

The main trends of science and popular science literature evolution in 1918–1935

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The author of the article analyzes the main trends of the development of Soviet medicine, which had an impact on science and popular science literature, and highlights the key points determining the evolution of healthcare in 1918–1935. The main source used is bibliographical indices “Knizhnaya letopis” [*Book chronicle*] and “Kniga v SSSR” [*Books in USSR*], which contain data on almost all the medical books, published in the RSFSR/USSR. In the course of the study, 10276 monographs and collections of articles were analyzed. The author believes that Soviet medical literature was influenced by state interests. An evaluation of science and popular science literature items has shown that small-scale brochures (less than 100 pages), accessible to the readers in terms of language, comprised the majority of them. However, during 1918–1935 their readership was changing. During Russian Civil War and in the 1920s, medical literature was being read mainly by workers and peasants, and that is why medical books of that time primarily concentrated on dangerous illnesses and mundane medical topics. In the 1930s, in response to the reforms in basic and higher education, various study guides became widespread. During the whole period under review, sanitary and hygienic subject matter was dominant in medical literature due to the policy of the Soviet state, which was aimed at health education. In the same time, there has been a certain transformation of a number of medical lines and specialties. In some areas, the line of research changed (psychology, physiology), in others, publication of new releases was discontinued (gerontology, eugenics, sexual pathology). In general, the study of science and popular science medical books allows to form a complete idea of how the foundation for the Soviet medicine was laid and what were the lines of development of its certain areas.

Keywords: *scientific and medical literature, bibliography, medical specialty, Soviet health care, the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR), the Soviet Union (USSR)*

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With the coming of the Bolsheviks to power, new bodies of government and administration were formed, and the role of the state and its relationship with the society was changed. The party and government bodies regulated the development of social sectors, including health. Numerous decrees, regulations, directives, circulars and other legal and normative documents of the Bolsheviks allow us to trace the formation of Soviet medicine. It can be argued that at the end of 1917–1918 such legal acts were not of long-term nature (assistance to the population of the areas affected by epidemics and war, medical aid

to soldiers of the Red Army, etc.), but since 1919 the legislation implied the formation of scientific and medical policy.

The most important document of this kind was the program of the RCP (b) (Russian Communist Party (the Bolsheviks), adopted at the 8th Party Congress in March 1919. For the first time the political program of the Bolsheviks (in recent past an illegal underground organization) included provisions for the public healthcare. It was a relatively small point of the program, which included a total of three goals: broad-based health interventions for workers (rehabilitation of residential areas, organization of food services based on science and hygiene, taking measures to prevent development and dissemination

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of infectious diseases, the creation of sanitary legislation), fight social diseases (tuberculosis, STDs, alcoholism) and creation of a public, free and qualified medical and pharmaceutical care [1, p. 401]. The program of the RCP (b) did not only set out the basic Bolshevik priorities in healthcare for the coming years (with the primary focus on the social hygiene areas), but it announced for the first time that healthcare management and development are now fully in the party-state jurisdiction.

In 1918–1935, the foundations of Soviet public health were laid. A network of new research facilities started to form, of laboratories and institutes, opened by the People's Commissariat of Health of the RSFSR (the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic), the Supreme Economic Council and the Council of People's Commissars. Such steps were taken by the Soviet authorities since their first years in power. Only in 1918 with the direct participation of N.A. Semashko and People's Commissar of Education of the RSFSR A.P. Lunacharsky was opened a biochemical laboratory of the RSFSR Supreme Economic Council, one of whose founders was the founding father of the Soviet biochemical school A.N. Bach, as well as the National Institute of Spa Medicine, headed by balneologist V.A. Alexandrov; the State X-ray and Radiological Institute, led by doctor N.I. Nemenov (here for the first time in the world they started to develop unique methods of X-ray diagnostics and therapy and study principles of biomedical radiology).

At the same time the Soviet government formed a new system of medical education. In 1920–1930, based on the medical faculties of universities (Astrakhan, Voronezh, Irkutsk, Kazan, Kiev, Moscow, Nicholaev, Novorossiysk, Perm, Petrograd, Rostov, Samara, Smolensk, Tomsk, Kharkov) and other institutions of higher education (Moscow Women's Higher Courses, the Petrograd Women's Medical Institute, Siberian Veterinary and Zootechnic Institute) independent medical schools were created, that were usually bound to the People's Commissariat of Health of the RSFSR/USSR.

Aspects of formation and development of Soviet public health were reflected in medical literature. It can be argued that the Soviet medical literature was shaped by the state interests. The

party/state structures (the Central Committee of the Communist Party, the Council of People's Commissars and the People's Commissariat of Health) determined the development of certain medical fields, which in turn affected the medical literature.

The purpose of this article is to conduct a systematic review of the literature published in 1918–1935 in Russian in the USSR on medical subjects, and on the basis of this analysis, to try to form conceptual ideas about the development of medicine in the period. The chronological period in question begins from the time of formation of the Soviet healthcare system, the establishment of research and academic medical institutions, and ends with the creation of a centralized authority (the formation of the All-Union People's Commissariat) and the overall completion of the formation of research and academic medical network. Within this period, we can separate the individual steps involved in the development of a particular clinical specialization. However, in our opinion, there is a number of qualitative criteria that distinguish the 1918–1935 biennium both of the previous pre-revolutionary times, and from the subsequent periods of Soviet healthcare development. These criteria and data and their change are reflected in academic and popular medical literature.

Our main sources were the data from the state bibliographies: "The Book Chronicle" and "The Book Annual in the USSR" (before 1927: "Book" and "Book in the USSR"). Both indexes were published by the Russian Book Chamber. "The Book Chronicle" is one of the oldest state bibliographic indexes in Russia (first volumes came out in 1907). In the 1920–1930's, it was a weekly publication. Until 1925, it published the names of the books received by the Book Chamber for a certain period, without any whatsoever division and in alphabetical order. Since 1925 the thematic sections were introduced, including "Psychology. Philosophy. Aesthetics" and "Medicine" ("Medical sciences"). Apart from these major topics the yearbook had sections of "Anatomy and Physiology", "Sanitation", "Hygiene", "Surgery", etc. Each of the indexes consisted of bibliographic records – the serial number and a brief description (author, title, publisher, year of printing, number of pages).

In 1920, the status of that issue suffered dramatic changes. Until 1920, the publications received by the Book Chamber from the publishers were registered in the bibliographical index. The Resolution of the Council of People's Commissars of the RSFSR on the mandatory registration of all printed publications was published in June 1920. Until 1990, all publishing houses within the RSFSR / USSR were obliged to submit 25 copies of all published matters to the Central Book Chamber. One copy was passed by the Book Chamber to the bibliographic index, where it was given a number and mentioned in an upcoming issue. Thus, the "Book Chronicle" practically was the only index that reflected all official publications, issued on the territory of the RSFSR / USSR during the entire Soviet period.

We took into account and analyzed the bibliographic data of 10,276 monographs and collections of articles. The indexes provide a complete picture of the medical publications, and help to form a basic understanding of the development of medicine. However, the lack of clear criteria for the division between clinical specializations led to the fact that works on histology could be found in anatomy and surgery sections, and oncology papers could be located only in gynecology (for example, if they had to do with cervical cancer). In our study, all the works are presented in accordance with the modern classification of medical specialties.

The vast majority of works, written on similar problems and using the same sources, as a rule, were of bibliographic nature [2–7]. The only exception is one fundamental study of the famous medical historian D.M. Rossiyskiy, published after the author's death [8] and, apparently, unfinished. So, in 1917–1941 D.M. Rossiyskiy mentioned 47 titles, including both monographs and journals' articles.

The Soviet authorities rather rigidly controlled the process of preparation and publication of medical books, necessary to the state and the people. So, for these purposes, by the end of 1918 the People's Commissariat of Health founded a publishing section, a part of which was one of Moscow's largest printing houses, nationalized in early 1918. In fact, it was not only one of the first specialized Soviet publishing houses, but also some kind of a

scientific and medical editorial and censoring body. In its address to potential authors and readers, the publishing section described its objectives as follows: "Practitioners in the field of protection of people's health are now met with serious obstacles due to a shortage of the relevant literature on the book market, both popular and more serious academic works. And in the old days, Russian literature in this area has been very scarce; for a variety of public health issues they had to use foreign or journal materials in the form of separate articles. Summarizing works, uniting the whole subject of setting up and organizing various public health tasks, of relevant experience and practice, this we lack. <...> The tasks of the present time in this regard definitely underline the need for urgent drafting, selection and publication of a series of small works, of 4–5 printer's sheets, covering all issues of public health and therefore constituting a whole library both for the general reader and for those workers at the medical-sanitary field, who are now doing this work in the various health departments and other organizations of the Soviets of workers' and peasants' deputies".¹

The Publishing Section has defined 32 themes for publications.² Each book in preparation was to meet at least four criteria: to briefly cover state of the problem (past and present), describe why this

¹ Bulletin of the People's Commissariat of Public Health. 1919. No 2. P. 38.

² The list of topics was as follows: 1) Russia's health status and its medical and sanitary needs; 2) sanitary statistics; 3) anthropology and issues of racial hygiene; 4) planning and building of cities and populated areas; 5) issues of public and sanitary improvement; 6) water supply of populated areas; 7) issues of sewage and sanitation of populated areas; 8) housing issue; 9) issues of sanitary architecture; 10) protection of food products and fight against their falsification; 11) occupational health and safety; 12) protection of motherhood and infancy; 13) fight against infant mortality; 14) protection of school age and issues of school and sanitation; 15) fight against tuberculosis; 16) fight against venereal diseases; 17) fighting alcoholism; 18) issues of public charity; 19) organization of medical assistance to the population; 20) aid to neurological and mentally ill; 21) spa medicine; 22) dental medicine; 23) pharmaceuticals; 24) brief information on general bacteriology; 25) brief information on epidemic infectious diseases; 26) organization of measures to combat epidemics and epizootics; 27) smallpox vaccination; 28) disinfection; 29) insects as transmitters of infection and organizing disinfection; 30) medical and sanitary legislation; 31) health education; 32) history of Russian medicine.

issue is important from the scientific and practical points of view; contain practical instructions, relevant rules, schemas, guidance materials etc., as well as a brief bibliography of the problem, along with the illustrative material (drawings, schemes, photographs).

Under conditions of the Civil War in Russia, the presented publishing plan could not be implemented fully. In 1918–1920, only 102 books and brochures were published (32 in 1918, 37 in 1919, and 33 in 1920). The vast majority of studies were dedicated to infectious diseases. In 1918, three books were published on this subject, in 1919 – 15, and 20 in 1920, i.e., almost 2/3 of all publications during the year. Most of those were on typhoid diseases – typhus (camp fever), typhoid (dothienenteritis) and relapsing fever (14 titles), cholera (7 titles), influenza (3 titles), smallpox, tuberculosis and plague (2 titles). Among other medical specialties in 1918–1920, hygiene and sanitation books prevailed (12 titles), along with pediatrics, general therapy and diagnosis (9 titles), psychology, pharmacology and Toxicology (6 titles each).

However, despite the fact that the publishing activities plan did not hit the target, the majority of books published in 1918–1920 met the criteria developed by the People's Commissariat of Health. They were small, instructive and easily understood. Their main task was the medical education of the population, and in our view, it was accomplished successfully. At the same time, fundamental academic publications were an exception. These include books by N.A. Rybnikov (from the Institute of Psychology of Imperial University of Moscow) [9], the pediatrician G.N. Speransky [10], a psychologist and professor of Imperial Moscow University G.I. Chelpanov [11], an experienced clinician, Kazan University professor V.S. Gruzdev [12], one of the pioneers in the study of children with deviant behavior V.P. Kashchenko (brother of the psychiatrist P.P. Kashchenko) [13]. It is interesting that almost all of these books were published in the private printing houses, and, most likely, at the authors' expense. Another feature of the books of the Civil War period was a small number of copies, so some of them did not survive even in the collections of the central Russian libraries.

The situation in the book market for academic publications, medical in particular, began to

change after 1921. Since that time, the number of scientific and medical titles steadily increased, and the subject matter expanded. The reasons were both external and internal. The end of the Civil War and the period of military communism, the transition to civilian life obviously stimulated academic and scientific life. The state began to recognize the need for the development of science, while maintaining absolute control and managing it as the state saw fit. Among private initiatives we can note, for example, the famous decree of the Council of People's Commissars of January 21 "On the conditions ensuring the scientific work of I.P. Pavlov", according to which the State Publishing House was instructed to print in the best printing house of the nation "a deluxe edition" of the academician's works [14, p. 294].

The increase in numbers of medical literature in the 1920s and the first half of 1930 was impacted also by the change of the editorial policy of the state. So, along with the publishing section of the People's Commissariat of Health (converted in 1928 into a "Medgiz" (Medical State Publishing House) or "Gosmedizdat" (National Medical Publishing House) in 1922, the State Publishing House of the RSFSR began to operate a special science department, within which the medical section was allocated. Later, on the basis of section the National Medical Publishing Company (GIM). The main difference between these two publishing houses lay in the specifics of published literature. The GIM specialized in study books, methodical texts and manuals for physicians, and "Medgiz" published scholarly literature. Those were the largest medical publishers in the RSFSR / USSR. In 1920s another, smaller state-owned publishing houses were opened – Moszdravotdel (Moscow Department of Public Health), Lenmedgiz (Leningrad Medical State Publishing House), Motherhood and Infancy Protection. Since the mid-1920s, medical literature was published by various public bodies, such as "Labor Issues", Chemical Scholarly Society, Committee for improving the Student Life. Medical literature was actively published in the main Soviet and autonomous republics, as well as on national languages. In the 1920s, the books were also published in private publishing houses (e.g. the Sabashnikov M. and S., Frenkel L.D., Soykin P., Academia, Life and Knowledge, Grzebin Z., Cosmos, etc.)

In the early 1930s, the publishing business was reorganized throughout the country. On July 25, 1930 the Political Bureau of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party of Bolsheviks issued a decision to establish a company – the United State Publishing House³ (OGIZ). A prototyped publishing network was set up in accordance with this regulation. In particular, the Medical Publishers was formed, included “Medgiz” and the GIM. Now the process of publishing a book (from its preparation to distribution) was completely taken over by the state. Also, it was declared that the company “bears all responsibility” for “ideological work of the typefied publishers”⁴. But in the mid-1930s OGIZ begins to disintegrate into separate independent publishers. Thus, in 1937, “Medgiz” was isolated from OGIZ, and continued to exist as the main Soviet medical publisher until the dissolution collapse of the USSR.

The nature of medical publications in the 1920s compared to the period of the Civil War has not changed significantly. Thus, the most common type were small-size booklets up to 100 pages or reprints of selected articles from magazines. As a rule, all these books were written in language accessible to the public and often dedicated to medical (first aid, maintenance of sanitary conditions of housing, proper breastfeeding, etc.) In the early 1930s, influenced by the reforms in secondary and higher education, the type of medical publications was changed. Training and methodical manuals became popular during that time. In 1931–1934 the most widespread were the publications prepared by the Central Institute of distance learning. Those were special written courses which prepared young people for admission to universities and vocational schools, as well as popular brochures. The difference of 1930 brochures from those of the 1920s was in the style and presentation of the material. If the 1920s brochures were written primarily for semi-literate farmers, workers and explained the basics of medicine, in the 1930s those were scholarly texts, which in simple terms explained the latest scientific discoveries and revealed the morphology and pathology of various diseases.

³ RGASPI (Russian State Archives of Socio-Political History). F. 17. Op. 3. D. 790. L. 18–19, 41–43.

⁴ *Ibid.*

During the 1920–1930’s the geography of the publications have changed. In the 1920s, the main centers of medical publishing were Petrograd (since 1924 – Leningrad), and, to a much lesser extent, Moscow and university towns – Kazan, Tomsk, Kiev, Kharkov, Samara, etc. In the early 1930s, after the establishment of OGIZ, the main publishing location for medicine was Moscow. But by the mid-1930s, there was some decentralization: medical literature was actively published in the Soviet republics both in Russian and on national languages. As a result, the new publishing centers appeared in Baku, Minsk, Tbilisi, and Tashkent. There, not only popular science books were published, but academic literature. In the same period, the circulation of publications changed significantly. If at the beginning of the 1920s, the largest circulation could reach ten thousand copies, then by the end of 1920s it was 50–70 thousand, and by the mid-1930s some publications were printed in more than 100 thousand copies.

Dynamics of volume of scientific publications show a general linear growth, which on certain years (1928 and 1935) became exponential. The sharp decrease in the number of medical publications, occurred in 1930, in our opinion, due to the internal political conditions. The developing industrialization and the beginning of collectivization led to the fact that the focus of the Soviet science was aimed at engineering and agricultural area, actually at the expense of other branches of knowledge. It was necessary to educate agricultural and engineering staff, to convey to the workers and peasants the basic information on the functioning of industrial enterprises, machine and tractor stations, collective farms and state farms, etc. In these new historical conditions, medicine was sidelined, but it was by the mid-1930s that the number of medical publications began to increase, indicating the increased needs of the state in healthcare developments.

Analysis of medical publications in general indicates a certain transformation, related not only to a decrease / increase in the number of books, but also to change in their subject matter. Thus, in this period, as well as during the Civil War, the majority of publications were devoted to the problems of sanitation and hygiene, as well as to related clinical specialties – epidemiology, physiotherapy and balneology. In certain years,

such publications accounted for nearly half of all the books on medicine. Of course, this situation was not accidental. Soviet healthcare in the 1920s was built up as a system of sanitary measures, and the main social function of medicine was considered to ensure public healthcare in adverse epidemiological conditions, including sanitation propaganda. These publications described both specific diseases and certain types of deviant behavior – alcoholism, prostitution, drug addiction. Some social evils were eliminated by the Soviet state towards the beginning of the 1930s (thanks to the repressive apparatus, prostitution and drug addiction virtually disappeared in large cities), and the fight against infectious diseases and epidemics continued throughout the period under review.

Tuberculosis was the “leader” in the number of publications, not only because of its high incidence in the population, but also because of the special attention to the problem from the health authorities. Discussion about tuberculosis was opened by N.A. Semashko’s brochure [15]. It was written in an ideological way, its main thesis the class nature of tuberculosis, which was not confirmed by medical practice. The book was reprinted many times, and Semashko imitators appeared: some authors developed and competed the main ideas of the People’s Commissariat of Health. Attempts were made to find and describe other “proletarian” disease. For example, syphilis was described as a social disease; it was compared with tuberculosis. However, syphilis did not become yet another “workers” disease and official propaganda theme. The focus on the diseases was rather sporadic, and was connected with spreading of various infections. For example, by mid-1920 books on typhoid diseases (typhus, recurrent and cam[fever), were published rarely, and in the early 1930s, precisely due to unfavorable epidemiological situation both in the countryside and in the cities, caused by collectivization and the famine of 1932–1933, the number of typhus-related titles has increased dramatically. Only in respect of two infectious diseases – gonorrhoea and malaria – the interest was maintained in the literature in 1920–1930.

In 1920–1930, along with journalistic and popular publications on sanitation, hygiene and epidemiology, some fundamental, academic work started appearing. For example, childhood

tuberculosis and its treatment has received extensive coverage. In general, in the 1920s, the national school of infectious disease had a significant breakthrough. Not only the clinical picture and particular manifestations of various diseases were studied, but their long-term effects as well. Significant contribution to the research was made physicians researching typhoid diseases. For example, thanks to the works of I.V. Davydovsky the influence of typhus on the human nervous system was shown [16], and V.M. Totskiy’s works proved that spondylitis may result from fever complications [17]. Many publications both on specific diseases (rabies, influenza (“Spanish flu”), leprosy, smallpox, anthrax, syphilis, cholera), and of a general nature, devoted to dermatological and venereal and infectious diseases, have become classics.

Sanitary education and hygiene literature was focused not on infectious disease only. An important place in these publications, especially in the 1920s, was taken by occupational diseases (works of a general nature, on certain occupational diseases and sanitary conditions in the countryside and city).

Along with epidemiology, the leading position among clinical specialties was taken by pediatrics, obstetrics and gynecology, as these areas of medicine were related to foundations of social policy of the Bolsheviks. In the first years of Soviet rule decrees were adopted on enhancing child nutrition, provision of social guarantees for pregnant women and nursing mothers. Since 1923, special institutions for maternal health, childhood and infancy were established: pediatric consulting points, milk kitchens, mother and child homes, children’s health resorts and pioneer camps, etc. The vast majority of works in obstetrics and gynecology had to do with the study of the state of a woman’s body in late pregnancy (including pregnancy development, detection of pathologies, as well as the functioning of the uterus), and pediatric literature was mostly on infants and general early development issues. A special trend among obstetrics and gynecology literature were the works on abortions and abortive techniques. In the period under review, the nature of work was changing: in the 1920s, abortion was described as the major social achievement of the Soviet women, which was also due to the political attitudes of the Bolsheviks (only illegal practice was criticized,

and contraception was discussed widely), but since the early 1930s abortions came under criticism from the medical professionals, and in 1935 they were banned by the Soviet government.

Titles on all other clinical specializations appeared at approximately equal frequency. “Outsiders” were oncology and urology: only a few titles came out each year in these fields. We don’t have the exact answer as to why oncology and urology received less attention than other clinical disciplines. Perhaps, their development was in its infancy – there was no sufficient knowledge for accurate diagnosis and treatment of diseases, also, there was no network of specialized institutions dealing with these issues.

Among the biomedical specializations, the largest number of works was on anatomy (plus pathology) and physiology. The 1920s were dominated by works on the so-called “mechanized” physiology, which looked at the human body as on a kind of mechanism (plant, factory), which can be repaired, its performance improved (by installing a new engine and pouring additional liquid to accelerate the work). However, since the late 1920s the research-based on Pavlov’s physiological doctrine began to prevail in physiology.

“Mechanical” physiology in the 1920s developed simultaneously with eugenics – another biomedical sphere, which experienced a significant transformation. Work on eugenics were mainly of a popular character, relating to inheritance issues and general anthropological problems. However, there were the works of M.V. Volotsky [18, 19], V.N. Slepkov [20], T.N. Yudin [21], which not only revealed the essence of eugenics, but an attempt was made to present the foundations of this discipline in terms of the Marxist doctrine. Since the beginning of the 1930s, the Soviet eugenics practically ceased to exist. Subsequently, it was declared an ideologically alien science. Another biomedical field went down the same path as eugenics – gerontology. In the 1920s, it experienced a flourishing: research was conducted on age-fighting techniques, medicine for eternal youth and even immortality, attempts was made to experimentally prove the ability to support the functioning of certain parts of the body (especially the brain) after death. But in the early 1930s, publications on gerontology have already ceased in the USSR.

Sexual pathology had a difficult time as well. A significant part of the publications of the 1920s was devoted to the “gender issue” and addressed to young people. Unlike eugenics or gerontology, the study of sexual pathology was superimposed with ideological imprint as well. In the years of the New Economic Policy, the leaders of the nation took part in a debate on sexual matters. Then, not only at meetings of the Communist Youth Union, but also the party leaders themselves were discussing the “glass of water” theory, which illustrates the peculiar views of the Bolsheviks on family, marital and sexual relations, admitting the need to satisfy sexual instincts. The main ideologists of free morals were usually supporters of opposition movements, which is why, after the final defeat of the opposition in 1929 and setting of Joseph Stalin’s dictatorship the study of sexual pathology had virtually ceased.

Works of Soviet psychologists of the 1920s raised the problems of comparison of Freudianism and Marxism, an attempt was made to create a theory of psychological behavior of the collective, “the crowd”. They touched upon such dangerous subject, from the authorities’ point of view, as the influence of revolutionary events on human psychology. After Stalin’s dictatorship became a fact, as was the case with sexual pathology, psychology has changed direction: in the 1930s, the major publications in psychology are devoted to the study of child and adolescent mental development and the different psychological techniques.

The overall analysis of the medical literature published in 1918–1935 allows the following conclusions. All publications in this period reflected the complex processes associated with the formation and development of Soviet policy in the field of medicine, as well as the Soviet healthcare in general. The vast majority of those were of a popular sort, addressed to a wide audience, or methodological and practical manuals, the purpose of which was to prepare the medical staff and help budding doctors and medical professionals. Throughout the period under review, the sanitary and hygienic themes retained importance. This was explained both by readership (peasants and workers), and by the policy of the Soviet state as a whole, one of whose tasks was health education, which directly affected the people’s working capacity. During this period, not only has the number of medical

books increased (between 1918 and 1935 there was almost eight times more medical titles published than in the whole of the 19th century) – but also the nature of literature was changed, as the topics and geography of those titles have expanded. The analysis allows for a better understanding of the formation and development of individual clinical areas, as well as the foundations of Soviet public

health in the years 1918–1935. In the studied period, we observed a significant role of the state in the formation of medical knowledge. The state represented by the Bolsheviks made decisions on the development of some areas of medicine, and the virtual elimination of others. However, a detailed examination of policy in this area requires a separate analysis.

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