WCTU founded a new branch of activity, the so-called Scientific Temperance Instruction (STI), which gradually concentrated on the task of

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8 Althusser 2008 [1971], pp. 1-60
9 See for example Olsen 2014, pp. 21-49; see also Maynes 2008
10 Ibid., p. 17
introducing compulsory temperance classes in the regular public curricula around the country. The leading figure behind the STI’s success was Mary Hunt, suitably dubbed ‘the Queen of Lobby’.\footnote{Zimmerman 1992} Because of the fact that there was no federal authority over the school curriculum, the STI had to lobby separately in each and every state for the implementation of temperance instruction within the school curriculum. By 1890s the overwhelming majority of the states had embraced STI and by 1901 it was universal.\footnote{Mezvinsky 1961, p. 50} This was achieved through a recourse of what has been called a ‘moral majority’. In this interpretation, the group advancing their values through the state’s school system, were “[…] Americans who believed that the United States was not only God’s country but also their nation. They were mostly native-born Anglo-Saxon citizens of pietist Protestant persuasion and respectable station.”\footnote{Tyack and James 1985, p. 514} In their claim of representing a moral majority the proponents of STI where in fact in the processes of creating a political majority. Similar observations have been made with regard to the complex relation between the STI and the new professional educational body. While the latter made an assertion on the grounds of epistemic knowledge, the STI movement countered with a reference to a democratic majority where this was possible and tried to create its own epistemic network that proved the scientific soundness of its temperance claims.\footnote{Zimmerman 1999}

It is relatively easy to relate the subsequent success of the prohibitionists with the STI’s success to the implementation of obligatory temperance classes throughout the US. Although such a relation certainly exists, it should not necessarily be interpreted as a causality. By 1906, the time of Mary Hunt’s death, her personal temperance views, which initially focused on an individual’s moral deprivation, have started giving way to more liberal views within the broader US temperance discourse. The rise of social hygiene has been discussed above, it suffices here to say that the new hegemonic thought privileged social environment for its explanatory value rather than the notion of sin\footnote{Ibid., p. 2 and pp. 117-41} and this was institutionally reflected in the history of the most important organization in the years leading to the prohibition – the Anti-Saloon League.\footnote{Lamme 2007} Some of the Anti-Saloon League’s imagery, identifying the locus of drinking with the associated problems of drinking, found their way to the pages of Vuzdurzhatel (see figure 17).
Such considerations notwithstanding, the history of the Bulgarian temperance movement was marked from beginning to end with an attempt of bringing some form of STI to the state.
schools. In his report on *Temperance Work in Bulgaria: Its Success* James Clarke noted for the years leading to the 20th century that

> [a]t a time of special need for temperance work twelve years ago, the sum of 500 lefs (francs), left by a loved one gone before, led to the printing, during a few years, of over 100,000 tracts and posters of seven kinds: a total of about 540,00 pages. [...] Of six of these, 3000 copies each were offered to the then Minister of Education, and accepted by him for the schools of Bulgaria; but neither he nor his successor fulfilled their promises to so distribute them, and, as the third minister declined to do so, they were taken back. Still, the larger part of the above editions were distributed before the beginning of the year 1900.17

As the central authority had proven difficult to crack, new channels were sought after in the wake of the 20th century.

> How to circulate temperance material was a question of much doubt; but the best adviser designated the teachers of the schools as the best medium for wisely scattering; and, from a government list of all cities, towns, and villages with their population, a list of about 300 places was made out, and over 20,000 tracts etc. were sent to the head teachers with a printed circular letter asking their cooperation.18

The perseverance of Clarke finally caught up with the officials in the ministry of education and shortly before this pamphlet was published “the Minister of Education readily agreed to freely circulate all that was given to him, and at once sent 17,500 of the various tracts etc. to his twelve inspectors, for them to distribute to the 2800 common schools in the country.”19

Although still far from entering the curriculum it is interesting to see how this strategy of targeting juveniles had a spectacular effect in the case of prospective temperance activist Hristo Dimchev. After all such educational materials aimed not only at educating broad masses into temperance but also in creating its future proponents. In his unpublished memoirs Dimchev noted that “[t]wo academic terms, 1898-1900, I spent in Strumica, Macedonia, where my sister was a teacher [Dimchev was eleven years old in 1898, NK]. There were a couple of evangelical families there and I heard for the first time that evangelicals (protestants) do not drink wine, rakya or other alcoholic beverages [...]”20 Some years later, after finishing a course in pedagogy, Dimchev entered the school in the village of Golemo Malovo near Dragoman as a primary teacher.

> The term had begun. In the first days of October we got from the ministry of education: a circular letter, with which they were sending to all primary schools (and perhaps even to junior high schools) an appeal from one school inspector from Varna Vulev (or Vulchev – my memory fails me) and around 50 issues of

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17 Clarke 1909, p. 3
18 Ibid., p. 4
19 Ibid.
20 CSA 1272 K, au 2, p. 1
brochures (7-8 temperance brochures, published and presented by dr. Clarke, American missionary in Plovdiv). [...] The letter from the ministry among other things also implored us: ‘Mr. Teacher, please attentively read the appeal of the regional school inspector and the attached brochures and in the spirit of the appeal do something. Keep one from each of the various brochures for the library, the rest distribute to the children to read to their parents as well.’ 21

Thus it could be noted, that although the implementation of STI within the first, protestant induced, temperance wave in Bulgaria did not succeed, the pressure exerted on the Ministry of Education paved the way for the second generation of activism in surprising ways – Hristo Dimchev was to become the initiator and a leading figure within the youth movement. During the interwar period the petitions and appeals to the Ministry with concern to the curriculum were taken by the various youth and teacher’s organizations. Many believed that the successful implementation of STI in the US has translated into prohibition and sought such development in Bulgaria. “The alcoholism is a current problem that will be resolved in the future. [...] In America, Iceland, New Iceland and Australia, before they got the prohibition, they all instructed their children in advance against the evils of alcohol.” 22 This called for the devising of such STI and ways to lobby for its implementation. Perhaps the most elaborate of these plans was conceived by one Tsenko Tsvetanov. 23 In his vision of temperance education almost no school subject was left untouched. Thus, for the Bulgarian Language and Grammar class he proposed the “[...] [l]earning by hard of one-two temperance poems [...] two writing exercises – one essay and one dictation [...]”, 24 while in advanced classes students were supposed to write anti-alcohol poems of their own device. In algebra classes students would have been able to compute the opportunity cost of alcohol in comparison to bread, milk, etc. For the history classes Tsenkov had even greater ambitions, suggesting that students should be taught that debauchery and alcoholism have led to great ‘national’ catastrophes such as the so-called ‘Byzantine and Turkish yokes’. 25 Although this plan was perhaps too optimistic, there were other more grounded suggestions. Such propositions were usually communicated with the Ministry of Education. Thus the teacher’s anti-alcohol congress of 1925 wrote a resolution and petition to the higher authorities for the implementation of STI. 26

That such petitions met with little success could be deduced from the fact that a decade later, in 1934-5 similar petitions were still in circulation. 27 Indeed, it seems that the only respite in the lobbying for STI was the time when the Pupils’ Union was closed and the petitions sent to the ministry were concerned with this more pressing issue. This is not to say that no temperance classes were given in schools. Teachers approving of temperance in general were given often advice on the pages of Sober Education as to how to furtively introduce or foist

21 Ibid., p. 7
22 Sobriety, III:1, p. 3
23 Ibid., XII:4-5, pp. 88-96
24 Ibid., p. 89
25 Ibid., p. 91
26 Sober Education, III:1, pp. 1-3. Most documents referred to this as Въздържателно обучение or Въздържателно образование.
27 Ibid., XII:1, pp. 21-3; Ibid., XII:2, p. 44; Ibid., XIII:1-2, p. 5
anti-alcohol classes in the curriculum. The issue in the beginning of the academic term in 1927 gave a recommendation “while teaching the rules for the preservation of health in the classes on Object-based learning and Natural history one should use every suitable occasion to stress the detriments of alcohol beverages. For this purpose, one should use all possible examples from everyday life to illustrate the pernicious character of alcohol.”28 Although not much information is available on the issue of the practical success of the figure of what Gergana Mircheva has astutely called a double mandate of teacher-doctor, it is to be expected that the push for school hygiene in the beginning of the 20th century also meant some spillover in the curriculum of issues of social hygiene, implying, of course, also temperance classes.

Further, the refusal of the Ministry of Education to centrally impose STI to schools did not necessarily mean that it was unfavorable to the teachings of the temperance movement. With circular number 33229 of 1925 the ministry encouraged all the schools to devote the last class on the 16th of January, the anniversary of the ratification of the 18th Amendment in the US, to the topic of temperance.29 Various governments supported on paper the work of the Teachers’ Union and Youth Union.30 Other circulars point to the fact that the ministry regularly indorsed the procurement for the libraries of schools and the use of temperance periodicals. This was used as a valuable opportunity for advertisement by the respective periodicals, the indorsement by the ministry proudly mentioned in the head of the title page.31 Thus, the stern refusal of the various governments to formally introduce a form of STI to the schools could be best attributed on the one hand to a cautiousness not to alienate any large business involved in the production and distribution of alcohol and, on the other hand, to a tentative reading of partisanship in the temperance movement, a point to which we will turn later in the chapter.

Children’s and youth activities in the protestant led temperance campaigns

Pupils could not be reached by the central imposition of STI, but the youth was still perceived as a key to the future success of the reform movement. As one activists commented in his article Through Children Reaching to the Future, “taking care of the youth is a peoples’ and state’s, biological and cultural necessity.”32 So how were young people to be reached? I will digress again shortly to draw some parallels to North America, this time addressing an example of education outside classrooms. Between 1880 and 1916 the WCTU in Ontario concentrated its efforts in educating the youth through two main channels – the Sunday Schools and the Band(s) of Hope. In the works of both institutions, the temperance activists fostered association through music and entertainment. “The compelling influence of lively song did not escape the W.C.T.U.’s attention [...] A strong esprit de corps was fostered in the

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28 Ibid., V:3, p. 1
29 Ibid.,
30 See for example the reprint of the circular N. 1097 from 05.09.1934 in Sobriety, XVII:2, p. 25 and p. 45; See also circulars from the ministry of education and the ministry of health and internal affairs from January and March 1938 respectively in Sobiety, XX:5, p. 137
31 For example circular 32,059 of 28.11.1927 of the ministry of education, see the title page of Sober Education V:8, p. 1
32 Sobriety, XV:6, p. 123
English Bands through temperance concerts where children recited and put on musical programmes.”33 Further, the author has suggested that some children were attracted more by “entertainment and fellowship than [by] evangelical principles or temperance cause.”34 Accordingly, the WCTU managed to provide various shows including Dumb Bell swinging, magic lantern presentations, etc. Another author has recorded the failure of the implementation of STI in the Canadian prairie, but also noted the great success of recital competitions that included prizes.35

The origins of the Band of Hope could be traced Britain, where by the end of the 19th century it boasted some three million members and “was the first English organization to work with children in a general recreational as well as educational way.”36 The Band of Hope also preserved a strong tie to religious groups and has been described as a conduit of ‘respectable recreation for working class children’, one that facilitated upward social mobility through inculcating children with middle-class values.37 New research, however, has drawn attention to the combination of entertainment and education through magic lantern shows and filmstrips that this organization provided.38

In Bulgaria, similarly some of the first attempts to reach children was through the formation of youth groups as well as through recital, musical and performance activities. At the annual gathering of the Bulgarian Temperance Union in 1895

[o]n behalf of the Plovdiv Children’s Group Mrs. Marsh gave an oral report. It has come into existence 3 years ago, it had 35 regular members and others that came only occasionally to study the temperance catechism, poems from the bible and to sing songs. The hope of the temperance movement lies with the children, she commented, and not with the grown-ups.39

The demand for such songs is illustrated by the partially hand-written collection of one of the missionaries from the late 80s and early 90s held at the Mount Holyoke archive within the Zoe Ann Marie Locke’s record (see figure 18). It is difficult to evaluate the quality of the songs, what could be noted, however, is the belligerent overtones that might seem surprising in this religious context. The March Song [Походна песенъ] featured the following alarming stanza:

Justice is our shield
The battlefield – the whole world;
Tsar Rakyia, our enemy
We will annihilate to the last soul […]40

33 Cook 1993, pp. 257-9
34 Ibid. p. 263
35 Sheehan 1984, p. 108
36 Shiman 1973, p. 51
37 Ibid.
38 McAllister 2012
39 CSA 1027 K, au. 1, p. 15, handwritten
40 Locke Family Papers, MHC, box 3. The last strophe reads in Bulgarian: [Царъ Ракия, нашия врагъ/Ще довършим ний до кракъ.]
Figure 18. Album of spiritual-temperance songs, Locke Family Papers, MHC, box 3

Figure 19. Temperance Marching Song, *Trezvache*, XIII:1, p. 15
It was only in the 1900 that the BTU’s yearbook could account for some 84 lv reserves that could be devoted to the printing of a proper collection of temperance songs.41 In the interwar period youth temperance periodicals often printed out the notes of new songs (see figure 19). In this particular example, taken from a late 1936 issue of Trezvache, a new ‘march’ is laid down, referring explicitly to ‘our order’ and concluding with the hope that a “[n]ew world of fraternity will step up to the throne/Fighters, a new day is dawning!”42

As already noted in the second chapter, the first wave of temperance was characterized among other things by magic lantern shows, plays and other performances. With regard to the engagement with the youth, one particular borrowing from the US deserves mentioning here. William Jennings Demorest, born in New York City in 1822, was a prominent merchant, businessman, publisher, anti-slavery campaigner and temperance activist. In 1888 he ran for mayor of New York on the ballot of the Prohibition Party. In 1886 Demorest organized the so-called Demorest Medal Contests, an oratorical competition for children and youth based on temperance recitals. The winners would get medals made of solid silver and gold, courtesy of Mr. Demorest.43 To my knowledge, originally this contest was not meant to migrate outside of the US – by any rate language difference would have made the recitals of the temperance literature supplied for the contests difficult – but thanks to James Clarke’s tireless efforts it miraculously appeared in Bulgaria:

Between 1890 and 1892 fourteen contests were held among the young men and women in the Mission Schools in Samokov for the Demorest Temperance Medals. At the last of these contests, the eight students who had previously won silver medals competed for a gold medal. In all 74 declamations were translated and spoken in different places, and 1000 copies of 10 of these and 2000 copies of Rules of Declamations were printed, making a total of 28,000 pages, at a cost of 265 francs.44

Clarke had apparently seen the advertisement for the contests in the US temperance periodicals, had got in touch with the organizers and procured medals for the students in the Mission School in Samokov.

Cultural expressions and engagements such as play, recitals and the production of visuals took a whole new dimension. This is most visible in terms of the numbers involved in such youth temperance activities as well as the reach beyond the core organizations in the interwar period. Before we zero down on the discourses informing and being reproduced through these expressions, it would make sense to look first at the new institutional dimensions of the youth temperance movement shaping up from around 1920 onwards.

**New institutions and new activities**

Despite the missionary efforts, the success of the STI in the United States was not repeated in Bulgaria. But there was a second pillar of temperance education in the form youth

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41 CSA 1027 K, au. 1, p. 30, handwritten
42 Trezvache, XIII:1, p. 15
43 SEAP, pp. 789-90
44 Clarke 1909, p. 7
organizations within and without the school, which, indeed, succeeded in Bulgaria. The first temperance associations for children or pupils were the fruit of the missionary efforts at the various protestant stations. We have already mentioned the first children temperance group led by Mrs. Marsh in Plovdiv. As late as the 1890s there was also a pupils’ organization in Samokov. Earlier projects could be dated even to the 1860s and 70s in Stara Zagora and Plovdiv (then still Philippopolis). Chronologically, the next organization was created by Hristo Dimchev in 1905 during his assignment in Golemo Malovo. In his memoirs he noted that from the 60 odd children under his tutelage, only 24 joined the new organization as members. On Saturdays, there were regular meetings in the afternoon, a ‘pupils’ court’ took place on Wednesday, where cases of ‘misbehavior’ were addressed and where Dimchev was not only the ‘audience’, but would also ‘discretely conduct’ the decisions of the judge.45 Before Dimchev moved to Neuchatel in 1911, he also founded organizations around Oryahovo and Shumen, however, these efforts seem to have been futile as the groups ceased their activities soon after he left.46 From 1915, after returning from Switzerland, Dimchev tried to found a temperance organization at the Sliven high-school, but could not succeed. He had to contend with an organization among his own pupils who were in the pre-gymnasium level. After the war was over, however, his own pupils were already students at the high-school, which could be now ‘conquered from within’. The Sliven organization became the model for a number of other high-schools and by 1919 there were already 7 groups and a national temperance conference of the pupils was summoned. Soon a Pupils’ Temperance Union was established and the number of groups on the ground multiplied with a lightning speed.

A number of facets of the newly formed organizations deserve a special attention here. First, the pupils’ organizations - or at least the initial ones in the first half of the 1920s – were based on a loose interpretation of the constitution of the IOGT.47 Second, the original pupils organizations had a complete autonomy. They were ran by the students and experienced a very limited – in many cases there was practically no – control from other bodies. In this latter feature, the Pupils’ Union diverged from other popular temperance youth organizations abroad, e.g. the Band of Hope, but it was also singular in the youth associational scene in Bulgaria at the time. It seems that the only large scale active youth organization of the time was the so called Yunak Gymnastic Society, incidentally also founded through a strong Swiss connection.48 With its emphasis on the physical education and culture as well as strong nationalist tendencies, the Yunak groups had a flavor of a mélange between the United Boys Brigade and the Hilterjugend or at least this is how the communist government perceived this association, evidenced by its closure in the late 1944.49 By any rate, most of its activities were directed not by its youth members through democratic process, but rather by grown-ups. Further, although doubtlessly having an associational character, the Yunak society was far from an NGO, being subsidized and indorsed in the schools by the government.50 In this sense,

45 CSA 1272 K, au 2, p. 10
46 Ibid., p. 11
47 Ibid., p. 40; see also the correspondence between Dimchev and Forel in Chapter 1
48 Mircheva 2007, pp. 17-8
49 For a comparison of youth movements see for example Cupers 2008 for a discussion of the US and German cases in the interwar period.
50 Mircheva 2007, pp. 17-8
the Pupils’ Temperance Union seem to have been a radical departure from the existing framework of youth associations. It offered a vibrant school for democracy. As we have discussed in previous chapters, the last could be maintained perhaps for the whole of the temperance movement, but even more so in the case of the abstaining adolescents. It allowed pupils between 14 and 16 years of age to associate freely, to run correspondence with organizations on a national level, to manage finances and keep accounts, to author and edit their own periodicals. In addition, it offered a podium for public debates and exercise in rhetoric. Dimchev summarized this process with the following paragraph:

The fact that they, the students, could have their own opinion and initiative fired them with enthusiasm, made them independent, inspired them with self-initiative. Keeping with democratic principles gave every pupil, member of the association, the opportunity to address every important question at length, to defend and assert his/her own understanding, to exercise in oratory. In the pupils’ temperance organizations the student members had the opportunity and got used to publically, freely and without any embarrassment state their thoughts.51

This is not to say that youth organizations elsewhere did not have a similar function. The Loyal Temperance Legion in North America was called ‘A Training School for Future Citizenship’.52 What was different in the interwar Bulgarian case – and this is true at least until the violent state involvement in 1927 – was the degree of freedom enjoyed by the youth temperance activists.

But can we draw any causal relationships, can we explain this phenomenon with any underlying social structure? Or else, can we contextualize the success of the Pupils Union in the regional history of the early 1920s? The answer to this question could be only a too cautious, yet rather broad and general interpretation along two lines of thought. First, it seems that the essence of the movement, i.e. the idea of the detrimental character of alcohol and that appropriate measures should be taken against it, had an inexorable appeal. No real counter discourse could be found in the first half of the 20th century (and perhaps even beyond). Attempts to present alcohol as something salubrious dwelled permanently in the margins of the public debate. Perhaps occasionally an already antiquated medical advice on the advantages of drinking would resurface or publications stemming directly from the wine industry would find some readership. At best, the temperance movement itself could have been represented as too radical, but in fact the anti-alcohol idea in its various forms – contradicting somewhat the title of Mark Lawrence Schrad’s history of prohibition around the world – was broadly perceived as profoundly good. So much so that in fact it could cluster around itself campaigns against smoking, gambling, venereal disease, etc. to become the core of perhaps the largest reform movement of the time. Moreover, temperance concerns were – to quote from Imdgard Eisenbach-Stangl in her analysis of the alcohol question in the

51 CSA 1272 K, au 2, p. 50
52 Sheehan 1984, p. 110
‘industrialized nations’ – “[...] combined with all major social movements and their ideologies [...]”\textsuperscript{53}

This leads us in a somewhat circumvent way already to the second part of the argument, namely the historic context conducive of such temperance movement in interwar Bulgaria. The so-called national catastrophes caused by the Balkan wars and the First World War saw the commencement of new debates of national reinvigoration. Although irredentist thought was not completely extinguished, the project of building a strong national body shifted its focus in the interwar period from a more extrovert territorial brashness to a more introvert reform attitude. This goes in particular to the high-school pupils who were too young to be drafted in the army during the war, but who nonetheless experienced its shortcomings first hand and now desired a reformed, prosperous and strong nation. With its new emphasis on the social implications of drinking, the temperance movement promised exactly such public reinvigoration. With its pacifist tendencies and overall transnationalism, however, it also assured a national development safe from the militarist mistakes of the past.

The significance of the youth movement in the years between 1920 and 1940 could be also deduced from the numbers of the periodicals’ circulation. To begin, as already noted, the Pupils’ Temperance Union founded in 1920 under the banner of ‘Light, fraternity, truth’,\textsuperscript{54} was soon flanked by a Youth Temperance Movement founded in 1924\textsuperscript{55} – the former tending to pupils of various ages, the latter more to students in high-school and generally in their teens, – a Students’ Temperance Union, again founded in 1922 and tending to university students\textsuperscript{56} and, last but not least, a Teachers’ Temperance Union, founded in 1922 in Shumen and located later in Veliko Turnovo and Sofia.\textsuperscript{57} All these organizations were heavily involved in publication, most having a monthly ‘official organ’, some a fortnightly newspaper and yet some publishing more than one periodical. Already in September 1928 the monthly newspaper \textit{Vuzdurzhatelche} boasted a distribution of 20 000 copies.\textsuperscript{58} This was certainly not a one-time miracle for the children’s newspaper as a monthly circulation between 26 000 and 20 310 copies was reached in the year 1934-5.\textsuperscript{59} If these numbers are in themselves staggering, one should take two additional points into account. First, at the price of one lev the newspaper seems at first glance quite affordable – towards the end of the 1920s the price of the lev was attached at 90 leva per gram of gold – while the annual subscription was 10 leva. However, one should not forget the general degree of economic development at the time and the fact that this newspaper was meant for children between 7 and 14 who usually did not earn any cash. Second, we should consider that the real number of circulation might have been substantially higher. Although impossible to verify, it is quite possible that children exchanged copies, one copy was used by all siblings, there were copies in libraries, etc. Finally, the number of those reached by the messages on the pages of \textit{Vuzdurzhatelche} has to be

\textsuperscript{53} Eisenbach-Stangl 2004, p. 61
\textsuperscript{54} CSA 1664K, Историческа справка
\textsuperscript{55} CSA 1674K, Историческа справка
\textsuperscript{56} CSA 1675K, Историческа справка
\textsuperscript{57} CSA 1665K, Историческа справка
\textsuperscript{58} Vuzdurzhatelche, II:1, p. 4
\textsuperscript{59} Sober Education, XII, p. 14
even higher when we factor in the already noted tradition of recitals and when we think of the children-to-parent loop at home.

**Visuals and intermediality**

Periodicals for children were expressly inter-medial\(^{60}\) and in fact relied heavily on visual materials. Pictures spanning diverse themes such as ‘racial poison’, financial distress of the families of drunkards, intoxication and vomiting, etc., were used systematically to inculcate the youth with an understanding of the dangers of drinking. Theoreticians of history writing have long since advocated a historic, scholar engagement with such media as a rich primary source. In his plaidoyer for the use of images as historical evidence, Peter Burke somewhat optimistically noted the increase of pictures used in *Past and Present* from the 60s through the 80s.\(^{61}\) Even earlier – some ten years before the publishing of Burke’s book – Patricia Anderson had made a convincing case for the strong relation between the printed image and the advent of modern popular culture in the first half of the 19\(^{th}\) century. “The hallmark of a transformed and expanded popular culture was its increasingly pictorial character. This was especially true at the center of that culture where mass-circulation books and magazines predominated.”\(^{62}\) Despite such appeals to historians, visual materials remain often a peripheral concern, conventionally used to illustrate arguments drawn from written materials. Although studies of temperance are hardly an exception to this rule, there have been some important contributions. This is partially due to the highly expressive character of temperance propaganda and its long standing tradition boasting the work of artists such as William Hogarth and George Cruikshank. In particular, recent years have seen an upsurge in publications relating to temperance posters, magic lantern slides as well as images in text.\(^{63}\) For many historians the choice of a suitable theoretical framework to be employed in their work with images remains an unsurmountable challenge. Engagement with visuals remains subsequently scant. Without engaging at length with the debates on the issue, it seems to me that a combination of art history methodology – as for example Erwin Panofsky’s celebrated work on iconology on iconography\(^{64}\) – with more recent interventions in visual culture and media might be the key in this regard. An analysis of the combination of image, text and ideology seems thus highly desirable in the engagement with periodicals that are literally inundated with visuals. What is even more appealing is that visuals have their own stories to tell. “Images are not just a particular kind of sign, but something like an actor on

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\(^{60}\) I have borrow the notion of intermediality from modern communication studies (see for example Elleström and Bruhn (Eds.) 2010). It is used to represent the combined workings of different mediums or sensory modalities, e.g. music and moving pictures in movies. In the case of temperance papers, this usually represents a combination of text and pictures – communicating through the different channels of textual literacy and visual literacy. Added to this we are offered a rare look in the interstices between the two media – children were also made to describe in text what they saw in pictures or conversely depict a visual of their own based on a textual theme. On the general issue of the significance of media to modern society see the classic study of Thompson 1995.

\(^{61}\) Burke 2001, p. 12

\(^{62}\) Anderson 1991, p. 2

\(^{63}\) See in particular the special issue of *Visual Resources* from (4) from 2012. Among the authors: McCalister with three contributions, Murray, Williams and Jordan. See also Fox 2009 for Soviet healthcare posters, Morgan 1999 for temperance in the context of protestant use of images.

\(^{64}\) Panofsky 1972, particularly pp. 3-31
the historical stage, a presence or character endowed with legendary status, a history that parallels and participates in the stories we tell ourselves about our own evolution from creatures 'made in the image' of a creator, to creatures who make themselves and their world in their own image.”65 We will see shortly how just literally one such world was imagined and created.

Figure 20. Tree of intemperance, published by A.D. Fillmore c. 1855. Online archives, Library of congress, http://cdn.loc.gov/service/pnp/cph/3a10000/3a16000/3a16800/3a16876r.jpg

The story and the global, inter-medial entanglements of one particular visual deserves a special attention in our discussion of youth and temperance materials. Stanley Cohen has

65 Mitchell 2009, p. 9
shrewdly observed how ‘folk devils’ in the media are conducive of moral panics. Without a doubt, one such monster reigning across the Atlantic in the 19th century was the ‘demon’ alcohol.67 Already in the mid-19th century visual representation of the tree of intemperance and respectively the tree of temperance were recognizable in the United States. This particular form of temperance propaganda made an explicit reference to the biblical themes of the tree of Eden and the serpent (see figure 20).

Figure 21. 1903 exhibition poster for the exhibition on Alcoholism at the Worker’s Museum in München, 1903

The latter served a lengthy career in temperance materials in its dual symbolism. First, the serpent represented treachery. In other words, it was not enough to drink moderately, alcohol could be deceitful and slippery and bring one’s downfall without a prior warning.

66 Cohen 2011 [1972], pp. 1-20
67 On the representation of rum as demon see Levine 1983
Second, the serpent, implying reptile venom, also fed into the later STI campaign claiming that alcohol is always poisonous and could never be nutritious.\textsuperscript{68} By 1885 century the serpent was already visually represented as an external, global threat – alcohol, drunkenness and the subsequent ruin were suffocating the world (see figure 4). Knights of temperance were now fighting this beast as an exemplary visual model to any who might yield to temptation (see figure 21).

One might think that the explicitness of the Biblical reference made the visual cumbersome for scientific periodicals. Such a binary understanding – secular versus religious – could not be further from the truth. Indeed, the inter-medial history of this particular visual could serve us as an excellent example in this regard. In his renowned book \textit{Inebriety or Narcomania}, Norman Kerr bridged the scientific and religious discourse with a special focus on the question of heredity.

The operation of no natural law is more potent than is the operation of the law of alcoholic heredity. [...] The continuous and victorious struggle of such heroic souls with their hereditary enemy – an enemy the more powerful because ever leading its treacherous life within their breasts, presents to my mind such a glorious conflict, such an august spectacle, as should evoke the highest efforts of the painter and the sculptor. Before so protracted and so lofty a combat, the immortal group of Laocoön contending with the serpents, grand though that great work of art is, must pale its ineffectual fires.\textsuperscript{69}

Here Kerr refers to one of the most celebrated art works of antiquity, a statue depicting the story of Laocoön and his sons attacked by a sea serpent (see figure 22). The textual representation of this bodily struggle could be found as early as 1894 in the Bulgarian temperance literature. In an article translated from \textit{The Sunday School Times}, \textit{Vuzdurzhatel} warned its readers against the treachery of alcohol in the form of the following account of a circus show:

[...] As a last act of his show, he brought out an extraordinary big boa constrictor, ten meters and eighty centimeters in length. He has bought it, when it has been only two-three days old, and for the last 25 years he had taken it in his hands every day [...] the curtains opened. The scene was an Indian forest. The enchanting voice of an Oriental band was coming through the trees. [...] The man produced a moan. This cold curves had enveloped him for the last time. They took his life and the shocked public heard the breaking of bones one after the other, while the powerful coils were still fastening around his body. The toy of the man has become his master. His twenty five year slave has enslaved him now.\textsuperscript{70}

\textsuperscript{68} See for example Zimmerman 1999, pp. 44-5
\textsuperscript{69} Kerr 1894, p. 17
\textsuperscript{70} Vuzdurzhatel
Figure 22. Photograph of the Laocoon statue, source http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/1/17/Laocoon_Pio-Clementino_Inv1059-1064-1067.jpg

Figure 23. New Man fighting the alcohol monster, Borba s alkoolizma, XIII:2-3, title page
This symbol was of lasting importance. Some 30 years later the same journal published a poem, with a strophe claiming that “[a]lcohol is a lamia/coiled around your body.” Although the dragon slayer had its own folkloric significance in the Bulgarian context, it is very probable that the lamia reference had also to do with the classic Greek mythology and related the hereditary anxieties of temperance propagators to the story of the Lamia devouring children.

The visual experiments with the slaying of the Lamia took a whole new dimension in the context of the youth temperance activism in Bulgaria. The original slaying of the monster was depicted for the early pupils’ organization in Sliven already in the 1914-15 school year. The description of the initial production of a temperance flag for the group is a veritable archival find on at least two counts. First, it refers explicitly to an ‘original’ visual used as a model, and, second, even more significantly, it describes the visual symbolics as seen by one of the major figures behind its production.

One of the pupils-abstainers, Panayot Kolarov, told us that he had an acquaintance/or a relative/pupil at the high-school who depicted well and wanted to make a flag for us. We bought sky blue silk cloth [план, sic! possibly meant плат or платно] /as color of the group we had chosen namely the sky blue color/, tassel, dye. We handed in everything to the young artist as well as a model of the image. The image I had taken from a Swiss temperance calendar /from the cover/. The image represents: a rock, from which a torrent like clear stream of water flows. A man, sturdy, muscular, his left hand supporting him on the rock, his right hand squeeze tight the neck of a monster [змей] twisting convulsively on the ground – any time now to be strangled to death. The man – this is the abstainer, the monster – the alcohol monster. The rock – this is temperance itself.

This particular visual underwent plentiful transformations and the periodicals of the interwar time devoted to both children and adults printed numerous variations. The cover image of the Borba journal is a very close version to the original (see figure 23). What is striking about the visual is the semi-nakedness of the central, hero figure of the composition – a visual reference to a certain nudity associated with the so-called New Man or New Person in various European contexts in the early 20th century, marked by the emblematic impersonation of reform goals, (bio-)politics and power. Authors have sketched the career of the body in Nazi Germany. Of particular interest is also the usage of nudity in early Soviet art and its transformation with regard to the Soviet denunciation of eugenics in the 1930s. One crucial aspect with regard to our visual is the drapery surrounding the waist of the temperance champion. Authors have traced the debates on scant drapery or clothing covering primary and sometimes secondary sex characteristics of the New Person’s body back to Georg

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71 Ibid., XII: 9 (1926), 129 [Алкохолът е ламя/Впита в твоята снага]
72 Stefanov 1982
73 CSA 1272 K, au 2, pp. 45-6
74 Will 1990
75 Clark 1993
76 Simpson 2004
Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel’s work on aesthetics.\(^{77}\) Although Hegel’s reference to drapery and attire is limited primarily to sculpture, his work is indeed illuminating in our case on at least two counts. First, in its normative setting of the aesthetics of the body and its clothing, Hegel discusses the representation of a generic contemporary general, his being defined by his immediate environment, that is cannons, powder, etc.\(^{78}\) The implication of this is that a sculptural representation of a famous contemporary general – let us take for instance Colin Powell – in clinging drapery might be (to play with the word) ill-suited. In contrast, Hegel had other recommendations for historic and abstract figures and individuals who through their independence and the plenitude of their inner life are exempt from the plain restrictedness of a specific profession and from effectiveness only in a specific period and who thus constitute a free totality in themselves, a whole world of relationships and activities; for this reason they must appear, even in their clothing, raised above the familiarity of day to day life in the external world habitual to them in their own age.\(^{79}\)

Our visual seems to display one such figure devoid of any concrete prototype in its ‘real’, contemporary life. Secondly, Hegel’s discussion on nudity in antiquity is also instructive for its reference to the particular Gods and heroes that were sculpted in their full corporal glamour – “Perseus, Heracles, Theseus, Jason, for in them the chief thing is heroic courage, the use and development of the body for deeds of bodily strength and endurance […]”\(^{80}\) Leaving aside the question of will and spirit in the control of the body, we are led to a second visual archetype of the hero in our image, namely the scene in which the demigod Hercules kills the Lernaean Hydra (see figure 24). The nudity often used in the depiction of these scene has a tradition associated with certain revolutionary liberation dating back to the French Revolution. In the initial stages of the Revolution, a statue of the Hercules was used to symbolize the reversal of order – sans-culottes (Hercules) slaying the counter-revolution/ancien régime (Hydra).\(^{81}\)

At the upper left corner of the Borba rendition we find another intriguing element – grapes hanging from the tree. This could be read as a reference to a recurring message conveyed by the temperance activists in Bulgaria, namely that the movement does not pose any danger to the agricultural sector and vineyards in particular. Additionally, as we have already noted in the previous chapter, the editor of Borba had tried to initiate business with machinery producing alcohol-free wine which was also repeatedly advertised on the pages of the journal.

Importantly, the version in the cover of the pupil’s newspaper had an additional element. An unfortunate, strangled figure at the foot of the beast served as a reminder that the fight against alcohol should be taken in all earnest and that the possibility of defeat was real (see figure 25). An even more interesting fact was that children participated in the visual evolution of the serpent into a dragon monster. Three particular contributions of children could be seen

\(^{77}\) Simpson 2006  
\(^{78}\) Hegel 1975, p. 748  
\(^{79}\) Ibid., p. 750  
\(^{80}\) Ibid., p. 745  
\(^{81}\) Hunt 1984, pp. 96-109
in the figures 26 through 28. The preferred intermedial representation for children was thus not simply suitable for, but indeed gave a channel for the artistic expression of children and their own say on the looks of the alcohol lamia. Some such visuals were used to illustrate translated or original articles.

Figure 24. Hercules slaying the Hydra, Francois Joseph Bosio, 1824. Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/2/2c/Hercule_Bosio_Louvre_LL325-1.jpg
One such article dealing with the issue of alcohol and slavery started with a discussion of the British abolition in the years 1834-8. It went on to note how 14000 ‘black adults’ and 5000...
children ‘sighed’ with relief in Jamaica. Alas, people in the 20th century were enslaved from within. Superstition, prejudice and tradition reigned supreme. People were slaves to those because of alcohol, “the most tremendous despot and tyrant, the most dreadful monster, that does not spare children, women, the elderly or sick, it drains the blood of millions, every day, every hour...” The article was flanked by an image of a hero, with a IOGT sign on his chest, slaying the ‘alcohol lamia’ (see figure 29).

Visuals were submitted to the temperance periodicals on various themes. Children were either asked to depict a particular topic or, conversely, to give a textual description of pictures. The latter case provided a spectacular channel for the deconstruction of hegemonic discourses. One example was the binary image visual in which ‘savages’ and ‘civilized’ were juxtaposed. The respective images represented the familial happiness of a tropical hamlet as opposed to the ruined home of a ‘civilized’ drunk or a European city under aerial bombardment as opposed to the peace and quiet of a ‘savage’, idyllic village (see figure 30). To this, children were supposed to engage in correspondence and the best descriptions were to be published in the next issue.

Quietly and peacefully live the simple people of dry and hot Africa. They dwell in straw huts, in forests and fields, they don’t have electricity, gas, automobiles or gramophones. They sleep on straw-mats, eat bread, fruits and milk. They are still happy and good – real children! They don’t steal, they don’t lie, they don’t kill and they don’t know what canon, machineguns and rifles are. They don’t covet what belongs to others, they don’t know illness and hunger, mental asylums or prisons and are contend with everything.

It is unclear how one could read so much into the picture. The straw-mats or the vegetarian diet seem to be simply part of the larger temperance package, recommending frugality and more generally a high moral standard. What is clear from the passage above, however, is that the best intentions of reversing racial discursive practices could not escape some of its inherent logic – the ‘half-devil’ nature of the savage could not be abandoned safe for a substitute with a ‘real child’. “The Europeans find them and call them ‘savage’. Bring them Rakya, illness, beads and trinkets, they show them cinema and gramophone and these poor folks rise to the bait. [...] The ‘savages’ are more human, while the educated with machineguns and canons are savage beasts.”

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82 Valverde 1997
83 Trezvache XII:7, p. 5
84 Ibid., p. 11
85 Ibid.
Figure 29. A child depiction of the alcohol monster and a knight of the IOGT, *Trezvache*, XII:7, p. 5

Figure 30. Juxtaposition of savagery and progress, *Trezvache*, XII:7, p. 11

Figure 32. Belshazzar's Feast, Rembrandt, 1635. Source: http://upload.wikimedia.org/wikipedia/commons/7/7b/Rembrandt_-_Belshazzar's_Feast_-_WGA19123.jpg

Imagery produced by youth or for the youth periodicals had reached a high degree of sophistication, aesthetics and artistic expression already in the 1920s. One visual deserves a special attention as it managed to imbue a number of the issues raised in the chapter. In 1926,
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Nikolay Kamenov

the journal Sobriety, published an image signed by Rasho Shoselov, one of the most prominent activists in the youth movement at the time. The image depicted Tsar Alcohol in a complex light (see figure 31). Alcohol’s throne still reigned over the world, the king was naked though. There was no flesh left to the bone, the crown of this morbid figure was in the process of falling. In particular, he was startled by the hand writing ‘мене, тектел, фаре…’, so much so that his bottle is also in free fall. This was a direct reference to the biblical tale of Belshazzar from the book of Daniel. In a drunken bout the king uses the utensils of Solomon’s temple and sees a hand writing Mene, Tekel, Upharsin on the wall (see figure 32 for perhaps the most famous rendering of the theme by Rembrandt). The massages conveys the imminent doom to Belshazzar who is soon to be slain by an opponent. Shoselov’s image refers to the drunkenness of Belshazzar, but the main message is the writing on the wall conveying that alcohol’s destiny is sealed. The image also refers strongly to two major themes already raised above. First, it alludes to the significant place of youth in the history of temperance. The accompanying text is even more explicit – ‘Tsar Alcohol and the Strong Right-hand of the Sober Youth’. Second, the image relates to what we have discussed as a global imaginaire in the first chapter of this work. Shoselov chose to show a struggle in which the whole globe was in need of rescue. The Bulgarian temperance youth did not see itself as a part of an isolated national campaign. It saw itself at the forefront of a global struggle.

Youth temperance and public culture: Literature, plays and dances

The pages of the youth temperance periodicals published also the debuts of some remarkable literary careers. Nikola Vaptsarov, sentenced to death and executed by a firing squad in July 1942 for his collaboration with the communist underground, published his first poem titled Towards Bright Ideals! [Към светли идеали!] at the age of 16 on the pages of the Ideological-organizational Organ of the Pupils’ Temperance Union in 1926. By the end of the 1926 Vapcarov had published another two poems – Last song [Последна песен] and A Torch Will Shine [Да грейне факел]. Vapcarov who came to be perhaps the most celebrated Bulgarian poet of the 20th century, already gave indications of his revolutionary views in these early poems. In particular the shining torch believed a somewhat violent potential –

Let a torch shine in every pub,
and let everything rotten burn,
[...] raise it in the dark horizons,
let the torch of sobriety shine!

Other authors, who would have a lasting influence on the Bulgarian literature of the 20th century, such as Georgi Karaslavov, also published regularly in the youth periodicals. Some periodicals even had a ‘literary section’ devoted almost exclusively to poetry, but also to the printing of short stories or parts of novels. An original comic contribution to the topic of temperance could found as early as 1895 in the work of Aleko Konstantinov. His short story Association ‘Temperance’ featured the ever popular Bai Ganyo Balkanski, who together with

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86 See extraordinary, pre-congressional issue of 1926
87 Borba, V:2, p. 8 and V:3, p. 12 respectively.
88 Ibid.
89 See for example Karaslavov’s The Death of the Drunkard in Ibid., VI:3, p. 7
some other established gentlemen organized a temperance association. Upon founding it, however, the group decides to raise a toast in celebration and the whole event is eventually reduced to a binged debauchery.90

Literary studies – in Bulgaria as elsewhere91 – have long privileged high poetry and prose over what is usually seen as profane or low-class, mass entertainment such as melodrama. Such inclination, combined with the overall historical neglect of the temperance movement as a major social reform movement on the Balkans, has left what seems a significant genre of the interwar period untouched. While there are indications that some leading figures of the movement experimented with new media in the interwar period such as radio and cinema, we can be certain that the temperance plays had a more profound reach. This lacuna is all the more striking in the context of the history of the youth temperance movement – periodicals literally abound with reports and photographs of the various plays of children and pupil temperance drama clubs (see figure 33). Correspondence from even rural settings evidenced a great activity in this regard. Let us read one example at length.

Mr. Editor,

We, the pupils from the village of Hrishteni, in the region of Stara Zagora, are proud to inform you, that we gave our first temperance performance on the 19th of March, in the evening. Our good teacher Mr. Petko Rusenski posted posters in all the pubs. Tickets were sold out. Now came the happy hour of the performance. Villagers flocked to the doors of the theater.

I also took part. I recited the poem ‘Mother’s song’ from Al. Georgiev [NK, a protestant temperance activist]. We played three plays – ‘Spoiled son,’ ‘The two Petios,’ and ‘The merry drunks.’ We made an auction, from which we got some 260 lv. From the whole evening we gathered some 815 lv, with which we plan to buy temperance literature.

[...] Jela Ganeva, a pupil92

Whether this letter was published verbatim by the editor has been so far impossible to recover. No such letters could be found in Neichev’s personal archive or in the various temperance youth institutional archives. In any case, a lot of the correspondence published in the periodicals seems to follow a suspiciously similar-sounding pattern. Doubts might be raised also by the often mentioning in high-regard of the periodical at hand as well as the expression of demand. Modern marketing might categorize such a practice as a product placement. The fact remains, however, that such groups existed, many attached a photo with a plea to be published, and that they organized performances. What is even more important, is the report on the finances related to the theatrical event. If theaters were seen as ‘schools for citizens,’93 then such performances and experiments with melodrama were certainly conducive to the creation of a civil society and maybe even a literary public sphere.

90 Konstantinov 1895
91 Frick 2003, pp. 1-17
92 Trezvache, III:9-10, p. 7
93 Frame 2006
Temperance plays had a double educational mandate. They taught the virtues of abstinence to the audience, while simultaneously they also instructed the actors in performance and reciting. Further, such performances figured largely in the institution building skills and the associational culture of the movement as the income from admission was surely more than welcome by the administration of the youth groups.

What was the use of plays and who would stage them? It seems that there was a great diversity and openness in the adaptation of different literary texts to the stage. Temperance drama clubs of younger children were organized and instructed by their teacher and might adapt any short story from the pages of a temperance periodical. Topics would range from the depleting nature of the pub, to the dethroning of Tsar Alcohol or the financial strains faced by a family in rural settings.94 A favorite – albeit sometimes overly morbid – topic was the issue of domestic violence incited by alcohol. One such story that probably had been staged was the story of a village drunkard named Ivan, who – despite his children’s ‘timid cries’ – killed his wife and fled.95 “They found him two days later in a granary. The dragon has left his body and returned to the pub.”96 Elderly children produced and staged their own adaptations of stories or even used full-fledged temperance plays for the purpose. Some of those were translations, some were even penned by young temperance activists; some were published on the pages of a periodical, some were published on their own.97

94 See for example Sobriety, IV:8, pp. 14-5
95 Trezvache, IV:3, pp. 2-3
96 Ibid., p. 3
97 See for example the play Victim of the Demon penned by Peter Iliev-Slivenski in Vuzdurzhatel, XII: 10, pp. 153-9. The author, born in 1881 joined as a teenager a protestant temperance group. A footnote to the play explains
If temperance plays and performance were vigorously supported by the elder ranks and teachers in the movement, there was one artistic expression and pastime that created heightened tensions. A terpsichorean anxiety seem to me the best description of the phenomenon. Dancing, especially in combination with ‘imported’ music was seen by many as a behavior profoundly conflicting with the tenets of temperance. Thus, the teachers’ periodical published an appeal for vigilance to all teachers in Bulgaria in 1935, noting that

Next to the pubs, our streets are rife with spitefully mocking cabarets and bars, in which our sisters sell their bodies, curse and brutally stampede over their souls in the mire of depravity. Men and women dance rapt in every nook and cranny under the rhythm of jazz-band African dances. The wonderful, graceful folk dances (hora) are thrown to the garbage because of the cynical throes of the Negroes. Bookstores and newsstands are taken over by the tentacles of pornography, the roulette rattles ominously in the background, through gambling it makes from honorable men former-humans, refuse at the bottom of life.98

Degrading imported dances were often juxtaposed to the purity the national folk dance. Some years earlier the same periodical, for example, gave an account of the musical-literary entertainment evening hosted by the Plovdiv Institute for Teachers on the 24th of December 1924. After a round of a traditional horo, a modern music played and invited to dance. The music was soon booed to silence by the majority of the attendees and the dancing enthusiast found themselves defending ‘dancing’. “Let us dance tonight, tomorrow we will be moral once again and we will teach morality; let us make an exception’ and many other absurd arguments were heard. [...] The initiative to boycott dances belonged to the temperance students at the institute.”99 How this animosity towards ‘foreign’ dances was reconciled with the typically foreign friendly tone of the movement remains unclear. It could be noted, however, that the anti-dance articles often used a highly racialized language, amounting to anti-black racism and connected with particular fears of sexuality, otherwise hardly present in the temperance literature. Some even evoked a language of degeneration, hinting at racial hygiene:

We perish in the vortex of inebriation [...] one of the first expressions of our degeneration are the modern dances. [...] The time when our then virgin and pure people knew only the graceful folk dance [hora] is gone. [...] Now we watch Josephine Baker. There we found beauty and rhythm. What a downfall of taste and moral honor! It is not by chance that she has told us that she repays the whites for the annihilation of her people. She repays in kind in that she teaches the whites of her contortions, she teaches them her naked flesh and they degenerate in ecstasy.

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98 Sober education, XIII:3, p. 4 [bold in original]
99 Ibid., V:12, p. 3
[...] Let us start our evaluation of the modern dances from a hygienic perspective. [...]100

The article would go for another three pages in reference to medical doctors and critique of Baker’s clothing and moves. Apart from this fascinating knot of morality, racism and science, the quote is also interesting in its own for the evidence it brings to the fore the fact that cinema newsreels as well as gramophone records could transport a piece of the Paris bustling of the 1920s or the Harlem Renaissance to Sofia. It will be only the early 1970s when Josephine Baker would visit Bulgaria at the Golden Orpheus musical festival as a guest of honor.

Counter-currents and politics

The youth temperance movement allows us also to take a closer look at the counter currents at the time. The seemingly innocuous idea of temperance made it relatively difficult to form a counter discourse. By the interwar period the hegemonic scientific stance on alcohol, the one also promoted by the STI campaigns in the US and elsewhere, was that it was detrimental for the individual and society at large. The voices to counter the temperance movement in Bulgaria could be summarized under two categories. First, there were those who were immediately and materially concerned with the production or sell of alcohol. Pub owners and wine producers were, of course, well aware of the progress of temperance. Although they could not organize a counter movement they could still violently defend their interests on the ground. Further, they could join forces in campaigns in the days leading to crucial local option referenda. The second heading of counter voices was the state and more precisely its right wing political tendencies in the late 1920s and 1930s. If the two founding and cardinal figures – Neichev and Dimchev – could be categorized as social-democrats, the youth branches of the temperance movement exhibited worrisome communist and anarchist tendencies. It was precisely the popularity of the movement that necessitated a state reaction. In this context came the subsequent attempt at controlling and taming of the youths. We will discuss these two counter tendencies in turn.

It was not all plays, music and marches for the young temperance activists. They also became involved in struggles over prohibition and in wider politics. Some faced verbal abuse, physical threats and sometimes even fists. In February 1931, the BTF came up with note of protest deploring the recent beatings of members of the youth organizations.

[...] during a public gathering in Poduene, the speaker was taken off the podium by an organized group and afterwards beaten mercilessly outside of the venue by the same people. Recently, again after finishing a talk for the pupils of the Middle Technical School, at the invitation of the temperance group there, the presenter – the agitator of the BFT and the head of the Youth Temperance Neutral Union – was also ambushed by a group of outsiders [i.d. not members of the group in the school], but who were present at his talk. He

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100 Sobriety, XVI:4, pp. 80-1 [italic in original]
was beaten mercilessly and as they smashed his head they explained to him that they defend Bulgaria in this way.\textsuperscript{101}

It is impossible to recover from this declaration what interests – apart from the announced Bulgarian – the assailant were representing. A clue is given at the end of the declaration in which the BTF notes that it is ‘far removed’ from any political or religious debates in the country and only serves its people. If such aggression could remain camouflaged behind the anonymity of the urban setting of Sofia there were other reports from villages that were rather explicit in their reference to the amalgamation of pub capital and local police. \textit{Sober Youth} published a letter from an activist from the village of Koynare.

On the 24th of November 1930 the Youth Temperance Organization ‘Self-Awareness’ (Koynare village) organized a public talk, at which the head of the Union Mr. Blazhev was supposed to talk. For this purpose we had informed the municipal authorities and we got the permission of the Mayor to announce the gathering by the means of the church bell. But when the bells started ringing, the head of the police department was debauching at the Gloga pub. Apparently the bells inconvenienced him, while some of his personal friends told him that it was a communist gathering. He came to the school, where the meeting was taking place, and with the most cynical and vulgar words - ‘Your mother […], people are in bed already, trying to fall asleep and you are organizing a meeting, sounding alarm and breaking their peace’ - and disbanded our meeting. He arrested the head of the local organization Mr. Celov and the secretary Ivan Bochev as the responsible figures. After he finished his drinks at the pub, he came back to the police station and freed the two arrested without raising any charges and without any inquest.

[...] Be sober!
Iv. Bochev\textsuperscript{102}

The article left the readers of the \textit{Sober Youth} with the somewhat sardonic feeling that the ‘Self-Awareness’ group was not aware of the dangerous of such activities. After all, violence against temperance activists was not entirely novel. In a historic appraisal of Clarke the other youth periodical, \textit{Sobriety}, noted that he “roamed around Bulgaria and Macedonia in heat and cold, surmounting dangers and calamities and as an expression of gratitude he got back abuse and misfortune. He got robbed (in Tsarigrad [Istanbul], Lovech), got beaten up (Sopot, Panagyurishte, etc.), but he never gave up and thanks to his activities the ideas of temperance got spread in Bulgaria.”\textsuperscript{103} What was novel, however, in the beatings of the late 1920s and 30s was the by now widespread reach of the movement. Pub owners were subject to mockery and derision in children plays, while facing also a constant threat of a local referendum and closure. In this context, the implicit suggestions made in the above cited letter that the pub owner was one of the figures who incited the police constable to action seem highly probable.

\textsuperscript{101} Far, II, 1:24
\textsuperscript{102} Sober Youth, IV:5-6, p. 2
\textsuperscript{103} Sobriety, IX:4-5, pp. 139-40
Taking the perspective of the pub business and wine production, shows how a time of crisis called for concerted action. When the town of Stara Zagora – located in a major wine producing region and famous for its beer brewery – voted on the 10th of July 1921 to close all its pubs, the temperance activists were met with an active and resolute counter campaign, leading to the eventual rejection of the bid.¹⁰⁴

On a national level, the Association of the Wine Producers also followed carefully the anti-alcohol campaigns executed by the temperance movement. As already noted, the different branches of the temperance movement had different strategies of campaigning, many, however, recognized the need to address the question of wine producing and substitution in a constructive way. Temperance journals informed their readers how to transform the production so that alcohol free wine could be yielded. Further, machinery and non-alcohol vineyard cooperatives were advertised on the pages of some of this journals. Promotional campaigns, as for example the so called Wine Week, organized with the help of the ministry of Agriculture, were, however, usually met with vehement verbal attacks and calls for counter demonstrations. The wine press itself dated back to the 1890s and was of a predominantly instructional character. Major themes were the phylloxera, brand counterfeits and the improvement of the quality of wine produced. In the wake of the Law for National Health in 1929, however, a new periodical was started with the expressed aim of countering temperance campaigns. Wine – the new journal – called to wine producers and tavern keepers to be vigilant and alert and to take the threat of prohibition seriously. Many of the favorite themes of temperance periodicals were reversed. The idea that wine is poison ridiculed, activists portrayed as fanatics and the problems associated with the US prohibition discussed in detail. The historical issue of national liberation was used as further munition. Many of the figures associated with the national independence used to meet in taverns.¹⁰⁵

This again was an inverted version of the conventional temperance discourse that had appropriated figures such as Vasil Levski to the cause of anti-alcoholism.¹⁰⁶ The journal of Wine ceased its publications only six months after its initiation, but other periodicals associated with wine production seemed to have been content with some of the compromises in the Law of National Health as well as with the fact that nationwide prohibition never materialized. Even if no active counter-temperance movement could be established and the scientific discourse on the detriments alcohol could not be seriously challenged, it seems that drinking was not easy to uproot from the structures of everyday life.

Why temperance organizations – the youth branch in particular – were perceived as such a threat by some state actors, pub owners and wine producers? A closer look at the 1927 crisis and the subsequent events in the movement could offer us a better understanding. The closing and ban on the pupils’ temperance groups met with an indignant reaction from the entire temperance press. Needless to say, there were diverse expressions to be found. The protestant journal Vuzdurzhatel reacted with an editorial article, noting that the reason for the closing of the union was ‘lefty tendencies’. The editorial of the journal readily admitted

¹⁰⁴ Ivanova 1993, p 367
¹⁰⁵ Borislavov 2004, pp. 96-8
¹⁰⁶ See for example Sober Youth, VIII:3, p. 3. One journal even published an article on Levski in Esperanto – Sober thought, III:8, pp. 13-4
that it could not judge whether this was entirely true. Indeed, the article claimed that if the administration of the union has been propagating communism it got what it deserved. “If on the other hand, there were only individuals with communist views, who as individuals might even have performed communist agitation, the Ministry should have – after all they are simply pupils – twisted their ears and not have closed the union.”107 The tone in Sober Youth was very different, one might say combatant. The article that came in the wake of the decision of the Ministry tried to explain and contextualize this ‘blow’ in a broader historical context. It claimed that ‘reactionary’ elements have started an opposition to the movement ever since its inception.

At first the passivity of the whole society, than the active intrusion of one part of it in our young movement, later on the frequent and shattering hindrances posed by administrative and school authorities – a systemic problem in many parts of the country – all these weighed down on us. Still we thought – accidental, profanity, the government does not support this reaction […] until this last act – a bolt from the blue – of the official authorities, disbanding the strongest part of our movement. […] There is no time to loose – with all legal means and strength we should mount a rebuff against this outrage and encroachment on our brothers!108

Importantly, this particular periodical sensed that its own position was not safe any longer. It called for vigilance on behalf of the ‘whole temperance movement’ and for the preservation of the integrity of the Youth Neutral Temperance Union. Even the authority of international expertise was summoned to the rescue – the journal quoted Dr. Robert Hercod who had allegedly said that this particular organization needed its own, autonomous administration.109

In the wake of this crisis, tensions within the movement reached a high peak and a blame game ensued. Later in the year the IOGT was thrown out of the BTF, one of the reasons being that Neichev had allegedly claimed in front of the Ministry of Education that the Pupils’ Union did not have any ‘precedent’ around the world.110 In its defense, the IOGT came up with a resolution denying any relation to the decision of the Ministry. This being said, it also readily admitted that it did not approve of many of the ‘external activities,’ the ‘lack of discipline,’ and absence of ‘control’.111 The alleged comment of ‘no precedent’ was perhaps the most pointed attack. It actually meant – and this was, indeed, close to the truth – that the pupils’ organization was unique in its autonomy and self-administration. This was also reflected in the sequence of measures taken up by the ministry. The initial decree was the closing of the organizations on the ground. This was, however, not the most astute of move. One could ban free association with the same success. In other words, structures on the ground existed already and it was only to be expected that students will find an alternative way to continue with their meetings. Indeed, a network of clandestine organizations might have been a lot

107 Vuzdurhatel XIII, 8:113
108 Sober Youth, II:2, pp. 10-1
109 On Hercod see Spöring 2014
110 Sober Youth, II:5-6, p. 16
111 1027k, au 12, No 4
more dangerous and conducive to the spread of radical political ideas and ‘sedition’. Thus, the ministry soon banned the umbrella organization – the union and its periodicals. In another step, just some 8 months after banning the PTU, with a circular number 34531 from the 10th of November 1928 the ministry allowed the local organizations again.\footnote{112} By the beginning of 1929 a number of those had been revived.\footnote{113} However, now they were to be headed by a teacher. This meant two parallel developments. In schools, where there were no teachers that were active proponents of temperance, the groups were facing \textit{a de facto} closing or a sluggish, disinterested administration. Further, even if groups enjoyed the leadership of a champion-of-temperance teacher, there was a hidden catch. Teachers were direct employees of the state. Through a system of school administration and inspectorates this meant that they could be easily reprimanded and/or controlled by the Ministry of Education. When the existence of the union was eventually allowed again, it was conditioned on the participation of teachers in its administration. The newspaper \textit{Borba} was discontinued after its last June edition of 1927. In order to rescue the journal of \textit{Sobriety} – which proudly stated on its first page that it was indorsed by a decree 6,413 of the Ministry of Education from 21.3.1922 – it had to be transformed from an \textit{Ideological-organizational Organ of the Pupils’ Temperance Union} to a \textit{Journal for the Sober and Studying Youth}, published now by the BTF.\footnote{114} Eventually, the editorial board made of pupils had to be substituted by a single editor – Hristo Dimchev – and the journal was now published by the Teachers’ Union.\footnote{115} Although other temperance organizations continued their work during the Second World War, the PTU was banned for good in 1939.\footnote{116}

To fully understand the potential anxiety of the authorities’ one should look into the potential of the temperance organizations. Associations appeared in a mushroom fashion throughout the nation. In the span of only 5-6 years, the various branches could organize a joint annual meeting. The demonstrations and the public support gathered in such short span must have been highly impressive (see figure 34). The statistics published by \textit{Sobriety}, concerning the numbers of the \textit{Pupils Union} before its closing and after its reinstatement are even more illustrative. “In the school year of 1924/4 the P.N.T.U. had 121 branches with some 7100 male and female pupil members and another 67 sections with 3540 children; when the union was closed in 25/6 [sic!], it already numbered around 20 000 members in 146 sections and some 10000 sober children in 150 subsections. There were some 2000 papers and presentations delivered.”\footnote{117} Some months after the closing of the union an article in the same journal claimed that pupils’ temperance organizations remained active in around two thirds of all high-schools and boasted a membership of still some 3937 members.\footnote{118} Such statistics were produced among other things with the idea of appeasing the pupils and showing them that associations on the ground have not drastically dwindled in numbers. However, it is an invaluable source in our evaluation of the significance of the associations. One article for

\begin{itemize}
\item \footnote{112} 1027K, au 12, doc. 16
\item \footnote{113} Sobriety, XI:1, pp. 1-4
\item \footnote{114} Sobriety, X:1
\item \footnote{115} Sobriety, XI:6-7, p. 121
\item \footnote{116} CSA 1664K, Историческа справка
\item \footnote{117} Ibid., XIV:1, p. 2
\item \footnote{118} Ibid., XI:6-7, p. 122
\end{itemize}
example listed the immediate revival of such organizations in 45 high-schools across the country. It gives us the overall number of students in the listed establishments – with a correction of some missing information I have put the number to 16544 – of these some 2664 were members in the resurrected temperance structures, making around 16% or almost every 6th high-school student.\textsuperscript{119} Even if we take a broader picture and correct for the gymnasia that did not supply information and the ones that did not have (or did not resurrect respectively) an organization, it seem that with the most reserved calculations we will still arrive at one out of ten students. With such numbers we can safely assume that the pupils’ temperance associations were the most significant youth and reform non-governmental organization in the interwar period. Further, it should be taken into consideration that from 1921 the high-school became obligatory. Children were expected to study 7 years between the age of seven and fourteen and, according to some reliable statistics, in the school year of 1926-7 there were around 85.2% attendance to the obligatory schools.\textsuperscript{120} Combining these various sources, offers us a picture of 1927, in which a broad section of the prospective citizens and eligible voters were not simply reached by the temperance message, but were in fact active members in the Pupils’ Organizations. Meanwhile the Teachers’ Temperance Union listed some 831 members for the year of 1928-9 that had paid their annual membership fee.\textsuperscript{121} This could be juxtaposed to the overall number of 24324 teachers in Bulgaria, counted for the school year 1925-6, i.e. two years prior to the publication of the number above.\textsuperscript{122} If we assume that these were stable, we come to some 3.4% of active temperance activists among the whole of the teachers’ professional body.

What can we say about the plausibility of the governmental accusations? There are a number of points that deserve attention here. First, it should be noted that the language used by the Pupils’ Union was often evocative of struggle and clearly contributed to the creation of an environment saturated with a combative mood. Pupils were fighting against alcohol and for liberation, slaying beasts and trying to deliver shattering blows. In the early years of the movement an explicit reference to a revolution was not uncommon. One of the issues of \textit{Sobriety} in 1922 commented on the essence of the Pupils’ Organization. “Our movement is a social one and as such it is dearly needed. Reactionary elements cannot exist in our organization. Because, I repeat so that it is remembered by all, our organization is a revolutionary one.”\textsuperscript{123} Even in the wake of the news of the decision of the Ministry of Education, one could read the following lines written by a 6th grade pupil in \textit{Sobriety}:

\begin{quote}
We were left like orphans
To roam around the wilderness
Yearning for the blue flag
To shout with a victorious thunder:
"We will work as one against you"
\end{quote}

\begin{flushleft}
\textsuperscript{119} Ibid., XI:2, pp. 36-8
\textsuperscript{120} Daskalov 2005, v. 2, pp. 362-4
\textsuperscript{121} Sober Education, VI:27-9, p. 4
\textsuperscript{122} Daskalov 2005, v. 2, p. 383
\textsuperscript{123} Sobriety, V:6, p. 1
\end{flushleft
Apart from the language, some of the activities – the derision of pub owners by the means of melodramatic plays – must have raised eyebrows. Others, such as the massive demonstrations, must have caused a more definitive concern even among people who were not associated with the alcohol industry (see figure 34). Thirdly, although the issue of partisanship was recognized as highly sensitive by temperance activists even before the closing – after all this was the central point of calling the union ‘neutral’ – we can assume without much doubt that the structures of the union were without doubt used as a channel of propagating political ideas. Following this, we can also safely assume that at least a small proportion of the members of the associations participated precisely because the temperance movement seemed to be a neutral podium for a social reform with some outspoken moral undercurrents. Although it is difficult to disentangle and claim with certainty to what degree the movement was a veneer of a broader political goals and to what degree broader political goals were the periphery of the ideals of anti-alcoholism.

Figure 34. Temperance demonstration on the streets of Plovdiv, 1924. *Borba*, III:1-2, between pages 8 and 9

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124 Sobriety, XI:1, p. 15
and temperance, some further elaboration is possible through an analysis of some historic and historiographic evidence.

The propaganda documentary *A Man of the People* [Човек от народа], produced by Boyana Films in 1981 and serving as a biography of the authoritarian leader of the communist party at the time, Todor Zhivkov, appropriated the story of the temperance movement to its own needs. Thus, some of Zhivkov’s old-time comrades claimed that the ‘communist underground was concentrated in the temperance movement’. The fact that Zhivkov was an abstainer was often used by temperance activists in the period between the 1950s and 1989. Indeed, the historiography of the period made often bold statements about the interwar development of the temperance movement, claiming for example that the journal of the Pupils’ Union was often preoccupied with the structural and social reasons of alcoholism. “This impetuous search of alternatives for the future led the whole temperance movement to the methodology and tenets of the historical materialism and the Marxism-Leninism.” Alternatively, texts written post 1989, mentioning the temperance movement have made – if not diametrically opposing – some dissenting statements. In his memoirs Stoyan Tzolov, seen by many as one of the major anarchist thinkers in Bulgaria, wrote that

*We, the young anarcho-communists and anarcho-syndicalists dominated the Youth Neutral Temperance Union. Its organ *Sober Youth* was written in the spirit of freedom. In the meetings of the Youth Temperance Union, we always managed to include more regular members and to have a majority in the decision making – we did not allow the Bolsheviks to assert themselves in their usual Machiavellian ways.*

As already noted, there were also authors that claimed even that there was a Moscow connection and plan of infiltration of the pupils’ organization on account of their popularity. We should be cautious in using such evidence as reflecting ‘real’ historic processes. Nonetheless, it should be noted that even after the closing of the pupils’ union and the subsequent gracious reopening, there were still signs of ideological foment. In August 1933 an article in *Sober Youth*, signed T. Tomov, reiterated the ‘belief’ of the Youth Temperance Organization that drinking practices were entangled in ‘broader social structures’. Although claiming that the YTO is a cultural-educational organization, it claimed that its field of activity encompassed many evils. "Alcoholism is tightly related to the modern social order. The fight against alcoholism is thus a fight against the modern social structure. Alcoholism is tightly related with imperialist cravings of the capital, including the alcohol capital." Even if such opinions were not necessarily shared by the editorial and came under the rubric of ‘open tribune’ – the open opinion and correspondence – its publishing still shows a degree determination and a refusal to cave in to government censorship. Even the aforementioned unfortunate ‘Lovech incident,’ the attempt of some youth activists to

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125 See http://youtu.be/kZ7qXq7EeSY?t=6m36s [accessed on thr 8th of February, 2015]
126 National Committee for Sobriety 1966, p. 6
127 Tzolov 2007, p. 175
128 Petkov 1982
129 Sober Youth, VI:9-10, p. 2
130 See previous chapter on the waving of red flags at the temperance demonstration in Lovech.
hijack the manifestation at the annual congress, was reported in mild terms on the pages of Sober Youth. While the BTF felt forced to print pamphlets and posters with an ‘explanation’ and apology for the Lovech population and claimed that these were intruders who had ‘nothing to do with our movement,’ the Sober Youth gave a somewhat different account. First, it traced the act back to one branch of the youth organization – ‘the people around Sober Tribune’ – who, however, commissioned other students (presumably their communist friends) to do ‘their job for them.’ The short report simply stated that after the police stepped in everything continued peacefully.131

A final window into the politics of the youth temperance movement in the 1920s and 30s could be offered through some of the materials published in their periodicals dealing with eugenics, racial hygiene and sterilization. Similarly to the transformations described in the previous chapter, the stance of the various organs of the youth branch became – just like Borba s alkoolizma – more skeptical and doubtful in the years following 1933. However, we could also trace some important differences. If the IOGT led by Neichev and the Teachers’ Union led by Dimchev had an open social-democratic position and some of the BTF members a more conservative and/or nationalistic political believes, most of the active members of the Pupils’ and Youth organizations had a more expressed left wing views. This is also reflected in their views on eugenics. In particular after 1933, the articles dealing with the subject became outspokenly concerned with environment and its effects on the ‘human condition.’ In 1935 for example, an article under the title On Sterilization commented that this is a topical issue, noted that there were new legal frameworks in the US and Germany and that sterilization has even become a part of political programs. After noting that without a doubt there were ‘humanitarian reasons’ behind some of the campaigns for eugenics, the article went on to claim that

It is a fact that the ways for creating the genius are serendipitous and capricious, shall we forget this? Aren’t we risking to loose for the world a whole valuable generation with its all high qualities through sterilization? [...] And who has created the potential subject for sterilization - the so-called socially harmful individual? Without any doubt, his creators are the conditions under which he/she and his/her ancestors were born, raised and developed.132

And further, with hindsight one might say even more importantly, the article warned against the ‘inevitable’ misuse:

It should not be forgotten that it would be very easy to and inevitably it will be speculated with a legal sterilization of the 'harmful'. The danger that the man of the day will sterilize the falsely accused 'harmful' will be always present - there is no guarantee that it will not be used by one today and another one tomorrow.133

131 Ibid., VI:1, p. 3
132 Ibid., VIII:7, p. 2
133 Ibid., p. 4
The article concluded with the remark that there should be other ways than sterilization for ‘racial hygiene’ and that everyone deserved a ‘dignified life’. In the end of the same year a comprehensive article on Eugenics by Dr. Eftim Petrov started in the same newspaper and spanned over several issues. The article began with a frontal attack on the concept of racial hygiene – originating from the German Rassenhygiene as we discussed above – claiming that it is false and should be substituted with eugenics. “The racial purifying is aimless and stupid because, first, it is an egoistic and grandomaniac ideal and, second, there are no pure anthropological races, ergo there is nothing to be purified.” 134 Although the article went on in somewhat positive tone about the aims of eugenics its concluding part commented that “it [was] absolutely unthinkable to have any eugenic measures before improving the social conditions of the broad social layers.” 135 Finally, the question of alcoholism and eugenics was raised.

In what ways the fight against alcoholism will be fought is a question for the sociology and social medicine. However, as far as the alcoholism is a prodigy of the unfavorable material conditions of existence, the fight against alcoholism will be aided by our fight against such conditions. 136

Although the door for sterilization was left ajar, the environmental causes for alcoholism were portrayed as unquestionably foremost.

Conclusion

Although the first attempts with children temperance groups could be traced far back to the early missionary organizations of the 1880s and the Evangelical Temperance Movement had a lasting campaign for STI in schools, the first breakthrough on the juvenile front came only in the closing years of the First World War. Based on a globally spread idea that children were in a liminal stage in which it was crucial to educate them against the vices and dangerous of life, teachers and adult temperance activists delivered an initial push. Further, the attempts to establish various organizations that would correspond to various age groups, reflected the a broader logic that children are the key to a successful reform – after all they were the ones to maintain and if necessary construct a new society. Sometimes children were addressed explicitly with such message of their fateful role in the building of a bright future. Thus, in 1922 an Appeal was published on the pages of Sobriety, addressed to all pupils of the world – ‘the citizens of tomorrow.’ Among other things, the letter signed by Courtenay Weehs [sic!, Weeks], conveyed a message of destiny to the young temperance activists: “You are apostles of truth, which the world today does not understand. Tomorrow the people of today – ignorant and uneducated as they might be – will be taken by your holy enthusiasm and will bow to you. Your crusade will be blessed with victory tomorrow!” 137 Such, almost millenarian promises were, however, only part of the allure of the youth temperance movement in Bulgaria. It had the function, but also the appeal, of an environment that through an active participation in an associational culture could teach the basics of civil society. Even if an

134 Ibid., IX:3, p. 2
135 Ibid., IX:6, p. 2
136 Ibid.
137 Sobriety, IV:5-6, p. 26
argument for a ‘school of democracy’ might sound overly positive, the various associations surely provided valuable lessons in the participation of public events and talks as well as in organizational matters. The writing, editing and accounting for periodicals published well into the thousands and shipped around the country is but one example.

New media were supposed to reach children in a more efficient and susceptible way. Melodramatic plays and visual materials proved, however, to be not simply channels through which youth could be reached, but in fact a profoundly new means for children to express and develop their views. The significance of the last point could not be overestimated. The name of the perhaps most celebrated poet in the Bulgarian language of the 20th century – Vaptzarov – and his literary debut on the pages of youth temperance periodical stand as evidence to this point. The various youth organizations also proved to be the most outspoken in their political views. This came even to the detriment of some of its structures, the PTU is a case in point, and was even perceived by other temperance activists as a risk to the whole movement. Nevertheless, there has been evidence that even during the rule of some right-wing governments, the youth movement was a podium – if not a safe-haven – for many self-acclaimed communists and anarchists.

This final point leads us to one of the lacunae left by the study at hand. The aftermath of the 1944 political change and the subsequent activities of the temperance movement remain a topic for research. Already in the 1920s and 30s there were signs that the temperance movement had a strong life-cycle element and logic at its core. The project, if we accustom a child in temperance we will have a life-long abstainer, had a side effect as well. Some of the most active members in the primary school temperance groups grew to be active in the pupils’ organizations, youth organizations, etc. This was also reflected in the years following September 1944 as some of the old-time youth activists became part of the now state governed temperance. The organizations based once on free-association and private initiatives in the printing of periodicals, were now subsumed in a welfare state project for physical fitness, education and social health. In addition, many of the former participants in the youth temperance movement were now public figures. To trace this life-cycles and to see what temperance meant under communist rule will be a fascinating research project, which unfortunately lies beyond the scope and the time frame of the present study. One can assume, however, that the new state structures were hardly conducive for the development of associational culture and public participation in the same way that the stormy youth temperance movement of the 1920s and 30s was.
CONCLUSION
We started our journey in the global history of temperance and its particular Bulgarian articulation with the translated criminal code of the Sultan, later turned into a collection of WCTU heroines. The palimpsest of global history, especially the gluing over of new material on its pages, was a useful metaphor for the multilayered and continuously enriched history of entanglements in the region. If we want to paste the findings of the study and update the palimpsest, we should necessarily start in the wake of Zoe Ann Marie Locke’s endeavors in organizing temperance groups. Some of Locke’s colleagues such as James Clarke, his daughter Elizabeth Clarke as well as Agnes Baird were instrumental in the organization of temperance groups, the introduction of a form of STI outside of the curriculum and in the initial impetus of temperance publications. For American missionaries temperance in the Balkans was part and parcel of a broader mission to reform the world after a particular, evangelical moral ideal. Thus, many of the institutions and mechanisms for reaching the broader public and eventually winning converts for the cause were based on a real or imagined American model. This being said, differences between the ‘receiving’ and ‘giving’ ends, between ‘home’ and ‘host’ societies cannot be overstated. Whether these were cause by the structural context of the transforming Bulgarian society and/or by the inherent logic of a civilizing mission seems to be a question of degrees rather than monocausal issue. What remains important is that the perpetuation of differences was a base of further ‘othering’. In contrast to the United States, for example, we have to note that most of the ‘native’ temperance activists in Bulgaria were male. Thus, the pages of the palimpsest have to witness the overlaying of some of the WCTU suffragists with the most active and successful temperance activists between 1890 and 1920, such as Marko Popov.

The interwar period presents a particular challenge for the leather binding of the of the translated hatt-i humayun. The number of temperance associations in Bulgaria grew immensely. There were teachers’ organizations, pupils’ and youth ones, fraternal lodges, civil and ‘neutral’ organizations, etc. The number of periodicals similarly grew in an explosive fashion. The emphasis on religion, found in the preceding period, was succeeded by a new professedly ‘medical’, social and above all scientific concerns of wellbeing. Drunkenness became alcoholism, alcohol was now depicted as a poison or venom. In this sense, alcohol was a particularly treacherous intoxicant that caused degeneration on a demographic level. In this way, although admittedly straying away from what seems with hindsight to have been more dangerous currents of ‘racial hygiene,’ the temperance movement was inextricably entangled with eugenic thought. Further, although the movement was professedly ‘international,’ friendly to anti-alcohol activists from around the world and was frequently associated with social democrats or even communists, it still managed to often accommodate a racialist and nationalist thought to its fold. Although the movement had by now become popular and there were many voices of representation and facets to its body, we still can find heroes that would make a fine addition to our palimpsest. One iconic figure for the Bulgarian movement was Auguste Forel, another was Dr. Robert Hercod. The most prominent ‘native’
activists were, of course, Dr. Haralampi Neichev and the teacher Hristo Dimchev. We are pressed to find heroines in the interwar period – for this we need to dig even deeper.¹

The temperance branch of the interwar period that deserves most space in the palimpsest, however, is without a doubt the movement among juveniles. Children and youth organizations provided a podium for the development of various civil skills. Children played in temperance drama pieces, teenagers managed financial accounts, edited journals and newspapers, wrote poems invested with symbolism and drew complex visuals. The enthusiasm among pupils for creating a new pure and sober society was matched by sometimes precarious political and reform aspirations. Nothing captures this better than the literary debut of Nikola Vapcarov on the pages of Borba and his untimely death through an execution squad in 1942. Vapcarov was sentenced for helping in the organization of resistance against fascism, his petition for pardon was rejected by King Boris Coburg-Gotha. Although such connections should not be overexploited, it seems that the youth branch of the movement did serve – in one way or another – the propagation of ideas that could be ascribed to the progressive left. When the government deemed the youth movement as too dangerous, effectively closing the umbrella organization only for a short while, it certainly could legitimize its moves with some of the publications and general language found in the temperance periodicals published under the auspices of the juvenile activists. Whether temperance venues and activities were used as a clandestine podium for spreading communist and revolutionary ideas remains unclear, but highly plausible. By any case, temperance historiographers in the 1960s and 70s were all too eager to claim that such connection existed.

Taken together the different chronological and organizational branches of the temperance movement in Bulgaria – one based on missionary zeal and religious morality, one inspired by a novel ‘belief’ in science and progress in the fight against alcoholism and one related to newly formed professional communities – it becomes rather apparent that the overwhelming majority of any significant developments in the local movement were entangled with even broader transformations on a global level. The long 19th century saw the global transformation of the drunkard into an alcoholic. What used to be a part of a project of reforming the world and the establishment of an American moral empire, was transformed into a project for the social and demographic ‘improvement’ of men based on scientific principles. The engine behind this new project was located in continental Europe and Switzerland in particular. Importantly, it was implicated in the early development of the discourse of Rassenhygiene. In this sense, the dissertation has shown that a study of a seemingly peripheral, European backwater and its odd anti-alcohol, reform movement has the potential to write a global history. The very transition of the center of the temperance empire from the US to continental Europe is best recognizable from without, in our case from the Balkans. Further, a global history approach could be also very helpful in discerning some particularities of the individual, local case. As already noted on multiple occasions, most

¹ See for example the issue of Trezva borba, V:5-6, celebrating the 10th anniversary of the BTF in 1937. Out of the 39 portraits representing the history of the BTF (and the temperance movement altogether) there are only two women – Dr Zoya Stavreva and A. Kreft.
developments in Bulgaria were not unique, but rather well integrated into a global pattern. If there was one development which stood out, it certainly was the youth temperance organization. There have been organizations like the Band of Hope that targeted children and conveyed a temperance message through the means of ‘entertainment’ such as drama plays and magic lantern shows. The WCTU’s project of introducing STI with the implicit (and sometimes even explicit) goal of influencing elections and prohibiting alcohol in the future could also be counted under the category of youth temperance. No parallel could be found, however, in relation to the initial freedom enjoyed by the youth activists in Bulgaria. Even when the state introduced a degree of control and censorship to the pupil’s organizations, the fact remains that the activities within the organizations and periodicals remained a rather empowering and emancipating force.

In the broader context of social transformations and territorial changes in the Balkans, the temperance movement also seems to have been highly responsive in nature. While in the initial period, characterized most by the Protestant version of temperance, the movement leaned more to a national cause in the fight against alcohol, the interwar period seems to have been more international. Nonetheless, what seems rather conspicuous is that even in this period there are hardly any connections to the temperance movements in Greece, Turkey or Romania. With the exception of some lectures given by Neichev in Serbia, the movement seems to have been connected globally but surprisingly well insulated locally. The reasons and implications for this regional isolationism in matters of temperance remain to be studied, but certainly would hold a clue to the general question of interconnectedness in Europe and the Balkans in particular.

Another issue that remained unaddressed in the study was the history of temperance beyond 1945. In the newly formed communist state of Bulgaria, the temperance movement was subsumed under the broader concern for social health and public wellbeing. Although such a development might seem at prima vista somewhat unique in the European experience, there is good evidence that parallel processes were taking place elsewhere. As we have noted already, the welfare-state in Europe took over the function of creating a healthier and soberer society from the non-governmental organizations of the pre-war period. If we glue over some of the new heads of the state institutions devoted to the curbing of alcoholism, we would doubtlessly recognize some of the youth leaders from the interwar period. What has to be taken into consideration in a potential study of Bulgarian socialist temperance, i.e. state led campaigns between 1945 and 1989, is the hidden bio-political agenda of the state. True, the Bulgarian temperance movement distanced itself from racial hygiene and negative eugenics already in the interwar period, while some of the leading eugenicists had to serve sentences in labor camps after September 1944. This, however, should not mean a linear transcription of the skepsis with regard to eugenics into the communist period. On the contrary, the positivist aspirations of the state and its confessed belief in ‘modernization’ and ‘science’ should be used as a departure point in understanding its dealings with alcoholics, drug addicts, the broader category of ‘social parasites’ and ethnic minorities.

One last lacuna that was neither resolved in this study nor could ever have Zoe Ann Marie Locke’s blessing for the pages of our palimpsest is the missing social history of alcohol
consumption in Bulgaria and perhaps even the Balkans. The work on the history of the temperance movement itself could reveal precious little that was untainted by the zeal of its activists. How did consumption patterns change over the period? The temperance discourse – as elsewhere – represented drinking as heavily gendered. But were really only men the ones who drank? The 20th century was also a period of slow but steady process of urbanization. What did that mean for the production and consumption of alcohol? What brands and what types of alcohol were preferred in different contexts? How did the difference in the structures of everyday life translated into drinking patterns along the rural/urban divide? Did class and ethnicity play an additional role? These are doubtlessly the questions that would guide us from an understanding of the global, political and social aspects of abstaining to an enriched understanding of the history of the engagement with a glass of wine.
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