

SOCIAL CHANGE  
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA:  
FAMILY DEVELOPMENT  
IN A PROTO-INDUSTRIAL COMMUNITY

Herdis Kolle

The degree of dr.art., University of Bergen, Norway 2006

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## PREFACE

The idea for this study emerged approximately ten years ago, when I as a fresh student of Russian family history realized that my chosen subject of research was largely an unexplored field. In 1995, I completed a Master thesis on Russian family history based on a rather small sample of Russian census material from the second half of the nineteenth century. The results of this study indicated that diversity of family patterns based on economic differences was highly relevant also among Russian peasants. Moreover, my first experience with Russian archives convinced me that our rather rudimentary knowledge about Russian families in the past certainly was not caused by a lack of suitable sources.

This led to the formulation of the research issues in this study, which is based on extensive research in Russian archives and libraries. I have particularly focused on the study of unpublished census material located in the Central Historical Archive of Moscow City (*Tsentral'nyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Moskvy – TsIAM*), which is the main repository for state, institutional, and religious archives of Moscow City and Province until 1917. I have also drawn extensively on published material on different aspects of the economic and social development in Moscow Province during the nineteenth century, which mainly was found at the Russian Academy of Sciences Library for Social Sciences (*Institut Nauchnoi Informatsii po Obshchestvennym Naukam – INION*) but also at the Russian State Library (*Rossiiskaia Gosudarstvennaia Biblioteka*), both located in Moscow.

This study had been impossible without the support of numerous scholars, colleagues and friends. First of all, I would like to thank Jan Oldervoll for encouraging me in pursuing this study and for his generous support and advice during the conceptualisation of the project, during the collection and computer registration of the source material, and during the writing and rewriting of the dissertation. In Russia, I would like to thank the archivists and librarians at the above mentioned institutions, and especially the staff at the reading room at *TsIAM*. I am also very grateful to the staff at the Department of Historical Informatics at the Faculty of History, Moscow State University, and especially, Leonid Borodkin, Irina Garskova, Tamara Ismest'eva, Sonja Salomatina, and Alla Polevaia, for their support in assessing archival material, and for generously leading a novice to Russian history in the right direction.

Further, the participants at the seminar for doctoral candidates at the Department of History have contributed with useful comments on parts of the thesis, and in particular I am grateful to Astri Andresen, who has given new perspectives and advice that certainly has

made the text better. A few of my fellow doctoral candidates, i.e., Bente Brathetland, Hilde Corneliussen, Sissel Rosland, and Margrete Søvik, have patiently read numerous drafts of the text, each time providing me with useful suggestions for improvements. Further, I am grateful to Cecilie Boge, Arne Solli, Svein Sture, and Frode Ulvund, for reading parts of the text in the early stages of the project. My colleagues in Dokkeveien deserve special thanks for providing an exceptionally pleasant working environment! Finally, I would like to thank my husband Aleksandr and our daughter Anna for their patience, support and love throughout the work on this project.



# INTRODUCTION

Scholars studying Russian peasant society in the nineteenth century have concluded that the Russian family was based on collective and patriarchal principles, which preserved the power of the community over the individual, the power of males over females, and the power of the elderly over the young. Within these structures of social control, the Russian peasant family was generally large and complex, because newlywed couples were expected to move into the husband's parental household, as the availability of land resources was depending on the number of married couples in the household. Accordingly, most males and females in Russian peasant society married young, with the majority of young women being married before their twentieth birthday, and marriage was practically universal. This specific marriage pattern was also perpetuated by a demographic regime marked by high mortality rates, especially among small children but also in the adult population, which meant that family survival was depending on a large number of childbirths.<sup>1</sup> Thus, the family pattern of the Russian peasants during the nineteenth century has been interpreted into a demographic-economic model, which underscores that pre-industrial societies in Europe sought to achieve a balance between the marriage pattern and household system on the one hand and economic resources on the other. In the Russian case, these economic resources have been regarded to be found exclusively in the agricultural sector and the basically agrarian institutions such as serfdom and the peasant repartitional commune served to uphold the system.

During the nineteenth century, Russian society experienced massive changes, partly as a result of political, juridical and economic reforms but also because of rapid population growth, industrialisation and urbanisation. The changes became especially obvious in the post-emancipation period, but the processes of change started quite a while before the reform period after the abolition of serfdom in 1861. Some of the most important aspects of this process were extensive population growth from approximately the 1850s and increasing socio-economic and institutional differentiation between different regions within European Russia from the end of the eighteenth century. On aspect of this transformation process, namely the development of rural domestic industries and eventually factory industry, meant that in the nineteenth century, the peasants in certain regions of Central Russia increasingly found incomes in other economic sectors than agriculture. Already in the eighteenth century,

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<sup>1</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, Czap, P.: 1982, Czap, P.: 1983, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, Hoch, S. L.: 1986, Bohac, R. D.: 1982.

parts of the serf population in the so-called Central Industrial Region and the Ural area became employed in industrial production, notably in textile production and in metallurgical industry, while commercial agriculture evolved in the southern provinces of Russia, in the Black Earth belt or the so-called Central Agricultural Region.<sup>2</sup> If one accepts the notion that family patterns were shaped in the equilibrium between demography and economy, a change in either of the two must have been significant in relation to the development of the family. Thus, a central premise of this study is that in the Russian regions where an extensive proportion of the peasants found employment in rural domestic industry, the family patterns would develop differently from the family patterns in purely agricultural areas.

This thesis aims to explore the interaction between industrial development and the family patterns and demographic behaviour in a Russian proto-industrial community during the nineteenth century. In this period, *Bogorodskii uezd* to the east of Moscow had established itself as a main centre of Russian proto-industrial textile production. In this region almost every peasant worked as a silk, wool or cotton weaver in a “putting-out” system that did not meet serious competition from factory industry until the 1880s. The analysis will centre on the development of the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, a smaller rural district within *Bogorodskii uezd*, which by contemporary observers was regarded as a typical proto-industrial area. The ideal situation would have been to compare the family patterns in this proto-industrial area with the family patterns in an area that remained untouched by proto-industrialisation, using an identical set of sources and methodological approaches. However, this was not possible within the framework of this project. Instead, the results of the analysis will, whenever possible, be compared to results found in previous research on the family patterns in purely agricultural areas of Central Russia.

To explore the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, it will be central to analyse the development of household structures over the course of the proto-industrial expansion period during the nineteenth century, which lasted from approximately 1825 to 1880, and to study how the family development cycle transformed in calendar time and over the life course of the individual. In this connection, a central issue will be the interaction between the development of these different aspects of the family pattern and the economic pursuits of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Not only economic structures but also the demographic pattern is important in shaping different family patterns. An essential part of the analysis will therefore

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<sup>2</sup> The Central Industrial Region included Moscow, Tver, Iaroslavl', Kostroma, Nizhnii Novgorod, and Vladimir Provinces, while the Central Agricultural Region was made up of Voronezh, Kursk, Kaluga, Penza, Orel, Riazan, Tambov, and Tula Provinces.

be to examine the demographic pattern of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and how this might have developed during the investigated period. Further, recent historical research on the history of the family has underscored the importance of cultural norms in the formation of family patterns. According to this view, the development of the family pattern depended not only on the economic or demographic structures but also on what was considered 'proper' family behaviour.<sup>3</sup> However, in a period of rapid economic and social change, the development of the family patterns would probably be shaped in what can be called a conflict between economic realities and the existing norms of family behaviour.

In rural Russia, the economic structures as well as the cultural norms found expression in the social institutions of the local peasant community, such as serfdom and the peasant commune. As noted above, these institutions are often seen as expressions of the patriarchal and collectivist culture as well as mechanisms that organised agricultural production. In this study, it will be central to examine the interaction between these social institutions and the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, and how this interrelationship may have altered under the influence of proto-industrialisation. In theory, the decision to maintain or reject existing family patterns was shaped by the interrelationship between agricultural and industrial work in the household economy, as well as the cultural norms of 'proper' family and demographic behaviour.

This indicates that the relationship between changing economic conditions and the family's strategies for economic and demographic survival should be central in the study of the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Supposedly, an important component in the proto-industrial producers' family strategies was the timing of such turning points in the family development cycle and the individual's life course as for instance marriage, household division, and the transfer of authority from one generation to the next. Accordingly, one final concern in the exploration of the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* will be to analyse how the rules and mechanisms regulating young people's access to economic resources and personal authority developed under the influence of proto-industrialisation.

The thesis starts out with a survey of the theoretical and methodological concepts that form the basis for the analysis of the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, focusing especially on how methods developed within a Western European setting should be modified in order to be useful when studying Russian family patterns. Further, the first chapter also provides an overview of the sources used, how these sources were collected and prepared for

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<sup>3</sup> See for instance Hareven, T. K.: 1991, p. 117, Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, pp. 237-238.

computer analysis. The second chapter focuses especially on regional variation in the functioning of the social institutions, which contributed to the formation of the family patterns among Russian peasants during the nineteenth century. Accordingly, the chapter concentrates on the role of the State and the Orthodox Church in the formation of official family law, on serfdom's influence on peasant family patterns, and on how the mechanisms within the peasant community's own institutions, the peasant commune and the household, set certain ramifications for the choices available to individuals and groups in the formation of their family patterns. The third chapter explores the establishment and development of proto-industrial and later industrial textile production in the eastern provinces of Moscow Province, focusing in particular on the influence of the textile industry on the household economy of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Chapter four concentrates on the demographic development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869, focusing on mortality and fertility patterns as well as the timing and frequency of marriage. Finally, in chapter five and six, the family system in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* will be explored through an examination of household patterns and inheritance strategies, aiming at identifying continuities as well as changes during the investigated period, and to discuss how this specific pattern and development might have been formed.

## CHAPTER 1

# RUSSIAN FAMILY HISTORY AND SOCIAL CHANGE: HISTORIOGRAPHY, METHODS, AND SOURCES

In the conceptualisation of how the interaction between social change and the history of the family can be approached in the Russian context, it is central to be aware of how this issue has been addressed on a general level. In many ways, family history is closely connected to the concept of social change. Historians studying the family and the household frequently do so because they hope to explain processes of social change, and these explanations have typically been found by approaching the family from two different perspectives. The first approach, which offers largely “quantitative” explanations, shows how families and their members behave at an aggregate level. The second approach provides explanations that may be called “anthropological”, in that it describes and analyses the actions and motives of individual family members and the social and economic consequences of these actions and motives.<sup>4</sup> These two different approaches have also reached opposing conclusions on the main issue of this study, namely what happened to the family during the transition from agricultural to industrial society. While the “quantitative” approach generally focuses on continuity in family forms, the “anthropological” approach focuses on changing functions of the family. Accordingly, the differing results of studies conducted within these two different frameworks seem largely to have been caused by the methodological and theoretical perspectives they have used. Moreover, these different methodological approaches to family history have been developed within a largely Western European and American empirical context, which means that one might need to modify the existing methods in order to be able to interpret sources from other geographical and cultural settings.

### 1.1. THE DIVERSITY OF FAMILY PATTERNS IN EUROPE

The “quantitative” approach can be associated with a structural perspective on history, which postulates that people are subject to forces that they cannot control, and which they are sometimes hardly aware, and which changes only very slowly. In family history, this structural perspective has been especially influential in studies focused on identifying

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<sup>4</sup> Baud, M. and Engelen, T.: 1997, p. 348.

distinctive household systems. In this approach, especially two features are important for explaining family behaviour, namely demographic and economic factors. Accordingly, scholars working in this tradition have formulated a theory that suggests that in pre-industrial European society there existed different demo-economic systems, which in turn contributed to the development of various household systems in different parts of Europe.

This research was largely initiated by British scholars. Starting in the late 1960s, Peter Laslett, and later joined by various British colleagues, formulated what has become the paradigm of modern household theory. Initially, they stated that in pre-industrial European society a unique nuclear family household system was dominant.<sup>5</sup> This generalisation was later revised to theories of distinct regions within Europe where different household structures prevailed. John Hajnal differed between a *simple household system* in north-western Europe and a *joint family household system* that was found in parts of Asia and Eastern Europe.<sup>6</sup> In the face of growing evidence of a diversity of family systems in pre-industrial Europe, Laslett eventually moved away from his earlier emphasis on “the European family” identifying instead four different systems: North-West, West-Central, Mediterranean, and Eastern. Following Hajnal’s logic, Laslett argued that the nuclear family household system, which was found in the North-West and partly in the West-Central region of Europe, was sustained by a high female age at marriage and marked by a pattern of premarital life course service. Moreover, establishment of independent households was connected to marriage, controlled by rules of neolocality, and depended largely on the availability of economic resources. In eastern and Mediterranean Europe, by contrast, low female age at marriage and an absence of life course service accompanied a system of complex family households. In the eastern European system young couples did not establish their own household upon marriage. Rather, they followed patrilocal rules that required a son to bring his wife into the parental household, as the availability of economic resources, in the form of arable land, was depending on the number of married couples in the household.<sup>7</sup> Establishment of new households in this system happened through division of the complex household at a point in its development cycle when it was large enough to sustain the original household as well as the newly formed households after the division.

However, abundant research concerning Western European and Mediterranean household history as well as some areas of Eastern Europe, notably the Baltic Area and the

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<sup>5</sup> Laslett, P.: 1965, Laslett, P.: 1972, pp. 1-90.

<sup>6</sup> Hajnal, J.: 1982, pp. 449-494.

<sup>7</sup> Laslett, P.: 1977, Laslett, P.: 1983, pp. 513-63.

Balkans has shown that within these regions there existed a wide variety of household structures.<sup>8</sup> Moreover, the structure of the household was not fixed but changed in accordance with the development cycle of the family as each individual household member went through different transitions during their life course.<sup>9</sup> In other words, numerous case studies have shown that it is misleading to claim that there in nineteenth-century Europe existed large regions of uniform household structures.

The history of the household in Russia is still almost *terra incognita*, compared to knowledge about household history in north-western or Mediterranean Europe. As noted in the introduction, most research on the household structures in the Russian peasant concentrate on the serf population in the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century. The majority of these studies conclude that the average size of the Russian peasant's household was much larger than in Western Europe and that most of them were complex households. A special feature of these households was that they generally consisted of kin only, while non-kin as for instance servants or lodgers were largely unknown. This household type was connected to a patriarchal household formation system in which early and universal marriage, patrilocality and patrilineality were main principles.<sup>10</sup> The few studies of Russian households concerning the period after the abolition of serfdom claim that this system continued to prevail until the beginning of the twentieth century.<sup>11</sup> Accordingly, the research on the history of the Russian family concentrates on the continuity of the family patterns in the country. The relationship between social change and the family patterns have received little attention, in spite of the mounting evidence of profound socio-economic change during the nineteenth century. Moreover, as Andrejs Plakans and Charles Wetherell have pointed out, research on the history of the Eastern European family has tended to homogenise the eastern experience by not taking into account geographical variation.<sup>12</sup>

This is maybe especially true for the research on Russian family patterns. Our knowledge about Russian family patterns is largely based on a number of studies conducted in the late 1970s and early 1980s by Peter Czap, Steven Hoch, and Rodney Bohac. All these

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<sup>8</sup> For a short historiographic outline of the diversity of household systems in Europe, see Kertzer, D. I.: 1991, pp. 159-163. The variety of household systems in Eastern Europe is for instance discussed in Plakans, A. and Wetherell, C.: 2001.

<sup>9</sup> See for instance Berkner, L. K.: 1972, Berkner, L. K.: 1975, Hareven, T. K.: 1978

<sup>10</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978, pp. 103-123. Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 7-26, Czap, P.: 1983, pp. 105-151, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 221-246, Hoch, S. L.: 1986, Mitterauer, M. and Kagan, A.: 1982, Bohac, R. D.: 1982 Bohac, R. D.: 1985, pp. 23-42.

<sup>11</sup> Frierson, C.: 1987, pp. 35-52, Worobec, C. D.: 1991.

<sup>12</sup> Plakans, A. and Wetherell, C.: 2001, p. 257.

studies concentrate on the family patterns of the serf population on three different estates that were belonging to the same serfowner, the Gagarin family. Two of these estates were also located in predominantly agricultural provinces in the Black Earth belt of southern Russia.<sup>13</sup> It is therefore hardly surprising that their results are very similar and that this has led to the formulation of the specific demo-economic model that was outlined above. However, what is more surprising is that the model of family patterns based on these scholars' research has become widely accepted to be true for the entire Russian peasant population until the turn of the twentieth century and beyond. Even though this model was formulated over twenty years ago and even though it is based on a very limited number of empirical studies, there have been only very few attempts to challenge or verify the concept of the Russian peasant's "perennial multiple family household".<sup>14</sup>

The reasons for this are complex, related to the shifting conceptual and methodological framework in which the history of the Russian family has been written. Research disciplines that since the 1960s have been extremely important in the Western European historiography, such as historical demography and family history, have been quite marginal in Soviet historiography. This has largely to do with the Soviet social historians' concentration on issues related to class and social differentiation, rather than "soft" issues such as family patterns or demographic development. In the post-soviet period, these disciplines have received somewhat more attention but still they remain insignificant in Russian historical research.<sup>15</sup> Accordingly, our knowledge about the Russian peasant family is mainly obtained from research conducted by historians from Western Europe and especially the US. These historians have worked within different methodological traditions but the demo-economic

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<sup>13</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, Czap, P.: 1982, Czap, P.: 1983, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, Hoch, S. L.: 1986, Bohac, R. D.: 1982, Bohac, R. D.: 1985.

<sup>14</sup> This concept was first introduced by Peter Czap in 1982 in a special issue of the *Journal of Family History* on the Eastern European family. See Czap, P.: 1982. Another study on family patterns among peasants in Iaroslavl' Province published in the same issue of the *Journal* indicates that regional variation in family patterns was essential among Russian peasants. This study, however, was based on a very limited data set and cannot really be compared to the analyses conducted by Czap, Hoch and Bohac. See Mitterauer, M. and Kagan, A.: 1982. In a recent study, Tracey K. Dennison revives the issue of regional variation in family patterns among Russian peasants, and her investigation largely confirms the indications for Iaroslavl' Province made by Mitterauer and Kagan. See Dennison, T. K.: 2003.

<sup>15</sup> Even so, a few Soviet and Russian historians have conducted research on the peasant family as well as other social institutions in the nineteenth-century Russian countryside. Having generally better and more continuous access to archival materials than the majority of Western scholars studying the Russian family, the research of Soviet and Russian historians provide several useful empirical studies, especially in relation to mapping regional variation within Russia. Methodologically and conceptually, however, these studies frequently differ considerably from the Western studies, which sometimes make it difficult to compare results. See for instance Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1981, Minenko, N. A.: 1979, Rabinovich, M. G.: 1978, Vishnevskii, A. G. and Kon, I. S.: 1979, Mironov, B. N.: 2003a.



model that was outlined above is the result of research where the main aim is to identify typical household systems. Within this model the household system is connected to the socio-economic system but it largely excludes the effects on the peasant family of *variation* or *change* in this system. As a result of this approach, the family pattern has been depicted as a static and constant aspect in Russian peasants' life. In the beginning of the 1990s, Western historians specialising in Russian social history, increasingly turned their interest towards cultural history and poststructuralist analytical approaches.<sup>16</sup> This development in historical research has contributed considerably to our knowledge about Russian peasant culture, but simultaneously the focus on issues related to family patterns and demographic development were largely abandoned even though central questions on the subject remained unanswered. Still, the studies of peasant culture have provided an increased understanding of the internal functioning of the Russian family during the nineteenth century, as they have demonstrated that there happened a number of changes in work patterns, in gender relationships, and in the relationship between the generations in this period.<sup>17</sup> Accordingly, this research indicates that change and variation were important aspects of the development of Russian family patterns during the nineteenth century, even though the authors of these studies rarely tie what can be labelled "cultural" changes explicitly to changes in family patterns and demographic development.

Accordingly, while family historians generally accept that within Western Europe and the more thoroughly investigated areas of Eastern Europe the variety in household structures was large, Russia still seems to constitute one, large region of uniform household structures. Moreover, the peasant's large, complex family household is supposed to have been a stable and continuous attribute of Russian pre-revolutionary society. However, we have only a few isolated studies of Russian households, and what are more, these studies all concentrate on populations living in highly agricultural areas of the Russian Empire. Studies focusing on peasant culture have demonstrated that the internal functioning of the peasant family changed in certain regions of Central Russia during the nineteenth century, mainly because of increased migration and influences from urban culture. Thus, it is far too early to conclude that the family patterns of the serf population in the agricultural areas were valid all over the vast and complex country. Moreover, considering the profound social changes that took place

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<sup>16</sup> See for instance Engelstein, L.: 1992, Frank, S. P. and Steinberg, M. D.: 1994, Clements, B. E., et al.: 2002

<sup>17</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994 and Burds, J.: 1998.

at least in some regions of European Russia during the nineteenth century, it is unlikely that the family system remained completely unchanged.

It follows from this that an approach focusing only on household systems seems to be poorly suited for analysing the connection between social changes and family patterns. How can we, then, grasp this interrelationship? The family's interaction with the aspect of social change that is especially central in this study, namely industrialisation, has received special attention in historical studies that focus on the family in artisanal and proto-industrial settings. During the 1970s, a number of researchers developed a theory of proto-industrialisation, which, on the one hand, sought to explain the transition from a traditional society of peasant agriculture to the modern industrial world, and on the other hand, connected this transition to changes in the family pattern and demographic behaviour of the proto-industrial producers.<sup>18</sup> Accordingly, although this approach also represents a largely structural approach to history, postulating that the transformation of the economy led to a break-up of the demo-economic equilibrium of pre-industrial Europe, its focus on change provides a better framework than the approaches that concentrate on identifying typical household systems.

The term proto-industrialisation refers to the mass production of manufactured goods before the onset of mechanisation. According to the scholars who developed the theory of proto-industry, there was a close connection between the development of domestic industry and changing family and household formation systems. At the root of this model was the idea that the proto-industrial household constituted a production unit in which the members cooperated in the division of labour. In this system the demands of the work-process determined household structure and demographic behaviour directly and necessarily. Thus, the original model stated that in proto-industrial areas of Western Europe the traditional "European marriage pattern" was altered. The population in proto-industrial areas tended to marry earlier, the marriage rate increased and new modes of family life emerged, which opened the way to population growth and proletarianisation.<sup>19</sup> This allegedly happened because employment in proto-industry gave young men and women the possibility to marry earlier as they no longer were dependent on inheritance to establish independent households. Moreover, increased and more stable earnings made it possible to give birth to more children. Growing and more stable earnings could also have contributed to a reduction of mortality, which together with the increased fertility led to population growth in proto-industrial areas. Further,

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<sup>18</sup> Braun, R.: 1974, pp. 289-334, Mendels, F. F.: 1972, pp. 241-261, Kriedte, P., et al.: 1981.

<sup>19</sup> Braun, R.: 1974, pp. 289-334, Mendels, F. F.: 1972, pp. 241-261, Kriedte, P., et al.: 1981, Levine, D.: 1977.

because proto-industrial production took place within the household it became essential to have many children, as they were important work power. In the Western-European household system the increased nuptiality and fertility would lead to households consisting of relatively large nuclear families with many children but no life-cycle servants, as the children were needed in the production process at home.<sup>20</sup>

As demonstrated above, family systems in pre-industrial Europe varied widely. The many empirical studies stimulated by the initial hypotheses about demographic behaviour, household structures and life-cycle patterns of proto-industrial populations have also led to highly differentiated results. Some elements in the model have been largely confirmed. For instance, the basic thesis that proto-industrialisation brought a potential for substantial population growth has been maintained, even though in varying forms and not necessarily in the shape of an unconditional imperative toward earlier marriage.<sup>21</sup> However, the academic controversy about the model of proto-industry is largely a result of that important demographic elements of the model have been confirmed in some studies but rejected by others. Numerous empirical studies have shown that it is impossible to establish a single behaviour pattern for all proto-industrial populations.<sup>22</sup> Within proto-industrialisation, family patterns, household structures, and demographic behaviour, were differentiated in various ways.

First, the nature of the *demographic regime* was important in explaining differences in marital behaviour and household formation in proto-industrial as well as agricultural regions. In a low-pressure demographic system, marital behaviour was the decisive element in population change. In this system the population adapted itself to available resources through changes in fertility, which depended above all on the age and frequency of marriage. A high-pressure demographic system, by contrast, was dominated by mortality and the population adapted their demographic behaviour to changing mortality rates. The likelihood that the original proto-industrial model would be confirmed was probably higher in a low-pressure than in high-pressure system.<sup>23</sup>

Second, the nature and extent to which the proto-industrial workers *combined industry and agriculture* helps to explain differences in demographic behaviour and the household,

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<sup>20</sup> Kriedte, P., et al.: 1981, pp. 54, 84.

<sup>21</sup> Kriedte, P., et al.: 1993, p. 223-225.

<sup>22</sup> A critical historiographic review of the concept of proto-industrialization is for instance found in Houston, R. and Snell, K. D. M.: 1984, pp. 473-492.

<sup>23</sup> Kriedte, P., et al.: 1993, pp. 222-223.

too. Whether, how, and to what extent proto-industrial workers were integrated into a social structure that was determined by the agrarian economy had important consequences, especially for household formation and settlement.<sup>24</sup> For instance, many types of proto-industrial production were poorly paid and, therefore, were performed by only a fraction of the family labour force, that is, by women and/or children, or as a seasonal side-activity. Since proto-industry generated only a subsidiary income in this situation, family formation probably had to conform to the traditional pattern.<sup>25</sup>

Third, the proto-industrial *households were more flexible* than postulated by the original model. The household was where production took place, but the connection between the work-process and the family as a reproductive unit proved to be rather complex. The original model of the connection between family patterns and proto-industrialisation was largely based on the notion that the household constituted a uniform production unit. In this system, the requirements of the work process meant that proto-industry would directly influence the formation of family patterns. Many empirical studies have revealed that the proto-industrial household was not always a uniform production unit with division of labour and co-operation between family members. In a single household several persons could carry out individual wage-work side-by-side. Especially in the putting-out system, there often existed a flexible division of labour, in which individual cottage workers specialised in narrowly defined tasks. The division of labour and co-operation could also occur between households. Moreover, households could adapt to the requirements of work and survival not only through the demographic acts of marrying and giving birth to children, but also through the social acts of single children leaving home or the admission of persons who did not belong to the nuclear family.<sup>26</sup>

Finally, the *connection between proto-industry, independent livelihood and marriage* was not as straightforward as initially assumed. Some scholars have noted that marriage and household formation was not always a necessary precondition for earning an independent income. The economic stimulus to early marriage was less strongly felt where young people could already earn their own wages without marrying and establishing household, whether as residents in the houses of others or in loosened dependency within the parental household.<sup>27</sup> Other scholars, on the contrary, claim that also in many proto-industrial communities and

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<sup>24</sup> Kriedte, P., et al.: 1993, p. 224-225.

<sup>25</sup> Pfister, U.: 2001, p. 65.

<sup>26</sup> Schlumbohm, J.: 1996, p. 14-15.

<sup>27</sup> Schlumbohm, J.: 1996, p. 14-15.

branches an independent livelihood and subsequent marriage could only be obtained through inheritance. In many branches high capital requirements was a considerable obstacle to family formation. For instance, sometimes the only way to become an independent proto-industrial producer was to inherit a loom in the textile industry or a forge in the metal industry. In such cases, age at first marriage remained constant over much of the proto-industrial period and was sometimes even higher than in agricultural regions or among farmers within the same region.<sup>28</sup> Accordingly, in both cases, whether it was especially easy or especially difficult to obtain an independent livelihood, the age and frequency of marriage along with household formation remained unaffected. In other words, a rejection of the “European marriage pattern” would be confined to certain branches and phases of proto-industrial work. All this means that we have to reckon with considerable variability in household structure under proto-industrialisation. The branch of industry in question, the concrete shape of the work-process, the underlying agrarian and demographic systems, and the extent and nature of the combination of agrarian and industrial activities – all gave rise to quite different household forms among proto-industrial producers. It follows from this that an investigation of a proto-industrial community should consider the connections an interaction between these factors.<sup>29</sup>

So, what do we know about the connection between the household system and proto-industrialisation in the Russian context? As is the case for family structures and demography, research on Russian proto-industrialisation has been poorly developed compared to Western Europe. However, it is clear that in Russia proto-industry evolved in a demographic and agricultural setting quite different from the Western European experience. The traditional demographic pattern among Russian peasants was characterised by early and almost universal marriage, high fertility rates, and high mortality rates. In other words, the Russian demographic regime was a typical high-pressure pattern. The agricultural setting was dominated by the two major institutions of the Russian countryside, serfdom and the peasant commune (*mir*). As noted earlier, both these institutions encouraged large and complex households because they regarded them as more economically viable. Simultaneously, it is clear that many landlords actively promoted proto-industrial activities among peasants on their estates.<sup>30</sup> Another typical feature of Russian proto-industry was that the peasants to a

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<sup>28</sup> Pfister, U.: 2001, p. 65.

<sup>29</sup> Schlumbohm, J.: 1996, p. 16.

<sup>30</sup> See for instance Rudolph, R. L.: 1980, Rudolph, R. L.: 1985, Melton, E.: 1987, Morozova, T. P. and Potkina, I. V.: 1998, Gestwa, K.: 1999.

large extent combined agriculture and proto-industrial work.<sup>31</sup> Thus, Russian proto-industry developed under conditions where demographic behaviour and the family system were unlikely to change, according to the revised theories of proto-industry. The very few studies of Russian proto-industrialisation, which explicitly discuss its connection to the demographic regime, argue that under proto-industrialisation, the traditional large household remained unchanged because the demographic pattern and household structure among Russian peasants initially displayed exactly those attributes that developed among proto-industrial producers in Western Europe.<sup>32</sup> However, this does not exclude the possibility of demographic and family change in Russian proto-industrial villages, although it is highly unlikely that the changes were identical with those found in Western Europe or in course with the original theory of proto-industrialisation. What is important is to consider the actual pattern and process of proto-industrialisation in the Russian context, and only after that conclude on whether or not it had an effect on the peasant family.

Despite the quite serious criticism of the concept of proto-industrialisation, it has helped focus attention to the diversity of family-based production, some of which preceded the industrial revolution and some of which coexisted with the factory system. Moreover, research inspired by this concept has demonstrated that the family was an active agent in its interaction with the process of industrialisation, for instance by releasing the labour power needed by the proto-industrial entrepreneurs and centralised factories or by organising migration to industrial centres.<sup>33</sup> Accordingly, empirical research on the connection between family patterns and proto-industrialisation has largely shown that the general idea that economic change determines family patterns to develop in a certain direction, is too simple. Rather, family historians have increasingly acknowledged that social change also might be the result of goals and actions pursued by individuals and groups. In order to understand social change, it has become important to understand the structure of domestic and kinship relations and to analyse the logic in the behaviour of different family members. In this case it is not the archetypal family system that is central, but rather the perceptions, mental categories, and actions of individual family members and family groups.

These new conceptual developments are reflected in an increased interest among family historians in what is called family strategies. The concept of family strategies is based on the idea that the family as well as individual family members adapt to the specific historical

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<sup>31</sup> Rudolph, R. L.: 1980, pp. 115-116, Gestwa, K.: 1999, pp. 261, 267.

<sup>32</sup> Rudolph, R. L.: 1980, p. 112-115, Rudolph, R. L.: 1985, pp. 65-66.

<sup>33</sup> Hareven, T. K.: 1991, p. 113.

events by changing their strategies and behavioural pattern, which in turn means that they can actively influence the processes of social change. In family historical research, the approach of family strategies has been important for creating a link between the lives of individuals and collective behavioural patterns and by focusing on motives and actions, this approach draws attention to the variation in family patterns through time, place and culture.<sup>34</sup> In other words, the family strategies approach draws attention to precisely those questions that remains unanswered in the history of the Russian peasant family, and thus, it seems quite useful to employ this perspective when discussing the interrelationship between family patterns and social change in the Russian context.

Even so, there are also some pitfalls related to this approach. The most obvious problem for historians who wishes to study family strategies is that we cannot usually ask the historical actors what motivated their choices as individuals or as a family, which means that we must infer motives from the observed results. This, in turn, leads to a number of interpretation problems. Firstly, the historical actors may not have been aware of their own motives or the motives of certain behaviour could be on the collective level rather than on the individual level. Secondly, even when the historical actors had well defined motives, the historian can interpret these motives wrongly when inferring from behavioural patterns, because the motivation could be on several levels simultaneously and because the results that can be observed not necessarily is what the historical actors wanted to achieve.<sup>35</sup>

Further, the emphasise on the rational actor in the family strategy concept can give the impression that the family and the individual family members have an absolute freedom to make rational choices, which always will be of benefit to the family. As pointed out by several scholars, in the analysis of family strategies it seems just as important to identify the limitations to the family's strategies and options as to show that the family actively could influence processes of social change.<sup>36</sup> At one level, the family had to develop strategies exactly in order to handle the constraints of the economic, institutional, and social structures in which they lived. Moreover, the choices made by the family were not absolutely positive in the way that they never implied risks or costs for the family or the individual family member. In the analysis of family strategies, it is therefore central to keep in mind that a common family strategy might have quite various effects for the individual family members and what

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<sup>34</sup> See for instance Moch, L. P.: 1987, Hareven, T. K.: 1990, Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992 Baud, M. and Engelen, T.: 1997, Engelen, T., Knotter, A., et al.: 2004, Engelen, T., Kok, J., et al.: 2004.

<sup>35</sup> Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, pp. 242, Engelen, T., Knotter, A., et al.: 2004, p. 126.

<sup>36</sup> Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, pp. 242-245, Hareven, T. K.: 1990, p. 220.

is a good strategy for some families or for some family members might be a bad strategy for other families and other family members, both in time and space.<sup>37</sup> Accordingly, this approach requires the historian to handle a great deal of variation. This indicates that methodology and operationalisation becomes central for the successful implementation of the family strategy approach. Moreover, for the study of family patterns in a Russian proto-industrial community, it also seems necessary to combine the family strategy approach with a more classical quantitative approach, as a more detailed understanding of the variety of structures in different regions within Russia is central for interpreting individual and family behaviour.

## 1.2. THE FAMILY AS AN ANALYTICAL CATEGORY

In historical research it is common to differentiate between the terms “family” and “household”. Family is a rather vague word, it refers to close kin, but the exact reference tends to vary contextually. A household, on the other hand, refers to a group of co-residents; people who live under the same roof and typically constitute a single consumption unit. The Russian term that is closest to this definition of the household, is *dvor*. The traditional Russian *dvor* implied living together under the authority of a patriarchal head, close co-operation in day-to-day tasks, a “common purse”, and the basic identification of the member with the household.<sup>38</sup> A household system can be defined as the complex relationship between households and the workings of various kinship principles. From an anthropological viewpoint, there is a key distinction between the *domestic group* and the *kinship system*. Kinship systems are related to rules of coresidence. For instance, there is a link between patrilineal kinship systems and patrilocal residence rules. However, households are not simply the product of residence rules but are also affected by demographic, life course, and socio-economic factors. As a consequence, very different kinship systems may have identical households, and the same kinship system may result in a diversity of households.<sup>39</sup>

In the quantitative or structural approach, the household is the main analytical unit, and to describe different household systems historians have used several different methods of classification. One of the most commonly used classification schemes was developed by

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<sup>37</sup> Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, pp. 242-245.

<sup>38</sup> Shanin, T.: 1986, p. 67.

<sup>39</sup> Kertzer, D. I.: 1991, p. 156.



Eugene A. Hammel and Peter Laslett in the late 1960s<sup>40</sup>, and has become close to a standard method in household research. The major divisions of the scheme are based upon the number of kin-related *conjugal family units*. A conjugal family unit can either consist of a married couple with or without offspring or a widowed parent with children. According to these units different household categories are formed. The scheme contains two categories with no conjugal units, which are labelled *solitaries* and *no family* households. The remaining three categories are based upon one or more conjugal units. *Simple family* households are defined by variations of household structures that include kin contained within only one conjugal unit. *Extended family* households and *multiple family* households, on the other hand, include domestic groups with additional kin, which were not a part of the central conjugal unit. Each of these categories is further divided into subgroups, which are supposed to reflect the particular kinship relation in any household. Finally, non-kin members of the household as boarders and servants are not included in the classification scheme.

Although this classification scheme originally was presented as a universal method of studying household structures all over the world, and even though it has been extensively used in that way, there are several difficulties involved when applying this classification system on households outside Western Europe. This is also the case when studying Russian households. The difficulties are connected to the fact that, first, the method does not consider the hierarchy of power relations within the household, and second, its focus on the conjugal family unit. Although the scheme differentiates between primary and secondary units in multiple family households, it ignores headship in simple and extended households. The result is a method of classification where similar forms define households with different functions and dissimilar forms define households with largely the same functions. For instance, if the wife dies in a multiple household with secondary units disposed downwards, the household type changes from a downward extension (category 5b) to an upward one (category 4a), although the headship remains unchanged. Similarly, an unmarried son who heads a household containing his widowed mother is considered identical (category 3d) to a widow with children. The reason for this focus on the conjugal family unit in the household categories of the Hammel/Laslett scheme is probably that when constructing the scheme, it was implicated that the marriage of the heir and transmission of headship always happened simultaneously. This means that the scheme is based on the logic and rules of the Western European household system. However, when and how transmission of headship occurred can

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<sup>40</sup> Laslett, P.: 1972, pp. 1-90, Hammel, E. A. and Laslett, P.: 1974, pp. 73-109.

be seen as defining characteristics of different household systems. In the traditional Russian household system a son's marriage did not make him household head, not did the death of his mother or even father. On the contrary, it was quite common for a single or widowed individual to head a household containing secondary conjugal family units, even though he or she could not be defined as belonging to a conjugal family unit according to the Hammel/Laslett scheme. The combination of head-neutrality and the strong focus on the conjugal family unit does not allow us to differentiate between many of the complex households. Accordingly, it fails to fully grasp household systems that were the result of demographic behaviour, residence rules and inheritance patterns differing from the Western European experience.

However, it is quite useful to apply this classification scheme because of its status as a standard method in the study of households, which means results from different regions and countries can be conveniently compared. Having said this, it was still seen as necessary for the purposes of this study to modify the classification scheme somewhat. The most important change is that headship is taken into account when categorising the households. For instance, a household consisting of a widowed household head and his or her married son or in some cases daughter, would in the original scheme be classified as a nuclear family extended upwards (category 4a). However, because headship lay in the older generation, the function of the household would be closer to a multiple family household with secondary units disposed downwards (category 5b). A similar situation would occur in any complex household where the household head did not belong to a conjugal family unit. Accordingly, in my modification of the Hammel/Laslett scheme such households were classified according to the function of its authority relations, and singled out in a separate category, with an asterisk (\*) indicating that the household head was single or widowed. This relatively small adaptation makes it possible to differentiate more thoroughly between the complex households and classify the households according to the logic of the Russian household system.

The modified classification scheme stresses the multiple dimension of a household system, while the original scheme stresses the simpler forms. Accordingly, classifying Russian households by the original scheme will lead to a relatively larger proportion of extended households, while the modified scheme will lead to a relatively larger proportion of multiple households. Naturally, the previous empirical studies of Russian household structures apply the original classification scheme, which means that the introduction of the modified scheme makes it somewhat more inconvenient to compare the results of this study with previous results. Even so, the advantages of applying the modified system seem to be

greater than the drawbacks. One of the main criticisms against the Hammel/Laslett scheme has been that this methodological approach handles the household as a fixed structure, while it really should be regarded as a highly dynamic unit that changes according to demographic events and as individual household members moves in and out of the household.<sup>41</sup> It is therefore central in any analysis of household structures to discuss the development cycle of the household. Research on the household's development cycle has shown that the stages of this cycle and the timing of the transition from one stage to the next, varied considerably in different geographical and cultural settings. The modified classification scheme main advantage is that it differs between the stages in the development cycle of the Russian household according to its own logic, which also becomes important for the analysis of family strategies, given that the options available to the family depended on the specific structural patterns in which they lived.

Historians have identified a number of methodological issues that seem especially important when using the family strategy approach in an empirical study.<sup>42</sup> First, family strategies have frequently been operationalised as collective patterns of behaviour, assumed to result from actions and decisions of individual families to improve their economic or social well-being. However, documenting collective trends and outcomes at the community level does little to explicate the decision-making choices of ordinary families, or the mechanisms producing change in strategies over time, even though it might serve to establish the scope, incidence, and prevalence of different family strategies. This means that even when working at macro-level it is necessary to consider the variation of strategies of individuals and families. Thus, to understand individual strategies, it is important to focus on the power relations within the family, which typically are distributed according to gender and age, or according to the social position of the family members in the larger community.<sup>43</sup> Second, family strategies represent more than just the sum of decisions of individual family members, reflecting instead a tacit agreement or compromise, although particular strategies not necessarily reflect the wishes of all family members.<sup>44</sup> In other words, the family may also be regarded as an historical actor - an independent unit with its own strategies. According to this view, the individual interests of the historical actors were subordinated to the collective

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<sup>41</sup> See for instance Berkner, L. K.: 1972, Berkner, L. K.: 1975, Medick, H.: 1976, Wall, R.: 2001

<sup>42</sup> See for instance Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, p. 238, Baud, M. and Engelen, T.: 1997, p. 351, Engelen, T., Knotter, A., et al.: 2004, pp. 130-131, Engelen, T., Kok, J., et al.: 2004, pp. 248-251.

<sup>43</sup> Folbre, N.: 1987, Tilly, L. A.: 1987, Moen, P. and Wethington, E.: 1992, p. 239.

<sup>44</sup> Hareven, T. K.: 1991

strategy of the family because individual family members could maximise the utility of different strategies mainly through joint family operation.<sup>45</sup> Thus, when analysing family strategies, it becomes central to work on several levels simultaneously, on the collective family level as well as the individual level, and simultaneously assess how the strategies on these levels related to the broader social, economic and cultural context.

By using methods inspired by the so-called life-course approach, it might be possible to handle this complexity, because it provides a framework for seeing the family's history from the perspective of the individual at the same time as the collective development of the family is taken into account. The main analytic unit in this approach is the individual household member rather than the household. While the structural approaches that were outlined above concentrate on categorising households or defining stages in the family's development cycle, life-course approach focuses on identifying the timing of crucial events in the life of the individual, as for instance marriage, leaving the parental home, becoming a parent, and so on. A full-fledged life-course analysis depends on the reconstruction of entire individual live spans and families across generations, or in other words, on complex longitudinal data sets. However, such data sets are rarely available for historical populations. Accordingly, historians who want to study life-course patterns, often have to generate longitudinal data sets through record linkages or use cross-sectional data. This is also the case in this study, which to a great extent will depend on a cross-sectional analysis of censuses and census-like sources from three different points in time during the nineteenth century. Cross-sectional data has certain limitations what regards life-course analysis, as they are more appropriate for analysing the distribution of attributes, than for examination of transitions between different states. Even when the same population sample is compared in consecutive censuses, the pattern that emerges still only presents individuals or families in two different stages, without revealing how they made their transition from one stage to the next.<sup>46</sup>

Despite this limitation, it is possible to infer longitudinal patterns from cross-sectional data, by exploiting the age data in the censuses. In historical life-course studies, the concept of the life-course has been combined with cohort analysis. The cohort of individuals with identical starting points of some kind, as for instance being born at the same time or marrying at the same time, is supposed to be marked by a unique experience that makes them respond to social conditions and events differently from individuals who belonged to other cohorts

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<sup>45</sup> Hareven, T. K. and Vinovskis, M. A.: 1978.

<sup>46</sup> Hareven, T. K.: 1978, p. 10.

with other experiences, which in turn means that they have or will have different life courses.<sup>47</sup> Through a cohort analysis of the timing of crucial points in the transition from child to adult, such as marriage and leaving the parental home to set up an independent household, it will be possible to illuminate the strategic choices of the families in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Moreover, in relation to the issue of family strategies, cross-sectional data obtained from consecutive censuses of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, will contribute to an understanding of how individuals within the proto-industrial Russian family related to each other and whether these relationships changed during the nineteenth century.

#### 1.4. SOURCES

Russian population statistics is generally regarded as inferior compared to that found in many Western European countries. To some extent this is true. Many Western European countries first carried out censuses that covered the entire population in the late eighteenth or early nineteenth century, while the first all-Russian census was taken as late as in 1897. However, for the historian studying family patterns and demographic development in nineteenth century Russia, the real problem is not lack of sources but rather archival organisation and accessibility. Especially for the nineteenth century, Russian archives are abundant of demographic sources but it can be a challenging task for the researcher to locate and collect the data needed for a particular project. In this study, the most important sources of detailed information on family patterns and demographic behaviour are two tax revision lists (*revizskie skazki*) and one *zemstvo* household census (*zemskaia podvornaia perepis'*), which record the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the years, 1834, 1850 and 1869.

##### 1.4.1. Revision lists (*revizskie skazki*)

When Peter I imposed the soul tax early in the eighteenth century, he ordered the registration of all males in those estates that were to be taxed under the new law. The first revision (1719-21) was taken in every village and town, and it provided the basis for assessing the soul tax from 1724 until 1747. To reapportion the tax burden as a result of population changes, the senate ordered a new revision to be taken in 1744. Later revisions were conducted in 1762-65, 1782, 1795 and 1811, or roughly every fifteen years. Four more revisions were gathered in the nineteenth century, but the practice of taking one every fifteen years was abandoned. The

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<sup>47</sup> Hareven, T. K.: 1978, pp. 5-8, and Elder, G. H.: 1878, pp. 17-57.

seventh revision was taken in 1816, the eight in 1834-36, the ninth in 1850-51, and the tenth in 1857-58.<sup>48</sup>

The original lists of the revisions are called *revizskie skazki*. They record the population in the tax-paying estates, which included peasants, merchants, townspeople, and clergy. In the nineteenth century, the overwhelming majority of the population was belonging to the tax-paying estates, and the revision lists cover about 95 percent of the population. The remaining 5 percent not listed in the revisions, were members of the nobility, government officials, army and navy personnel, retired soldiers and foreigners, who all were exempt from taxation.<sup>49</sup> This means that in an examination of family patterns and demographic behaviour based on these sources, the most privileged social groups of Russian nineteenth-century society will be left out of the analysis. This might be a major problem in the analysis of the family patterns of urban populations, which supposedly contained a larger share of privileged social groups. For rural populations, however, the results of the analysis will hardly be influenced by the lack of information on these social groups, as the overwhelming majority of the rural population belonged to the tax-paying social estates. This must also have been the case in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the nineteenth century, as the social structure seems to have been dominated by proprietary serfs, factory serfs, and merchants.

The tax revisions were generally carried out by local officials. In serf villages, the serfowners or their bailiffs carried out the revisions, in state-controlled settlements, the village elder was responsible for recording of the population, while town administrators carried out the revision of the urban population. The methods applied in the collection of the revision lists need some consideration. The usual practice in census taking is to record the population present in a certain household at one particular date, but this was not the case for the revisions. The nineteenth century revisions were initiated by a decree from the Ministry of Finance and the local authorities who compiled the revision lists were obliged to return the results by a certain deadline, usually about a year after the decree was issued. After this date, the revision commission started the painstaking work of checking the results for mistakes and of discovering individuals missed by the initial revision. The correspondence following the revisions lists stored in Moscow archives, indicate that the approval procedure for the records was quite demanding and to verify the results that local officials reported, the government

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<sup>48</sup> Hoch, S. L. and Augustine, W. R.: 1979, pp. 404-405.

<sup>49</sup> The numbers are taken from Shanin, T.: 1986, p. 62.

checked them against other sources, such as parish registers. This process could last for years, but only those born before the deadline were registered.<sup>50</sup>

The thorough work of the revision takers probably provided for a relatively accurate registration of the population, but certain aspects of their methods indicates that the population figures for a specific area in a specific year only can be roughly estimated. The revisions did not record the population present at the date when the revision was taken, but rather the population considered to be living in a certain village or area. This means that even individuals who had been away for years could be registered in their original village. Thus, the revisions recorded the population regarded as belonging to a certain area in a particular year. In regions with a high level of migration, this might lead to quite uncertain population estimates. However, this does not seem to be a major problem because the revision lists also contains information on in- and out-migration along with information on deaths between two revision years, which in turn means that it is possible to keep track of individuals who in fact were absent. For the first half of the nineteenth century, the revision lists are the most comprehensive source for analysing the family in rural Russia. Careful standardisation and analysis of these sources can provide insight into several aspects of the development of family patterns and demographic behaviour in the Russian proto-industrial countryside.

In the study of family patterns and demographic behaviour in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, I have used original revision lists from the eight revision that was carried out in 1834 and the ninth revisions that was carried out in 1850.<sup>51</sup> The revision lists contain two levels of information. On the first level they contain general information for the whole community, including the name of the landlord, the name of the village, *volost'*, *uezd*, *guberniia*, and the date of the record taking. On the second level they provide data for each individual in a given village, but these data vary according to age and gender.

The 1834 and 1850 revision lists contain rather comprehensive information on the adult male population, including common census data such as name, patronymic, household position, and ages. Moreover, the revision lists also provide essentially longitudinal information on the male population of all ages, namely data on deaths and migrations between two revision years. Accordingly, the 1834 revision list records all males that were present during the previous revision in 1816, but who had died at some point between these two revision years, or who had been recruited to the army, or who had migrated. Likewise, every

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<sup>50</sup> Kabuzan, V. M.: 1963, pp. 73-77.

<sup>51</sup> Source: *Tsentrāl'nyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Moskvy* (TsIAM); Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 187, and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

male child born between two revisions is accounted for as well as males who had moved into the area. The 1850 revision lists contain such information for the period between 1834 and 1850. This means that these two consecutive revision lists can be used not only for an analysis of household structures and for a cross-sectional analysis of family patterns, but also to reconstruct demographic patterns and migration in the male population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

**Table 1.4.1:** Information categories in the 1834 and 1850 tax-revision lists, distributed according to age and gender.

<i>Adults</i>		<i>Children</i>	
<i>Men</i>	<i>Women</i>	<i>Boys</i>	<i>Girls</i>
1) Household number	1) Household number	1) Household number	1) Household number
2) Social status	2) Social status	2) Social status	2) Social status
3) First name	3) First name	3) First name	3) First name
4) Patronymic	4) Patronymic (1850 only)	4) No patronymic	4) No patronymic
5) Surname (occasionally)	5) No surname	5) No surname	5) No surname
6) Household position	6) Household position	Household position	6) Household position
7) Age at the last revision, alternatively new-born/in-migration.	7) No longitudinal data	7) Age at the last revision, alternatively new-born/in-migration.	7) No longitudinal data
8) Age at this revision, alternatively dead/out-migration, also with information on year of death/out-migration and where to they migrated.	8) Age at this revision, but no information on deaths or out-migration	8) Age at this revision, alternatively information on deaths and out-migration.	8) Age at this revision, but no information on deaths or out-migration.

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 181, 187, and 386, 392, 293, 394, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

The information provided for the female population is not that comprehensive. Even though the females as well as the males of all ages were recorded in the 1834 and 1850 revision lists, the data on the female population is inadequate compared to the data on the male population, and they were not verified by other documents to the same extent.<sup>52</sup> In 1834, the data relating to the female population lack information on patronymics and surnames, and in both revision years, there is no longitudinal data on deaths and migrations concerning the females. This means that it in some cases is almost an impossible task to identify females, who for some reason had moved from one household to another in the period between two revisions. Even so, the lacking information on patronymics as well as age at the last revision can in most cases be inferred by systematically comparing records in the same revision list or between the two revisions. Further, the lack of data on deaths and migration makes it unattainable to identify

<sup>52</sup> In the first, second and sixth tax revision only the male population was registered, while in the remaining revisions males as well as females of ages are listed.



where an adult female came from unless she was present in the sample at the last revision, or what happened to females who had disappeared from the revision lists between the two revision years. Accordingly, the revision lists cannot provide a basis for assessing female mortality or migration patterns.

For the purposes of this study, the greatest shortcoming of the revision lists is that they lack employment data, which is somewhat surprising, considering the fiscal purpose of this source. Because one of the main tasks of this study is to examine the interrelationship between family patterns and rural domestic industry in nineteenth-century Russia, data on the occupational structure of the population would have given invaluable information. The lack of employment data means that it is not possible to study the details of the economic structure in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the first half of the nineteenth century, even though we know from other sources that textile production became an important aspect of the village economy in these villages already from the end of the eighteenth century.<sup>53</sup>

Still, the general impression is that the nineteenth-century revision lists are a valuable source for the study of family patterns and demographic development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* as well as other rural populations in Russia. They contain nominal information on each individual household member, which makes it possible to reconstruct household structures, family development cycles, as well as life-course patterns. The longitudinal data registering deaths and migration means that the revision lists also are valuable sources for accessing mortality levels and migration patterns among the males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the first half of the nineteenth century. Further, the age and sex distribution of the population obtained from the revision lists indicate that the recording was quite accurate. Because the purpose of the revisions was to assess the taxable population, they are in effect financial documents, treating the population as any other property, a fact that might have contributed to the accuracy of the registration.

#### 1.4.2. The *zemstvo* household censuses (*zemskie podvornye perepisi*)

In the years following the emancipation of the serfs in 1861, the statistical bureaus of the newly created *zemstvo*<sup>54</sup> institutions carried out detailed household censuses in most of

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<sup>53</sup> See for instance *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, "Bogorodskii uezd": 1896, Meshalin, I. V.: 1950b.

<sup>54</sup> *Zemstvo*; elective local assembly that functioned as a body of provincial self-government in Russia from 1864 to 1917. Representation in the *zemstvo* was proportional to land ownership, and the electorate was divided into three groups—private landowners, urban population, and peasant communes. Although landowners predominated over the peasants and townspeople under the electoral system, the *zemstvo* accomplished imposing

European Russia. These statistical bureaus studied a wide range of topics, including fertility, mortality, factory industry, public health, and education, but their main concern was the agricultural economy. The Law of January 1, 1864, which created the *zemstvo* institutions, did not assign them any specific responsibilities in the gathering or publishing of statistics. Such responsibilities could be inferred, however, from two provisions of the law. First, the “elastic clause”, which empowered the *zemstvo* to care for local economic needs and wants, and, second, the provisions order to make a fair assessment of taxable property.<sup>55</sup> Accordingly, the household censuses are part of their detailed studies of the peasants’ economic conditions. The first statistical investigations were begun already in the late 1860s but the great bulk of *zemstvo* statistical work was carried out in two relatively brief periods, the mid-1880s and the period 1906-14.

In contrast to the practice of older government agencies, which had usually collected statistics by circulating questionnaires to local officials, the statistical bureaus recruited their own staffs to conduct firsthand studies. At the very top were a few chief statisticians and directors of local bureaus. Below them were a hundred or so senior investigators, who supervised local studies and sometimes had special training in specific fields. These were assisted by a group of statistical clerks, and a mass of several hundred part-time interviewers who were hired for the duration of particular studies. Members of the latter group were recruited from the universities and from the lower ranks of *zemstvo* service, as for instance feldshers<sup>56</sup> and schoolteachers. Besides, thousands of volunteer correspondents, mainly priests and literate peasants, contributed to statistical investigations on an irregular basis by providing reports on crops, weather, and other details of life in their own villages.<sup>57</sup>

The household censuses formed a basis for extensive publications on the conditions of the Russian peasantry in the post-emancipation period, but, unfortunately, the original documents of the household censuses conducted in the 1880s and the beginning of the twentieth century have been destroyed. The early census listings of the investigations that were conducted in the late 1860s and beginning of the 1870s are, however, preserved in their original form in regional archives throughout European Russia. These rich primary archive materials are an important source for studying the agricultural economy as well as family

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progress in the fields of education and health within the half century of their existence. The *zemstvo* was the stronghold of the Russian liberals during the post-emancipation period.

<sup>55</sup> Johnson, R. E.: 1982, p. 345.

<sup>56</sup> *Feldsher*; medical practitioner lacking graduate qualification.

<sup>57</sup> Johnson, R. E.: 1982, pp. 351-52.

patterns and the demographic development in the Russian countryside in this period. However, neither Western nor Russian historians have used them much in historical research.<sup>58</sup>

The primary material of the *zemstvo* household census for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* that was conducted in 1869-71, is a valuable source for the study of family patterns and demographic behaviour.<sup>59</sup> It contains detailed information on the nominal level that provides for a thorough examination of the issues raised in this study regarding family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Moreover, it contains individual occupational data for the entire population in the area and individual information on out- and in-migration, as well as statistical data on the number of houses, horses, cattle and small animals belonging to each household. This means that on the basis of these data it is possible to study household structures, the development cycle of the family, as well as cross-sectional analysis of life-course patterns and family strategies. Moreover, because of the rich occupational and migration data, it is possible to connect the family patterns to the economic structure in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the post-emancipation period.

On the other hand, the data quality is not always perfect. When comparing age data for individuals present in the 1850 revision as well as the 1869 census, it becomes obvious that the age data in the latter are rather inexact. One apparent explanation is that the census takers gathered uncertain age data from the population that was not checked against other sources. A second reason could be the methods by which the censuses were collected. As noted above, the census which is used in this study was conducted during the period 1869-1871. This means that the *zemstvo* statisticians did not apply what later became the standard practice of census taking, i.e. selecting one particular date for the census to be carried out. Rather, the population in the different villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have been registered at different dates and even different years within this time span. This implies that it is problematical to establish exact population figures for the area at a certain point in time, and the age data will be inaccurate. In an attempt to solve this problem, the census was dated to the year 1869 and during the coding process, the age data were adjusted to this year.

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<sup>58</sup> Koval'chenko, I. D., et al.: 1988, p. 30.

<sup>59</sup> *TsIAM*; fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

### 1.4.3. Creating a computer version of the sources

Family history and historical demography are historical disciplines that extensively use computer techniques in the analysis. This study also depends to a great extent on computer analysis of the data in the revision lists and household census that were described above. During an extensive period of research in Russian archives, I created three databases containing the data of the 1834 and 1850 revisions lists and the 1869 *zemstvo* household census for *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, which will form the basis of the analysis in the following chapters. The structure of these three databases differs, though, because the revision lists and the household census contain various types of information that need to be handled in different ways. However, all three databases are created according to the general principles that the information in the original source should be fully registered, and that the definitions of fields in the database should make it possible to store each item of information in a separate field. The first principle is crucial to secure that information which might become important in the analysis is not lost in the registration process, and the second principle is important to ease the computer analysis.

**Table 1.4.2:** Structure of the databases *Revizskaia skazka-1834* and *Revizskaia skazka-1850*

<i>Present population</i>	<i>Migrated or dead</i>
1) ID-number for each individual	1) ID-number for each individual
2) Village	2) Village
3) Landlord	3) Landlord
4) Social status (estate)	4) Social status (estate)
5) Household number	5) Household number
6) First name	6) First name
7) Patronymic	7) Patronymic
8) Surname	8) Surname
9) Household position	9) Household position
10) Age at last revision or new-born	10) Age at last revision or when and where from migrated
11) Age at this revision	11) Sex
12) Sex	12) Field for comments
13) Marital status (derived from the data on household position)	
14) Field for comments	

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 181, 187, and 386, 392, 293, 394, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki.*

The two databases created based on the 1834 and 1850 revision lists, each consist of two different tables. The database *Revizskaia skazka-1834* contains two tables; one that records the population that was alive and present in 1834, and one that records the individuals who died or migrated between 1816 and 1834. The database *Revizskaia skazka-1850* has an identical structure, with one table that registers the present population in 1850 and one table

that records those who had died or migrated between 1834 and 1850. In both databases each individual registered in the original source corresponds to one record, which means that the table containing the population present in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in 1834, makes up 5985 records, and the table registering those who had died or migrated in the period 1816-1834 contains 727 records. Likewise, the database for 1850 contains a table of 7127 records for the present population, while the table containing the dead or migrated in the period 1834-1850 consists of 839 records. Further, the two tables in the databases that are recording the present population contain information in fourteen different fields, while the two tables recording those who died or migrated between revisions have information in twelve different fields.

Likewise, the data of the 1869 *zemstvo* household census were registered in a database. The *zemstvo* censuses lack the longitudinal data on deaths and migration, which means that the structure of this database differs from the databases, which were based on the revision lists. The database *Podvornaia perepis'-1869* includes totally 8856 nominal records. These records are stored in only one table, but because the 1869 census has more extensive information on each individual than is the case for the revision lists, each record includes as much as seventeen different fields.

**Table 1.4.3:** Structure of the database *Podvornaia perepis'-1869*

<i>Registered population</i>
<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1) ID-number for each individual</li> <li>2) Village</li> <li>3) Household number</li> <li>4) First name</li> <li>5) Patronymic</li> <li>6) Surname</li> <li>7) Household position</li> <li>8) Age</li> <li>9) Sex</li> <li>10) Marital status (based on the information on household position)</li> <li>11) Occupation</li> <li>12) Migration out of village</li> <li>13) Migration into village</li> <li>14) Houses belonging to the household</li> <li>15) Horses belonging to the household</li> <li>16) Cattle belonging to the household</li> <li>17) Small animals belonging to the household</li> </ol>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg*

A common problem for historians who wants to utilise the computer in the analysis of historical sources is that even after computer registration, sources are rarely ready for analysis. In studies based on computer analysis, historians usually will need to develop a coding and standardisation scheme that keeps the original source intact at the same time as the

information of the source is organised so that it makes sense analytically. With the development of modern computer technology, it has become possible to develop methods which ensure that these two principles are maintained in the coding process. By first transcribing the original data in full and only at a later stage proceed to the coding of the data, or so-called 'post-coding', the data of the original source will remain intact also in the computer version, and it creates the possibility for a variety of coding schemes of differing levels and complexity to be implemented as required by the analysis.<sup>60</sup>

There are mainly two circumstances which in a computer analysis make it impossible to utilise historical data in their original form, and this was also the case with the sources used in this study. First, the organisation of the original questionnaires of the revision lists and the household census depended on the purposes they were supposed to fulfil, which meant they were organised in the way that one particular field contained information on several aspects of an individual's life. For instance, in the household censuses, the field of occupational data contains not only information on an individual's occupation but also frequently information on place of employment and employer. To make the most of these sources, it was necessary to organise the various data items into separate analytical categories. In the example of occupational data, this implied that the different data items relating to an individual's occupation, his or her place of employment, and employer, were organised into separate newly created fields, at the same time as the original field was kept unchanged. This procedure was repeated for all fields where the original source contained several items of information.

Second, even in such highly structured sources as the revision lists and the household census; the original entries are often highly variable. Accurate computer analysis of the data therefore depended upon standardising of the entries, regardless of the variant phrasing, spellings or abbreviations used in the original source. In this project, the first step of the standardisation process was to standardise the age and name data. As mentioned above, the age data of the *zemstvo* household census taken in the period 1869 to 1870 are far from accurate. To be able to analyse the age structure of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, it was necessary to choose one census year, which was set to 1869. Further, the age data for individuals in the 1850 revision list and 1869 census were compared and the ages in the census were adjusted in accordance with this. Finally, the age data of the three census years were organised into age groups with five-year intervals.

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<sup>60</sup> Harvey, C. and Press, J.: 1996, pp. 224-225.

The standardisation of name data is an essential part of any coding of census material. It is necessary because of the high frequency of different spellings in historical documents. These arise from phonetic and orthographic errors, and actual changes of name. Because of this, when comparing records in different sources, a pair of records that on the surface contain substantial discrepancies may in fact refer to a single individual.<sup>61</sup> In other words, standardisation of nominal data is a precondition in the process of record linkage. Computing historians have used several standardised coding schemes in the coding of nominal data. One of the best-known solutions is the *Soundex* code, which attempts to identically code different forms of the same spoken word. In this system, the initial letter of a name is retained, while the remaining characters are replaced by three digits, chosen so that the same number replaces phonetically similar consonants. A second type of code, called *Viewex*, was developed to cope with different spellings caused by visual confusions during the registration of hand-written material, which frequently will lead to incorrect deciphering of letters or combinations of letters.

However, such standardised coding schemes have their shortcomings. It is evident that the efficiency of a nominal coding scheme depends on the particular characteristics of the source data. Both *Soundex* and *Viewex* are based on Western European names and the Latin alphabet. For instance, *Soundex* removes the least reliable elements of Anglo-Saxon names, and thus its effectiveness depends upon the proportion of Anglo-Saxon derived names in a sample.<sup>62</sup> Obviously, the sources used in this study contain Russian names spelled in the Cyrillic alphabet. This means that the standard code schemes of *Soundex* or *Viewex* will be ineffective unless it is possible to modify them to cope with the peculiarities of Russian names and the Cyrillic alphabet. In this project, it was more convenient to code the nominal data manually, on the basis of the actual names in the sample. This approach is also an attempt to avoid some of the other difficulties that can occur when using the standard coding schemes for nominal data. The researcher and the coding scheme will have to deal with practices that significantly complicate the coding process. People changed their names, they adopted diminutive forms of baptismal names or even alternate names. For instance, the coding process of the nominal data in the revision lists and household census showed that the female names *Aksin'ia* and *Kseniia* actually referred to the same individuals, and this was also the case for several versions of the male names *Akim*, *Iakim* and *Ekim*. In such cases, the

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<sup>61</sup> Harvey, C. and Press, J.: 1996, p. 228.

<sup>62</sup> Harvey, C. and Press, J.: 1996, p. 229.

standard coding schemes designed to code names according to certain rules of phonetic or orthographic similarities, will be of little use.

**Table 1.4.4:** Example of original and coded household positions in the computer versions of the 1834 and 1850 revision lists and the 1869 household census.

<i>First name</i>	<i>Patronymic</i>	<i>Surname</i>	<i>Original household position</i>	<i>Coded household position</i>
Grigorii	Eliseev	Plokhov		Head
Akulina	Efimova		Grigorii Eliseev's wife	Spouse
Sergei	Grigor'ev	Plokhov	Grigorii Eliseev's son	Child
Agaf'ia	Afanas'eva		Sergei Grigor'evs wife	Child's spouse
Akulina	Sergeeva		His daughter	Grandchild
Vikul	Grigor'ev	Plokhov	Grigorii Eliseev's second son	Child
Ivan	Grigor'ev	Plokhov	Grigorii Eliseev's third son	Child
Savva	Grigor'ev	Plokhov	Grigorii Eliseev's fourth son	Child

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 394. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9 reviziia, 1850 god, Bogorodskii uezd. Revizskie skazki krest'ian, prinaldlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiami na bukvy R-Ia.*

The analysis of household structure, development cycle and individual life-course patterns depends on an appropriate organisation of the household position data. In the original census data, the position of individual household members is defined according to a hierarchical system. The positions of adult males are defined in relationship to each other, while women and children's positions are defined according to their closest male relative in the household. For instance, in a typical Russian multiple family households the household members' positions would be defined as in the example in Table 1.4. However, to be able to analyse the different aspects of household organisation, it was necessary to define the household position of each individual member according to the relationship to the household head. Therefore, the second step in the standardisation process was to code the household position according to this principle, and in addition, each household was categorised according to the modified Hammel/Laslett-scheme for classification of household structures.

A main issue in this project is the relationship between household organisation, demographic behaviour and economic development. Information on economic development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* can be derived from several sources, but for data on the economic status of individuals, the *zemstvo* household census from 1869 is the most comprehensive source. It provides abundant information on employment for each individual in the sample. These data are a very valuable source for the economic and social issues raised in this study, but systematic analysis is not possible without coding and classification.

Computing historians have drawn attention to the complications involved in coding of occupational data and they have defined several principles for the accurate coding of such



data. As for coding generally, the most basic principles of occupational coding are linked to the need of organising data into appropriate analytical categories. This implies that only one type of information should be coded at a time, occupational categories should be mutually exclusive, and in the coding scheme a place should be found for each occupational title.<sup>63</sup> The occupational data in the *zemstvo* household census contain several types of information, such as occupation, place of employment and employer, which during the standardisation process were coded into separate fields in the database. This makes it possible to analyse migration patterns as well as the occupational structure of the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the first years of the post-emancipation period. Further, computing historians have also stressed the importance of *flexibility* in the coding of occupational data. First, this implies that the occupational groups of a coding scheme should be derived from the actual occupations present in the source. Second, a multiple-level occupational coding scheme encourages refined analysis of a database at various levels of detail, and makes it relatively easy to recombine categories in new ways as the historian's original thoughts are refined and reformulated. Finally, flexibility also entails that the occupational coding scheme should be based on the researcher's knowledge of the origin, content, peculiarities and limitations of the sources upon which a database is founded. For instance, the entries describing an individual's occupation will often vary from source to source. This does not necessarily mean that one of the versions is wrong, but rather they correspond to different presentations of an individual to the world in which the document was created.<sup>64</sup>

The creation of a coding scheme for migration data involve decisions similar to those made when coding occupational data. As for occupational data, it is essential to adhere to the principles of systematic and flexible coding. The original sources of this study have a variety of entries providing information on different aspects of the population's migration patterns. The revision lists record the year of in- or out-migration and the place of origin or departure for each migrant. The household census contains even more detailed information on migration. Often, the migration data in this census are connected to labour migration. In relation to out-migration, this means that the entries include information on the period of absence from the home village and the reasons for migration, in addition to the place and year of migration. For in-migration, the entries consist of similar data. All the various items of

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<sup>63</sup> For an outline on the principles of occupational coding, see Morris, R. J.: 1990, and Harvey, C. and Press, J.: 1996, pp. 226-228.

<sup>64</sup> Morris, R. J.: 1990, p. 9.

information on migration were coded separately in order to undertake a systematic analysis of the migration patterns for the population at large as well as for individuals.

#### 1.4.4. Record linkage

One of the main goals of this study is to examine life-course patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Record linkage makes it possible to reconstruct life-course patterns on the individual and family level. The term record linkage refers to the process by which items of information about a particular named individual are connected to each other according to certain rules. If the linkage process is computer-assisted, the rules are usually expressed in a *linkage algorithm*. Historical research is always restricted by the range and nature of the sources of information about any given time and place. Nevertheless, though the sources may be hard to expand, techniques for using them to best advantage can be improved. Record linkage, because of its ability to articulate and structure data, makes it possible to obtain information about the lives of the proto-industrial workers that would otherwise remain obscure. Moreover, by aggregation, it is possible from the linked individual records to study the general life-course of the population.

Record linkage has perhaps been most extensively used in historical demography but has also been applied in a range of economic, social, political and cultural studies. As historical research shifted focus from famous people to populations as a whole, researchers came to recognise the need to develop formal record linkage rules. Such techniques may be used when linking records manually, and one of the most influential of all such formal systems, *family reconstitution*, was designed for implementation by hand.<sup>65</sup> However, manual record linkage is time consuming and the large quantities of information in documents like censuses and parish registers clearly invite to computer use. Record linkage has been central in historical computing since the late 1960s.<sup>66</sup> Computing in the 1970s was dominated by programming languages and analytical packages that required rule based methods of record linkage. However, the arrival of relational database management systems turned attention away from the search for rule based record linkage towards more intuitive procedures. Relational database technology made the line by line sorting and examination of machine readable versions of documents much easier than the technically more demanding process of

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<sup>65</sup> The logic of family reconstitution from vital registers was first fully worked out by Louis Henry in collaboration with Michel Fleury in Henry, L. and Fleury, M.: 1956.

<sup>66</sup> Katz, M. and Tiller, J.: 1972, pp. 144-50, Wrigley, E. A. and Schofield, R.: 1973.

writing the code for automatic linkage. This coincided with the perception that the logic of linking and the knowledge base that a full linking procedure depended on was so complex that fully automatic linkage was out of reach.<sup>67</sup> Still, the relative value of a fully automated record linkage versus a combination of automatic and manual methods is an issue that has been much debated among computing historians. Some emphasise the importance of using both automatic and manual methods of record linkage, arguing that "no systematic algorithm, no matter how sophisticated, can perform this task as well as can a team of experienced researchers assisted by an appropriate set of software tools."<sup>68</sup> Other researchers, however, have asserted the importance of automated procedures to ensure that linkage criteria are carefully defined in advance, and that those criteria are consistently applied.<sup>69</sup> In this study, a semi-automated approach to the linkage process has been chosen. The objective of any record linkage procedure must be to make a maximum number of true links. Apparently, even when using a very sophisticated algorithm, automated linkage will not be able to capture all links that should be made and, conversely, the danger of creating false links increases. A semi-automated approach, however, is more flexible in that it gives the researcher opportunity to take advantage of both computer technology and his/her professional knowledge of the sources.

Even a semi-automated record linkage needs an appropriate linkage algorithm. The algorithm may be slack or strict. The stricter the algorithm, the more confidence we have that matched pairs represent true links. However, confidence is to some extent achieved at the cost of failing to match records that ought to be matched. It follows that the researcher must try to select an algorithm that provides the best balance between the quality of the links made and the number of records linked.<sup>70</sup> When dealing with censuses there are several considerations that should be made when choosing linkage algorithm. Clearly, an important variable in any study involving record linkage techniques is *name*. Because of this, the process is sometimes referred to as *nominal record linkage*. Since most people live in families, each record in a census not only contains the name of one particular individual but also information on his/her relationship to other named household members. If another census is taken in five or ten year's time, it may be possible to find a matching record in which many of the same names occur. Nevertheless, in any such comparison of records from two or more censuses there will

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<sup>67</sup> Morris, R. J.: 1992, p. IV.

<sup>68</sup> Adman, P., et al.: 1992, p. 1.

<sup>69</sup> See for instance Kitts, A., et al.: 1990 and Shürer, K., et al.: 1989.

<sup>70</sup> Harvey, C. and Press, J.: 1996, p. 241.

also be cases that involve more than the standardisation of names if records are to be linked accurately. For instance, when young men and women have left the parental home between two census years, name alone may be insufficient to decide which records should be linked. Especially in cases when the interval between two censuses was relatively long, accurate linking requires additional information to be taken into account. In this connection, *age information* is especially valuable since it narrows down the search area within to look for a linkable record.<sup>71</sup>

In this study, the matching of records was undertaken in two stages, each with a different algorithm. At the first stage, the records of the machine-readable versions of the census data from 1834, 1850 and 1869 were matched according to the variables *FirstName+Patronymic+Village*. The results were checked against age and clearly false links were removed. To decide what links to make when there were several competing options, the data on some given individual were checked against the information on other household members. In this way, it was possible to get quite reliable links for the population living in the same village during the whole period between 1834 and 1869. This, however, is obviously not enough. This linkage algorithm does not capture individuals who for some reason moved between the different villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period. It was therefore necessary to enter upon a second stage in the linkage process. For this stage, a simpler algorithm was chosen and the records that stayed unlinked after the first stage were matched according to the variables *FirstName+Patronymic*. This algorithm gives a large number of potential links. It was for instance difficult to decide which of the 42 individuals named Ivan Ivanov in the 1850 revision list that should be linked to some particular Ivan Ivanov in the 1834 revision list. To resolve such problems the potential links were again checked against age data and information on other household members. In this way, it was possible to make a large number of certain links. This semi-automated procedure is rather time-consuming but it gives better control over the linking process and greater confidence in that the links made are true. The record linkage was undertaken several times, in the way that the records of 1834 first were matched to the record in the 1850-revision list and the 1869-census. Then, the 1850 records were matched to the records in the 1834-revision list and the 1869-census, and finally, the records of the 1869-census were matched to the records of 1834 and 1850. Matching the records of different census years several times gives more confidence in that the links made are positively true.

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<sup>71</sup> Wrigley, E. A.: 1973, p. 8.

The matching of data from the revision lists of 1834 and 1850 and the 1869 census created a cohort that will be analysed in detail in the following chapters. Here, however, I will provide an outline of the record linkage results and what consequences these results have for the further analysis of the data. Following the method described above, it was possible to link a substantial proportion of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834-1869. In 1834, 6005 individuals were registered in the revision lists for *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 3125 women and 2880 males. Further, during the period between 1834 and the following revision in 1850, 761 individuals were registered as either dead or out-migrated. However, 36 of these moved within *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, which reduced the final number of out-migrated or dead individuals to 725. Theoretically, it should be possible to find 5280 individuals from 1834 in the 1850-revision list. By record linkage it was possible to locate 3929 of these, that is 74,4 percent of the potentially linkable population in the 1834-revision list. They were distributed by sex in the following way: 1993 women and 1936 men, which means that it was possible to locate 63,7 percent of the female population and 89,8 percent of the male population, not counting those registered as dead or out-migrated. The difference between men and women is mainly caused by the fact that the in revision lists, deaths and out-migration were only registered for the male population. This means that females who in reality were dead or had moved out of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* are counted, while males are not. If the dead or out-migrated males are included in the calculation, there is only a small difference in the proportion of men and women linked. Accordingly, in 1850, it was possible to locate 65,4 percent of the total population recorded in the 1834 revision list, 63,7 percent of the women and 67,2 percent of the men.

As already described in this chapter, the *zemstvo* household censuses had a structure that differed from the revision lists, the most important difference being that the censuses did not record individuals who were dead or who had moved out of the village. For record linkage, this means that the whole population is included in the process and the calculation of its results. In the 1869 census, it was possible to trace 2097 of the individuals living in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* both in 1834 and 1850. This made up 35 percent of the original population in 1834. Distributed by sex, 33,2 percent of the female population and 37,1 percent of the male population were linked in the period 1834 to 1869.

In other words, 1/3 of the population living in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in 1834 was still living there 35 years later. Most of them were children or adolescents in 1834; almost 80 percent of the cohort was younger than 25 years old and, accordingly, in 1869 the bulk of the cohort was between 35 and 60 years old. Further, not surprisingly, 3/4 of the group had status

as children or grandchildren in their respective households in 1834, while in 1869, the most important household positions for the males were "household head" or "child" and for the females "wife", "household head" or "daughter-in-law". In 1869, most of the cohort was employed in textile industry but a considerable proportion is also recorded with agriculture as their only occupation. The immediate impression is that this cohort represents the "average" resident of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. This again means that it is quite difficult to reconstruct the life-course of the "not so average". The linkage process tends to reconstruct the lives and behaviour of the stable population in any given community. Moreover, in every source of information, there will be bias. Difference of literacy, sex, marital status, age, and length of residence may all produce differential cover even in sources that claim to cover the whole population.

A look at the population left unlinked after the record linkage process shows that it was somewhat more difficult to trace women than men in the period from 1834 to 1869. When the unlinked population is distributed according to their age in 1834 a clear pattern is revealed. This pattern shows that the proportion unlinked individuals was relatively high among the children 0-4 years, among males as well as females. This should probably be attributed to the higher number of deaths among small children. However, among the unlinked individuals in the age groups 5-24 years there were clearly more females than males. The main reason for this was probably that marriage made young women more mobile than it made young men, as women moved into the parental household of their husband upon marriage. For the linking process this is not a problem when they moved within *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, but apparently, quite a few young women moved out of this area when they married, making it more difficult to trace their life-course patterns. This means that the analysis of female life-course patterns must be based on a smaller and maybe less representative sample than is the case for the males. Among those who were aged 40 or older in 1834, the proportion unlinked individuals increased and among those who were 60 years or older in 1834, practically everyone was left unlinked in the following census years. This must, of course be attributed to a higher mortality in the older age groups.

Accordingly, the linkage of individual data between the revision lists and the *zemstvo* household census over the period 1834 to 1869 makes it possible to follow the life-course patterns of a group of individuals who were quite young in 1834 and who stayed within the investigated area. This also means that the longitudinal analysis must concentrate on identifying life-course transitions that occurred relatively early in life.

## CONCLUSION

The interrelationship between European family patterns and social change has been approached from several different theoretical and methodological perspectives. The “grand” theories of social change have frequently claimed that family patterns will change in accordance with the broad social, economic and cultural changes in a society. For instance, both Marxist and more evolutionally oriented theories have claimed that industrialisation brought about a change in family forms, usually from the large, patriarchal family of feudal or agricultural society to the small, democratic family of capitalist or industrial society. However, historical research on family patterns in Europe as well as in other parts of the world has shown that this linear notion of family development must be considered to be far too simple.

Rather, the first empirical studies of historical family patterns that were conducted in the late 1960s and early 1970s showed that the family was marked by a large degree of stability throughout changing socio-economic conditions. In this period, family history was clearly inspired by structural approaches to history, which main focus was to identify the underlying structures of various family forms, and which concentrated on the continuity in family patterns rather than change. Also the quantitative methods that accompanied this structural approach were constructed to identify typical household systems.

Subsequently, historians became increasingly unsatisfied with the focus on continuity and typical household systems inherent in the structural approach to the history of the family. There were several reasons for this. First, abundant empirical research showed that within Europe, the regional variation in family patterns was great, and this applied to agricultural as well as industrial settings. Second, the interrelationship of family patterns and social change increasingly received attention from scholars working within other conceptual frameworks, in research inspired by the theory of proto-industrialisation, in research which explored the strategies of families, and in studies of individual life-course patterns. All these studies demonstrated that the family and the individual family member took on a much more active role in relation to processes of social change than was postulated in earlier research. Accordingly, these findings entailed that the structural approach to family history increasingly was replaced by approaches that focused on the individual rather than the household as an analytical category.

The first studies of Russian peasant families were conducted within the structural theoretical and methodological framework. Accordingly, the large and complex Russian peasant family that was discovered by these studies has been depicted as a stable feature of

Russian society throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. In these studies, the interrelationship between social change and family development was not an issue, although Russian society was marked by broad socio-economic changes during the nineteenth century. Moreover, whereas the general model of ‘the nuclear European family’ was abandoned in face of the increasing evidence of diverse family patterns within Western Europe and the Mediterranean area, this has not been the case for the ‘perennial multiple family’ of the Russian peasant. Accordingly, the history of the Russian family is very much an unexplored field, both what concerns possible change in time as well as regional variations. By studying the development of family patterns in the proto-industrial community of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, it might be possible to contribute to a greater understanding of the interrelationship between family patterns and social change in the Russian context as well as the regional variation in family patterns in European Russia.

Family historical research in Europe at large has shown that the most successful explorations of these issues have been accomplished through multidimensional methodological approaches. A combination of quantitative methods aimed at identifying household structures and methods inspired by the life-course approach aimed at identifying family strategies makes it possible to illuminate both the structural dimensions and the role of the individual in the family life of the proto-industrial producers. Even so, the methods for analysing household structures require some modifications in order to grasp the logic of the household system and the development cycle of Russian households. Rather than focusing only on the conjugal family unit when classifying households, the modified scheme also considers the power relations within the household.

Both the structural and the “individual” perspective can be obtained by exploiting cross-sectional data of censuses that record the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* at different points in time during the nineteenth century. Two different types of census data will be used in this study, namely tax-revision lists from 1834 and 1850 in the period before the abolition of serfdom and a so-called household census conducted in 1869 by the *zemstvo* during the post-emancipation period. Despite certain shortcomings related to the special purposes of the tax-revision lists and the *zemstvo* household census, they are both nominal censuses that provide detailed information on individual household members. Moreover, the tax-revision lists contain longitudinal data on deaths and migration in the male population between two revisions. The information in these sources makes it possible to examine family patterns as well as demographic behaviour in the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period from circa 1834 to 1869.



As most contemporary investigations of demographic behaviour and family patterns, this study involves extensive computer use. The computer is used for coding, standardisation and record linkage, and in the further analysis of the census data. The “standard” schemes for coding census data commonly used in historical computing proved to be of limited use applied to Russian language sources. Further, contemporary software tools makes record linkage more flexible than it used to be, allowing the researcher to take advantage of the computer’s speed as well as his/her professional judgement in the linkage process. Thus, a computer-*assisted* approach was used both during the coding of the census data and during record linkage. This approach might be more time consuming, but it also gives greater confidence in that the codes and links made are really true.



## CHAPTER 2

# THE FAMILY SYSTEM – INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORK IN THE NINETEENTH CENTURY RUSSIAN VILLAGE

The family patterns of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* can only be fully understood within a larger institutional framework that during the nineteenth century included the Russian state, the Orthodox Church, the institution of serfdom, the peasant commune, and the household. All these institutions had an impact on the family but their impact was in different fields and at various levels of importance. Through the implementation of written family law, the Orthodox Church and the state provided a religiously founded ethical and legal basis for marriage and family relations. Through customary law (*obýchnoe právo*), the peasant commune also functioned as a legal and ethical framework that was especially influential in issues such as property ownership, inheritance and household division. Even so, the peasant commune's main functions related to the agrarian economy of the peasant household, which is true for the institution of serfdom as well. Finally, customary law also largely defined the role of each individual family member and the relationship between them within the peasant household.

The purpose of this chapter is to provide an overview of how historical literature portrays these institutions' impact on the daily life and more specifically the family system of Russian peasants. Simultaneously, it will be important to consider regional variations in the functioning of these institutions and how this might have influenced the family patterns in different geographical areas of Central Russia and especially in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In the period 1834 to 1869, the population in this district was living under the conditions of the repartitional commune and before the abolition of serfdom in 1861 the majority were serfs who belonged to several different landlords. Moreover, most of the peasants in the area were adherents of the Russian Orthodox Church. By this, they shared living conditions with the bulk of the rural population in Central Russia at the time. However, in some respects life in the eastern districts of Moscow Province differed considerably from the general picture. First, the majority of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* as well as in the other *volost's* of *Bogorodskii uezd*, were working in proto-industrial and industrial textile production in addition to or instead of agriculture. Second, a considerable minority of the population in

*Bogorodskii uezd* was belonging to religious confessions outside the official Orthodox Church and was by that outside its jurisdiction. Accordingly, the family patterns of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* evolved within a framework than was marked by a higher degree of plurality than was the case for peasants living in purely agricultural and Orthodox areas.

## 2.1. THE STATE AND THE ORTHODOX CHURCH

During the nineteenth century, the role of the Russian state and the Orthodox Church in the regulation of family matters was concentrated on the development and implementation of civil family law. What characterised Russian family law and which principles were decisive in the legislation and in the implementation of the law?

In contrast to most of Western Europe, where the state had gained control over the sphere of family law in the nineteenth century, the Russian Orthodox Church retained jurisdiction over marriage and divorce until 1917 and made the exercise of this authority one of its major preoccupations.<sup>72</sup> Even though the church reforms of Peter I<sup>73</sup> had largely weakened the material and administrative autonomy of the Orthodox Church, the Imperial state continued to foster the church's moral pre-eminence and its privileged status in relation to other faiths. Thus, these reforms limited the church's independent role in the way that the state defined the competence of the ecclesiastical courts. However, the doctrinal authority and the substance of church law remained intact. Moreover, the religious principles were largely sustained and supported by secular authorities throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.<sup>74</sup> In practice, this meant that even though Imperial family legislation became increasingly complex during the nineteenth century and especially after the reforms in the 1860s, the application of the law rested with the church authorities. This again meant that the authority and powers of the church remained far-reaching until the end of the Imperial period. Accordingly, family law constituted a ground on which the moral interests of the Orthodox Church coexisted with the political interests of the Imperial state in defending patriarchal forms of rule in the domestic as well as in the public sphere.

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<sup>72</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 709.

<sup>73</sup> In 1721 Tsar Peter I abolished the patriarchate of Moscow and replaced it with the Holy Synod, which was modelled after the state-controlled synods of the Lutheran churches in Sweden and Prussia. The Synod consisted of ten clerics, who were taking care of church affairs according to the so-called Spiritual Regulation (*dukhovnyi reglament*), which served as bylaws for all religious activities. A lay official, called the Ober-Procurator of the Holy Synod, ensured that all the deliberations of the Synod were legally correct.

<sup>74</sup> Engelstein, L.: 1992, p. 27, Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 713.

The extensive jurisdiction held by the Orthodox Church in marital law does not mean that the Russian State failed to legislate on family issues. Especially during the eighteenth century, the principles of Imperial family law underwent significant reforms. In some cases, these reforms mitigated, at least formally, the exercise of patriarchal authority within marriage and the family, which in the period before the mid-eighteenth century was the main principle underlying written family law. Despite such modifications, however, the basic principles of traditional law retained their strength in official law until the collapse of the empire in 1917.<sup>75</sup> Accordingly, Imperial family law defined family relations in terms of authority, obedience, filial duty, and paternalistic obligation. In the middle of the nineteenth century, the civil law declared that:

...a wife is obligated to obey her husband as the head of the family, to live with him in love, respect, and unlimited obedience, and to render him all pleasure and affection as mistress of the household...

Children are obligated to render their parents sincere respect, obedience, submission, and love; to serve them in fact, to answer them with respect, and to endure parental reprimands and punishments patiently and without complaint. The respect of children for the memory of their parents must extend even beyond the death of the parents...<sup>76</sup>

Thus, the basic premise of the law was that within the family, as in the society generally, individuals were defined according to their position in authority structures that assigned status and priority according to seniority and sex. The system of power within the family that was established by Imperial Russian law, gave the husband absolute authority over the wife. In practice, this meant that a wife was obligated to live with her husband in all circumstances except his exile to Siberia, and to obtain the consent of her husband to enter employment or receive her own passport, which normally was necessary for change of residence and often for employment. The husband also transmitted his name and formal social status to his wife, unless she belonged to a higher estate than her husband did.<sup>77</sup> No law protected women against physical abuse except in cases of severe bodily injury.<sup>78</sup> Similarly, children who had not separated from their parents could not obtain their own passports and required parental

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<sup>75</sup> Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 61-62.

<sup>76</sup> *Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, St. Petersburg, 1857, X, pt. 1, article 107 and 177. Translated by William G. Wagner.

<sup>77</sup> Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 63.

<sup>78</sup> Engelstein, L.: 1992, p. 32.

permission to enter employment. Moreover, no one of any age, male or female, could marry without the permission of parents or other appropriate authorities and failure to seek approval for marrying could result in disinheritance as well as in criminal punishment. Children who failed to support parents in need could also be subjected to criminal penalties. By contrast, the legal obligations of husbands and parents were defined more vaguely, and mainly required a husband to protect his wife and to provide for her financially. Similarly, parents were obliged to support their children materially and to give them a good upbringing.<sup>79</sup>

In seeking to reinforce the authority of husbands and parents, Imperial law did not differ from Western European law during the nineteenth century. In some respects, the status of married women in nineteenth-century Russia might even have been higher than in Western Europe. Wagner claims that the lack of specificity in Imperial Russian law seems to have given married women greater formal rights than married women in Western Europe had. The Russian family law did not discriminate between parents in that, formally, mothers as well as fathers held equal authority over the children.<sup>80</sup> In practice, however, if both parents were alive, superiority of the father could be inferred from the general subordination of a wife to her husband. Another attribute of Imperial family law that can be seen as an advantage for married women in Russia, was that they by ancient custom had the legal right to maintain their own property after marriage, including their dowries. Even so, they had severe disadvantages when it came to inheriting family property.<sup>81</sup>

The Orthodox Church's role in the implementation of family law gave it a unique opportunity to enforce its own ideas on marriage and family relations. Generally, the church's conceptions were consistent with the traditions of Imperial family law, but especially the interpretation of the relationship between husband and wife developed to be somewhat different in the doctrines of the Orthodox Church compared to Imperial family law.

In nineteenth-century Russia, the Orthodox Church had an especially strong institutional as well as ideological influence on marital law. Imperial law included some general provisions on the conclusion and dissolution of marriages,<sup>82</sup> but within this framework, the Orthodox Church and other officially recognised religions were given much power. The law defined marriage as a religious institution, and the appropriate ecclesiastical authority of each

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<sup>79</sup> Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 63-64.

<sup>80</sup> Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 65-66.

<sup>81</sup> Engelstein, L.: 1992, p. 23.

<sup>82</sup> Imperial law prohibited polygamy (except in the case of Muslims), restricted inter-faith marriage, and required consent, attainment of a minimum age, and mental competency of those entering a marriage in addition to approval of their parents.

faith established the specific rules that managed the conclusion and dissolution of marriages for their adherents. Most of the population in Central Russia came under the jurisdiction of the Orthodox Church. In the middle of the nineteenth century, this was also true for approximately 80 percent of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, and it is reasonable to believe that the majority of the population in the area belonged to the Orthodox Church during the years 1834 to 1869.<sup>83</sup>

Before the middle of the eighteenth century, the Orthodox Church implicitly assumed that the purpose of marriage was reproduction and legalisation of lust.<sup>84</sup> One consequence of this concept was that in this period, the church's focus was not to regulate the minimum but the maximum age of marriage.<sup>85</sup> The church therefore disapproved of marriage among elderly who were beyond the childbearing age. This also implied that fourth marriages between widows and widowers were strictly prohibited, and this ban continued to be rigidly enforced also during the nineteenth century. Such marriages were invariably dissolved, even when the illegal union already had produced children or when the widower desperately needed a wife for the sake of child-rearing and economic necessity.<sup>86</sup> From the mid-eighteenth century, the Orthodox Church also sought to enforce the regulation of the minimum marital age. The minimum age in medieval canons was very low, twelve years for females and fourteen years for males. In 1774, the minimum ages were raised to thirteen for females and fifteen for males. In 1774, the minimum ages were raised to thirteen for females and fifteen for males, and then finally increased to sixteen for females and eighteen for males in 1830.<sup>87</sup>

As noted above, the period before the mid-eighteenth century was dominated by conceptions that emphasised patriarchal predominance within marriage. By the late eighteenth century, however, the Orthodox Church had developed a rather modern contractual conception of marriage that stressed the mutual responsibilities of the spouses, although marriage still was a 'hierarchical partnership'.<sup>88</sup> This concept of mutual relationship mainly involved a spiritual sacramental union between the spouses, which could and should not be broken. Accordingly, the church practised an increasingly restrictive policy on marital dissolution, which practically eliminated legal possibilities of ending a marriage through

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<sup>83</sup> Calculated on the basis of the 1850 revision lists for *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396 and 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

<sup>84</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 720-721.

<sup>85</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 720n.

<sup>86</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 725.

<sup>87</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 731n.

<sup>88</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 721.

annulment, divorce, or separation. During the nineteenth century, the church annulled marriages for procedural or similar defects only very rarely, and it permitted divorce only for adultery, prolonged disappearance, sexual incapacity, and exile to Siberia after conviction of a crime. Moreover, a number of additional preconditions in each case made the process of divorce extremely complex and time-consuming and by this the church discouraged divorce even in cases when valid causes existed.<sup>89</sup> Accordingly, during the nineteenth century, the church denied the overwhelming majority of petitions for divorce. The number of granted divorces increased considerably after the 1860s, but even so, the total number of spouses obtaining a divorce remained small until after the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>90</sup>

The only case where the church proved sympathetic to divorce petitions concerned irreconcilable differences of confession. Interfaith marriages had been legalised as early as in 1721, and mere difference of faith thus did not constitute grounds for divorce. It was rather the religious conversion by one spouse after matrimony that provided basis for divorce. If a member of the Orthodox Church converted to another religion or sect, the church approved a divorce petition for the spouse loyal to the official church. Also in the cases where a non-Orthodox converted to Orthodoxy but where the spouse refused to do the same, the church granted divorce to the convert.<sup>91</sup>

Another effect of the concept of marriage as a mutual and sacred relationship was that the Orthodox Church prosecuted parents or landlords who forced their children or serfs to marry against their will, because forced marriages undermined the sanctity of marriage.<sup>92</sup> Likewise, even though Imperial law and the canon law explicitly recognised parents' and other superiors' authority to approve a marriage, the church often refused to uphold this right. If the marriage ceremony satisfied the necessary requirements, and the couple met kinship, age, and other demands, the church declined to order an annulment. Thus, the Synod rejected petitions for annulment from parents who protested the romantic marriages of children, or

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<sup>89</sup> For instance, divorce on the grounds of adultery was difficult to obtain without several eyewitnesses to the adulterous act itself. Moreover, only in cases when a spouse had been absent for at least five years, a divorce could be obtained on the grounds of disappearance. In cases of sexual incapacity, divorce could only be obtained if the cause was physical and had arisen before marriage, persisted for at least three years, and been verified by state medical authorities. See Wagner, W. G.: 1994, pp. 67-68.

<sup>90</sup> For figures on divorces granted by the Orthodox Church in the nineteenth century, see Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 70. Potential divorcees among the peasantry were probably strongly discouraged not only by the juridical practice of the Orthodox Church but also by the character of the household economy, limited alternatives to marriage, together with community pressure and seigniorial power.

<sup>91</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 736.

<sup>92</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, pp. 726-727.



requests from serfowners whose serfs had married without the landlord's permission.<sup>93</sup> Accordingly, in the nineteenth century, Russian family law seems to have sustained general patriarchal relations within the family, where men held authority over women and parents over children. Simultaneously, the Orthodox Church's perception of marriage as a sacramental union meant firstly, that in some cases the patriarchal rights of elders and superiors were overruled and secondly, that divorce was extremely difficult to obtain.

Even though the majority of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* belonged to the official Orthodox Church, a relatively large minority of them were Old Believers (*Starobriadtsy*). Old Belief emerged from the schism in the Russian Orthodox Church that occurred in the second part of the seventeenth century as a result both of liturgical reforms imposed by Patriarch Nikon and of efforts to strengthen the central administration of the Church. Those who refused to accept the liturgical reforms and instead continued to use the pre-Nikonian liturgical practices became known as Old Believers. In the 1850 revision, almost 17 percent of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was registered to be members of the Old Believer confession.<sup>94</sup>

Old Believer groups, called concords, could be either 'priestly' (*popovtsy*) or 'priestless' (*bezpopovtsy*). By separating themselves from the official Church, Old Believers gave up access to priesthood and thereby also to participation in the sacraments of the Church, such as baptism and marriage, which only priests could perform. Some of the more radical 'priestless' Old Believer groups dismissed all the sacraments except baptism, regarded marriage to be a sin and claimed that the only true Christian way of life was celibacy. Other groups either acknowledged a kind of quasi-canonical form of marriage, while the 'priestly' groups retained access to the sacraments by accepting either fugitive priests from the official Church or the priests ordained by a separate Old Believer hierarchy that was established by a Bosnian Orthodox bishop in 1846.<sup>95</sup> Generally, however, all these different groups of Old Believers were thought to be more reluctant to marry than was the case for most of the peasant population.<sup>96</sup>

Neither the Orthodox Church nor the Imperial civil law did approve of the marriages performed by the Old Believer priests. Accordingly, Old Believer marriages were legally

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<sup>93</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, pp. 729-730.

<sup>94</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 8, opis' 10, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

<sup>95</sup> Bisha, R., et al.: 2002, p. 26.

<sup>96</sup> Bushnell, J.: 1993, p. 427.

invalid and the children of such marriages were regarded as illegitimate. This meant that members of the Old Believer concords had no legal support against change of partners or abandonment, and their children could advance no legitimate claims.<sup>97</sup> Considering Old Believers to be both heretical and a serious threat, the Orthodox Church as well as the Imperial state sought not only to suppress them but also to discredit them and to reconvert their members to official Orthodoxy. As part of this attempt, Orthodox writers frequently claimed that Old Believer notions on marriage led to widespread promiscuity, abortion, infanticide, and child abandonment.<sup>98</sup> Only in 1874, the Imperial government allowed civil registration of marriages and births among the Old Believers.<sup>99</sup>

Thus, the Old Believers represented an alternative to the official church not only through the rituals they followed, but also in their attitude to marriage and family life. It has been argued that in the nineteenth century the church's policy on marriage and divorce provided a strong impulse for religious deviation, either to join new sects that were emerging in the period or the more traditional Old Believers.<sup>100</sup> Once outside the controls of the official church such dissenters were free to marry, divorce, and separate without regard to the church's rules and restrictions. Marital separation and remarriage was common practice among the Old Believer groups that recognised marriage. In accordance with customary law *volost'* courts granted divorce to Old Believers relatively easily as their marriages and divorces were outside the Synods jurisdiction.<sup>101</sup> Moreover, the Old Believer groups that advocated celibacy most likely provided an alternative for its members to the normative early and universal marriage and parenthood in Russian lower class and peasant society.<sup>102</sup> In that sense, the Old Belief represented not only the old rituals but also the old freedom in making and unmaking familial bonds.

The Old Believers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were belonging to the 'priestly' concord, and had therefore the possibility to marry, baptise their children or perform other sacraments within their own religious group. As far as the Old Believers in the mid-nineteenth century still represented the pre-Nikonian attitudes towards marriage and family life, this group of individuals and families may have enjoyed greater freedom in matters of marriage and divorce

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<sup>97</sup> Engelstein, L.: 1992, p. 29.

<sup>98</sup> Bisha, R., et al.: 2002, pp. 265-266.

<sup>99</sup> Wagner, W. G.: 1994, p. 72n.

<sup>100</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, p. 746.

<sup>101</sup> Paert, I.: 2003, p.162.

<sup>102</sup> Paert, I.: 2003, pp., 69-70.

than was the case for the Orthodox population. At the other hand, the required relations between husband and wife and between parents and children may have been even more patriarchal than the attitudes that were expressed by the canon law of the official church and the Russian State at the time.

Accordingly, Imperial family law as well as the guidance and practical implementation of the Orthodox Church seem to have sustained traditional and patriarchal values within marital and family life. This can also in part be said about the Old Believer communities, even though their view on the role of marriage may have provided their members with somewhat more freedom to resolve marital bonds. Imperial civil law and the Orthodox Church's family policy applied to all social estates, including the peasantry, but the family patterns of the Russian peasant were also regulated by a special set of laws that granted wide authority to serfowners and peasant communes and which might have superseded the general provisions of the state and the church. In the following we shall see how the institutions of serfdom and the peasant commune formed a legal and economic framework for the family patterns among the peasants in Central Russia.

## 2.2. SERFDOM AND THE FAMILY SYSTEM

For most of the period investigated in this study, the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were serfs belonging to a total of eight different serfowners. In the period from 1834 to the abolition of serfdom in 1861, the most important landlord in the area was beyond doubt Nikolai Gavrilovich Riumin.<sup>103</sup> In 1834, as much as 3513 of the 5926 serfs in 17 of the totally 26 villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were belonging to this serfowner, and he also owned serfs in several villages elsewhere in Moscow Province and in other provinces. By 1850, the number of serfs in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* belonging to Riumin had increased to 4410 of 7127 individuals. By comparison, the second largest serf owner in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was P. M. Gubin, who in 1834 owned 1171 factory serfs in the village *Uspenskoe*, a number that had increased to 1470 serfs in 1850.<sup>104</sup>

As noted above, Imperial law granted serfowners wide authority in regulating the family pattern of their serfs. In practice, the landlord could influence the serfs' family pattern in two

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<sup>103</sup> Nikolai Gavrilovich Riumin (*Active state counsellor*) was the son of the merchant *Gavrila Nikolaevich Riumin* from *Riazan*, who had become extremely rich on liquor trade in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. He was also eventually ennobled. For more details on the Riumins, see: Rostislavov, D. I.: 2002, pp. 208-218.

<sup>104</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

different ways, namely by regulating the serfs' marital behaviour and by constraining the frequency of household division. The literature on the Russian peasantry generally and the literature on the peasant family specifically, however, is quite ambiguous as to whether serfowners generally tended to exercise these rights. The early research on the subject largely maintained that serfowners frequently intervened in the demographic choices of their serfs, and this view has been repeated by later scholars who have investigated the socio-economic structure of serfdom and to some extent by the historians of the Russian peasant household. According to the classical view, the intervening landlord was motivated by the goal to multiply his or her human property and the number of taxpaying labour units (*tiaglo*), a unit that usually corresponded to the married couple.<sup>105</sup> Hence, landlords frequently commanded their serfs to marry as young as possible and they made compulsory matches when their serfs failed to marry on schedule. Further, serfowners generally forbade serf women to leave the estate through marriage or marry at all without permission.<sup>106</sup>

The historians, who have conducted the most thorough studies of Russian peasant households before the abolition of serfdom, hold a more diversified view of the landlords' influence on the serfs' marriage pattern. Peter Czap maintains that serfowners indeed had an economic interest in early and universal marriage, but that the draconian implementation of serfowner interests described in the earlier literature might have been somewhat overstated.<sup>107</sup> Steven Hoch argues that it was unnecessary for serfowners to intervene in the marriage pattern of their serfs because the heads of the peasant households shared the landlords' interest in early and universal marriage.<sup>108</sup> Accordingly, even though these scholars disagree on the extent of serfowner intervention in the marriage pattern of the serfs, they generally acknowledge that early and universal marriage was a large advantage for the economic prosperity of the peasant community and ultimately for the landlord's estate.

The second sphere of influence that was especially important to serfowners in Imperial Russia was the rate of household division among their serfs. According to the view held unanimously by contemporaries as well as modern scholars and by Soviet as well as Western authors, landlords opposed household divisions strongly, assuming that large households were economically more viable than was the case for smaller households. Again the possibilities of

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<sup>105</sup> *Tiaglo*: A unit of tax assessment in the Russian repartitional commune.

<sup>106</sup> Semevskii, V. I.: 1903, pp. 302-325; Novosel'skii, A. A.: 1929, p. 78, Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 303-309. Other authors who presume that the serfowner regulated the marriage pattern of his serfs include Kahan, A.: 1985, pp. 7, 36-38, 66-67 and Kolchin, P.: 1987, pp. 73-74, 111.

<sup>107</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, pp. 115-116, Czap, P.: 1982, p. 6

<sup>108</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 244-246, Hoch, S. L.: 1986, pp. 93, 95, 103, 118-120.

the household to pay their taxes and dues, and to fulfil their recruitment obligations, were the decisive factors when serfowners decided whether serf households could be divided or not.<sup>109</sup> In order to maintain the labour capacity and economic viability of the peasant household, household divisions were generally only allowed when a household had reached the point in its development cycle when the original as well as the newly established households contained at least two married couples. Accordingly, a junior member of the peasant household would have the opportunity to become head of his own household only at the point when his son also was married and brought a wife into the household. Given the “bunching” of marriage common among the Russian peasants, this frequently happened when the new household head was about to become a grandfather.<sup>110</sup>

Large serfowners would have estates in different areas, often very far from each other and from the permanent residence of the landlord. A bailiff, who often was an entrusted serf elected for the task by the landlord, therefore maintained the day-to-day management of the estate. Thus, the implementation of serfowner control of marriage patterns and household division among the serfs depended largely on the estate bailiff’s authority over his fellow villagers. The literature on the subject reflects this when it shows that the pattern of marriage and household division varied at different estates and within the same estate with different bailiffs.<sup>111</sup> In other words, some bailiffs were more eager than others in enforcing serfowner policies. The sanctions used to punish those peasants who failed to fulfil the orders from the serfowner when it came to demographic behaviour or conducted household divisions without the consent of the bailiff, was a combination of fines, taxes, and corporal punishment. The Soviet historian Vadim A. Aleksandrov refers to many instances of such policies among eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century serfowners. Unmarried girls over a certain age and widows under a certain age had to pay a yearly fee because of their unwanted marital status from the serfowners’ point of view. A final measure could be forced deportation and marriage at another estate belonging to the serfowner. At the end of the eighteenth and beginning of the nineteenth centuries, similar measures were also applied at the estates of the Orlov family.<sup>112</sup> The punishment was even harder when it came to enforcement of serfowner policies regarding household divisions. Serfs who divided their household without permission could

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<sup>109</sup>Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976p. 300-303, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 239-241, Czap, P.: 1982, p. 6, Czap, P.: 1983, pp. 104-151, Melton, E.: 1987, pp. 100-101, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 84-86.

<sup>110</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 237-239, Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 17-20, Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 31, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 84-86.

<sup>111</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 240-241.

<sup>112</sup>Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 304-305, Bushnell, J.: 1993, p. 428-429.

be subject to corporal punishment and were obligated to reunite their households.<sup>113</sup> The serfowner could also constrain division by forbidding potentially new households to construct houses and farm buildings on land designated for cultivation.<sup>114</sup> Accordingly, the literature on the Russian peasant family quite unanimously acknowledges that serfowners aspired to regulate the family life of their serfs. However, the effect of the different landlords' regulations, orders and sanctions is a much more disputed issue.

Neither of the two major areas of intervention, marriage and household division, has been subject to much research what regards the real effect of landlord policies. One of the few historians who have addressed the effect of landlord regulations of serf marriage in any detail is John Bushnell. In his study of the Orlov estates during the period 1773 to 1861, Bushnell found that the serfowner intervened forcefully in serf marriage, but only to sustain what the peasants considered normal and traditional marriage practices, especially in regard to female marriage. The regulations for Orlov's estates clearly stated that female serfs should be married by the age of twenty and that male serfs should be married by the age of twenty-five. However, the serfs did not conform strictly to this rule even though the majority married in their late teens or their early twenties. Neighbouring non-serfs were also marrying at approximately the same age as the serfs at Orlov's estates. Bushnell concludes that the rules on maximum ages at marriage had little or no effect on the marital behaviour of the serfs, who would have married early in any case, because the serfs shared the interest in early marriage with the landlord.<sup>115</sup> Even so, not everybody shared the incitement to early marriage in the Orlov estates. It seems to have been quite usual for females to resist marriage even though households with unmarried sons were seeking wives for their sons. In such cases, the aspiring groom, or the household head on his behalf, tended to appeal to the serfowner to force the reluctant bride to marry. The estate management always perpetuated the wishes expressed by the households of the males.<sup>116</sup>

Another clear rule that concerned the marital behaviour of the serfs at the Orlov estates, allowed female serfs to marry away from the estate only if a market price was paid for them or if a bride exchange was arranged. Bushnell claims that, on the contrary to the rules on maximum age at marriage, these regulations had a major impact on the marital behaviour of the Orlov serfs. Generally, male serfs at the Orlov estates would not marry females belonging

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<sup>113</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 241.

<sup>114</sup> Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 31.

<sup>115</sup> Bushnell, J.: 1993, p. 438-441.

<sup>116</sup> Bushnell, J.: 1993, p. 433-436.

to other serfowners, because they would have to pay the serfowner a fee for releasing the wife. Likewise, males belonging to other serfowners as well as state peasants and free farmers (*svobodnye khlebopashchtsy*)<sup>117</sup> in neighbouring villages avoided finding a wife among the Orlov serfs for the same reasons.<sup>118</sup>

Even though the Orlov serfs hardly were representative of all Russia's serf population, Bushnell's study shows a pattern of serfowner control of marriage that seems to have been common among large serfowners. Moreover, the regulations issued by Orlov were extremely thorough and may have served as an example for other serfowners.<sup>119</sup> Orlov's implementation of rules regulating marriage among serfs demonstrates that this serfowner intended to control the marital behaviour of his serfs but that he was successful only to a certain extent. Even so, the most important conclusion made by Bushnell, is that the rules regulating marriage among the Orlov serfs were largely adopted as a consequence of peasant requests. Accordingly, the serfowner and the relatively powerful serfs such as household heads and representatives of the village commune would share a common interest in regulating the marital behaviour of especially female serfs. The study thus confirms the claim made by Hoch in that it was unnecessary for landlords to intervene in serf marriage because peasant traditional marital behaviour served the economic interests of the serfowner as well as the serfs, and would be enforced even without intervention by the landlord.<sup>120</sup>

As noted above, historical research has established that from the point of view of the serfowner, one of the most important regulations of the serfs' family patterns was restriction on household division. Household division was part of the system of partible inheritance that prevailed in pre-industrial Eastern Europe and is important because the rate of household division largely controlled the pattern of household formation. Through household division a junior male member of the Russian multiple family household was given the opportunity to establish his own independent household. The serfowner may have been especially interested in regulating household division and establishment of new households because these involved a range of economic decisions and preconditions. It was a precondition for a household division that the new households established as a result of this division had access to the necessary economic resources. For the most part, this was the responsibility of the dividing

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<sup>117</sup> *Svobodnye khlebopashchtsy* = 'Free farmers'. A law of 20 February 1803 gave serfowners the right to free serfs with an allocation of land in full individual property. The term for these released serfs was 'free farmers'. See: Crisp, O.: 1989, pp.36-37.

<sup>118</sup> Bushnell, J.: 1993, p. 443-444.

<sup>119</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, p. 72.

<sup>120</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 244-246, Hoch, S. L.: 1986, pp. 93, 95, 103, 118-120.

household and the peasant commune but when it came to available allotment land and buildings, it also involved the decisions of the serfowner. Too frequent divisions would not only reduce the number of adult workers or human resources in each household. It would also lead to a diminishing of the allotment land belonging to each household, making agricultural work more inconvenient and less economical. Accordingly, serfowner opposed household divisions and it is reasonable to believe that it would be difficult for the serfs to conduct household divisions without the consent of the serfowner because of the many economic dispositions involved in such divisions. To what extent then, did serfs conform to the landlord's regulation of household division?

The few micro-studies of Russian serfs' household structures seem to show that serfowners largely succeeded in controlling the extent of household division among their serfs. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the serfs at the *Petrovskoe* estate in Tambov Province may have conformed to the wishes of the landlord to a large extent in that they seldom undertook household divisions. If a household division did take place, it happened only at a point in the development cycle when the original as well as the new households contained at least two married couples.<sup>121</sup> In the same period, the serfs at the *Mishino* estate in Riazan Province undertook household divisions quite often. However, they were only dividing multiple family households and only at a point in the development cycle when the new households were multiple family household or would become one in the nearest future.<sup>122</sup> Likewise, in the first half of the nineteenth century the serfs at *Manuilovskoe* estate in Tver Province displayed the same tendency. A large majority of the households that were divided where multiple family households and the new households established as a result of division also contained at least two marital units.<sup>123</sup>

Thus, according to these studies, the pattern of household division among Russian serfs largely conformed to the wishes of the serfowner. This does not mean that they never divided their households, but household divisions were delayed until the original as well as the new households were sustainable economic units, which obviously were defined to consist of at least two married couples. There are, however, several substantial problems involved in this interpretation. First, all the three estates for which thorough micro-studies of household patterns are available belonged to the same serfowner, the Gagarin family. If we accept that serfowner policies had an impact on the pattern of household division among the serfs, the

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<sup>121</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 237-242.

<sup>122</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, p. 17-19

<sup>123</sup> Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 31.



fact that all available data refers to the same landlord, makes it impossible to know if the observed pattern of household division was representative for the Russian serf population generally. Second, these studies leave it unclear whether the pattern of household division was the result of serfowner requirements or peasant custom. Generally, the scholars cited above seem to agree that the pattern of household division was ruled not so much by the regulations of the serfowner as by the conventions within the peasant community, or rather, a mutual understanding and interest between the landlord and the serf community. This view has been repeated in recent research on serfdom and household formation patterns in Eastern Europe during the early modern period.<sup>124</sup>

Partly in contrast to this view, Christine Worobec claims that the serfowners had an impact on the frequency of household division in that they effectively hindered divisions to take place before the death of the household head. Accordingly, before the abolition of serfdom divisions between fathers and sons were very rare while divisions between brothers after the death of their father were largely accepted. After the abolition of serfdom in 1861, this pattern changed and more sons tended to break away from their fathers' households.<sup>125</sup> Drawing on the results from the same micro-studies that were cited above, Worobec has shown an important development that was overlooked by the authors themselves. Even so, the issue of representation still remains a major problem. We do not know to what extent the patterns and development found at the three Gagarin estates, even though they were located in different provinces, were representative generally for the Russian serf population. This problem becomes even more pressing when we know that both *Mishino* and *Petrovskoe* estates were located in the highly agricultural Central Black Earth region and that the serfs at *Manuilovskoe* estate mainly earned their income from agriculture. Serfs in other parts of Russia, and especially in the Central Industrial Region, were often engaged in a variety of economic activities, such as trade, crafts, domestic and factory industries. Thus, the studies of household division patterns on the Gagarin estates hardly proves that this pattern was prevailing among serfs everywhere in the Russian Empire, as the economic dispositions involved in delaying household division were closely connected to the agricultural economy.

In a recently published study of household structures at the *Voshchazhnikovo* estate in Iaroslavl Province during the period 1816 to 1858, Tracy Dennison revives the issue of serfowner influence on serfs' family patterns.<sup>126</sup> *Voshchazhnikovo* was belonging to the

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<sup>124</sup> Kaser, K.: 2001, pp. 36-37, 42-43, 46.

<sup>125</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 84-87.

<sup>126</sup> Dennison, T. K.: 2003, pp. 395-429.

Sheremetev family, and already in 1796 the landlord had provided rather detailed regulations for his estates, which also included rules for ‘appropriate’ demographic behaviour among the serfs. These rules resembled the rules issued by other serfowners at the time and the same was true for the measures provided for punishing those serfs who did not conform to the regulations. In short, Dennison argues that serfowner policies had an effect on the demographic decisions made by the serf population, although every serf household did not respond in the same way. However, to my mind her argument is rather unclear. Dennison’s investigation of household size and structure in this population reveals that mean household size (MHS) during the entire investigated period was extraordinary low by Russian standards, and that simple family households made up a surprisingly large share of the households. Moreover, the marriage pattern at this estate differed considerably from the one described in earlier studies. The marital age, especially for males was much higher than in other Russian regions and the female celibacy rate was extremely high compared to findings in all previous research.<sup>127</sup> She provides few explanations for this except that it was somehow related to serfowner policies. Yet, the details of serfowner policy on marriage and household division among the serfs at *Voshchazhnikovo* estate show that they were obviously designed to sustain relatively large and complex households among the serfs. Accordingly, if the landlord’s regulation of serf marriage and household division had been really effective, their households should have been large and complex. It is therefore highly unlikely that the serf owner’s concrete instructions on marriage and household division were very effective.

Further, in her study, Dennison also notes that other parts of the landlord's policy could have had an effect on the marriage pattern and household system among the serfs at this estate. She observes that the economic profile of the serfs at *Voshchazhnikovo* was more diversified than was the case for the serfs at the previously investigated estates in the black earth region. They were involved in a variety of different economic activities. Some lived from agriculture, others from trades and crafts of different kinds and still others worked as migrant labourers in cities or towns. They fulfilled their obligations to the landlord by paying an annual fee in money or kind (*obrok*) instead of labour (*barshchina*), an arrangement that was common throughout the Central Industrial Region. Dennison argues that many of these economic characteristics were due to the landlord's policies. A system of property rights based on rules and rights set by the estate management at *Voshchazhnikovo* underpinned the existence of a land, labour and credit market in the region, which seems to have lacked at the

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<sup>127</sup> Dennison, T. K.: 2003, pp. 404-407, 413-415.

estates studied by Czap and Hoch.<sup>128</sup> Unfortunately, Dennison does not explore these issues in any detail and it is therefore unclear whether this system was specific for the Sheremetev estates or was connected to the economic conditions in the Central Industrial Region generally. Knowing that the economic profile of most peasants in the Central Industrial Region resembled the one found at the Sheremetev estate, it seems quite likely that the system of property rights was not so much due to serfowner policies but rather part of a larger regional trend.

Most scholars seem to agree that the economic environment had an impact on household structures and demographic decisions among the serfs in Russia. This means that serfowners policies could influence the demographic behaviour and household system of the serfs even though direct regulations were of limited consequence. It is probably correct to claim that serfowners in different regions had different economic dispositions. It is however difficult and maybe not necessary to isolate serfowner policies from the larger regional and even governmental context. Most serfowners would probably have a great interest in that their serf households should be as economically viable as possible. This viability, however, could be achieved by different means, not necessarily through agricultural work. The farming conditions in the Central Industrial Region were inferior compared to other regions, especially the Black Earth Region. Thus, in the Central Industrial Region serfs and serfowners alike seem to have been eagerly embracing the possibilities provided by industrial development and trade. Moreover, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries industrial development in Russia was largely depending on government policies and initiative. Part of the privileged serfowners' duty was to see to that governmental policy, which included economic policies as well as family and property law, was executed among the serf population. Serfowners policies on serf demographic behaviour and household structures can thus be seen as part of a larger governmental framework that was aimed at increasing the Russian state's human and economic capital.

Accordingly, to date, the research on whether Russian serfowners' controlled the demographic pattern and household system of their serfs or not, has been unable to give a straightforward answer. The general economic policy of serfowners in different regions may explain some of the differences in household size and structure as well as demographic choices among the serfs in these regions. However, the effect of the concrete regulations issued by serfowners on questions like marital age and household division seems to have

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<sup>128</sup> Dennison, T. K.: 2003, p. 424.

varied greatly. The many detailed instructions from serfowners on appropriate demographic behaviour and household division among their serfs reveal that serfowners really intended to control these aspects of their serfs' lives. However, despite this intent, they were not able to or willing to enforce these regulations under all circumstances. Rather, serfowners could probably only enforce those regulations that involved considerable costs for the peasants, such as the transfer fee for female serfs marrying away from the estate, or those regulations that simultaneously were sustained by the serfs themselves.

In the nineteenth century, most Russian serfowners seems to have co-operated rather closely with the serfs' own organ of self-government in the day-to-day administration of the estate. Aleksandrov claims that among the landlords who compelled their serfs to make contribution in money or kind instead of labour duties the majority was content if the serfs fulfilled these obligations. Thus, they rarely intervened in the inner life of the village community.<sup>129</sup> Moreover, even on the estates where the peasants performed labour duties, the landlord would in most instances draw on the serfs own social structures in the management of their estates.<sup>130</sup> Thus, the serfs' organ of self-administration, the peasant commune (*mir*), often operated as an intermediary between the landlord and the village community. For instance, the landlord would draw representatives from the serf population into the management of the estate in the way that the peasant commune chose representatives for the estate management among the serfs, who in turn were confirmed by the landlord. It would be the responsibility of the estate management to collect the quitrents or organise the agricultural production on the demesne, to control the day-to-day economic and administrative issues at the estate, and to execute jurisdictional and police functions in accordance with the instructions from the landlord. The representatives who were chosen to manage the estate seem to have retained their serf status, even though they were given considerable privileges and were exempt from paying taxes and dues.<sup>131</sup> Thus, in practice, the estate management consisted of individuals belonging to the very same village community and social status as the serf population they were set to administer. Moreover, the peasant commune preserved control over several important aspects of village life, such as distribution of allotment land among the serf households, the agricultural production on this land, and regulation of civil and family relations within the village.<sup>132</sup>

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<sup>129</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 69-70.

<sup>130</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, p. 78

<sup>131</sup> See Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 62, 87-88 and Hoch, S. L.: 1993, p. 130.

<sup>132</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, p. 115.

### 2.3. THE PEASANT COMMUNE (*MIR*)

Historical research has clearly documented that enserfed peasants were not totally dependent on the serfowners. On the contrary, agricultural practices, family and inheritance patterns were areas of peasant life that to a great extent were affected by customary law and where peasants enjoyed rather large autonomy.<sup>133</sup> For the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, these aspects of life were organised within the framework of the peasant commune, as was the case for the absolute majority of the peasants in Central Russia. Accordingly, to understand the character of the household system among the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* it is essential to consider the impact of the peasant commune. To an even greater extent than the landlord, the peasant commune provided an immediate framework for the peasants' household system and demographic pattern. The peasant commune's influence was significant at three different levels – first by inspiring and implementing serfowner policies, second by controlling the norms of proper family and community relationships, and third by way of the agricultural practices within the commune. While the relationship between serfowner and peasant commune have been outlined in the section above, this section will describe the characteristics of the peasant commune during the nineteenth century and discuss how the communal regulation of family relations and agricultural practices influenced the family patterns of Russian peasants.

The peasant commune have been subject to much discussion and research by contemporary observers from Russia's educated elite as well as modern scholars, who have tried to establish the origin of the commune and to define its specific features. Over the years a number of different terms have been used to designate the peasant commune. The established Russian term among the peasantry for their communal organ of self-administration was *mir*. The *mir* referred to the assembly of household heads who met to make decisions concerning communal affairs. Often, but not always, belonging to the *mir* also implied periodical redistribution of specific parts of the commonly held land, most often the arable land. Another frequently used term for the peasant commune is *obshchina*. The term was invented in the first half of the nineteenth century by authors with Slavophile sympathies and from the start it was closely identified with the repartitional form of land tenure that was especially common in Central Russia. The Slavophile authors also linked the *obshchina* to certain virtues that allegedly were unique to the Russian peasantry.<sup>134</sup> The post-emancipation

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<sup>133</sup> See for instance Shinn, W. T.: 1961, pp. 601-621, Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 47-117, pp. 128-147, Lewin, M.: 1985, pp. 1-19, Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, pp. 154-168, Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, pp. 431-486.

<sup>134</sup> Grant, S. A.: 1976, p. 637.

tsarist legislation used two different terms when it was referring to the peasant commune. The peasant commune as an agricultural unit was designated by the term *pozemel'naia obshchina* while as a juridical and administrative unit it was given the name *sel'skoe obshchestvo*.<sup>135</sup> The law defined the peasant commune to be a community settled on the land of one landlord. It could consist either of an entire village, or of one part of a village or of several small, very close settlements. The commune would use all land or some of it in common or else having common economic interests.<sup>136</sup>

Independently of the different terms used to designate the peasant commune, its functions were connected to almost every aspect of peasant life on the level of the local village community. In short, it was the administrative, judicial, economic, fiscal, and social unit most immediate to the peasant after the household in which he or she lived.<sup>137</sup> Under serfdom, the peasant commune's administrative functions included maintenance of public order and the generally accepted norms of life and discipline within the village community. Its duty was to prevent crime, detain offenders of any kind and even conduct preliminary inquests in minor cases. It was also supposed to adopt measures in the event of emergencies such as fires and floods, and it should control the mobility of the peasant population through the enforcement of rules governing registration, exclusion, and transfer of peasants from one commune to another. The administrative and controlling functions of the commune were executed according to written law and instructions from the landlord.

The peasant commune's juridical functions included investigation and judgement of civil and minor criminal offences made on the territory of the commune. The peasant commune's judgements were based on customary law, but the commune's obligation/right to perform these juridical functions was fixed in official law and the landlords' instructions.

Further, the commune's economic functions were connected to the agricultural practices that were common in nineteenth-century Central Russia, namely the periodic repartition of arable land between the households belonging to the commune according to changes in their composition. The commune also controlled the agricultural production on this land. The regulation of these issues depended totally on the practices of local customary law.

The agricultural practices were closely connected to the fiscal functions, which made the peasant commune collectively responsible for the payment of taxes and dues to the landlord and the state. This collective responsibility led the peasants to distribute fiscal

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<sup>135</sup>Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 430.

<sup>136</sup> Grant, S. A.: 1976, p. 647.

<sup>137</sup> Grant, S. A.: 1976, pp. 636-637.

obligations between the households belonging to the commune according to the same principles that accommodated them with arable land, i.e., according to the composition of the household. Thus, while the commonly held fiscal obligation was fixed in the official law, the distribution of these obligations within the peasant commune happened according to customary law.

Finally, the social functions of the peasant commune included such various tasks as sustaining the morality of community members, sanctioning of family disputes, marriages, divorces, and household divisions. The commune was also supposed to help the poor and/or unfortunate members of the village community. In the pre-emancipation years, local customary law controlled the social functions of the commune.<sup>138</sup> Even so, serfowners could have considerable interests in the regulation of marriages and household divisions, as these social functions of the commune also involved economic and juridical considerations.

Under serfdom the wide range of partly contradictory tasks assigned to the commune, led to the formation of a dual structure, which consisted of unofficial and official functions. Its unofficial functions provided for the peasants' vital needs and defended their interests before the landlord and the state, while its official functions made the peasant commune an administrative and controlling body, by means of which the landlord and the government obtained dues and taxes, raised recruits to the army and held the peasantry in obedience.<sup>139</sup> How did the Russian peasants' communal institution develop after the abolition of serfdom in 1861?

Modern historical literature on the Russian peasant commune generally accepts that the commune retained its basic functions and importance for the majority of Russian peasants' lives throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>140</sup> The juridical reforms following the abolition of serfdom in 1861 recognised the peasant commune as the primary organ of administration among the peasants in the Russian countryside, and in many ways, its functions became more formalised than they had been under serfdom. The peasantry became subjected to a double system of written law applicable to them only (*krest'ianskoe pravo*) and unwritten, customary law.<sup>141</sup> The reforming authorities aimed at assigning the commune with the control function towards the peasantry that the serfowner had performed, but that were lost with the abolition of serfdom. In addition, the reforms introduced a new unit in the administrative hierarchy of

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<sup>138</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1985, pp. 441-442, Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, pp. 435-439.

<sup>139</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 178-179, Mironov, B. N.: 1985, pp. 442-443, Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 429.

<sup>140</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1985, pp. 464-465, Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 461, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 17-41.

<sup>141</sup> Lewin, M.: 1985, p. 3.

the Russian state, namely the *volost'*, in which the peasant communes of a certain territory were united.<sup>142</sup>

The recently acquired formal authority of the peasant commune and the *volost'* administration was based on peasant self-government. This meant that they would elect their own representatives for the different administrative posts in the communal and *volost'* leadership, such as an elder, a tax-collector, a judge, a clerk and a constabulary. In the post-emancipation period these officials enjoyed rather large autonomy even though their activities were controlled by the local state authorities at the *volost'* and *uezd* level.<sup>143</sup> The autonomy of these peasant institutions rested partly on the fact that, according to the law, their decisions should be based on local communal norms. In other words, the reforms of the 1860s sustained the peasant commune as an official organ of self-administration, of which decisions were not based on official law but on the local customary law of the peasants. This arrangement was intended to accommodate the variety and specificity of cultural practice.<sup>144</sup> Accordingly, in spite of the formalisation of the peasant commune's role in Russian rural society during the post-emancipation period, it is still reasonable to believe that the many informal functions of the commune remained intact. This must have been especially true in the first decades after the abolition of serfdom when the autonomy of the commune and the *volost'* administration was at its highest level.<sup>145</sup>

So, according to which principles did the Russian peasant commune make its decisions? When the legislators embedded customary law into the juridical reforms of the 1860s, they really did not know what this law was. However, during the post-emancipation ethnographers and jurists from Russia's educated society would conduct massive surveys on the issue.<sup>146</sup> The investigations did not, however, give a straightforward answer to the question of what peasant customary law was. Rather, the studies resulted in a debate which turned out to be one

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<sup>142</sup> *Volost'*: In English literature usually referred to as a 'township', implying both a territorial and administrative unit. Peasant communes that were situated no farther than 13 km from each other and made up a single parish were joined in a single *volost'*. If a parish consisted of less than 300 male souls, the *volost'* would be made up of two or more parishes. See: Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, pp. 461-462.

<sup>143</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 463.

<sup>144</sup> Engelstein, L.: 1992, p. 25.

<sup>145</sup> In 1889, new legal and administrative reforms introduced yet another level in the local administrative system, the *zemskii nachalnik*, which led to a tighter state control of the administrative functions of the peasant commune. Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 463.

<sup>146</sup> The pioneering studies were conducted by Aleksandra Efimenko, and several individual investigators followed her lead. The *Liuboshchinskii* Committee conducted a large survey on the functioning of the *volost'* courts and ethnographic expeditions were sponsored by the *Tenishev* 'ethnographic office'. Finally, government surveys included the response of several thousand participants, most of which were officials and landowners, but also some peasants. The results of many of these surveys were published in the early twentieth century.



of the big controversies in Russian political and intellectual life at the time.<sup>147</sup> The participants in the debate who recognised the importance of customary law would describe an impressive structure of customary law and emphasise its admirable ethical basis. Many of these authors found that underlying the practice of popular law was a perception of a specific legal order which found expression in ways the commune handled problems concerning land, the division of households, economic and social conflicts, and relations within the family.

However, the opponents of those who idealised and admired the supposed system of customary law accused them of being dreamers. These opponents observed, for instance, that rural customs were often simply barbaric; that the decisions of the *volost*' courts were not derived from peasant traditions but from the clerk, who invented "customs" according to his whims; and that many peasants said 'we have no customs'.<sup>148</sup> In short, they believed that there simply was no such thing as customary law and that if there were any customs, they never extended beyond the limits of the local community. They claimed that whatever patterns and practices that had emerged among the peasantry during the period of serfdom was due to serfowner and state policy, and should be abolished. Instead, the peasants should participate in the general system of law, which alone was capable of securing them a legal order and equality of rights with others.<sup>149</sup>

Modern research on the subject seems to recognise that customary law indeed existed among Russian peasants and that it played a central role in regulating land distribution, inheritance patterns and household divisions.<sup>150</sup> However, on the contrary to the nineteenth-century observers, modern scholars rarely try to single out the specific rules of customary law.<sup>151</sup> Rather, they acknowledge that the peasants themselves did not separate customary law from the overall structure of everyday life. As Michael Confino puts it:

Customary law, [...] exists only as embedded within ethical norms, religious beliefs, social representations, economic views, esthetic perceptions, and labor habits [...]. All of them are intertwined, and represent inseparable parts of a whole.<sup>152</sup>

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<sup>147</sup> Lewin, M.: 1985, p. 5.

<sup>148</sup> Lewin, M.: 1985, p. 7.

<sup>149</sup> Lewin, M.: 1985, p. 5-7.

<sup>150</sup> See for instance; Confino, M.: 1985, pp. 35-43, Lewin, M.: 1985, pp. 1-19, Shinn, W. T.: 1961, pp. 601-621, Worobec, C. D.: 1985, pp. 21-25, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 42-75, Popkins, G.: 2000, pp. 408-424.

<sup>151</sup> One exception is Boris Mironov, who outlines some of the general conceptions made by the pioneering nineteenth-century investigators in; Mironov, B. N.: 2003b, pp. 67-68.

<sup>152</sup> Confino, M.: 1985, p. 36.

In addition, an inherent part of the peasants' daily life would be contacts with the world outside the local village community. In that sense, customs were partly the result of previous and continuing interactions with the wider world in general and particularly the state.<sup>153</sup> Accordingly, the principles of customary law prevailing in the Russian peasant commune can be traced to the practices of daily life, in which land redistribution played a crucial role.

Before as well as after the abolition of serfdom, the essence of the peasant commune's role in the Central Russian village community was redistribution of land among the households belonging to the commune. This function made up the most immediate and probably the most important economic framework for the understanding of the household system among Russian peasants. So, how was land resources distributed within the Russian peasant commune and what consequences could this distribution have for the peasant household?

Within the Central Russian village, there existed a number of different categories of land, over which the peasant commune had varying degrees of control. The first category was the arable land, which was entirely administered by the commune. The arable was cultivated according to a three-field system in which a third of the land was left fallow in a given year to guard against soil exhaustion. Among the three fields and within each of them, land was subdivided further according to the soil's fertility and moisture content, with strips of land in each area allotted to the households belonging to the commune. The second category of land included meadows, pastures, and woods, which often were held and cultivated in common but not redistributed. The third category of land involved farmstead land or the *usad'ba*, on which the peasants built their homes and farm buildings, and it also included the garden plot near the house and sometimes small orchards. The *usad'ba* was the private property of each individual household and was held in hereditary tenure. Finally, the commune or individual member households could lease extra land or they could have purchased it from individual landowners. Only land that the entire commune leased or owned together was subject to direct communal management and repartition.<sup>154</sup> Accordingly, it was mainly the arable land that was controlled by the peasant commune and that was subject to repartition, which ultimately influenced the household structures among Russian peasants.

Modes of repartition were extremely varied, but in Moscow Province as elsewhere in Central Russia, the peasant commune redistributed allotment land according to two main

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<sup>153</sup> Popkins, G.: 2000, p. 410.

<sup>154</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 20-21.

principles. Sometimes the whole arable was redistributed in a “fundamental redistribution” (*korennoi peredel*), in which all the member households in the commune were involved. Such a radical redistribution implied a change in both the number and size of the strips into which communal land was divided. More often, however, part of the allotment land was redistributed in a more limited redistribution or *pereverstka* between the households whose size and composition had changed since the last repartition.<sup>155</sup> The peasant commune apportioned communal land to each individual household according to the amount of taxes and dues a household had to pay, and the payments were distributed according to the number of tax-paying units (*tiaglo*) in each household. Often, a tax-paying unit consisted of a married couple of working age, but communes could also choose to provide households with land according to the number of men over a certain age or according to the number of mouths each had to feed.

Over the years, the composition of each household would change in accordance with the demographic changes that happened as individuals in the household married, gave birth, died or migrated. Accordingly, the tax burden as well as the amount of land allotted to each household was redistributed at uneven intervals to reflect the change in the composition of the households belonging to the commune. Further, this meant that in communes where the arable land and tax burden were distributed according to the number of married couples, a household would receive a larger amount of arable and a larger tax burden if many married couples were living in the household. Similarly, households with many men over a certain age or simply many mouths to feed would receive a greater share of the arable and taxes if the commune chose to distribute land according to this system.

Previous research on the Russian peasant household unanimously claims that this system of land distribution and redistribution was at the root of both the marriage pattern and the household system among the peasants. Following this argument, marriage was the most important precondition for access to allotment land. Therefore, Russian peasants tended to marry early in life and they rarely stayed single throughout life. Moreover, young married couples would usually move into an already existing household - most often the groom's parental household. The resulting large and complex household would gain control over a larger amount of arable land and would therefore be more economically viable than smaller households. This complex household structure would continue until the household members

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<sup>155</sup> These are only a few of the many terms that the peasants used for the multitude of variations on the major kinds of repartition. See Orlov, V. I.: 1879, p. 7, Kingston-Mann, E.: 1991, pp. 35-36, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 24-27.

decided to split up and establish separate households. However, given the agricultural conditions within the peasant commune household division implied a loss of arable land. As described above, many serfowners were reluctant to allow household divisions because they wished to maintain the economic strength and labour capacity of the households, which ultimately was a precondition for the economic prosperity of the estate.<sup>156</sup> Further, the peasant commune as well as the individual households largely supported this economic strategy and delayed household division until both the dividing household and the new households would be sustainable economic units.<sup>157</sup> Thus, the system of redistribution of allotment land within the peasant commune influenced the household system in three different ways. First, by leading to a marriage pattern characterised by early and universal marriage, and second, by making large and complex households ‘the peasant’s greatest wealth’<sup>158</sup> which finally meant that household formation through division led to economic uncertainty, at least temporarily, and was therefore avoided as long as possible.

Accordingly, the literature on the Russian peasant household and marriage patterns concentrates on the positive effects of the system of distribution and redistribution of arable land. Allotment land is presented as a resource that was so attractive for the peasants that they would adjust their demographic behaviour to get access to it. However, there are at least two fundamental flaws in this argument. The first is related to the preconditions for being entitled to allotment land while the second concerns the value of land for the peasants in nineteenth-century Russia. Both these issues are further connected to regional variation within European Russia in the period.

First, the link between marriage and access to land seems to have been somewhat exaggerated in previous research. In Moscow province, the most common form of land allocation was according to the number of workers, which implied that land and taxes were distributed according to the labour power within each household. This meant that a household with many members in which there were few workers, such as for instance a married couple with many small children, would receive a rather small allotment even though the size of the household was substantial. Opposite, a relatively small household would receive a large share of the arable land if the age composition of the household members allowed it. ‘Workers’

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<sup>156</sup> See section 2.2 in this chapter, pp. 51-53.

<sup>157</sup> Aleksandrov, V. A.: 1976, pp. 294-318, Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 5-6, Czap, P.: 1983, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 243-246, Hoch, S. L.: 1993, pp. 65-87, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 22-24, 43.

<sup>158</sup> Czap, P.: 1983.

were usually defined to be all men between 18 and 60 years.<sup>159</sup> However, in some peasant communes in Moscow Province, the age limits for being entitled to an allotment were more flexible. For instance, in the *Kuznetsy* peasant commune in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, also adolescents would receive a share of the allotment land. Accordingly, already at the age of fourteen a young boy would be entitled to/obliged to take on a share of communal land for the first time. The allotment for 14-year-olds corresponded to  $\frac{1}{4}$  revision soul<sup>160</sup>, and the share increased steadily until the age of eighteen when a young man would be allotted  $1\frac{1}{2}$  revision souls. His allotment would rise to a full share of  $1\frac{3}{4}$  revision souls the day he married. Further, at the age of 45 the allotment would be reduced by  $\frac{1}{4}$  revision soul, at 55 years it was further reduced by  $\frac{1}{2}$  revision soul, and at 60 years the whole allotment was taken away from the elderly worker and distributed between younger members of the commune. Accordingly, the details of land redistribution from this peasant commune in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* show that marriage indeed increased the allotment land allocated to an adult man aged 18 to 45, but only by  $\frac{1}{2}$  revision soul compared to an unmarried man in the same age group. Accordingly, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, gender, labour capacity and age were the decisive factors for accessing allotment land, not marriage.

Further, these specific practices of land allocation had consequences for the frequency of repartition. Allocating allotment land to adolescents in the way it was done in the *Kuznetsy* peasant commune as well in many other communities in *Bogorodskii uezd* meant that the commune would have to execute a full repartition quite often. Usually, repartitions were organised as frequently as every year in such communes, as changes in the age composition of each household inevitably meant a change in the size of its allotment land.<sup>161</sup> According to the *zemstvo* statistician Orlov, this extremely detailed distribution and redistribution of allotment land was designed in order to secure the payment of taxes and dues in communities where tax obligations were quite large compared to the number of workers and the quality of the soil. It was also usual in areas where a large share of the peasant population was employed as

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<sup>159</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, p. 9.

<sup>160</sup> *Revision soul* is a term connected to the tsarist tax system. During the tax revisions that were conducted at uneven intervals during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the authorities established the number of individuals subject to taxation, and the payment of these taxes was the common obligation of the entire peasant commune. Within the peasant commune the responsibility for paying these taxes was distributed among the households according to their composition. Moreover, the tax obligation also implied taking on a certain amount of arable land. After the tenth and last tax revision in 1858, the number of revision souls was no longer reflecting the actual number of individuals subject to taxation, but it still served as a basis for distributing taxes and allotments of arable among the households of a given peasant commune.

<sup>161</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 16-17.

industrial labourers rather than in agriculture.<sup>162</sup> This led to the second concern related to the connection between the agricultural practices within the peasant commune and the household system, namely, how important allotment land really was for the peasants in nineteenth-century Russia.

The repartition practices that are described above makes it clear that for the peasants, allotment land was both an asset and an obligation.<sup>163</sup> On the one hand it was an asset because it provided the household with land on which it could grow agricultural produce. On the other hand, an allotment of land also implied an obligation to pay a certain amount of taxes and dues both to the landlord and to the government. It is still an open question whether the benefits gained from attaining a large share of the allotment land outweighed the tax burden.

The system of redistribution of arable land within the peasant commune would probably lead to early and universal marriage as well as large and complex households only under certain circumstances. The first situation in which allotment land must have been an advantage would be if land was relatively abundant and its quality was sufficiently good to provide for the members of the household as well as allowing the household to pay taxes and dues on time. Further, it may well be that allotment land was an extremely important asset in areas where few alternative economic opportunities were available, as was the case in the black earth region, which is the geographical setting for most previous studies of Russian peasants' household structures.

However, in areas where the quality of the soil was inferior and there existed other economic opportunities except agriculture, it is highly unlikely that the peasant households would aim at achieving as much allotment land as possible. The poor land quality in the Central Industrial Region meant that peasant households *could not* depend on agriculture alone if they wanted to survive as their expenses and tax obligations frequently were higher than the income derived from agriculture. Due to the relatively rapid industrial development in this region in the nineteenth century, they certainly also were less dependent on land resources in order to survive. Accordingly, the need and possibility for extra income meant that the peasants in this region found employment outside the agricultural economy. Under serfdom, serfowners in the Central Industrial Region actively initiated industrial development and promoted industrial work among their serfs, and the landlords' income was derived not so much from demesne agriculture but from serf labour in non-agricultural occupations.<sup>164</sup>

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<sup>162</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 16-17.

<sup>163</sup> See pp. 65-67 in this chapter.

<sup>164</sup> Burds, J.: 1991, p. 54.

Moreover, the terms of redemption after the abolition of serfdom in 1861 further intensified this tendency. In the post-emancipation period, the redemption fees the peasants had to pay to the former serfowners were set far above the market value of land all over European Russia, an arrangement that in the Central Industrial Region reflected directly the comparatively poor quality of land.<sup>165</sup> Industrial growth accelerated in the post-emancipation period and increasing numbers of peasants abandoned agriculture altogether or combined agricultural work with employment in especially the textile and metallurgical industries. This development resulted in growing migration from the countryside to the large industrial cities Moscow and St. Petersburg but also to industrial centres in the countryside, such as *Bogorodskii uezd*. Thus, even though large numbers of peasants earned the money they used for paying taxes and dues by working outside the agricultural economy, tax distribution was still connected to the agricultural sector. For peasants in this situation, allotment land assigned by the peasant commune may have seemed to be a burden rather than an asset.

So, what does the circumstances above mean for the household system among the peasants in Russia generally and in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* specifically? First, the models of explanation prevailing in historical literature on the connection between the household system and the peasant economy in Russia are only correct given certain preconditions, namely that land was abundant and that it yielded enough to meet the peasants' expenses and tax obligations. The model also requires that marriage was the crucial factor for attaining land allotments. None of the two seem to be the case in nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, which means that the marriage pattern as well as the household system in this area may have displayed features different from those found in previous research. Independent of the specific features of these patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, explanations must be sought not only in the agricultural system within the peasant commune but also in the broader economic framework of the area.

Accordingly, during the nineteenth century the peasant commune's role in the daily life of Central Russian peasants was considerable. However, the peasant commune was not a uniform institution that displayed the same features everywhere in Central Russia. Rather, its functions were extremely flexible and varied to a large extent according to local customs and regional variation in the agricultural economy. This, in turn, means that the direct connection between large, complex households and the agricultural economy within the peasant commune must be reconsidered. This section has mainly been concentrated on the peasant

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<sup>165</sup> Kingston-Mann, E.: 1991, p. 39.

commune as an economic and agricultural institution. However, the peasant commune also performed a number of social functions that were directly connected to the household system among the Russian peasants, such as resolving family disputes, sanctioning marriages, and household divisions. Even so, the commune's role in these issues was secondary compared to the roles played by the household members themselves. Therefore, the next section will discuss more closely the relationships within the household and how these relationships could have influenced the household system.

#### 2.4. THE HOUSEHOLD

The Russian term that most closely describes the household understood as an economic and reproductive unit, is *dvor*. Historical literature on the Russian peasant family frequently describes the typical Russian peasant *dvor* as a large, complex household where several generations were living together under the authority of a patriarchal household head. According to this view, the household head's authority was literally unlimited. It was the patriarch's right and duty to uphold the household's traditional hierarchy, which delineated physical space as well as everyday responsibilities according to gender and age.<sup>166</sup> Moreover, the household head's authority also implied that he had almost unlimited property rights within the household.<sup>167</sup> The Russian peasant household has also been perceived as an *artel*, or labour cooperative, where every member held equal property rights. In this view, the household head functioned as an administrator of the common family property. This view was held by contemporary observers with Populist sympathies and it was also reflected in the legislative work of the state authorities of post-emancipation Russia.<sup>168</sup> Accordingly, while modern scholars tend to describe the Russian *dvor* as an utterly patriarchal structure where tradition was upheld by the peasant commune as well as the household head, the Russian state and contemporary observers viewed it as a labour cooperative where all the household members, or at least the adult males, had the right to participate in decisions as well as property rights, and where the head's role mainly was administrative. In the following these views will be outlined in greater detail by looking at the rights and obligations of the different household members along generational and gender lines.

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<sup>166</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 175.

<sup>167</sup> Authors who portrays the Russian peasant household as a largely patriarchal structure include among others Czap, P.: 1982, p. 25, Shanin, T.: 1986, pp. 67, Glickman, R.: 1990, pp. 45-47, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 176-216, Matossian, M.: 1992, pp. 23-24.

<sup>168</sup> Shinn, W. T.: 1961, p. 604.



From the above description, it becomes clear that the role of the household head, unsurprisingly enough, was special compared to the role of the other household members. Many researchers of the Russian peasant family describe how the household head's authority was rooted in profoundly patriarchal structures, which meant that the head in the household had unlimited powers over the other household members. Generally, the power of the household head implied male power. According to peasant custom, headship was assigned to the oldest male member in the household. Thus, gender as well as seniority was important for the individual household member's authority within the household. However, also labour capacity and ability to administer the household played a considerable role. In some cases, if the oldest male was seen as unfit to head the household, headship could be transferred to a more competent junior male. Only if the household did not contain any adult males, headship was temporarily given to the oldest female, frequently the widow of a deceased household head.<sup>169</sup>

Within the household, the head managed the agricultural work and distributed daily tasks between the members of the household. He also exercised great authority in settling disputes between household members. Further, the household head was responsible for controlling the physical movement of the other household members. He would decide whether or not a household member could apply for a passport that was necessary to leave the village either temporarily or permanently, and he would decide whether a younger brother, a son, or another junior household member could depart from the parental household to establish his own household.<sup>170</sup> Until 1906, the state legally confirmed the household head's wide disciplinary powers over the other household members.<sup>171</sup> The head was also responsible for managing the household's contact with the outside world. It was the household head's obligation and right to represent the household at the village assembly, he should pay the household's share of the taxes and dues commonly held by the commune, and see to that its military obligations were fulfilled.<sup>172</sup> Similarly to the situation within the household, the respect a household head was given in the village community depended largely on his age and experience, his work record, his family responsibilities, and how he managed

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<sup>169</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 45.

<sup>170</sup> On passports see Shinn, W. T.: 1961, p. 605. On household division see for instance: Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 54-55, Frierson, C.: 1987.

<sup>171</sup> A head could for instance have a member of his household arrested, sent back to his village under escort, or flogged by simple application to the peasant court. See: Shanin, T.: 1986, pp. 67, 232n.

<sup>172</sup> Shinn, W. T.: 1961, p. 605.

his household economy.<sup>173</sup> Thus, the head was the household's representative in dealings with the peasant commune as well as the state and he held extensive authority over the other household members.

However, the authority of the head was not unlimited. Ideally, the peasant community expected certain personal qualities in the household head because his authority also implied that he was responsible for the economic performance of his household and the conduct of the other household members. According to peasant custom the power of the household head was inviolable only as long as he was able to perform these obligations. If he was unable to carry out his duties because of drunkenness, if he wasted the family property, or prevented the household from fulfilling its communal obligations, it was not unusual for the peasant commune to intervene. In such cases, the village assembly might assign a guardian to the household or transfer the authority of the head to another household member.<sup>174</sup> In other words, the limitations to the household head's authority were somehow linked to his ability as a manager of the household and its property. Accordingly, the head in the Russian peasant household does not entirely fit the image of an almighty patriarch and this is particularly evident in the issue of property ownership within the household.

During the post-emancipation period, many contemporary observers claimed that the peasant household could be described as a kind of labour cooperative where obligations and rights were evenly distributed among the household members. Based on this perception of the peasant household, the legislative authorities worked out a concept of household property, which implied that property did not belong to members as individuals but to the group as a whole.<sup>175</sup> The concept of household property meant that, in principle, the household head's dealings as representative of the household required the consent of all the household members in order to be legally valid. Moreover, household property could not be subject to succession upon the death of the household head or any other household member, as long as some of the members were still living in the household. Ordinary inheritance applied only to the relatively limited private property of an individual member or to household property upon the death of the last surviving member.<sup>176</sup> Accordingly, the power of the household head was considerably

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<sup>173</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 2002, p. 79.

<sup>174</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 45.

<sup>175</sup> Shinn, W. T.: 1961, pp. 603-604.

<sup>176</sup> Shinn, W. T.: 1961, p. 606-607. It is however unlikely that the peasant population generally lived by these rules, especially when it comes to inheritance. Central features in the peasants' inheritance practices contradict the concept of household property. In a household division, each male household member received his share of the household property according to principles of equal partible inheritance. Moreover, female household

reduced by the concept of household property, especially in economic dispositions and inheritance. This did not reduce, however, that the patriarchal authority of the household head towards other household members in other aspect of daily life. Thus, the role of the head in the complex Russian peasant household was largely administrative and the village community supervised his performance as a manager of the household economy. At the same time, the role as an administrator also gave the household head considerable personal power, which was upheld by patriarchal norms within the peasant community and society at large.

If he was married, the household head shared his extensive powers with his wife, who would control the domestic sphere. In the hierarchy of relations within a multiple family household, a woman reached ultimate power as a household head's wife. In this position she played an important role in family decision making, in which she exercised almost as much power as her husband. Without challenging her husband's supreme authority, she significantly influenced household decisions. She supervised domestic tasks and delegated responsibilities to all females under her authority, disciplined younger family members, particularly females, and arranged marriages for her children.<sup>177</sup> Historical literature frequently repeats that the relationship between the household head's wife and junior female household members was filled with conflict.<sup>178</sup> This conflict was connected to the residential rules prevailing among Russian peasants, which required newlywed females to move into their husband's parental household. Adult females in the complex peasant household were thus often related not by blood, but because they had been marrying into the household. As a mother-in-law, the household head's wife would have the right and obligation to control and supervise her daughters'-in-law labour as well as personal life within the large household.<sup>179</sup> While partly stereotypical, it also seems apparent that a potential conflict indeed was inherent in the relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law living in the same household. Patrilocal residence required the peasant woman to adapt to 'strangers' several times during her life course, in a way that most male peasants avoided. The first time would be when a young bride after marriage moved into the parental household of the groom and the authority of her parents was substituted by the authority of her husband and ultimately her in-

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members held their dowries and income from their work in private property, which could be transferred to the next generation of females by ordinary succession. On inheritance patterns, see for instance Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 47-57, 62-65.

<sup>177</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 184-185.

<sup>178</sup> Glickman, R.: 1990, p. 46-47, Farnsworth, B.: 1992, p. 89, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 205-206.

<sup>179</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 205-206.

laws. It may, however, been just as difficult for a mature woman to make room for her sons' wives in the household where she over the years had attained considerable authority.

The village community buttressed the position of the head's wife in several ways. The peasant commune accepted women as household heads when their husbands died, leaving small children, and when husbands and adult sons departed the village for work elsewhere. Relatively frequently communes transferred responsibilities of household management to women whose husbands were incompetent.<sup>180</sup> However, a female household head would retain her high position only temporarily. If she had sons, headship would usually be transferred to the oldest son when he became an adult, married and had his own children.<sup>181</sup> Thus, within the patriarchal structures of the Russian peasant community, authority and administrative duties were divided along gender lines but also assigned according to seniority, which meant that the household head and his wife had considerable power over the other household members. What did this imply for the junior members of the peasant household?

Junior male members of the Russian complex peasant household were usually in a kin-relation to the household head; sons and grandsons, but also brothers and nephews. One of the peasant household's many functions was to socialise children, and among Russian peasants, as was the case in other traditional societies, boys and girls were brought up to fill different roles in adulthood. In the first years it was the mother's responsibility to take care of and socialise the children, but from the age of approximately seven years, the father took on a special responsibility in a son's upbringing.<sup>182</sup> A father would teach his sons different professional and social skills that were necessary for an adult male in the village community. The most important part of a boy's socialisation was probably introduction to and participation in adult work, either in the fields, in the factory or in the market. It was also important to learn the right social behaviour within the village community. Young men were encouraged to join their peers in groups to develop and test their masculinity through such activities as drinking and fist-fighting and public courting rituals set the standard of how to behave with women.<sup>183</sup>

Usually, the courting period resulted in marriage, which in many ways changed the life of a young man within the complex household. Marriage implied a new and higher status in the household as well as in the village community. In some cases, the marriage of a son

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<sup>180</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991p. 185.

<sup>181</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 237.

<sup>182</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 238.

<sup>183</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 2002, p. 80-83. For details on the courting period, see below, p. 78

brought the household additional allotment land, which in regions where agriculture was the main income source must have been extremely important. However, as shown above, the importance of marriage for attaining allotment land varied considerably, and this probably implied that the connection between marriage and personal status for junior males within the peasant household varied, too.<sup>184</sup> Still, the marriage of a son must have been important for another reason, namely that it provided the household with an additional worker. Production within the peasant household demanded the presence of both male and female work power because peasant norms required males and females to perform different tasks in the household economy.<sup>185</sup> Moreover, the marriage of a son was a crucial precondition for reproduction, which eventually would secure the future survival of the household. As a result, marriage changed the status a junior male household member in the way that only after marriage he was perceived to be a mature man in the full meaning of the word, which meant that he obtained the rights and responsibilities of an adult and his opinions were taken more seriously.<sup>186</sup> He would also have great authority over his own conjugal family group, controlling his wife and eventually children.

Even though adult married males had consultative voice in common household affairs and exercised a dominant position over their wives, they still were subordinate to the household head. A junior male in the complex peasant household should perform the labour tasks that were laid upon him, marry when and to whom the household head decided, and live in his parental household either until the household head decided to divide the household or until after the household head's death, when household partition was relatively usual. They did not own anything privately; all the property of the household was held in common. This meant, however, that they had the right to interfere if the household head used the property of the household in ways that would potentially harm their economic well-being. For most males, the junior position in the household lasted until he was in his late thirties or early forties, only at this age he could have the hope of becoming a household head himself, either because of a household division or because of death in the older generation.

The expectation of subordination was not always welcomed by the junior males. Indeed, Russian peasants constantly complained of sons' disrespect for their elders. Generational tensions may have been particularly sharp among Russian peasants exactly because married sons were expected to remain in the parental household and had to await their fathers' deaths

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<sup>184</sup> See section 2.3 in this chapter, pp. 67-68.

<sup>185</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 162.

<sup>186</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 161.

to be freed from their authority.<sup>187</sup> However, the household head had several ways to control disobedient sons and other junior males who challenged his authority. For instance, village assemblies and *volost'* courts might sentence rebellious junior males to corporal punishment, usually by lashing. A household head could also threaten a junior male with partitioning him off from the household with little or no property, or he could deny him permission to obtain a work passport or have it renewed. Without such a passport the young man could not legally work away from the village. In the event that a migrant son did not send a portion of his wages back to his father to help pay the household's taxes and support the family he had left behind, a household head could demand that the village assembly ordered a return of the offender to the village under police escort.<sup>188</sup> Accordingly, for a junior male, life in the complex peasant household meant a long period under the authority of his elders. This was also true for the junior female household member, but opposite from her male counterpart she could not expect to live in her parental household for such an extensive time period.

Historical literature generally describes the junior female in the Russian peasant household as the archetypal victim of patriarchal authority. The difficult position of the junior female was evident already in childhood. Nineteenth-century observers as well as modern scholars claim that the Russian peasants did not value the birth of daughters. The late nineteenth-century ethnographer Olga Semenova Tian-Shanskaia, for instance, describes how especially the father and his kin would celebrate the birth of a son, while the birth of a daughter was met with disappointment.<sup>189</sup> This view is repeated by modern scholars who have studied child rearing practices and attitudes towards children among Russian peasants. Christine Worobec, for instance, claims that daughters were of relatively little value to their parents.

[Girls] departed from the household when they reached adolescence, just at a point when their labors became a significant element in the household economy. At best girls could bring honor upon their families through good marital matches. Sons, on the other hand, were more coveted as future providers and perpetuators of the family through the male line.<sup>190</sup>

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<sup>187</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 2002, p. 84.

<sup>188</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 2002, pp. 84-85.

<sup>189</sup> Ransel, D. L.: 1993, pp. 9-10.

<sup>190</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 209.

This way of thinking was hardly unique to Russian peasant society, though. Rather, the notion that the birth of sons was more important than the birth of daughters seems to have been widespread among peasants as well as other social groups in pre-industrial societies.<sup>191</sup> Even so, many authors emphasise that female work was important in the household economy of the Russian peasants, and this was probably true also for the work of quite young girls. Already in childhood girls would start learning different labour and housekeeping skills as well as proper social behaviour from their mothers.<sup>192</sup> As such, a girl's childhood differed little from a boy's childhood, except that her life was largely confined to the household while boys were introduced to the public sphere from a rather early age. Precisely because a good marital match was a central goal for a girl as well as for her parents, it was important that the girl learned the labour skills and diligence that were such significant assets for a bride-to-be. Mothers instructed their daughters in the arts of preparing flax and hemp, spinning, weaving, embroidery, cooking, baking bread, gardening, animal tending, and threshing; all the chores that would eventually become theirs in married life. At a fairly early age, daughters were also introduced to domestic industries.<sup>193</sup>

When the young peasant girl reached adolescence, a period of courtship started that made her life in the household of her parents quite privileged compared to the other household members. In the last year or so before marriage she was freed from the heavy household chores and was supposed to accumulate items for her trousseaux.<sup>194</sup> Moreover, in the courtship period adolescent girls were increasingly socialising and working together with their peers. Spring and fall were important seasons for youth gatherings, the spring featuring dances (*khorovody*) and promenades on holidays and Sundays, the fall work-intensive as well as purely social gatherings called *posidelki*. Some of these activities were reserved for young women alone, others for both women and men.<sup>195</sup> The ultimate goal of these dances and gatherings was marriage, and this goal was accomplished for the absolute majority of young women.

After marriage, an entirely new life started. First of all, marriage usually meant that the young woman would move into the parental household of her husband, attaining the position of daughter-in-law. According to nineteenth-century accounts as well as modern scholars, the

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<sup>191</sup> See for instance Heywood, C.: 2001, p. 56.

<sup>192</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 238.

<sup>193</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 122.

<sup>194</sup> Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, p. 173.

<sup>195</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 128.

position of the daughter-in-law in the Russian peasant household was highly unfortunate.<sup>196</sup> The young newlywed woman would be subject not only to the authority of her husband but also to the authority of her father-in-law and especially her mother-in-law. First of all, the relationship to the husband was not always harmonious. Most literature on the position of females within the Russian peasant family emphasizes the utilitarian purpose of marriage among Russian peasants, where the decisive factors in the selection of a marriage partner were labour capacity and strength.<sup>197</sup> The utilitarian purpose of marriage implied that a wife first and foremost was expected to carry out numerous duties within the household and to obey her husband. If she was disobedient to her husband or failed to act according to norms within her new household and in the village community, a peasant woman was frequently subject to beatings and abuse by her husband, who regarded the disciplining of his wife to be both a right and a duty.

Moreover, most young peasant wives also had to accommodate to the demands of her in-laws, which could include sexual advances from her father-in-law, so-called *snokhachestvo*. Even though references to such abuse are continuously repeated in historical literature, it is difficult to get a picture of the actual prevalence of *snokhachestvo* among Russian peasants. What seems clear, however, is that at least in the post-emancipation period, *volost'* courts saw it as a crime and frequently punished fathers-in-law who approached a daughter-in-law sexually.<sup>198</sup> Similarly, the Orthodox Church tried to fight this practice by annulling marriages between older females and younger males, suspecting that the daughter-in-law's real partner would be the father-in-law rather than the young husband.<sup>199</sup>

As noted above, the wife of the household head had the right and obligation to supervise the work of the junior females in the household. Given the residence pattern of married couples in Russian peasant society, this in reality implied that the mother-in-law would supervise the work of her daughters-in-law. The notoriously difficult relationship between mothers-in-law and daughters-in-law has become something of a cliché in accounts of Russian peasant life. Drawing on representations of peasant oral culture such as proverbs and

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<sup>196</sup> Nineteenth-century observers who have described the difficult and subordinate position of the daughter-in-law in the Russian peasant household include among others Olga Semenova Tian-Shanskaia. Her observations are presented in Ransel, D. L.: 1993, pp. 6-21. These views are largely repeated in modern literature on peasant women in Russia. See for instance Farnsworth, B.: 1992, pp. 89-106, Glickman, R.: 1990, pp. 45-64, Matossian, M.: 1992, pp. 23-24, Frierson, C.: 1987, p. 47, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 204, 205-206.

<sup>197</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 136.

<sup>198</sup> Farnsworth, B.: 1992, p. 98.

<sup>199</sup> Freeze, G. L.: 1990, pp. 730-732.



folk songs in addition to the proceedings of *volost*' courts, historians have presented a picture of the daughter-in-law's life in her new household as almost unbearable. The mother-in-law would boss the newcomer around, demanding that she should take on the heaviest household tasks, while the more prestigious tasks were preserved for the mother-in-law herself, unmarried daughters or more senior daughters-in-law. In addition, the daughter-in-law was met with general hostility and looked upon as an intruder into the household, who would split a son's loyalty to his mother, only waiting for the older woman to die so that she could become mistress of the house. She might even decide not to wait for the death of her in-laws but instead persuade her husband to leave his parents' household and set up an independent one. Only the birth of children, especially males who would carry on the family tradition, confirmed a daughter-in-law's loyalty to her husband's household.<sup>200</sup> Accordingly, while husbands as well as in-laws largely are portrayed as abusive slave-drivers, daughters-in-law are represented as victims but also as disloyal towards their in-laws and their new household.

Was this image of the junior female's position in the complex peasant household realistic? In some respects, this picture must be attributed to the kind of sources used when studying the relationship between spouses, and between in-laws and affines. Many of these studies draw heavily on civil court proceedings, which naturally were mainly concentrated on conflicts between individuals. Moreover, while proverbs and folk believe may be valuable sources for a folkloristic account of Russian peasants' life, they are hardly very informative when it comes to the peasants' actual practices. Thus, the level of conflict within the Russian peasant household may have been less marked than these sources lead us to believe. After all, the majority of young peasant girls seem to have wanted marriage and the majority of young married women did not approach the *volost*' courts with complaints about their husbands or in-laws.

Furthermore, several accounts draw a more positive portrait of the relationship between the generations and between males and females in the Russian complex peasant household. For instance, the courting practices described above gave young peasants great opportunity to develop romantic relationships. Even though parents not always were willing to support such relationships and the utilitarian purpose of marriage seems obvious, the opinions of the potential bride and groom were still taken into account.<sup>201</sup> The ideal situation probably

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<sup>200</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 205.

<sup>201</sup> See for instance the accounts on courtship, sexual relations, and marriage by Semenova Tian-Shanskaia in Ransel, D. L.: 1993, pp. 50-73. These descriptions also indicate that young females were controlling these aspects of life to a considerable extent.

occurred when the romantic and functional purposes of marriage overlapped. Affection between spouses is also reflected in the following sections of a letter from the Siberian peasant Ivan Khudiakov to his wife:

To my much adored and dearest companion and keeper of our honour, and most especial protector of our health, and most proper servant of our common family name and our home, most honourable mistress Anna Vasil'evna, I send you my deepest greetings and tearful bow and with our sincere respect for you, we wish you lasting health and salvation of your soul [...] please, our most beloved companion, if you can, write about your health.<sup>202</sup>

These words stand in sharp contrast to the descriptions of abusive and violent peasant husbands so frequently repeated in the literature on the Russian peasant family. Even in the cases when husband did beat their wives, the mistreatment was not necessarily sanctioned by the local community and customary law. Beatrice Farnsworth maintains that it was not unusual for neighbours to make reports to the *volost'* court on peasants guilty of physical cruelty to their wives, and she concludes that in the post-emancipation period customary law did not take for granted a man's absolute power over his wife.<sup>203</sup> Also the relationship between the different generations within the peasant household may have been less austere than the description above indicates. Marina M. Gromyko claims that among peasants in Voronezh Province in the mid-nineteenth century, mothers-in-law would exempt a young daughter-in-law from household duties for at least the first year after she had moved into the household.<sup>204</sup> Accordingly, even though the life of young Russian peasant women could be hard and even though some husbands and in-laws may have been abusive, it is unreasonable to conclude that a young peasant woman was bound to suffer once she was married, her only hope being to one day become mistress of the household and rule over her daughters-in-law in the same way that her mother-in-law did now.

What seems reasonable, though, is that the functioning of the household economy depended on that each member of the household performed the duties and work load laid upon him or her. This means that the power of the mistress of the house was considerable in controlling the labour of junior females. According to the dictates of the household head's wife, the women took turns doing all the domestic tasks, first and foremost those that served

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<sup>202</sup> Cited in Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, p. 169. My translation.

<sup>203</sup> Farnsworth, B.: 1992, p. 99.

<sup>204</sup> Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, pp. 172-173.

the needs of the entire household; cleaning and maintaining the house, grinding the grain, baking the bread, preparing the daily food, and preserving food for the future. They also looked after the domestic animals and worked in the kitchen garden.<sup>205</sup> After attending to the common needs of the household, each woman worked for her own immediate family, her husband and children. She cared for the children, dressed herself, her husband, and her children. Peasant women also participated in field labour, such as fertilising and weeding before the harvest and during harvest women participated in hay moving.<sup>206</sup> Some accounts also indicate that daughters-in-law may have had a heavier work load than for instance unmarried daughters in the household. Daughters who for some reason remained unmarried had a higher position in the household than the daughters-in-law, and would be regarded as a second mistress after her mother. Even so, when the older generation died, an unmarried daughter would usually not advance to the position of household mistress; this would be the privilege of the new household head's wife.<sup>207</sup> Accordingly, although daughters-in-law in some respects were at the bottom of the pecking order in the complex peasant household, the household economy was profoundly dependent on their work. The household economy was therefore at risk if the junior female household member for some reason was unable or unwilling to perform her duties. In such cases, the relationship between household members could indeed become very difficult, maybe especially between females of different generations but also between the different conjugal units within the household.<sup>208</sup>

Thus, apart from the general framework of patriarchy, the relationships between individuals in the complex Russian peasant household turn out to be centred on work. The performance of and diligence in different tasks connected to the household economy, seems to be at the core of an individual household member's status and reputation in the household as well as in the village community. Especially after the abolition of serfdom and mainly in the Central Industrial Region, a large proportion of the work force in the junior generation that previously had been occupied in agriculture was transferred to non-agricultural work, in industry and trade. Moreover, for a majority of these peasant-workers, employment outside the agricultural sector implied migration to large cities or to industrial centres in the countryside. Accordingly, migrant work seems to have disturbed the two central features in

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<sup>205</sup> Glickman, R.: 1990, p. 56, Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, pp. 173-173.

<sup>206</sup> Glickman, R.: 1990, p. 56.

<sup>207</sup> According to Gromyko, the daughter-in-law who had first married into the household would be given some privileges in decision-making and the performance of household chores. Often this was the wife of the oldest son, who in most cases would become household head when his father died. See Gromyko, M. M.: 1991, p. 173.

<sup>208</sup> Frierson, C.: 1987, p. 46-47.

the relationship between household members, namely the co-residence of several generations and the performance of the labour unit. What consequences did this have for the relationships between different generations and between males and females within the Russian peasant household?

In many areas, and increasingly during the nineteenth century, young peasants temporarily moved out of their households and their native villages in order to find work elsewhere, either as agricultural labourers, in trade or as industrial workers. The increase in migrant labour was especially high in the post-emancipation period, when large numbers of peasants in the Central Industrial Region were forced to depart for earnings outside of their native villages to meet the excessive obligations of taxes and redemption fees. In Moscow Province the average annual number of issued passports increased from 108.100 in the period 1861-70 to 536.900 in the period 1906-10. By that, the number of issued passports corresponded to 10 percent of the peasant population in the period 1861-70 and to a mounting 34,2 percent in the period 1906-10.<sup>209</sup> The typical migrant worker was male and he would be relatively young. In areas of heavy out-migration a considerable part of the adolescents and a majority of the young males would be away from their native villages for an extensive part of the year.<sup>210</sup> Women, elders and children stayed behind in the village, where they were working on the allotment land or found employment in other forms of economic activity that might be available in the local area.

The peasants themselves as well as observers from other social strata were increasingly complaining that young peasants had lost the respect for their elders and that they had become lazy, spoiled and even corrupted. The main reason for this change in attitude among the youth was migrant work. First of all, the migrant worker would be free from the patriarchal authority of his elders and the scrutiny of the village community as long as he was away from his native village. This gave him a new sense of independence that was difficult to forget when he returned home. Moreover, the peasants who stayed behind in the village regarded industrial work to be easier than agricultural work and would describe how migrants returning to their native village were unable to or unwilling to work on the land. Finally, the migrant workers also developed a taste for the 'good life' that was unavailable in the village.

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<sup>209</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, pp. 22-23. Within Moscow Province, migrant work was most common in areas where the industrial development was relatively small, i.e., in the western part of the province, while the peasants in the eastern districts were more inclined to find work in the local industry. The industrialised eastern districts, such as *Bogorodskii uezd*, were areas of immigration from more distant villages rather than affected by out-migration. See *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 16.

<sup>210</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, pp. 24-26.

Particularly in the large city but also in other industrial centres, the peasant-worker would be introduced to an entirely different way of living, which involved larger incomes in cash and thus the possibility to spend money in the taverns and to buy consumer goods. In some cases, the migrant worker would rather spend his money on ‘luxury’ than sending money back to his ageing parents, his wife, and children. Accordingly, the peasants who remained in the village were very ambivalent towards the migrant workers. At the one hand, they had largely become dependent on the income that out-migration could provide, but on the other hand, they saw a considerable threat to their own way of living in the urban influences that the migrant worker brought back to the village.<sup>211</sup>

This means that the specifics of migrant work among Russian peasants led to changes in the patriarchal structure within the village community and the peasant household. Jeffrey Burds claims that a large number of peasant households based simultaneously in agriculture and non-agricultural economies created a ‘third’ culture in the Central Industrial Region – neither fully traditional, nor fully urbanised. The dichotomy between traditional village life and the values represented by the migrants’ work place threatened to undermine the foundations of the patriarchal economy in that it profoundly changed the relationship between the old and the young.<sup>212</sup> The migrants developed a growing self-assertiveness and were acculturated in urban ways. A nineteenth-century observer describes the change in young migrant males’ attitude towards village life and their elders in the following way:

[...] members of the family [...] who have returned from [...] work outside the village, [...], have become habituated to a more independent life, with easier work, are beginning to feel burdened by heavy peasant labour and their subordinate status as younger members of the family, and work poorly, obey poorly, and are dissatisfied with everything. Finally, they declare directly that they do not want to live at home anymore, and will accordingly leave for “the side” and not return, if only they are given their share.<sup>213</sup>

These words demonstrate that in households and villages that were influenced by out-migration, a profound generational conflict was likely to develop and that the solution often was found in splitting up the household. In the post-emancipation period, household divisions increased considerably both in numbers and proportion all over European Russia, but the

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<sup>211</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, pp. 29-34.

<sup>212</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, p. 28.

<sup>213</sup> Z. N.: “O krest’ianskikh semeinykh razdelakh”, *Pravo*, no. 12 (1901). Cited in Burds, J.: 1998, p. 30.

division rate was especially intense in the Central Industrial Region. Moreover, the increased number of divisions between fathers and sons demonstrated the decline in the traditional power of peasant household heads.<sup>214</sup> Both the peasants themselves and contemporary observers from Russia's educated society attributed the increase in the rate of household divisions to 'personal differences' between household members.<sup>215</sup>

The conflicts were largely due to a change in the young migrants' attitudes towards agricultural labour but also due to their protest against the patriarchal authority of the elders. Substantial male out-migration affected family life and the demographic pattern in the village. In the city, many of the migrants developed more 'modern' attitudes, associated with new forms of family life. A crucial step in this change lay in the rejection of patriarchal authority and development of a new family ideal, based on emotional intimacy within the nuclear family rather than the hierarchies of age and gender characteristic of the patriarchal family.<sup>216</sup> In other words, the conjugal family unit consisting of the husband and wife and their children, was likely to become more important in the consciousness of the returning migrant worker. For instance, according to some accounts, young migrant peasants from Iaroslavl' and Tver' provinces preferred to establish their own household immediately after marriage, so that they would delay marriage until they had accumulated sufficient capital to live on their own.<sup>217</sup> In Iaroslavl' Province, the migrants seem to have developed a more 'urban and middle class'<sup>218</sup> pattern of postponing marriage or refraining from it altogether, maybe in accordance with the wish to set up an independent household. Even in areas of out-migration where the migrants still married early according to peasant traditions, larger available incomes made a difference in these men's lives. Once they returned to the village, some could afford to set up their own households consisting only of their immediate conjugal family unit and independent of the parental generation or more distant family members who had remained in the countryside.<sup>219</sup> Under such circumstances, his wife, the daughter-in-law in the complex family household, could have her chance at persuading her husband move out of the parental household.

Chances were also great that the migrant worker's wife was influenced by her husband's absence in other ways. Several studies show that the marriage rate was higher and

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<sup>214</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, p. 34-35.

<sup>215</sup> Frierson, C.: 1987, p. 46.

<sup>216</sup> Smith, S. A.: 2002, pp. 96, 100-101.

<sup>217</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994, pp. 40, 40n.

<sup>218</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994, p. 40.

<sup>219</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 2002, p. 86.

the age at marriage was somewhat earlier in areas of heavy male out-migration in Kostroma Province, than the average for rural Russia.<sup>220</sup> Barbara A. Engel claims that one of the reasons for this was that a migrant with a wife in the village was more likely to send a substantial portion of his earning home and to maintain his village ties.<sup>221</sup> Moreover, the peasant households in these areas may have been especially dependent on the additional labour force that a son's marriage represented, exactly because the young men were away from the household for extensive parts of the year. Under such circumstances the work of the junior females in the household must have been extremely important.

When a woman married a migrant worker this frequently increased her labour burden. In the regions of heavy out-migration even heavy agricultural labour – men's work in other areas – was conducted primarily by women. However, in spite of the tremendous work load, women in these areas were reported to be more independent and in greater control of their lives than the women in purely agricultural areas. By contrast with the 'oppressed pariahs of the black earth regions, who are frightened of saying a word in the presence of their master', the women of areas with substantial male out-migration tended to be independent, self-reliant, and self-assured, and to know 'the value of their labour and themselves.'<sup>222</sup>

Accordingly, several studies document that in the post-emancipation period, the extensive out-migration of young men changed the relationships between the members of the peasant household in several ways. The authority of the elder generation was gradually reduced as the young migrants developed a new attitude towards agricultural work as well as family life. Moreover, migrant work also changed the life of not only the relatively few females who participated in out-migration but also of those females who stayed behind in the village, as it became necessary for them to take on a heavier work load. Both because the men were absent for substantial periods and because work and social position were closely connected in Russian peasant society, these females might have come more independent of patriarchal authority compared to females in purely agricultural areas.

While the connection between out-migration and altered family patterns is well documented, it is still an open question what happened to the relationship between family members in rural areas that developed a local industry during the nineteenth century. Did the same mechanisms of rejection of patriarchal authority take place in regions where the peasants not necessarily were forced to move out of their native village to find work outside

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<sup>220</sup> Johnson, R. E.: 1878, pp. 268-269, Engel, B. A.: 1994, pp. 37-40.

<sup>221</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994, p. 40.

<sup>222</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994, p. 50-51.

the agricultural economy? In other words, can change in family patterns and relationships between household members be attributed to out-migration or to a change in work patterns due to industrialisation? These questions will be explored further in later chapters through the analysis of demographic development, household patterns, and family strategies among the peasant-workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, who mainly found employment in industrial production either in their native villages or nearby.

## CONCLUSION

The family patterns among Russian peasants in the nineteenth century developed within a framework that included a number of different institutions, ranging from nationwide institutions such as the Russian state, the Orthodox Church and serfdom to locally based institutions such as the peasant commune and the peasant household. These institutions' influence on the family patterns of the peasants was generally in two different spheres. Firstly, all the above mentioned institutions provided a legal and ethical basis of family life. Secondly, the institution of serfdom, the peasant commune and the household constituted a socio-economic framework that to a considerable extent formed the strategic choices of the peasant family as well as the individual peasant.

Generally, the legal-ethical basis of family life in nineteenth-century Russian society was governed by patriarchal principles. Written civil law, the regulations provided by the Orthodox Church as well as the Old Believer groups, and the customary law that prevailed in peasant society, all promoted the concept that men were superior to women and that senior family members were superior to junior family members. Moreover, the relations within the family were part of a general patriarchal framework that concerned not only the domestic group but also the public sphere; in the local community as well as the Russian society at large.

For the peasant family and the individual family member, the patriarchal relationships meant in practice that crucial events such as marriage and inheritance were not mainly private matters but rather regulated by the larger community on different levels. Nineteenth-century family law and the Orthodox Church's execution of this law, upheld marriage as a sacred union between husband and wife that was extremely difficult to dissolve legally. Further, through different regulations and penalties, Russian serfowners were generally promoting early and universal marriage among their serfs. This practice was also largely supported by the peasants' organ of self-government, the peasant commune, as well as by household heads.



Peasant inheritance practices were controlled by customary law and they were therefore largely beyond the jurisdiction of the state and serfowners. Even so, throughout the nineteenth century both these institutions were attempting to control the inheritance practices of the peasantry, mainly by way of regulating or prohibiting household divisions. The peasant institutions' own regulation of inheritance was also largely controlled by patriarchal ideas in that peasant inheritance practices were aimed at preserving family property within the male kinship line and therefore generally excluded females. Together, these patriarchal rules and practices promoted households that were large and complex, and where the power of the household head over other household members was considerable. Within the female sphere, the oldest woman had considerable saying over the female members of the household.

However, the institutional framework of Russian peasant community was not totally patriarchal and during the nineteenth century patriarchal authority was increasingly challenged. A divergence from the patriarchal rule was found in relation to marriage as well as what regarded inheritance patterns. First, within Old Believer communities, early and universal marriage was not enforced to the same extent as among the Orthodox Christians and the Old Believers were also free to resolve marital bonds without regard to the official church's restrictions. Second, even though inheritance practices excluded females from inheriting family property, Russian married women had by ancient tradition exclusive property rights to their own dowries. Third, the serfowners' attempts to control the marriage patterns and inheritance practices of their serfs seem to have been successful only if they were sustained by the serfs themselves. Finally, in some regions the patriarchal relationships within the peasant household as well as in the peasant commune were altered in the second half of the nineteenth century, as the population in these regions became increasingly involved in migrant work. In areas of heavy male out-migration, women had to take on the work load and the public responsibilities that elsewhere were preserved for men. Because social position and work capacity were closely connected in Russian peasant society, these women might have experienced an independency of patriarchal authority that was unknown for women in areas not affected by out-migration. Furthermore, the migrants, who usually were young men, became subject to new impulses in the urban workplace that made them question the customs of their native villages. Migrant work led to a gradual reduction of the authority of the older generation, which implied a change in the attitudes towards family life, both what regards marriage and household division. Young men in the migrant areas were sometimes reluctant to marry early, and together with the young women they would opt for household division more frequently than young married couples in for instance purely agricultural areas. For the

household system the dismissal of patriarchal authority and traditional family life led to reduced mean household sizes as well as a considerable increase in the frequency of household divisions in the migrant areas.

The changes that took place in the migrant areas show that variation in the socio-economic profile was crucial for the formation of the family patterns among the peasants in different regions within Central Russia. The discussion in this chapter shows that the socio-economic dissimilarities to a great extent were connected to variations in the institutional framework. Although peasant lives were influenced by very much the same institutional framework all over Central Russia, there were large geographical variations in the internal functioning of such institutions as serfdom, the peasant commune and the peasant household.

The largest differences were between the Central Industrial Region and the Central Agricultural Region. As the labels indicate, these regions had distinctively different economic profiles, which existed long before the abolition of serfdom. The Central Industrial Region was marked by a number of large cities, comparatively early development of transportation routes and communications, relatively difficult agricultural conditions, and an industrial development that intensified during the nineteenth century. The Central Agricultural Region, on the other hand, was one of the main agricultural areas in the Russian Empire, dominated by large estates that were producing grain with serf labour. In the post-emancipation period the differences between these regions further intensified as industrialisation in the Central Industrial provinces reached new heights and grain from Southern Russia and the Ukraine increasingly was grown for export to Western Europe.

The functioning of the institution of serfdom differed considerably between the two regions. In the Central Black Earth Region the soil was exceptionally good and agricultural production was increasingly aimed at sale on distant markets, serfowners would prefer direct labour exploitation of the serf population (*barshchina*). In the Central Industrial Region, on the other hand, serfowners would encourage their serfs to engage in other economic activities than agriculture, such as different crafts, trades or industrial work. Such production or earnings “on the side” provided serfs in these regions with products or cash that they used to pay the rents in kind or money (*obrok*) that the serfowner demanded. Some serfowners were also directly involved in industrial development and their serfs were bound to a factory rather than to the land.

The variation in the functioning of the peasant commune was mainly connected to the redistribution of arable land. A close investigation of the peasant commune in nineteenth-century Central Russia shows that the institution was extremely flexible both the criteria for

entitlement to allotment land, the frequency of redistribution and how redistribution was carried out. This flexibility was mainly a result of the peasant commune's adaptation to local agricultural conditions, in which the relative abundance of land and expected profits were of decisive importance. Likewise, the different socio-economic frameworks of the Central Black Earth Region and the Central Industrial Region seem to have been important for the development of distinct relationships between family members in the two regions.

So, what did the variations in the internal functioning of these institutions mean for the formation of the household system in nineteenth-century Russia? A common trait of all these variations are that in some regions the institutions retained an extremely close relationship to agricultural production, while in other regions these institutions rather adapted to an economic reality that increasingly seems to have been existing outside the agrarian economy. This suggests that the archetypical "perennial multiple family household" which seems to have been developed to "fit" the logic of the agrarian economy of Southern Russia, may never have existed in the Central Industrial Region or if it existed, it was fundamentally changed as the regional variations increased during the second half of the nineteenth century. The most important reason for the increase in regional variation was that industrialisation accelerated considerably in the Central Industrial Region during the nineteenth century. Because the internal functioning of the agrarian structures such as serfdom and the peasant commune as well as the peasant household itself displayed different features in different regions within Central Russia, this may also imply that the household system in these regions showed extensive variation. Moreover, the fact that industrialisation took place in some regions and not in others could have further intensified these differences.



## CHAPTER 3

# THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN MOSCOW PROVINCE

It is the main goal of this thesis to understand the development of the family pattern among peasants who also were proto-industrial producers as opposed to the family patterns that evolved in the largely agricultural areas in Southern Russia. However, to understand the family patterns among the textile workers, it is necessary to discuss the development and characteristics of proto-industrial textile production in the eastern districts of Moscow Province. What were the reasons for the location and development of textile industry in this area? Supposedly, the explanations can be found both in the environmental and socio-economic conditions of the area. Moreover, the socio-economic conditions were also influencing the household economy. How did the population in the investigated area accommodate their household economies to the conditions of life in the proto-industrial setting and how did the proto-industrial household economy interrelate with the household system?

Nineteenth-century Russia was an overwhelmingly agricultural country, where the absolute majority of the population was living in rural areas and was engaged in agriculture. However, regional diversity in economic profile can be observed at least from the eighteenth century onwards. This implied that the central provinces of European Russia were increasingly involved in proto-industrial production while the relatively recently conquered provinces in southern Russia became important areas of grain production. The main branch of proto-industry that developed during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries was textile industry and one of the most important textile producing regions in the Russian Empire was located in the eastern districts of Moscow Province.

### 3.1. THE DEVELOPMENT OF TEXTILE INDUSTRY IN MOSCOW PROVINCE

A typical feature of early industrialisation in Russia was that industrial development was a distinctly regional experience. Even within the Central Industrial Region, industry developed only in certain enclaves while the neighbouring districts would have handicraft production or no industrial development at all.<sup>223</sup> By the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Russian textile industry was highly concentrated to mainly two industrial regions. The first

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<sup>223</sup> This was also a characteristic feature of the early industrialisation in Western European countries. See for instance Hudson, P.: 1992, pp. 101-132, Ogilvie, S. C.: 1996, p. 23.

was the linen and cotton producing villages of the Vladimir-Kostroma textile region, at the economic centre of which stood the *Sheremetev* estate of *Ivanovo* in Vladimir Province.<sup>224</sup> The region which is the focus of this study made up the second main industrial region in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia. The Moscow textile region encompassed the villages of *Bogorodskii uezd*, the larger district in which *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was located. While the *Bogorodsk* peasants' proto-industrial production initially was concentrated in silk weaving, cotton weaving became increasingly important during the nineteenth century. In the following we will explore the development of textile production in Moscow Province and more specifically in *Bogorodskii uezd* before as well as during the proto-industrial expansion period in the nineteenth century.

In the discussion of the development of the textile industry in *Bogorodskii uezd* a natural starting point seems to be the establishment of textile manufactories in Moscow in the first half of the eighteenth century. Even before the Petrine reforms craft production was an important economic activity among the peasants in the central Russian provinces.<sup>225</sup> However, under the reign of Peter I, the Russian state actively promoted the formation of a textile industry in the country. Inspired by the economic theories then popular in Western Europe (mercantilism) and certainly also by the Western European industrial development, the tsar sought to establish an industry that would cover the state's and the army's need for a constant supply of manufactured goods.<sup>226</sup> In Moscow, the industrial reforms resulted in the establishment of several textile enterprises, some of which were owned by the state and others again were established by private entrepreneurs. About half of these early textile manufactories were producing wool cloth for the state's needs while the other half was producing silk fabrics and boarders, mainly for the private market.<sup>227</sup>

The new textile manufactories that were established in Moscow had several distinctive characteristics that set them apart from the small-scale textile production in the pre-Petrine period as well as the proto-industry that developed in *Bogorodskii uezd* during the nineteenth century. First, the majority of these enterprises were established by members of the merchant elite or nobles and were granted extensive privileges that protected them against competition from foreign goods as well as from textile producers belonging to other social estates, such as

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<sup>224</sup> Melton, E.: 1987, p. 74-75. A recent study of the proto-industrial textile workers in Ivanovo is found in Gestwa, K.: 1999.

<sup>225</sup> See for instance Bushkovitch, P.: 1980, Murav'eva, L. L.: 1971 and Daniel, W.: 1995.

<sup>226</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 5.

<sup>227</sup> Zaozerskaia, E. I.: 1953, pp. 264-265.

peasants and townspeople. Second, the factories were mostly large-scale enterprises with a highly concentrated form of production. The largest of these manufactories employed over thousand workers each and centralised all the steps and activities in the production process.<sup>228</sup> Finally, to a considerable extent the development of technical expertise was made possible with the help of foreigners who were recruited to teach the Russian workers the necessary skills involved in production of different types of textiles. This was especially true for the wool and silk weaving industries, which in the first years relied heavily on German and French craftsmen. A few Russians were also educated in textile production techniques in Western Europe.<sup>229</sup>

The first manufactories that were established during the reign of Peter I were all located in Moscow City but from around the middle of the eighteenth century the textile industry was spread to rural areas in the Central Industrial Region. Significantly, the new establishments were all located to the east of Moscow and on the Volga River.<sup>230</sup> So-called *possessional* factories were set up by merchants as well as nobles, who on their own estates established textile factories that were operating with serf labour. From approximately the same time, peasants became involved in textile production as small-scale entrepreneurs. In the rural areas of Moscow Province as well as in Moscow City, an increasing number of peasants were illegally establishing textile enterprises based on domestic production.<sup>231</sup> Towards the end of the eighteenth century, the position of these peasant entrepreneurs became considerably stronger at the expense of the centralised manufactories.

During the last decades of the eighteenth century, a general wish of transferring the textile industry from Moscow City to district towns took form at the highest political level in Russia. In this period, Russian officials began to question the economic principles used in the past to encourage industry and trade, and a series of reforms were initiated.<sup>232</sup> These reforms implied that the former policy of state patronage of large-scale, privileged enterprises, most of which depended on serf labour, gave way to promotion of small-scale enterprise operated by hired workers. Moreover, the reforms eliminated the previous distinction between privileged and illegal enterprises and thus, legalised the existence of the many small-scale manufactures

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<sup>228</sup> Zaozerskaia, E. I.: 1953, p. 510-511.

<sup>229</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 14.

<sup>230</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 12.

<sup>231</sup> Alexander, J. T.: 1974, p. 645.

<sup>232</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 23.

– primarily peasant textile workshops – that had been multiplying in Moscow and Moscow Province since the 1750s.<sup>233</sup>

The peasants in the villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* as well as in others villages in the eastern districts of Moscow Province, seem to have actively exploited the new possibilities. In the period 1782 to 1797, altogether 25 small-scale textile factories were established by peasant entrepreneurs in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.<sup>234</sup> These enterprises were all producing silk and taffeta scarves for Moscow merchants, who also supplied the raw materials. Significantly, the majority of these enterprises were employing local hired workers “with families”<sup>235</sup>, which probably meant that the owners either had redistributed the raw materials to fellow villagers for them to weave the scarves in their own homes, or the production took place in small workshops (*svetelki*) specially built for the purpose. In any case, it seems clear that in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* proto-industrial production of silk textiles was developing quite rapidly towards the end of the eighteenth century.

In the first decades of the nineteenth century, a series of reforms and events further stimulated the development of proto-industrial textile production. In 1808, peasants from Moscow Province were allowed to produce and sell textiles without any special permission or taxes, and in 1818 these rights were applied to all rural residents.<sup>236</sup> The Napoleonic invasion and the resulting fires in Moscow in 1812 destroyed many of the large textile manufactories that still remained in the city, which meant that the textile industry in the countryside was freed from a major rival.<sup>237</sup> Moreover, the Russian government's tariff policy from the 1820s onwards further stimulated the growth of proto-industrial textile production. In the years 1820-21 the Russian government implemented a free trade policy, which had the effect that the imports of foreign textile goods increased enormously.<sup>238</sup> This seems to have been the end of the large-scale textile manufactories in Moscow, which found it impossible to compete with the textiles imported from Western Europe.<sup>239</sup> The free trade policy did not last for a long period, though. Soon the government feared that the liberal tariff policy would ruin Russian industry, and in 1822, Russia returned to the previous protective policy of the

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<sup>233</sup> Alexander, J. T.: 1974, p. 645.

<sup>234</sup> Meshalin, I. V.: 1950b

<sup>235</sup> Meshalin, I. V.: 1950b

<sup>236</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 25.

<sup>237</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 25.

<sup>238</sup> Gestwa, K.: 1999, p. 226.

<sup>239</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 25.



eighteenth century. The protective tariff policy that was introduced in 1822 and lasted until 1844 created extremely favourable conditions for small-scale textile production in the villages of Moscow Province as well as in Vladimir and Kostroma Provinces.<sup>240</sup> One *zemstvo* statistician, who in the 1880s was writing about the history as well as the contemporary state of peasant textile production, describes the growth of proto-industrial textile production in Moscow Province after the middle of the 1820s in the following way:

This was a period of exceptional feverish activity in textile weaving – the peasant manufacturers who had become rich could not enlarge the size of their production quickly enough; according to old weavers, not only the manufacturers, but even merchants from Moscow travelled around the countryside, distributing raw materials [...] and enormous payments in advance to totally unknown peasants...the system of distributing work to peasant homes that then was established, is preserved to the present day.<sup>241</sup>

Even though the industrial boom of the 1820s interchanged with several crises, the period between circa 1820 and 1880 can be described as the classical proto-industrial period in the textile industry of Moscow Province. In this period, several hundred small-scale textile enterprises were established by peasant entrepreneurs and several thousand peasants found employment as hired textile workers.

Table 3.1.1 shows the relative importance of the different branches of textile weaving in *Bogorodskii uezd* at different points during the period 1780 to 1871. According to these data, it is clear that silk-weaving enterprises totally dominated the early establishment of textile industry in *Bogorodskii uezd*. During the nineteenth century, silk-weaving continued to be a major branch of proto-industrial activity in the district, including *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. However, in Moscow Province proto-industrial production of cotton textiles started in the 1820s and from the 1840s the cotton industry's share of the total textile production in *Bogorodskii uezd* was continually increasing, surpassing silk weaving in the post-emancipation period. Further, from the second half of the nineteenth century and especially in the post-emancipation years, broadcloth weaving as well as wool weaving became increasingly common. However, these branches were relatively insignificant compared to silk and cotton weaving.

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<sup>240</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 26, Gestwa, K.: 1999, p. 226.

<sup>241</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 26. My translation.

**Table 3.1.1:** Number and proportion of enterprises distributed on different branches of textile weaving in *Bogorodskii uezd*, 1780-1871

Branch of textile weaving	Year							
	1870		1843		1855		1871	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Silk	74*	94,9	61	64,9	63	55,3	117	34,5
Broadcloth	-	-	7	7,4	5	4,4	8	2,4
Wool	-	-	-	-	5	4,4	41	12,1
Sailcloth	4	5,1	-	-	-	-	-	-
Cotton	-	-	26	27,7	41	36,0	173	51,0
<b>Total</b>	<b>78</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>94</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>114</b>	<b>100,0</b>	<b>339</b>	<b>100,0</b>

\* 4 large and 70 small enterprises.

Source: *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*. Vol. 5, *Zemskaia uprava. Sbornik statesticheskikh svedenii po Moskovskoi gubernii. Otdel khoziaistvennoi statistiki*. Vol. 7, Issue 3. *Promysly Moskovskoi gubernii*, Moscow, 1883, pp. 24, 29. *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883

In many ways Russian proto-industrialisation has become closely associated with the cotton industry. It was especially in cotton spinning and weaving that some of the peasant entrepreneurs, who benefited from the textile boom after 1822, managed to build up their businesses into large textile companies with factories in several locations in Moscow Province as well as in other provinces; factories which each was employing hundreds of people.<sup>242</sup> Until the 1880s, hardly any of these factories were mechanised and only part of the production process happened within their premises. Instead, most of the work was distributed to peasants living and working in the vicinity of the factories, an arrangement that contemporaries referred to as the domestic system of large-scale production.<sup>243</sup> Still, only a small minority of the peasant entrepreneurs was that successful. The majority of the textile enterprises that were established by peasants remained small-scale factories or workshops, which received raw materials from Moscow merchants or more successful peasant entrepreneurs and mainly employed family labour in addition to a few hired workers. In other words, a characteristic feature of proto-industrial textile production in Moscow Province during the nineteenth century was that it coexisted with centralised textile factories, which in fact employed the proto-industrial producers.<sup>244</sup> The proto-industrial system seems to have been continuing in all branches of textile production until the 1880s, when the production of

<sup>242</sup> A typical example of a peasant undertaking that during this period transformed into a major textile company was the enterprise of the *Morozov* family from *Zuevo* in Vladimir Province. Originating from a small silk-weaving workshop in the *Morozovs'* native village *Zuevo*, during the nineteenth century the company expanded to include factories not only in *Zuevo* but also in *Bogorodsk*, *Moscow* and *Tver*, and the spectre of products was broadened to include cotton textiles and broadcloth. Many migrant labourers from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were working in the *Morozov Company's* cotton-spinning and -printing mills in *Bogorodsk* and *Zuevo* during the second half of the nineteenth century. On the *Morozov Company*, see for instance *Morozova, T. P. and Potkina, I. V.*: 1998, *West, J. L. and Petrov, I. A.*: 1998, and *Petrov, I. A.*: 2002.

<sup>243</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 7-8, *Pallot, J.*: 1991, p. 164.

<sup>244</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 27-28.

cotton and wool textiles in mechanised factories took over for domestic textile production. The production of silk textiles, on the other hand, continued to be a distinctly proto-industrial activity at least until the turn of the twentieth century.<sup>245</sup>

How was the relationship between the domestic textile producers and their employers organised? The *zemstvo* statisticians' portrayal of the domestic textile industry in Moscow Province is a description of how independent producers became more and more dependent on exploitative middlemen and large factories. This account is clearly coloured by their general belief in that for Russia, the only "proper" path to industrialisation was small-scale domestic production and that centralised and mechanised factories were destroying the peasants' natural way of life.<sup>246</sup> Most likely, these beliefs made them exaggerate the independence of the domestic textile producers in the first decades of the nineteenth century. Even though the small-scale entrepreneurs may have had a relatively independent role in the first years compared to, say, the post-emancipation period, also in the early nineteenth century the majority of textile producers were hired workers, who were barred from contact with the market.

However, as a few of the more successful small-scale peasant enterprises developed into large companies, the organisational structure of the textile industry in *Bogorodskii uezd* became more complex. During the second half of the nineteenth century, the putting-out system was clearly dominating the proto-industrial textile production in the area. The majority of peasants, who were engaged in proto-industrial textile production, depended to some extent either upon other producers or upon merchants and wholesalers for obtaining raw materials and for marketing their products.<sup>247</sup> Yet, the organisational structure of this putting-out system varied, both in terms of the scale of operations, composition of the labour force, ownership of tools and work space, and arrangements for the supply of raw materials and marketing.<sup>248</sup> Thus, the notion of the "domestic system of large-scale textile production" seems to hide a

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<sup>245</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 31-32.

<sup>246</sup> The *zemstvo* organisation was highly influenced by the ideas of the so-called *narodniki* (Populists), which pinned their hopes for political and economic change on the peasantry. Populist ideology was extremely influential in nineteenth-century Russia, especially among the intelligentsia. For an general outline of the populists' concept of economic development and industrialisation, see Gatrell, P.: 1986, pp. 14-17, 154.

<sup>247</sup> During the nineteenth century most of the raw materials in the textile industry of Moscow Province was imported. Cotton yarn was generally spun in mechanised factories with cotton imported from England. Some wool was Russian, but it was also imported from England, Saxony and even South America. Silk was obtained from Germany, Italy, China, Bukhara, Tashkent, Azerbaijan, and Japan. See *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 47-49.

<sup>248</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 229.

variety of relationships between producers, between producers and their suppliers of raw materials, and between producers and their customers.

The simplest was for a factory to deal directly with the peasant producers. In return for some security the factory would give out raw materials and purchase back the finished products. Even so, increasingly often, as business boomed in the nineteenth century, subcontracting offices (*razdatochnye kontory*) specialising in the distribution of yarn, were set up to deal with peasant producers. These enterprises were contracted by factories or retailers to handle yarn and the finished fabrics. As in the case of individual peasant producers, such subcontractors were expected to leave a security with the factory against the yarn taken and they would be paid upon delivery of the finished product. In addition to organising weaving, such subcontractors could also take responsibility for getting yarn dyed, unwound and warped before distributing it to the peasant producers.<sup>249</sup> Generally, the subcontracting office was functioning as an intermediary only for those domestic textile producers who were living relatively close by. When conducting business in more distantly located villages, the subcontractor would make use of the services of so-called *masterki* or master entrepreneurs.

The master entrepreneur was essentially a peasant agent, who, in addition to weaving himself, organised the distribution of yarn among his neighbours. In the branches of textile weaving where production took place in small workshops rather than in the peasant home, the master entrepreneur was often identical with the workshop owner.<sup>250</sup> Sometimes the role of the master entrepreneur as a trader took over from production and he became a full-time middleman. The enterprises of these rural intermediaries differed from the subcontracting offices in the scale of their operations, which was generally smaller, in the fact that they dealt predominantly with urban merchants and retailers rather than with factories.<sup>251</sup> The power of the rural master entrepreneur over the peasant producers was quite large. He decided to whom he would give work; he controlled the finished fabrics and issued penalties for inadequate work, and he determined the payments made to the textile producers.<sup>252</sup> Contemporary investigators claimed that the master entrepreneur's income was only slightly higher than the incomes of the peasant producers. However, there existed several possibilities for master entrepreneurs who wished to exploit their role as an intermediary in this system. It was for

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<sup>249</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 53.

<sup>250</sup> Workshops (*svetelki*) were common in the silk-weaving industry while cotton weaving mostly took place in peasant homes. *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 54.

<sup>251</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 230.

<sup>252</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 54.

instance common practice for the master entrepreneur to increase his or her incomes by paying the textile producers in kind instead of cash and to withdraw part of the wages as a penalty even for the slightest defects on the finished fabrics.<sup>253</sup> In other words, the peasant textile producers seem to have been highly dependent on a number of intermediaries, and the master entrepreneur is described as especially harsh and dishonest by contemporary observers. On the other hand, the master entrepreneur was also dependent on the loyalty of the peasant producers, especially during industrial booms and if there were several competing master entrepreneurs or workshops in the same local community.<sup>254</sup>

Despite the predominance of the putting-out system and the chain of intermediaries in the textile industry of nineteenth-century *Bogorodskii uezd*, some peasant textile producers were still marketing their products independently, either by selling to itinerant merchant or by making the journey to urban trade centres themselves. One account on the domestic textile production in Moscow Province, describes how in the 1870s the silk weavers in *Bogorodskii uezd* were selling off their entire stock of goods to travelling agents, and even cut down from the looms and sold the fabrics that were belonging to their employers.<sup>255</sup> The report that the weavers in fact had goods for sale that they apparently had produced independently of one particular factory's or merchant's request, indicates that their autonomy might have been somewhat greater than the *zemstvo* accounts lead us to believe. Further, where no permanent link existed with a merchant, peasant textile producers could seek out suppliers of raw materials and market outlets among the retailers in Moscow's trading rows. Some of the more successful owners of small-scale factories or workshops might also have their own shop in one of the district towns or in Moscow.<sup>256</sup>

Thus, in many respects the organisational structure of the proto-industrial textile production in *Bogorodskii uezd* was marked by the same flexibility that characterised the proto-industries in Western Europe.<sup>257</sup> It is clear, however, that during the proto-industrial expansion period in the nineteenth century, textile production was dominated by a putting-out system where the producers were depending on a number of intermediaries to obtain raw materials and to market their products. Still, this system co-existed with textile production in large, unmechanised manufactories as well as with a system where domestic textile producers

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<sup>253</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 55.

<sup>254</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 56-57.

<sup>255</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 67.

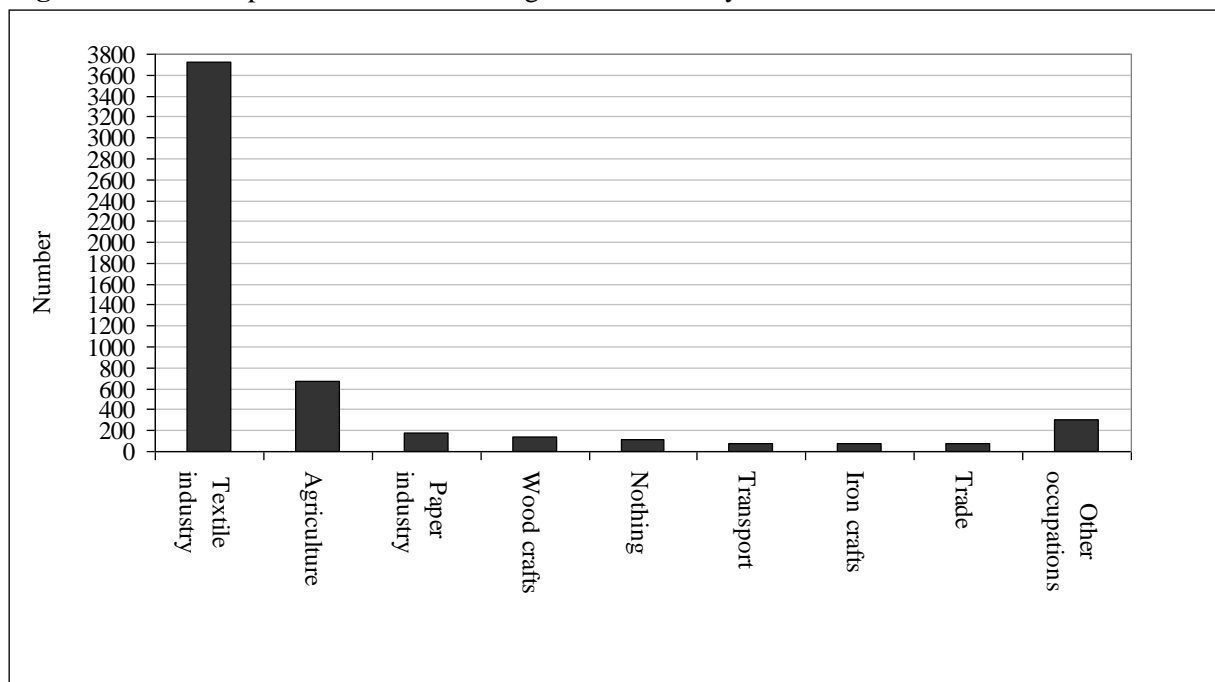
<sup>256</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, pp. 231-232.

<sup>257</sup> Ogilvie, S. C. and Cerman, M.: 1996, pp. 21-22, 57-58, 131, 237.

were largely operating independently. Some textile producers even combined working as independent artisans with employment in the putting-out system.

So, to what extent was the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* involved in proto-industrial textile production? Unfortunately, detailed occupational data for this area are only available for the post-emancipation period, but an analysis of the occupational structure based on the 1869 *zemstvo* household census, shows that the participation in proto-industrial textile production was considerable.

**Figure: 3.1.1:** Occupational structure among workers 15-59 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

Totally, over one hundred different occupations were represented in the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The classification of these occupations into a number of specific categories reflecting different economic spheres shows that the overwhelming majority of the population at working age was employed in the textile industry. Approximately 70 percent of the population aged 15 to 59 years was occupied in the different branches of domestic textile production or in textile mills. Agriculture made up the second largest occupational category among the adult population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, employing 12,5 percent of the work force. Two percent of the population of working age was registered in the 1869 census to have no occupation whatsoever. A few of these “non-workers” were disabled, and some of them seem to have been living in prosperous households where their employment was not required for the household economy. However, the majority was probably working in

agriculture or they were performing domestic tasks. The categories “agriculture” and “no occupation” were by that to a certain extent overlapping. Further, the paper industry, iron and wood crafts, as well as trade and transport were relatively widespread occupations among the adult population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the post-emancipation period. Together with the textile industry these different occupational categories employed 95 percent of the adult workers in the area while the remaining 5 percent were employed in as much as 31 different occupational categories.<sup>258</sup>

Within the textile industry, the clearly most important branch was domestic silk weaving. Of the almost 4000 adult textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, approximately half were working in domestic silk industry, mainly as weavers. One fourth of the textile workers were employed in domestic wool production and approximately one fifth in domestic cotton production. Centralised factory industry was employing only 6 percent of the textile workers from *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, of which the majority were working in cotton-spinning mills located in neighbouring *Zuevo* and the district town *Bogorodsk*. In addition, there were a number of workers who were attached to the textile industry, but where the specific branch could not be identified. Some of the workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were engaged in crafts serving the textile industry, such as shuttle making, while a few individuals worked in several branches simultaneously. However, altogether, these groups made up only 3,4 percent of the adult textile workers.<sup>259</sup> Accordingly, while in the post-emancipation period the cotton industry generally had become the chief branch of domestic textile production in *Bogorodskii uezd*, the silk industry was still extremely important in the economy of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Moreover, at the end of the 1860s, centralised textile mills counted for only a small share of the total textile production in this area.

To sum up, the development of the textile industry in Moscow Province during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries implied a movement from large-scale manufactories established by members of the merchant elite and nobles in Moscow City to the flourishing of small-scale textile enterprises mainly established by peasant entrepreneurs in the eastern districts of Moscow Province. From the start, silk-weaving was the main proto-industrial activity among the textile producers in *Bogorodskii uezd*, and the silk industry retained its importance at least until the end of the nineteenth century, especially in the northern part of *Bogorodskii uezd*. The population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* became first involved in proto-

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<sup>258</sup> See table 3.1 in the appendix for details, p. 288.

<sup>259</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

industrial silk weaving at the end of the eighteenth century and the silk industry remained the main branch of industry a century later. From the second half of the nineteenth century, the cotton industry became an increasingly important and eventually dominating branch of textile production in *Bogorodskii uezd*, and it also employed a substantial part of the proto-industrial workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the post-emancipation period. Towards the end of the nineteenth century cotton spinning and weaving were again centralised into mechanised factories, while production of silk fabrics continued to be a proto-industrial activity.

This particular development of textile industry can largely be explained by changing government policies during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Moreover, the nineteenth-century location of the textile industry to the rural areas of Moscow Province was to some extent caused by political decisions in the last decades of the eighteenth century. Even so, the fact that it was precisely in the eastern districts of the province that proto-industrial textile production became widespread, can not be attributed government policies. Rather, the establishment of textile industry in *Bogorodskii uezd* seems to have depended on structural circumstances which meant that the population in the area was in a position which on the one hand forced them and on the other hand made it possible for them to actively seek economic alternatives to agriculture.

### 3.2. THE LOCATION OF THE TEXTILE INDUSTRY

As noted above, proto-industrial production of textiles developed only in a few district within the Central Industrial Region, one of which was *Bogorodskii uezd*.<sup>260</sup> Other districts, especially in the western part of Moscow Province, were barely influenced by the proto-industrial expansion during the nineteenth century. What were the reasons for locating proto-industrial textile production to *Bogorodskii uezd*? The Moscow provincial *zemstvo* statisticians attributed the location of proto-industrial textile production to this district to three main factors, namely the proximity to the market, poor agricultural conditions, and the local population's familiarity with the making of different types of textiles.<sup>261</sup> In the following we shall discuss each of these factors more thoroughly, starting with an analysis of the infrastructure and socio-economic setting for the textile production in *Bogorodskii uezd*, then moving on to examine how the peasant entrepreneurs and producers acquired the skills of textile production.

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<sup>260</sup> See section 3.1 in this chapter, pp. 91-92.

<sup>261</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 5.



Due to the vast distances and generally poor infrastructure of nineteenth-century Russia, closeness to large marketplaces such as Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod must have been crucial for the successful development of the textile industry. In this respect, *Bogorodskii uezd* appears to have been in an especially favourable position. In the nineteenth century, this district was part of a much larger industrial and commercial region that was formed already in the seventeenth century, and which included large territories to the east of Moscow that were held together by the Moscow-Oka-Volga river system. Evidently, textile production and trade had long traditions among the peasants living in the region between Moscow and Nizhnii Novgorod. Already before the reign of Peter I, peasant craftsmen in this region were making textiles that they sold off to merchants, who in turn conducted their trade at the domestic market as well as exported Russian textiles abroad.<sup>262</sup> In this early phase, it was especially linen fabrics that were produced by Russian weavers. East of Moscow, in Vladimir Province, in the villages of *Danilov* and *Lezhov* in the *Suzdal* and *Shuia* districts, peasants were known for the excellent linen which they produced on small looms in their own homes. In the village of *Ivanovo*, domestic textile production also started with linen weaving and later highly skilled cotton bleachers and printers founded enterprises that endured until the 1917 revolution.<sup>263</sup> Apart from these famous textile villages, production of linen and wool fabrics also occurred in many other villages and settlements in Moscow and Vladimir Provinces. Even though there is no evidence that domestic textile production for the market existed in *Bogorodskii uezd* at such an early stage, the district was certainly connected to the above mentioned textile producing villages as well as their main markets through a communication network that was well developed by the standards of Imperial Russia.

This also applied to the area that is investigated in this study, namely the villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. These villages were located in the north-eastern part of *Bogorodskii uezd*, and in the nineteenth century, they made up the territory between the district capital *Bogorodsk* and the significant textile town *Pavlovskii Posad*. The main road from Moscow via Vladimir to Nizhnii Novgorod went through this territory, and already in the seventeenth century, the nineteenth-century *volost'* centre, *Bol'shoe Bun'kovo*, served as a mail staging-post.<sup>264</sup> Moreover, the villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were located near the *Kliazma* River, which connected them to important commercial and industrial centres such as Moscow, but also *Ivanovo*, *Shuia* and *Suzdal* in Vladimir Province. The river also connected this area to the

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<sup>262</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 21-23, Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 5.

<sup>263</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 5, Gestwa, K.: 1999, p. 60-61.

<sup>264</sup> The settlement is mentioned in *pistsovye knigi* (censuses) for Muscovy in 1628.

main trading routes to Archangelsk, which has been described as the seventeenth-century “chief highway of Russian commerce”.<sup>265</sup> Further, commercial activities were also taking place in the immediate neighbourhood. The village *Vokhna (Pavlovskii Posad)* was an important trading centre, where the local population as well as merchants and traders from other regions were conducting their business, especially in summertime.<sup>266</sup> Accordingly, the textile industry that was established in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, benefited from an already long existing industrial and commercial network that largely was facilitated by a comparatively favourable infrastructure and topography.

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the communication network in this area was further strengthened by the relatively early expansion of railroad construction. The Moscow – Nizhnii Novgorod line was completed in 1861 and went directly through *Bogorodskii uezd*.<sup>267</sup> Even though it is impossible to estimate the effect of the railroad on the proto-industrial activity in the district, it certainly must have implied much better and faster communications to the major textile outlets in nineteenth-century Russia, namely Nizhnii Novgorod and Moscow.

During the nineteenth century, the Nizhnii Novgorod Trade Fair was arranged for about five months each year, including all the summer months. The fair was attracting merchants from all corners of Russia and from abroad, and continued to be a main commercial centre throughout the nineteenth century although its importance declined towards the end of the century.<sup>268</sup> For the textile producers in *Bogorodskii uezd*, the importance of Moscow as a trade centre increased during the second half of the nineteenth century.<sup>269</sup> Already in 1835, Moscow had a population of 336,000 and towards the end of the nineteenth century the population had increased to almost one million; a development that demonstrates the scale of in-migration to the city during this period.<sup>270</sup> This growing population must have been an important market for the textile industry in *Bogorodskii uezd*. Moreover, merchants from other parts of Russia as well as from China, Central Asia and India came to Moscow in order

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<sup>265</sup> Bushkovitch, P.: 1980, pp. 26, 29, 43-69.

<sup>266</sup> Murav'eva, L. L.: 1971, pp. 47, 124.

<sup>267</sup> The post-emancipation boom of railroad building started only in the late 1860s. See Gatrell, P.: 1986, p. 150.

<sup>268</sup> Ulianova, G.: 2001, p. 90-91, Rieber, A. J.: 1982, p. 113.

<sup>269</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 16.

<sup>270</sup> The population statistics is obtained from; "Moscow." *Encyclopædia Britannica* from Encyclopædia Britannica Online. <<http://search.eb.com/eb/article?toclid=12569>> [Accessed February 22, 2005].

to buy textiles, and by that the proto-industrial producers in *Bogorodskii uezd* reached a vast domestic and even a foreign market.<sup>271</sup>

Another likely precondition for the development of proto-industry in *Bogorodskii uezd* was that the population in the district was seeking alternative livelihoods due to poor agricultural conditions and population growth. There was accelerated population growth in Moscow Province during the nineteenth century that contributed to mounting pressure on land resources, so that by the end of the century peasant landholdings were among the smallest in European Russia.<sup>272</sup> In much of Moscow Province the soil mostly consisted of clay and sand and in *Bogorodskii uezd* a considerable part of the territory was made up marshland.<sup>273</sup> In other words, arable farming in this area must have required extensive fertilizing and soil improvement to yield acceptable agricultural returns. However, during most of the nineteenth century this does not seem to have been an option neither for the serfowners nor the peasants in the region.<sup>274</sup> Instead, farming was performed by traditional methods in a three-field system that left parts of the arable fallow at any time.

The relatively poor quality of agricultural land in the central provinces made arable farming quite unprofitable for the serfowners in the region, and thus, during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries they increasingly tended to claim rents in money or kind from their serfs rather than labour services, which were common in the southern provinces. Serfs on quitrent were free to find work in other economic spheres than agriculture and were in fact often encouraged by their serfowner to do exactly that.<sup>275</sup> Accordingly, long before the abolition of serfdom, the agricultural conditions of the Russian forest zone stimulated the peasants in the area to seek other sources of income than agriculture, and considerable evidence suggest that this stimulus was especially great in the eastern districts of Moscow Province.

Evidently, the quality of the soil in this area was especially poor compared to other districts and arable farming seems therefore to have been particularly unfortunate. In the post-emancipation period, the eastern districts had the lowest average arable land holdings per worker in Moscow Province. The average arable land per worker in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was

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<sup>271</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 16.

<sup>272</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 220.

<sup>273</sup> "Bogorodskii uezd": 1896, pp. 182-183.

<sup>274</sup> In the post-emancipation period there exist reports of the peasants in *Bogorodskii uezd* being engaged in land improvement. In the 1870s, thousands of *sazheny* of drainage ditches were dug by communes acting in common. See Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 263-267.

<sup>275</sup> Burds, J.: 1991, pp. 53-54.

only 3,2 *desiatina*<sup>276</sup>, which was one of the lowest in *Bogorodskii uezd* and less than half of the 6,8 *desiatina* obtained per worker in the predominantly agricultural *Mozhaiskii uezd* in the western part of Moscow Province.<sup>277</sup> This situation was not unique for *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, though. Also in the other *volost's* of *Bogorodskii uezd* the peasants were receiving relatively small arable land holdings. Moreover, other forms of agricultural production such as dairy farming and vegetable growing were also poorly developed in the eastern districts of Moscow Province, and contemporary observers attributed this to such factors as land deficiency, poor soil quality, shortage of fertilizers, and the lack of suitable retail locations in the local area.<sup>278</sup>

Accordingly, the agricultural conditions in *Bogorodskii uezd* certainly must have been an important motivation for the population in the area to take work in the textile industry. Even so, the most detailed and reliable data on agricultural conditions in Moscow Province are from the years after the abolition of serfdom, which was a period when the textile industry already had a long history of development in the area. The small average land holdings and the low number of domestic animals in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might therefore also have been consequences of the peasant's abandonment of agriculture for employment in the textile industry. Thus, the connection between the agricultural conditions and the population's involvement in industrial production seems to have been going both ways. As the industry expanded during the nineteenth century and especially in the post-emancipation years, the population's involvement in industrial work may well have precluded the agricultural development in the area still further.

Thus, proximity to the market and poor agricultural conditions were important preconditions for the location of proto-industrial textile production to the eastern districts of Moscow Province. Even so, these structural factors can hardly be regarded to be unique for this area. Although the infrastructure might have been comparatively better and the environment for arable farming probably was especially difficult in the eastern part of Moscow Province, these two factors were certainly also present in parts of Moscow Province where textile industry did not develop. In other words, the location of proto-industrial textile production to the eastern districts of Moscow Province cannot be attributed to structural factors only.

We saw above that the proto-industrial production of silk weaving in the late eighteenth-century and the further expansion of the *Bogorodsk* textile region in the nineteenth

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<sup>276</sup> 1 *desiatina* equals 2,7 acres.

<sup>277</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 13, 137.

<sup>278</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 15.

century came about largely as a result of peasant entrepreneurial initiative and peasant work.<sup>279</sup> The peasant population was by that an active agent in the development of proto-industry. However, to become an entrepreneur or worker in the textile industry it was necessary to have the technical skills of textile production. Certainly, most females would have acquired such skills from within the community of peasant women, in the way that spinning and weaving techniques were passed on from one generation of women to the next. The knowledge of such techniques must have been essential in any girl's upbringing as it was part of married women's housekeeping tasks to provide their families with clothing. Even so, the initial development of proto-industrial silk-weaving and later production of printed cotton fabrics that became common in *Bogorodskii uezd* required more specialised and advanced skills than traditional peasant handicraft could provide. Peasant entrepreneurship in the textile industry was also largely a male preoccupation. Accordingly, it is necessary to look for the source of peasant textile production skills outside of the local peasant community, and the eighteenth-century Moscow manufactories seems to have played a crucial role.

Many of the workers who were recruited to the textile manufactories in Moscow during the eighteenth century were peasants from Moscow Province, of which the majority were so-called church peasants, that is, peasants who were living on land owned by monasteries.<sup>280</sup> In this period, church peasants were generally freer than serfs belonging to noble landowners, as they were not obliged to perform labour duties which were still common among privately owned serfs. They were thus also freer to travel in order to find work outside their native village.<sup>281</sup> For most of the eighteenth century, this was also true for the peasants in *Bogorodskii uezd*. Until 1764, when the landed property of the Orthodox church was confiscated by the state, the largest landowner in Russia after the tsar was the *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra*<sup>282</sup>, which also possessed the territory that then was called *Vokhonskaia volost'* and later renamed *Bogorodskii uezd*. It is quite plausible that peasants from this area acquired their textile producing skills already during the eighteenth century by apprenticeship and work in the Moscow textile manufactories.

The prospect of learning the techniques of textile production appears to have been a main motivation for the peasants who sought work in the Moscow textile industry during the

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<sup>279</sup> See section 3.1. in this chapter, pp. 93-94.

<sup>280</sup> Zaozerskaia, E. I.: 1953, pp. 432-433.

<sup>281</sup> Zaozerskaia, E. I.: 1953, pp. 435-436.

<sup>282</sup> *Troitse-Sergieva Lavra*: The Trinity-Sergius Monastery is still regarded as the centre of Russian Orthodoxy and is located some 70 km north of Moscow.

eighteenth century. Zaozerskaia's detailed study of the workers at the Moscow manufactories during this period shows that a majority of the workers declared that a combination of additional income and training motivated them to seek industrial work, especially in the silk-weaving industry.<sup>283</sup> More recent research has shown that it was extremely difficult for the Moscow manufactories to hold on to skilled workers.<sup>284</sup> Peasants who arrived at a textile manufactory in Moscow looking for employment usually agreed to a contract that required them to stay at the manufactory for a certain period. During this time, the workers obtained the skills of textile production but many of them did not stay at the manufactory until their contracts expired. Instead they left their original places of employment and used their new skills to develop small peasant enterprises based on domestic production in the countryside.<sup>285</sup> In other words, the Moscow manufactories served as training schools for the transmission of technical skills in the rural areas of Moscow Province, and especially so in the eastern districts of the province.<sup>286</sup>

An additional aspect in the discussion of how the peasant population in *Bogorodskii uezd* acquired the technical skills of textile production and used these skills in the development of proto-industry, is the relative prevalence of hired versus forced labour among the Moscow manufactory workers. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the Russian government repeatedly tried to secure the supply of skilled workers to the manufactories. In 1721, a government decree allowed merchants to buy villages with serfs for industrial work, and in 1736, another decree declared that the workers who at the moment were employed in the manufactories should be attached to their workplace "forever".<sup>287</sup> These decrees implied that the Moscow manufactories increasingly were operated with forced labour, although a labour market of hired workers from among different categories of serfs and townspeople continued to exist.<sup>288</sup>

The exploitation of forced and hired labour seems to have differed substantially between different branches of textile industry and this may in turn have influenced the course of proto-industrial development in the textile industry of Moscow Province. Statistics on the

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<sup>283</sup> Zaozerskaia, E. I.: 1953, pp. 432-433.

<sup>284</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 21.

<sup>285</sup> Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 21. The growth of illegally established peasant enterprises in Moscow Province during the second half of the eighteenth century is also noted in Alexander, J. T.: 1974, p. 648.

<sup>286</sup> Meshalin, I. V.: 1950a, p. 77, Daniel, W.: 1995, p. 21.

<sup>287</sup> Alexander, J. T.: 1974, p. 646.

<sup>288</sup> Crisp, O.: 1976, p. 12.

Moscow manufactories from the beginning of the 1770s shows that a large proportion of the labour force in the silk weaving industry consisted of hired workers.<sup>289</sup> A worker who was bound to a factory would probably rarely be in position to establish an independent proto-industrial enterprise. On the contrary, if the hired worker had not already left the manufactory during the period of apprenticeship, he was certainly free to leave upon the expiration of his contract and sometimes he would use his newly acquired skills to establish his own small textile enterprise. Thus, the utilisation of hired work in the Moscow silk manufactories apparently contributed to the fact that just silk weaving became prevalent in the eastern districts of Moscow Province.

In other words, the population's familiarity with textile production seems to have been an important factor for the localisation of proto-industrial textile production to *Bogorodskii uezd*.<sup>290</sup> Initially, only a few peasants who had worked in centralised silk manufactories seem to have had the necessary skills, but once these peasants established their small enterprises in their native villages, the skills of silk weaving was disseminated throughout the *Bogorodsk* rural area. As industry expanded during the nineteenth century, the small-scale proto-industrial enterprises as well as the centralised factories, whether mechanised or not, seems to have preferred to establish their enterprises in places where they could utilise the technical skills of the local population. By that, the location of the textile industry to *Bogorodskii uezd* also depended on the largely accidental circumstance that individual peasants from this district became involved in the production of textiles at an early stage in the development of the Russian textile industry.

The location of the textile industry seems to have been significant for the development of the household economy among the peasants who became involved in industrial work during the nineteenth century. The textile industry represented an extra source of income, and the location of industry to certain districts was important for the strategies the peasant population used to exploit this income source. While most peasants in the Central Industrial Region were required to migrate relatively long distances to find industrial work, the peasants in the eastern districts of Moscow Province were able to find employment in their native villages.<sup>291</sup> For the individual peasant as well as the household, the opportunity costs involved in migration must have been relatively larger than engagement in proto-industrial work at home. Accordingly, the composition of the industrial labour force differed considerably

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<sup>289</sup> Alexander, J. T.: 1974, p. 665.

<sup>290</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 5, Meshalin, I. V.: 1950a, p. 77.

<sup>291</sup> On migrant peasants see for instance Engel, B. A.: 1994 and Burds, J.: 1998.

between migration areas and proto-industrial areas. The migrant labourers were typically young men, while proto-industry potentially could engage both sexes and all ages. Consecutively, this difference in the composition of the industrial labour force must have influenced how industrial work contributed to the household economy and how it related to the household system. The following section provides a discussion of the household economy of the proto-industrial workers in *Bogorodskii uezd*.

### 3.3. THE PROTO-INDUSTRIAL HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

We saw above that the agricultural conditions in *Bogorodskii uezd* were especially poor compared to other areas in Moscow Province, this being one of the main motivations of the peasants who were turning to proto-industrial and factory work.<sup>292</sup> Moreover, contemporary observers repeatedly claimed that proto-industrial work had a negative influence on the well-being of the peasant household, both because the domestic producers received very low payments for their work and because they frequently were paid in kind instead of cash.<sup>293</sup> In other words, the peasants in *Bogorodskii uezd* seem to have been in a very unfortunate economic situation, not being able to provide themselves with agricultural goods and receiving meagre returns from their proto-industrial activity. Moreover, as an increasing share of the households abandoned agriculture altogether, the economic situation in the textile producing districts deteriorated still further. According to most educated observers, in the post-emancipation period the combination of these circumstances led to a profound economic crisis and pauperisation among the peasants in industrialised districts.<sup>294</sup> Still, it is probably mistaken to regard the proto-industrial textile producers only as victims of economic and social change. We saw above that peasants were greatly participating in the establishment of proto-industrial enterprises in *Bogorodskii uezd*, and, most likely, they actively struggled against the developments that might threaten their economic security. In the following we will explore to what extent the proto-industrial workers in *Bogorodskii uezd* were affected by an economic crisis and which strategies they employed to secure their household economies.

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<sup>292</sup> See section 3.2 in this chapter, pp. 105-106.

<sup>293</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 55-56, 69-70, 80.

<sup>294</sup> Marxist observers and historians have used this as evidence for an accelerating class division within peasant society. Other investigations of Russian peasant economy contradict this view. Most known is probably Chaianov's claim that peasant wealth depended on the cyclical expansion and contraction of the household. For a short outline of the historiography of these issues see for instance: Wilbur, E. M.: 1991, pp. 101-105.



A good starting point in the investigation of the household economy of the proto-industrial workers in *Bogorodskii uezd* is to look at the extent to which the population in this area abandoned agriculture for employment in the textile industry. In the post-emancipation period, increasing numbers of peasants in Moscow Province gave up agriculture to devote themselves full-time to proto-industrial or industrial work. However, there were large differences within Moscow Province. The households in the eastern districts of Moscow Province were certainly more inclined to give up agriculture than the households in the other parts of the province. At the end of the 1870s, the share of households with land rights in *Bogorodskii uezd* that was not working the land, made up 20,8 percent, while in the largely agricultural *uezds* to the north and west, only 9 to 16 percent of the households had abandoned agriculture.<sup>295</sup> In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, approximately 20 percent of the households were not working their land in 1878-79.<sup>296</sup> This tendency continued throughout the nineteenth century. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, approximately 25 percent of the resident households in *Bogorodskii uezd* had ceased to work the land. Compared to this, in the western and north-western districts of Moscow Province, only 5 to 13 percent of the resident households were not working their land.<sup>297</sup> These differences between different districts in Moscow Province indicate that in the eastern districts proto-industrial activities, of which textile production was the most prevalent, were relatively more important in the peasants' household economy than in other parts of the province. Still, the majority of the households in *Bogorodskii uezd* continued to work their land.

Potentially, this could mean that in the post-emancipation period there was a sharp labour division between the households in *Bogorodskii uezd*, in which some households were performing only agricultural work, while others were engaged in proto-industrial work. To some extent this may have been the case. In his detailed survey of agriculture in Moscow Province, the *zemstvo* statistician V. I. Orlov refers to villages in which the peasant commune, when repartitioning the arable land, would distribute allotments only among those households that in fact were maintaining agricultural activities. The households that had failed to work their land were usually left with the responsibility to pay dues and taxes that were connected to their fallow allotments, while this land in fact might be returned to the commune.<sup>298</sup> However, this arrangement does not exclude the possibility that some members in the

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<sup>295</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 208-209 and *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 137.

<sup>296</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 137.

<sup>297</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990: p. 234.

<sup>298</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 49-50.

“agricultural” households were employed in the textile industry, and, opposite that some members of the “industrial” households were employed in agriculture. Most likely the households in this area conformed to a distinctive feature of Russian proto-industrialisation, namely that the domestic workers developed a dual economy in which they pursued agricultural as well as proto-industrial activities.<sup>299</sup> The combination of agricultural work and proto-industrial textile production could be accomplished through a number of different strategies, of which seasonal fluctuations in work patterns and labour division within the household seem to have been the most widespread. In the following, we will see how the proto-industrial workers used these two strategies to secure their household economies in the post-emancipation period.

Proto-industrial textile workers as well workers employed in textile mills usually alternated between agriculture and industrial activities during the year. Textile production was confined to a certain period of the year and dates of the commencement and termination of work were regulated by major events in the farming year, which also corresponded to major Orthodox holidays. By the last decades of the nineteenth century, changeover dates had become firmly fixed by tradition. In the eastern districts of Moscow Province, the season of proto-industrial textile weaving started in the middle of September and lasted until the end of June.<sup>300</sup> For the two-and-a-half months in the summer between these two dates industrial work in the peasant homes or in the workshop stopped completely while the peasants were harvesting their fields. The textile workers who were employed in centralised factories also tended to leave their workplace in the summer months. Despite contracts obligating them to stay at the factory throughout the agricultural high season and promises of increases in pay and bonuses, the tradition of the summer changeover to agricultural work was so deeply integrated in peasant custom that even landless peasants would give up work in the textile industry on the prescribed date. Such landless peasants would work as day-labourers in agriculture in the summer or would spend their time collecting berries and mushrooms from village common lands.<sup>301</sup>

However, the withdrawal of labour from the textile industry was graduated; adult workers were leaving already after the Easter Holidays to take care of the spring fieldwork,

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<sup>299</sup> Rudolph, R. L.: 1980, p. 115, and Rudolph, R. L.: 1985, pp. 65-66. See also *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883pp. 61-62, Dement'ev, E. M.: 1897, pp. 1-11, Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, pp. 232-235 and Pallot, J.: 1991, pp. 177-178.

<sup>300</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 61-62.

<sup>301</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 235.

while adolescents and the elderly continued their work until the end of June.<sup>302</sup> By that, the industrial season for the textile producers in *Bogorodskii uezd* lasted considerably longer than in for instance the northern part of Moscow Province, where also some textile production took place. Here everyone stopped weaving right after Easter.<sup>303</sup> The differences in work pattern between the eastern and northern districts of Moscow Province corresponded to these districts' overall involvement in textile industry and agriculture. The larger amount of arable land per household in the northern districts meant that the textile weavers here were required to give up weaving at an earlier date than the weavers in the eastern districts. By that, agriculture also became relatively more important in their household economies. Opposite, the weavers in *Bogorodskii uezd* were reluctant to entirely give up textile work already in spring because their allotments were smaller and because the textile industry's contribution to the household economy probably was considerable.

Moreover, not only the industrial season but also the working day was longer among the textile workers in the eastern part of Moscow Province. Starting already at 4 a.m., male weavers would work for as much as 14 to 15 hours a day, only interrupted by meals and an approximately two-hour long rest in the middle of the day. The female weavers started and finished work simultaneously with the men but because they had to interrupt weaving several times during the day to attend to domestic tasks, their workday at the loom lasted for approximately 12 hours. Likewise, many children were spending long hours in the workshop. Starting work at 5 a.m. and continuing until 8 o'clock in the evening, only interrupted by the same breaks for meals and rest as the adult workers were taking; also the children's workday lasted for approximately 12 hours. In certain periods of the year work was even more intensive. During Lent, for instance, the weavers could work at the loom for as much as 16 to 17 hours a day.<sup>304</sup> The long hours that men, women as well as children in *Bogorodskii uezd* spent by the loom indicates that their household economies were highly dependent on proto-industrial work.

The second main strategy for maintaining a dual economy was to allocate work in the two economic spheres between different household members. The proto-industrial workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* used this strategy to a considerable extent, but which factors determined the sphere of work for the individual household member? Studies of other proto-industrial societies outside Western Europe have shown that the division of labour within the household

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<sup>302</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 61.

<sup>303</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 61.

<sup>304</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 58-59.

largely happened according to gender. Supposedly, in societies where family and community control over individuals remained strong, which is regarded as a distinctive feature of Russian peasant society, men would still dominate the agricultural sphere while the women were engaged in industrial production.<sup>305</sup> Was this also true for the proto-industrial population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*?

**Table 3.3.1:** Occupational structure of the workers aged 15 to 59 years distributed according to sex, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

Occupation	Females		Males		Total	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
Textile industry	2123	74,36	1596	64,25	3719	69,66
Agriculture	423	14,82	243	9,78	666	12,47
Other industries	85	2,98	105	4,23	190	3,56
Crafts	4	0,14	235	9,46	239	4,48
Transport	8	0,28	72	2,90	80	1,50
Trade	70	2,45	81	3,26	151	2,83
Service	34	1,19	28	1,13	62	1,16
Clergy	0	0,00	15	0,60	15	0,28
Education	1	0,04	7	0,28	8	0,15
Other occupations	3	0,11	53	2,13	56	1,05
No/unknown occupation	104	3,64	49	1,97	153	2,87
<b>Total</b>	<b>2855</b>	<b>100,00</b>	<b>2484</b>	<b>100,00</b>	<b>5339</b>	<b>100,00</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Table 3.3.1 shows the importance of each of the occupational categories among males and females respectively. Evidently, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, men and women were employed very much in the same occupations, the textile industry and agriculture being the most important for both sexes. The prevalence of textile work for both men and women witness to the vast significance of the textile industry in the local economy of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Accordingly, 74 percent of the female workers and 64 percent of the male workers aged 15-59 years were employed in the textile industry. Likewise, agriculture employed 15 percent of the females and no more than 10 percent of the males of working age. The men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have had a comparatively larger spectre of employment possibilities. Other occupations than textile work and agriculture employed 26 percent of the adult male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, while only 11 percent of the adult females had found work outside the two main occupational categories. In other words, there was no clear-cut compatibility in the occupational structure of the proto-industrial population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, where men and women were working in different economic spheres. Rather, the range

<sup>305</sup> Houston, R. and Snell, K. D. M.: 1984, pp. 476-477.

of men's and women's activities seems to have been rather symmetrical, in that both men and women were engaged in agriculture as well as the domestic industry.

Even so, as shown above, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* there were several different branches of textile production and within these branches there were a number of different specialised tasks.<sup>306</sup> A more detailed analysis shows that, to some extent, men and women in this area participated in textile production in different ways. First, even though domestic weaving of silk, cotton and wool fabrics was the most widespread task for the female as well as the male textile workers, domestic weaving was relatively more important for the male textile workers. While approximately 65 percent of the female textile workers were weavers, this was the case for over 82 percent of the male textile workers. Second, 12 percent of the male and only 2 percent of the female textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were working in textile mills. Third, bobbin winding<sup>307</sup> employed as much as 32 percent of the female textile workers, and only 1,4 percent of the male textile workers.<sup>308</sup>

In her study of women's domestic industries in Moscow Province, Judith Pallot claims that the labour division within the textile industry determined the working conditions of the textile workers, their access to modern technology, and their wages, and that it generally worked to the disadvantage of women. Accordingly, women were more likely to work in cotton weaving that took place in the peasant home, while men only worked in mechanised cotton weaving and in silk weaving that usually took place in rural workshops.<sup>309</sup> This study shows that this was only partly the case in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Men's participation in the textile industry was largely confined to tasks that implied a certain level of mechanization or relatively better income possibilities, and as such, they conformed to Pallot's portrayal of the domestic textile industry. However, the female's participation in the textile industry was more complex. First, women participated in all branches of textile weaving, not only in those that were especially poorly paid.<sup>310</sup> Actually, in the investigated area, silk weaving made up the most widespread occupation for women of working age. In *Bogorodskii uezd*, female silk

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<sup>306</sup> See section 3.1 in this chapter, p. 96.

<sup>307</sup> In post-emancipation Moscow Province, several thousand women were engaged in bobbin winding (*razmotka bumagi/shelka*). The bobbin winder's job was to unwind skeins of cotton or silk onto bobbins for use on hand looms. Mechanical processes had been developed for bobbin winding, but because women's labour was so cheap, textile factories continued to employ domestic bobbin winders until the very end of the nineteenth century.

<sup>308</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

<sup>309</sup> Pallot, J.: 1991, p. 173.

weavers were sometimes regarded to be greater specialists than males what concerned the weaving of expensive fabrics such as faille, satin, and velvet.<sup>311</sup> Simultaneously, a large proportion of the female textile workers were performing preparatory tasks that required a low level of specialisation and could be easily combined with domestic responsibilities, but which were poorly paid. By that, there was great differentiation both in specialisation and income level among the female textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* but generally, the female textile worker in this area may have been in a more fortunate situation than most female textile workers in Moscow Province.

Seen together, the occupational data for males and females of working age shows that the allocation of male and female work in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was more complex than suggested in most historical publications on Russian proto-industrialisation. In this area, there was no clear division of labour into male and female spheres of activity. However, men were working in a larger spectre of occupations than was the case for the women, whose employment options seem to have been confined to textile production, agriculture or nothing. In the proto-industrial household's allocation of work to either agriculture or the textile industry, gender seems to have been relatively insignificant. Accordingly, the labour division between the two economic spheres must have depended on other variables, of which age and position in the household seems to be the most likely factors.

The analysis of how age affected the participation in the work force in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows a distinct pattern, in which work in the textile industry was predominating among the young and agriculture was prevailing among the elderly. Obviously, the smallest children did not participate in the work force, but already among the children aged five to nine years 7 percent of the boys and circa 11 percent of the girls were working in the textile industry and such work employed over 50 percent of the boys and almost 60 percent of the girls in the age group ten to fourteen years. The majority of the youngest textile workers started out as bobbin winders but soon especially the boys advanced to domestic silk and wool weaving. Other types of work, such as handicrafts and trade, employed very few children, and likewise, a minority of the children went to school. In the age group five to nine years, 7,2 percent of the boys and only 2 percent of the girls went to school, while among the children aged ten to fourteen years 9,2 percent of the boys and less than 1 percent of the girls

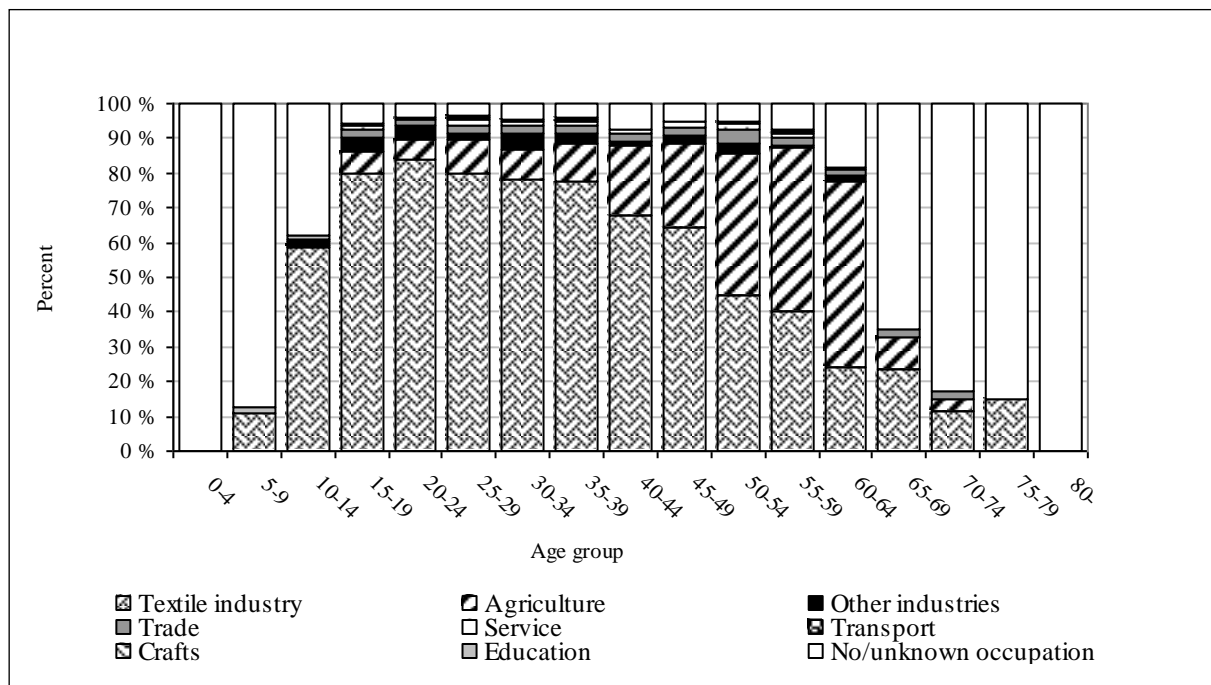
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<sup>310</sup> See pp. 124-129 in this chapter for details on the income level of the proto-industrial textile workers in Moscow Province.

<sup>311</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 62.

went to school. The remaining children were given to have no special occupation, which for at least the oldest must have meant that they were participating in agricultural work.<sup>312</sup>

**Figure 3.3.1:** Distribution of occupational categories according to age group, females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71gg.*

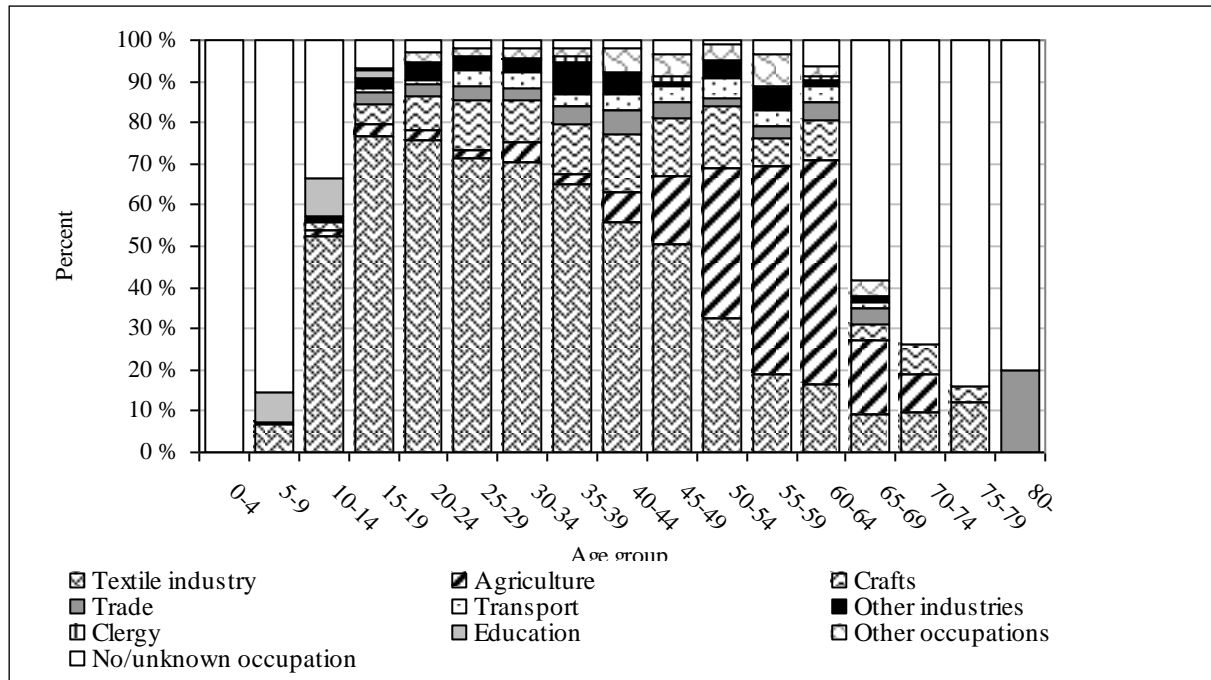
The majority of the textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were young adults. As much as 80 percent of the women in the age groups fifteen to thirty-nine years were working in the textile industry and the majority of these textile workers were weavers. Among the women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, weaving became less common after the age of approximately forty to forty-five years. However, a large share of the female population continued to work in the textile industry also after the age of forty-five, but the labour power of these women was largely concentrated in bobbin winding or hand spinning, which were common occupations among the elderly women. Increasingly, though, the female population aged fifty or older were employed only in agriculture or were registered to have no occupation at all. Accordingly, approximately 50 percent of the females aged fifty to fifty-nine years were employed in agriculture. Among the women, who were in their sixties or seventies, an even larger share had no other occupation than agriculture.

For the female population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, work in other branches than the textile industry and agriculture was rather unusual. Most of the adult women, who *did* work

<sup>312</sup> See table 3.5 and 3.6 in the appendix for details, pp. 295-296.

elsewhere, were employed in the local paper factory. However, such work was uncommon after the age of forty. Finally, a few females were working in trade, as servants, in transport and in handicrafts, and three of the adult women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were going to school to “become literate”.<sup>313</sup>

**Figure 3.3.2:** Distribution of occupational categories according to age group, males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

The males' work career differed somewhat from the pattern observed for the females. First, also among the males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* a large share was working in the textile industry while they were young. Even so, the proportion of males in the textile industry was somewhat lower than females and their involvement in textile production became reduced at an earlier age than was the case for the female textile workers. In the age groups fifteen to thirty-four years, approximately 70 to 75 percent of the men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were working in the textile industry. Already after the age of thirty-five the proportion male textile workers was somewhat reduced and after fifty years relatively few men were employed in the textile industry compared to the younger age groups. In the age group fifty-five to fifty-nine years less than 20 percent of the male population were employed in the textile industry while among the females in this age group as much as 40 percent were still working in the textile industry. The majority of the male textile workers were weavers while only a few were

<sup>313</sup> See table 3.2 in the appendix for details, p. 289.



unwinding silk, wool or cotton bobbins. Opposite from the female textile workers, the male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* hardly engaged in these poorly paid occupations when they became older. Rather, the analysis shows that the vast majority of the elderly men in this area seem to have preferred agricultural work to the less rewarding tasks in the textile industry. Accordingly, among the men aged fifty-five or more as much as 73,1 percent were registered to be working in agriculture or have no occupation except agriculture.

Even though the main occupational alternatives for men as well as women were connected to textile production or agriculture, a few other options existed. Quite a few of the adult men were working in various handicrafts, of which the most numerous were joiners, carpenters and blacksmiths. Some were also working in trade or in transport. Opposite to the workers in the textile industry, the craftsmen were not particularly young but made up approximately 10 to 15 percent of the work force in the age groups twenty-five to fifty-four years. While the majority seems to have been independent craftsmen, the census material also shows that some of the craftsmen were employed by textile mill owners and were thus connected to the textile industry. Another alternative for the men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was to work in one of the other industries that were operating in the area, such as the paper industry and in chemical industry, but the scale of these industries was quite small compared to the textile industry.<sup>314</sup>

Accordingly, the analysis shows that in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the allocation of work to either proto-industrial textile production or agriculture was closely connected to age. Moreover, combined with the age data, gender became significant, too. Generally, young people were working in the textile industry while the elderly population rather was working in agriculture. Both males and females were very much involved in industrial work, but the occupational diversity among males was much larger than among females, who rarely were occupied outside the two main economic spheres. However, within these limits the female population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were highly involved in proto-industrial textile production, and they continued to work in the textile industry at an age when most men had abandoned industrial work.

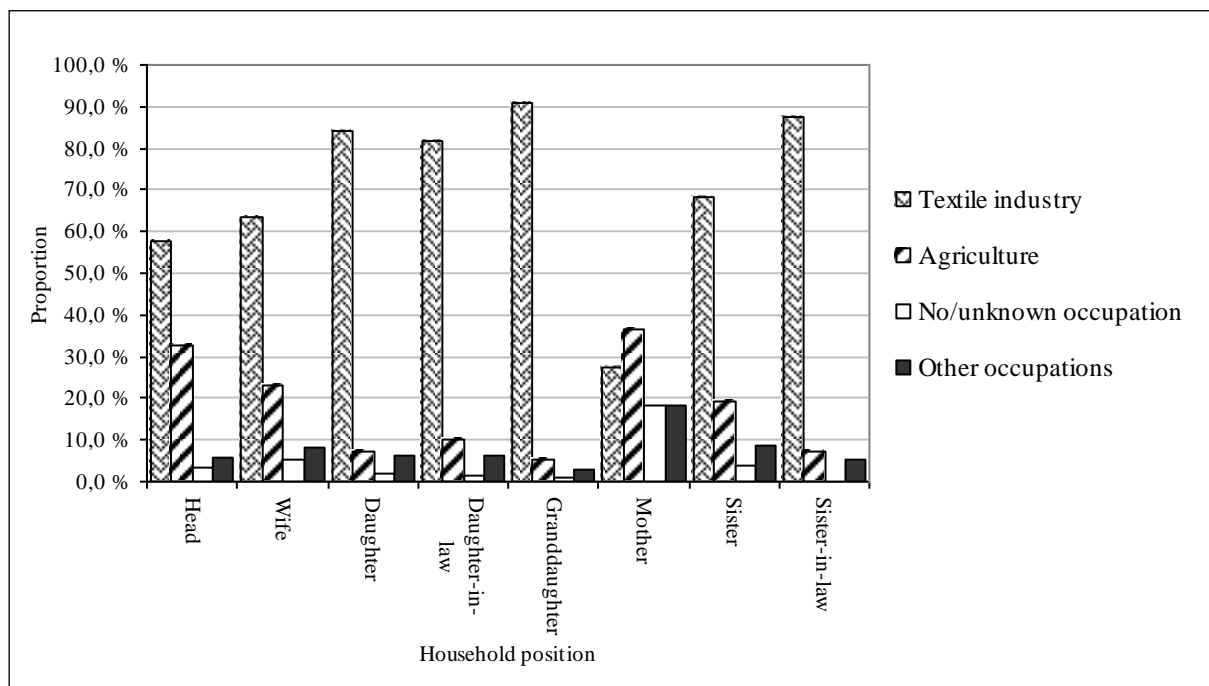
What were the reasons for this distinct distribution of the labour power of the young and the elderly people in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* into different economical sectors? One the one hand, the age-specific labour division could have been connected to circumstances within the different economic spheres. It might well be that only relatively young people had the

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<sup>314</sup> See table 3.3 in the appendix for details, p. 291.

physical strength that was required for working long and monotonous hours by the loom in the proto-industrial workshop or the spinning machine in the textile mill. On the other hand, the labour division according to age might also have been a result of processes within the household itself. Supposedly, the age- and gender-specific allocation of work to different economic spheres was to a considerable extent depending on the composition of the household. This means that the individual's position within the household might have largely determined which work he or she was to perform.

**Figure 3.3.3:** Distribution of occupations according to position in the household, females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



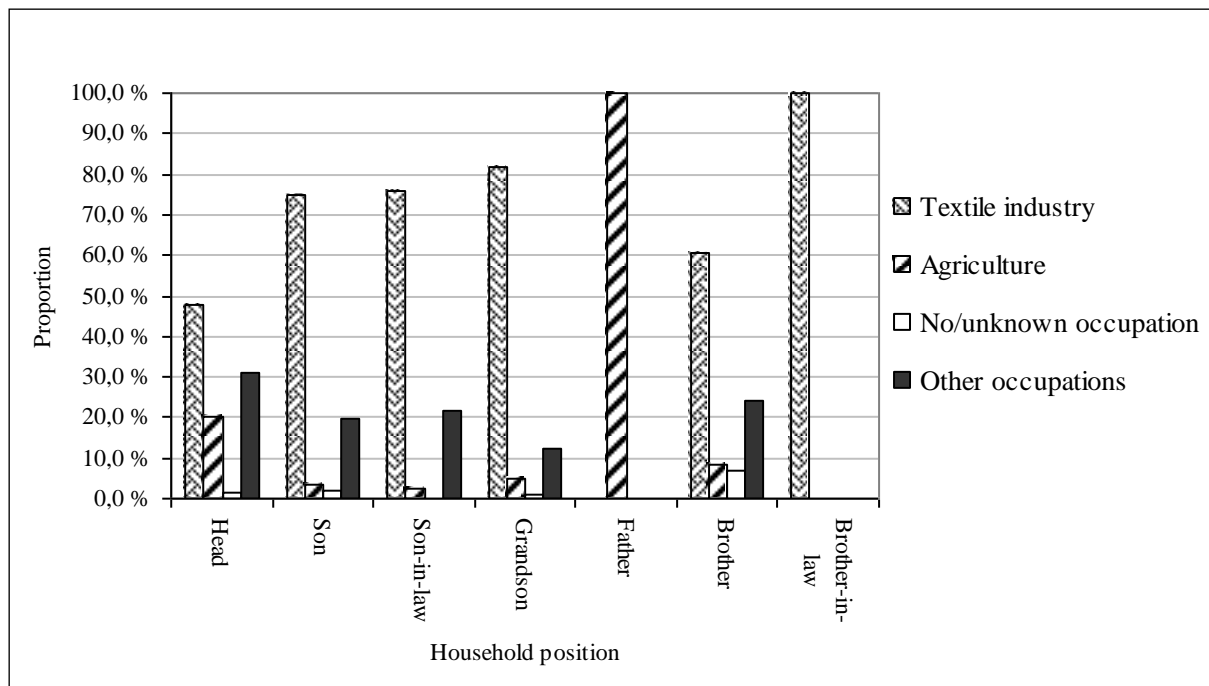
Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uyezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

Figure 3.3.3 and 3.3.4 shows how the main occupational categories in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were distributed according to household position for females and males respectively. First of all, the dominance of the textile industry in this area was so great that it employed the majority of the men and women independently of household position. Only the relatively few mothers and fathers of household heads were less involved in the textile industry than in other occupations. Even so, there was a certain correlation between household position and occupation, in which the senior household members were tending to be working in agriculture and the junior household members were more inclined to be working in the textile industry.

Generally, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the female population was more involved in textile production than the males. This overall female involvement in textile production meant that

also the senior women in the household were largely working in the textile industry. Accordingly, 58 percent of the female household heads were working in the textile industry and over 63 percent of the wives of household heads. Nevertheless, female household heads and mothers of household heads were more likely to be working in agriculture than other female household members. A relatively large proportion of the wives and sisters of household heads was also working in agriculture. Opposite, for the junior females in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, work in the textile industry seems to have been basically the only occupational alternative. As much as 80 to 90 percent of the females in the household positions "daughter", "daughter-in-law", "granddaughter" and "sister-in-law" were employed in the textile industry, while agriculture employed only 5 to 10 percent of these junior female members of the household. Other occupations than textile production and agriculture were insignificant for all the women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, independently of household position. Also the men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* followed an occupational pattern that allocated industrial work to the junior household members, while agricultural work largely was maintained by the senior household members. Especially the male household heads as well as the few fathers of household heads were less involved in textile work than other male household members. Accordingly, none of the fathers were working in the textile industry and less than 50 percent of the male household heads, which is relatively modest given the dominance of textile production in this area. Also the brothers of household heads were somewhat less involved in the textile industry than male household members in more junior positions. Still, agricultural work does not seem to have been the main occupational alternative to the textile industry for the senior male household members, even though it employed all the fathers and 20 percent of the male household heads. Rather, a variety of other occupations, of which different crafts were most important, employed over 30 percent of the male household heads and 24 percent of the brothers. Other occupations were employing relatively large shares of the junior household members, too. Approximately 20 percent of the sons and sons-in-law were working outside the textile industry as well as agriculture, and this was also true for 12,5 percent of the grandsons. Even so, for these junior male household members, the textile industry made up the most important occupational possibility; 75 to 80 percent of the sons, sons-in-law and grandsons were working in the textile industry.

**Figure 3.3.4:** Distribution of occupations according to position in household, males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71*

To sum up, in the post-emancipation period the majority of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* started to work in the textile industry already in childhood. As young adults both males and females were working intensely in the textile industry, while other occupations were rather insignificant. Further, the chances that an individual continued to work in the textile industry was reduced as he or she aged and partly also as a result of him or her attaining higher positions in the household. The elderly senior household members were largely withdrawing from textile work, and agriculture became their main occupation. This means that the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* clearly sought to maintain agriculture as well as textile production within the same household, and that work in the two economic spheres was mainly allocated according to age and to some extent generation, while gender became significant only in old age, when more females than males continued to work in the textile industry. Accordingly, the occupational structure in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that apart from the seasonal fluctuation in work patterns, the dual economy of the Russian proto-industrial household also depended on a considerable labour division between individual household members.

The overall willingness of proto-industrial workers and factory workers in the textile industry to uphold agricultural as well as industrial activities indicates that both were extremely important for the economic security of the household. We saw above that the

relative importance of agricultural and industrial work differed geographically. In the less industrialised districts of Moscow Province, agriculture was relatively more important than domestic industries in the household economy, while in the heavily industrialised eastern districts, the textile industry was clearly more significant for the survival of the household. The analysis of the occupational structure of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* showed that the significance of textile work was considerable for the household economy of the peasants in the area, as it employed the absolute majority of the able-bodied population throughout most of the year, while agricultural work was confined to a few months during the summer or was performed by the elderly population. However, the relative importance of agricultural and industrial work in the household economy may also have depended on the income level in different branches of industry and in agriculture as well as shifting periods of prosperity and decline in the textile industry and harvests in agriculture.

Within the framework of the peasant commune agriculture was subject to a levelling mechanism which intended to secure each household in the commune a certain income level. Even though the repartitional commune did not exclude the possibility that some households became rich and others became poor, it was important for the overwhelming majority of the peasant households in Moscow Province to retain membership in the peasant commune, and the main motivation for this seems to have been the economic security the commune could provide.<sup>315</sup> Simultaneously, throughout Moscow Province as well as in other Central Industrial provinces, agricultural incomes were not high enough to sustain the household economy. In *Bogorodskii uezd* the incomes a household could derive from agriculture were especially small compared to other districts in Moscow Province. In the post-emancipation period, the Moscow *zemstvo* statisticians reported that in the eastern districts of Moscow Province, the grain produced on the peasants' own allotments lasted only until Christmas, and often their grain reserves were empty much earlier.<sup>316</sup> In many districts, additional incomes to the household were provided by young migrant labourers, who sent substantial parts of their earnings in factory industry back to their families in the countryside.<sup>317</sup> In *Bogorodskii uezd*, however, the development of textile industry meant that the peasant population was able to earn additional incomes in the local area. There were, however, considerable variations in the

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<sup>315</sup> For peasant attitudes to the peasant commune, see Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 274-294, Kingston-Mann, E.: 1991, p. 34.

<sup>316</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 59.

<sup>317</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, pp. 132-140.

income levels of domestic industrial producers depending on the type of work they performed as well as the branch of industry in question.

Table 3.3.2 shows the average monthly wages for industrial workers in Moscow Province at different years during the nineteenth century. For the period before the abolition of serfdom, the data on the income levels are highly scattered, and it is unclear whether they concern all textile workers or only the workers in centralised textile mills. Keeping these limitations in mind, the Soviet economic historian Strumilin suggests that in 1837 the average wages of free textile workers in Moscow Province were 36 kopecks daily, which makes up approximately 9 roubles per month. Further, in 1843 the free textile workers' wages varied between 28,5 and 57 kopecks daily, or 7,1 to 14,3 roubles per month, which gives an average of 10,7 roubles. Possessional workers received approximately half this rate, often with additional payments in kind.<sup>318</sup>

**Table 3.3.2:** Mean wages per month among adult factory workers and domestic textile producers in Moscow Province during the nineteenth century. In roubles.

Year	Workers in textile industry	Domestic cotton weavers	Domestic wool weavers	Domestic silk weavers	Domestic warpers	Bobbin winders in cotton and silk industry	Spool-boys and spool-girls
1837 (Moscow Province)	9,0*						
1843 (Moscow Province)	10,7*						
1878-79 (Moscow Province)	13,5*	6,5*	10,8	14	11,5*	0,34*	1,2*
1884-85 ( <i>Bronnitskii, Kolomenskii, Serpukhovskii uezd</i> in Moscow Province)	10,2*	7,5*			7,5*		2,7*
1884 ( <i>Bun'kovskaia volost'</i> )		8,5*	10,9*	11*			
<b>1908-09 (Moscow Province)</b>	18,9*						

\*My calculations.

Sources: *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii. Vol. 5. Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii po Moskovskoi gubernii. Zemskaja uprava. Otdel khoziaistvennoi statistiki, Vol. 7, Issue 3. Promysly Moskovskoi gubernii*, Moscow, 1883, pp. 70-73, Dement'ev, E. M.: *Fabrika, chto ona daet naseleniiu i chto ona u nego beret*, Moscow: "T-va I. D. Sytina", 1897, pp. 121, 134-135, *Sanitarnoe issledovanie fabrichnykh zavedenii Bogorodskogo uезда in Sbornik statisticheskikh svedenii po Moskovskoi gubernii. Otdel sanitarnoi statistiki. Vol. 3, Issue 11*, Moscow, 1885, Koz'minykh-Lanin, I. M.: *Gramotnost' i zarabotki fabrichno-zavodskikh rabochikh Moskovskoi gubernii. Vol. 5. Materialy po statistike Moskovskoi gubernii*, Moskva: Moskovskoe gubernskoe zemstvo, 1912, p. 12, Baster, N.: "Some early family budget studies of Russian workers" in *American Slavic and East European Review*, vol. 17:4, p. 478, Kirianov, Iu. I.: *Zhiznennyi uroven' rabochikh v Rossii (konets XIX-nachalo XX v.)*, Moscow: "Nauka", 1979, pp. 119-121. *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883

For the last thirty years of the nineteenth century, the data on wages in the textile industry are much more comprehensive. During the post-emancipation period, the *zemstvo* statisticians as well as government officials conducted a number of investigations of the living standards

<sup>318</sup> Strumilin, S. G.: "Oplata truda v Rossii" in *Planovoe Khoziaistvo*, No. 7 (1930), p. 141 and *Istoriia chernoi metallurgii v SSSR*, p. 289, cited in Baster, N.: 1958, p. 478.

among the industrial workers that makes it possible to compare the income levels of the domestic textile producers in different branches as well as how they related to the incomes in centralised textile factories. These data shows that the income levels of the textile workers in Moscow Province were only increasing slightly from the 1840s to the end of the 1870s, making up 13,5 roubles per month in 1878-79. Further, in the mid-1880s, the average monthly wages of the textile producers were somewhat reduced compared to the income level only a few years ago. This might be attributed to the 1882-1886 industrial crises, which was one of several major recessions during the years 1870 to 1905, and which according to Jeffrey Burds hit the Moscow region particularly severely. The work force in large factories, towns, and industrial settlements was reduced by at least half during these periods, the level of out-work to the domestic industry was drastically curtailed, and wages were reduced for those who were able to find work.<sup>319</sup> Altogether, though, the income level of the textile workers in Moscow Province seems to have been relatively stable throughout the nineteenth century, increasing substantially only in the beginning of the twentieth century, and especially after 1905.

Unfortunately, specific data on the income levels of the *proto-industrial* textile producers in Moscow Province are only available for the post-emancipation period. However, even though we lack longitudinal data, the information that exists is quite detailed what concerns the earnings of different categories of proto-industrial workers and entrepreneurs. These data shows that there were extremely large differences in the income levels in the various branches of proto-industrial textile production, both among the textile workers and the peasant entrepreneurs. While the domestic workers as well as the small-scale entrepreneurs in the cotton industry could expect only very modest incomes, the domestic silk weavers and the entrepreneurs in the silk industry received returns that matched and even were higher than the incomes of highly qualified workers in the centralised textile mills, were wages generally were higher than in domestic textile weaving.

The individuals who were performing preparatory or supportive tasks in the textile production process were extremely poorly paid. A bobbin winder for instance, earned as little as eight kopeks per week by the end of the nineteenth century.<sup>320</sup> Likewise, spool-boys and spool-girls were paid from 8 to 12 kopeks a week per loom he or she was operating.<sup>321</sup> With such incomes, these individuals must have been highly dependent on agricultural earnings

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<sup>319</sup> Burds, J.: 1998, p. 120.

<sup>320</sup> Pallot, J.: 1991, p. 175.

<sup>321</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 68-69.

and/or other household members who were performing more profitable work. Compared to these meagre incomes, the earnings of domestic weavers were higher but with extremely large variations depending on the competence and specialisation required in the production of various fabrics.

In the cotton industry a domestic weaver was able to earn 6-7 roubles a month, which made up approximately 50 to 60 roubles per year if the industrial season lasted for nine months.<sup>322</sup> The returns made by owners of small-scale cotton enterprises and master entrepreneurs in the cotton industry were also quite modest. In fact, in some cases the cotton enterprises gave no returns at all or only a small income of approximately 40 roubles per year after all the bills had been paid. The only reason they could operate at all was that several of the entrepreneurs' own household members were weaving alongside the hired workers.<sup>323</sup> In domestic wool weaving the incomes were somewhat higher. The incomes of wool weavers were ranging from approximately 7 roubles per month for wool blends to a little less than 11 roubles per month for pure wool fabrics. Accordingly, a domestic wool weaver could earn from 60 to 100 roubles per year. The peasant entrepreneurs in the wool-weaving industry were notably better off than the entrepreneurs in the cotton industry. A wool-weaving workshop with 10 looms gave the master entrepreneur a return of approximately 90 to 100 roubles per year.<sup>324</sup> Even so, the returns in proto-industrial wool weaving were quite moderate compared to the money that could be made in the silk-weaving industry. A weaver of light silk fabrics and silk blends could earn between 14 and 17,5 roubles per month and the weavers of satin and heavier silk fabrics such as moiré and brocade had incomes that varied from 16 to as much as 22,5 roubles per month.<sup>325</sup> If the industrial season for the silk weaver lasted for nine months, his or her income ranged from approximately 125 roubles to over 200 roubles per year. The small-scale entrepreneur in the silk-weaving industry was the most successful actor in the proto-industrial textile production in nineteenth-century Moscow Province. While the peasant entrepreneurs in the cotton and wool weaving industries hardly could expect to yield higher incomes than their hired workers, the entrepreneurs in the silk-weaving industry were able to earn as much as 30 roubles per month or approximately 270 roubles a year given that the workshop was operating for nine months.<sup>326</sup>

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<sup>322</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 69-71. My calculations.

<sup>323</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 75-78.

<sup>324</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 78-79.

<sup>325</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 72-73.

<sup>326</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 79.



There were several reasons for this differentiation in income levels. Firstly, the degree of mechanisation in the different branches played a considerable role. Already from the 1830s on, the domestic cotton industry faced considerable competition from factory-made cotton fabrics, and this had a great negative impact on the income levels of the proto-industrial cotton workers as well as the small-scale entrepreneurs. In a recent study, Klaus Gestwa describes how the wages of the domestic cotton producers in Ivanovo, Vladimir Province decreased considerably during the nineteenth century. Until about 1830, cotton weaving and printing had been a quite profitable occupation, both for the proto-industrial entrepreneurs and the common workers, but after the introduction of the first machines in the textile industry their only competitive advantage was to lower their wages.<sup>327</sup> Likewise, in the 1820s and early 1830s the domestic calico weavers of *Suzdal* district could earn as much as 2 to 2,5 roubles per day. By 1840, however, calico prices had fallen drastically, and weavers earned less than a rouble per day.<sup>328</sup> As shown above, the incomes of the cotton weavers had deteriorated still further towards the end of the 1870s. Still, it was only at this point, in the early 1880s, that the mechanised cotton-weaving factories out-conquered the domestic weavers.<sup>329</sup> Accordingly, proto-industrial production of cotton fabrics continued to exist for an exceptionally long time in Russia and one of the main reasons for the long duration of Russian proto-industrial cotton production was that the domestic weavers received extremely low wages. In contrast to the situation in the cotton industry, throughout the nineteenth century, the proto-industrial silk weavers did not face much competition from factory industry. In the beginning of the 1880s, there existed only one mechanised silk-weaving factory in Moscow Province,<sup>330</sup> and silk fabrics continued to be woven by hand at least until the turn of the twentieth century. Apart from the obvious fact that silk fabrics certainly must be considered to be more luxurious than cotton fabrics and therefore were sold for a higher price, the relatively high income levels of the domestic silk weavers in Moscow Province can in part be attributed to the lack of competition from mechanised factory industry.

Secondly, the differentiation in income levels also depended on the competence and level of specialisation of the individual worker. The easiest and most monotonous tasks in the textile industry were also extremely poorly paid, while the tasks that required a high degree of technical skills as well as artistic imagination also yielded the highest returns. Accordingly,

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<sup>327</sup> Gestwa, K.: 1999, pp. 185-187.

<sup>328</sup> Melton, E.: 1987, p. 91.

<sup>329</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 8-9.

<sup>330</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 8-9.

individual silk weavers could become relatively prosperous, while this seems to have been impossible for the cotton weavers and certainly for the bobbin winders.

Apart from the level of mechanisation and the competence of the individual worker, the income levels depended on such factors as gender and age. First, the extremely poorly paid bobbin winders were usually females. In 1869, almost 90 percent of the over 900 bobbin winders in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were women.<sup>331</sup> Moreover, female weavers were generally paid less than male weavers. Barbara A. Engel reports that in the 1870s and 1880s, female domestic cotton weavers in Kostroma Province were earning only 4 roubles per month, which was substantially lower than the incomes made by females working in rural textile mills.<sup>332</sup> The data on proto-industrial textile production in Moscow Province does not always differ between the incomes of males and females but because the domestic weavers in *Bogorodskii uezd* generally were employed on piece-rates, the incomes derived from proto-industrial work must have largely depended on the hours spent by the loom. As the workday of the female weaver generally was shorter than the workday of the male weaver, the incomes a woman could obtain from weaving was probably somewhat lower than was the case for her male counterpart.

Nevertheless, employment on piece-rates seems to have been quite profitable for the female textile workers compared to fixed daily, weekly or monthly payments. In Moscow Province in the mid-1880s, female factory workers, who were receiving fixed wages, were only earning a little over 7 roubles a month on average, while females, who were employed on piece-rates, were able to earn over 11 roubles per month. The average monthly income of male factory workers was approximately 13 roubles in both cases.<sup>333</sup> Spinners and weavers in the wool industry, cotton printers, dyers, as well as weavers and warpers in unmechanised cotton factories were all receiving fixed monthly wages. It was only in domestic textile weaving and in mechanised cotton-spinning and –weaving mills, where piece-rates were common, that the gap between female and male earnings was considerably small.<sup>334</sup>

The many children and adolescents in the nineteenth-century Russian textile industry were generally paid even less than the adult female textile workers. In the mid-1880s, children aged 14 or younger and adolescents aged 15 to 17 years could expect a monthly wage ranging

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<sup>331</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

<sup>332</sup> Engel, B. A.: 1994, p. 108.

<sup>333</sup> Dement'ev, E. M.: 1897, p. 131.

<sup>334</sup> Dement'ev, E. M.: 1897, pp. 134-135.

from only 2,5 roubles in unmechanised cotton weaving to 8,2 roubles among cotton dyers and bleachers. The children were generally receiving less than the adolescents and also among the young textile workers there were some differences between the sexes. Males in the age group 15 to 17 years earned approximately 7 roubles per month, while female textile workers in this age group earned a little over 6 roubles. Boys aged 14 years or younger earned an average of 5,5 roubles per month, while the girls in the age group were earning only five roubles per month.<sup>335</sup>

Thus, the income level among the textile workers in Moscow Province varied considerable according to the degree of mechanisation in the different branches of industry and according to age and gender. On the general level, however, the income level depended on the competence and special qualifications that were required in the different branches of industry or in the performance of one particular task. The silk weaver's incomes were high not only because of the lack of competition from factory industry, but also because their work required a particularly high degree of specialisation and competence.

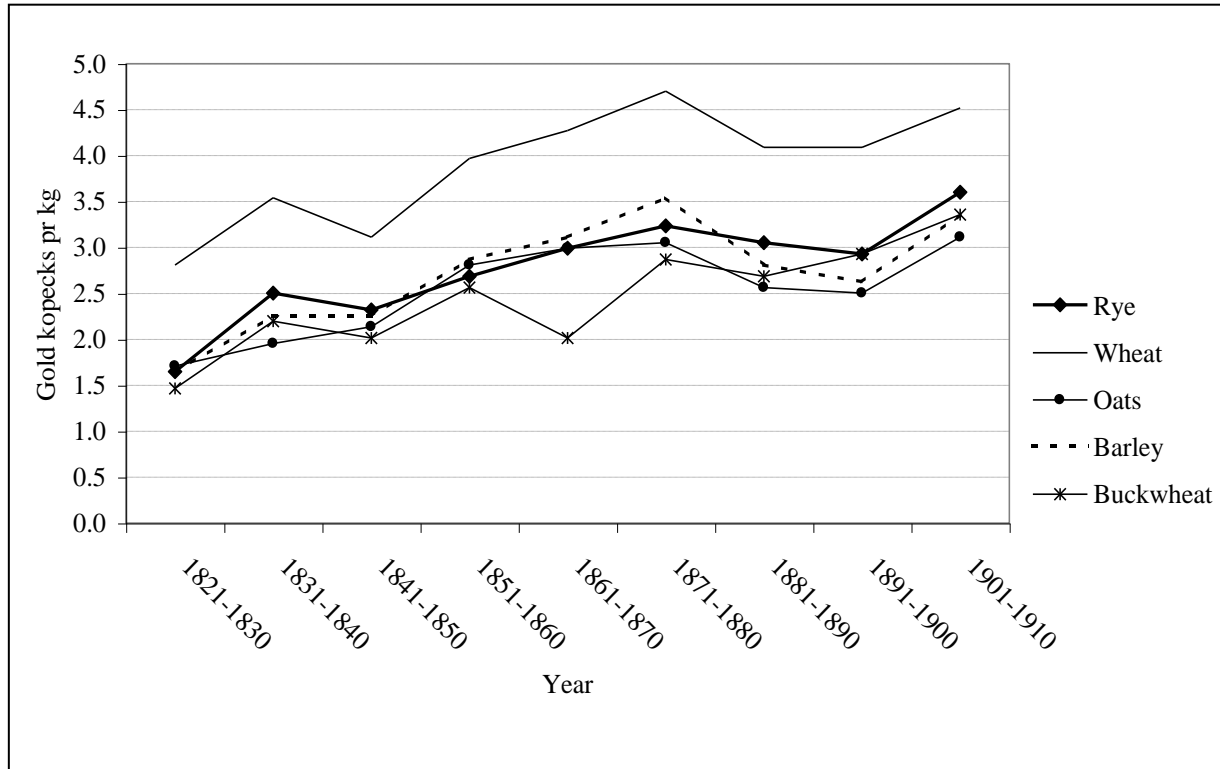
For the income figures above to make sense, it is necessary to consider not only the nominal wages but also the real value of these incomes on the market and how they contributed to the common household budget. Although the majority of the peasants in nineteenth-century *Bogorodskii uezd* combined proto-industrial textile production with agriculture, they were hardly able to produce enough grain for their own consumption. This means that the peasants in these districts to a considerable extent had to buy grains for consumption. As late as at the end of the nineteenth century, grains and vegetables made up approximately 90 to 95 percent of the Russian peasants' as well as textile workers' diets.<sup>336</sup> Accordingly, fluctuations in grain prices must have been vital for the proto-industrial textile producers' standard of living. Figure 3.3.5 shows the development of prices on grains in European Russia from the beginning of the proto-industrial boom in the 1820s until 1910, when domestic textile production largely had been replaced by mechanised factory industry.

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<sup>335</sup> Dement'ev, E. M.: 1897, pp. 134-135.

<sup>336</sup> Kirianov, I. I.: 1979, pp. 172, 180-181, 190, Smith, R. E. F. and Christian, D.: 1984, pp. 251-254.

**Figure 3.3.5:** Grain prices in European Russia, 1821-1910 (gold kopecks pr. kg)



Source: Mironov, B. N., trans. Leonard, C. S.: "In search of hidden information: Some issues in the socio-economic history of Russia in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries" in *Social Science History*, vol. 9:4, 1985, p. 345.

During the entire nineteenth century, rye was the most important grain in the Russian peasants' diet.<sup>337</sup> The figure shows that in the 1820s the population in European Russia had to pay 1,6 gold kopecks for one kg of rye, while already in the 1830s the price had increased by over 50 percent, to 2,5 kopecks per kg. After 1830, the rye price continually increased and in the 1870s, it was almost double the price in the 1820s. Further, during the last twenty years of the nineteenth century there was a slight decrease in the rye price before it again rose sharply after 1900. The prices of the other important grains, wheat, oats, barley and buckwheat, showed the same tendency of rising prices, wheat being somewhat more expensive than the other types of grain.

The rise in grain prices affected the domestic cotton producers especially severely, and by the second half of the nineteenth century, their real wages had been considerably reduced. According to Gestwa, the monthly wages of a cotton printer could pay for as much as 27 *puds*<sup>338</sup> of rye flour in 1830, while thirty years later the amount was reduced by one third.<sup>339</sup>

<sup>337</sup> Smith, R. E. F. and Christian, D.: 1984, p. 254.

<sup>338</sup> *Pud*; Russian measure equivalent to 16,38 kg.

<sup>339</sup> Gestwa, K.: 1999, pp. 185-187.

Thus, the reduction of the domestic cotton workers' real wages was partly a result of the nominal wage reduction they experienced from the 1830s on, but also a result of the increase in grain prices. Late nineteenth-century observers claimed that the money earned in the cotton industry was highly inadequate to alone sustain the proto-industrial workers<sup>340</sup> and this seems indeed to have been the case. In perspective, the domestic cotton weavers' average monthly income, which made up approximately six roubles, corresponded to some of the more highly paid factory workers' monthly expenditures on food only.<sup>341</sup> During most of the nineteenth century, the cotton industry employed the majority of the proto-industrial textile workers in the Central Industrial Region. Accordingly, for the majority of the peasants in Moscow Province as in the Central Industrial Region generally, it was impossible to survive by working in domestic industry alone, even if all the household members were working by the loom. This must have been a main motivation for them to continue to combine proto-industrial work with agricultural production. In the period when the domestic cotton producers in Ivanovo were able to make relatively large incomes, they tended to give up agriculture. However, as proto-industry faced considerable competition from centralised factory industry and the incomes deteriorated the population resumed their agricultural activities, and in the post-emancipation period, they even used their proto-industrial earnings to invest into the expansion of their arable land.<sup>342</sup>

Even though the domestic silk weavers were affected by the same increase in grain prices as the workers in the other proto-industrial branches, their real wages were substantially higher than was the case for the proto-industrial workers in the cotton and wool industry, and the most specialised silk weavers were quite prosperous. Due to the concentration of silk weaving in *Bogorodskii uezd*, a comparatively large share of the domestic textile producers in this district must have been better off than was the case for the majority of the proto-industrial producers in the nineteenth-century Central Industrial Region. Thus, their household economies may have been less dependent on the maintenance of agricultural work. In other words, in periods with great income possibilities in the textile industry or in branches with a relatively high income level, the proto-industrial household economy would probably depend more on industrial work and less on agricultural work. Even so, the households showed great flexibility in these matters. During unfavourable periods in the textile industry, agricultural pursuits retained its importance in the household economy.

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<sup>340</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 70.

<sup>341</sup> Dement'ev, E. M.: 1897, pp 125-126.

<sup>342</sup> Gestwa, K.: 1999, pp. 261, 267.

This means that even for the majority of the households that were employed in the better paid branches of textile industry, it must have been extremely important to retain the attachment to agriculture.

Thus, it looks like the household economy of the proto-industrial textile producers in *Bogorodskii uezd* depended on their ability to successfully alternate between the agricultural and industrial sphere. According to the few historical studies of the Russian proto-industry, the prosperity of the households that were involved in domestic industries depended primarily on their composition and size. Following this view, the small households without adult male workers were in an especially difficult economic situation. Such households were according to the prevailing repartition rules among the peasants in Moscow Province usually not entitled to a share of the allotment land.<sup>343</sup> Moreover, these households were only able to attain the least remunerative jobs in industry.<sup>344</sup> Although this last claim remains to be confirmed by empirical research, the combined misfortune of poorly paid work and a meagre or non-existing landholding certainly could have led such households into economic ruin. Opposite, the large households were regarded to have a considerable advantage in the proto-industrial economy compared to the smaller households. The greater the number of family members a household had, the more flexible its strategies for labour deployment could be.<sup>345</sup> The large households were thus in a position that made it possible for them to combine agricultural and industrial work much easier than was the case for the smaller households. By that, the large proto-industrial households also seem to have been the most prosperous.<sup>346</sup>

Still, to my mind, the widespread seasonal fluctuation in work patterns may have contributed to the economic prosperity of the relatively small households, too, especially if they were employed in the better paid industries, such as proto-industrial silk weaving and factory industry. Indeed, involvement in proto-industry as well as factory industry could lead to stability in household economies that helped stave off the poor agricultural conditions of Moscow Province. By that, peasant domestic industries have to be seen as a successful adaptation to the changing conditions of the nineteenth century both for the large and the relatively small households.

The participation in the work force of the different household members might have been different in the small and large households, though. The small households were probably

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<sup>343</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.3, pp. 65-66.

<sup>344</sup> Pallot, J.: 1991, p. 183.

<sup>345</sup> Rudolph, R. L.: 1985, p. 66.

<sup>346</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 235.

more dependent on female labour and child labour to secure their household economies than was the case in the larger households. Child labour and female labour was certainly very widespread in domestic textile production as well as in factory industry. Pallot claims that with the extensive use of child labour that can be observed in the nineteenth-century Russian textile industry, there must have been a premium on childbirth as there should have been good reasons for households to strive to increase family size.<sup>347</sup> However, without specific research on the fertility pattern in proto-industrial regions this seems to be a rather hastened conclusion. A large number of children may as well have been a disadvantage for the women who worked in the textile industry, both in the districts where females as well as males worked long hours in the proto-industrial workshop and for the women who found work in textile mills.

Accordingly, the dual household economy might have had a variety of effects on the household system and the demographic pattern among the proto-industrial workers. In theory, it must have been a clear economic advantage for the proto-industrial workers to increase their household size. Even so, the household's incentive to expand might have varied according to the income potential in the different branches of textile production as well as the relative employment possibilities of the different household members. Moreover, not only economic concerns but also the relationship between the household members was decisive for the development of the household system.

We saw in the previous chapter that the Russian peasant household and local community was marked by patriarchal structures which implied that men held social control over women and the elderly held control over the young. The age- and gender-specific allocation of work to different economic spheres and occupations observed in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that textile production was closely associated with the individuals who were at the lower end of the household hierarchy. This indicates that employment in the textile industry had a relatively low status in the local community. Moreover, the gradual withdrawal of especially male senior household members from textile production points in the same direction. The marked reduction of male textile workers after circa fifty years corresponds closely to the average age when most men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* could expect to attain headship in a multiple family household.<sup>348</sup> For some reason, headship in a multiple family

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<sup>347</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 237.

<sup>348</sup> See Chapter 6, section 6.3 for a discussion of headship attainment, pp. 263-271.

household and work in the textile industry seems to have been incompatible for a large share of the men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

However, the status of the young textile workers might have been higher than was the case for junior household members in agricultural areas. One *zemstvo* statistician describes the relationship between the adult and adolescent silk weavers in *Bogorodskii uezd* in the following way:

...we met eleven-year-old weavers...who were weaving velvet, which is most difficult for an inexperienced worker. When assigning such work to this [young] weaver, the father, as well as the master entrepreneur, believes in his skills. It is quite comical to see the importance, with which these Lilliputian weavers are discussing not only all the technical details of weaving but generally every question that is interesting the workshop at the moment, and the adult weavers acknowledge their competence in the solution of these issues.<sup>349</sup>

Apparently, the status of these young weavers was quite high, and closely associated with their labouring skills and capacity. In the previous chapter we saw that an individual's status in the local community and within the household depended not only on his or her place in the patriarchal hierarchy but also on his or her labour abilities.<sup>350</sup> The high status of the young silk weavers in *Bogorodskii uezd* was thus in accordance with the general way of thinking concerning status and authority in Russian peasant society. Moreover, the fact that it was mainly the young household members' work that provided the household economy with cash, may have caused an increase in their status in the household as well as in the local community that did not occur in purely agricultural districts. When studying the household system among the proto-industrial workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* it becomes important to consider how the young textile workers used this increased status.

## CONCLUSION

In *Bogorodskii uezd* proto-industrial textile production developed from the second half of the eighteenth century, when a number of small-scale silk-weaving workshops were established throughout the countryside in the district. In the 1820s, Russian protective tariff policies facilitated a boom in proto-industrial textile production in Moscow Province. Silk weaving in *Bogorodskii uezd* expanded and was joined by an increasing number of cotton and wool

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<sup>349</sup> *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, p. 63. My translation.

<sup>350</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.4, p. 82.



manufactories that distributed work on piece-rates to the local peasant population by way of a putting-out system. Proto-industrial production of textiles continued to be the prevailing arrangement in cotton production until the 1880s and even longer in the silk-weaving industry, and as industry expanded the organisational structure became dominated by a chain of intermediaries between the domestic textile producers and the market. By the post-emancipation period, the absolute majority of the working population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was employed in the textile industry, mainly as weavers in the silk industry and to some extent in the wool weaving and cotton weaving industry. Moreover, some of the textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had migrated to find work in centralised textile mills that were located nearby.

The establishment and development of the proto-industrial textile region in *Bogorodskii uezd* during the nineteenth century was connected to a complex of circumstances, of which political, institutional, agrarian, topographical, and individual factors all seem relevant. The political factors in the formation of the *Bogorodsk* textile region were connected to the economic policy of the tsarist government towards the end of the eighteenth century, which was aimed at the stimulation of small-scale enterprises working with hired labour and preferably outside of the large cities, such as Moscow and St. Petersburg. By that, the state's role in the formation of the *Bogorodsk* textile region was considerable, but other institutions made an even more obvious contribution. The prevalence of various forms of serfdom in different regions within Central Russia meant that some serfs were free to seek employment outside agriculture and others were compelled to work in industry rather than in agriculture. Accordingly, monastery and state peasants as well as privately owned peasants on *obrok* were more likely to be working in the textile industry than privately owned serfs with labour duties. Even though this must have been an important precondition, it does not seem to be a decisive reason for the location of textile industry to *Bogorodskii uezd*. In the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, a majority of the serfs in the Central Industrial Region were transferred to *obrok* but the development of proto-industrial textile production happened only in a few districts.

Rather, what seem to have been decisive were the poor agricultural conditions in *Bogorodskii uezd*, which required the growing population in the district to seek employment and additional incomes outside the agrarian sector. Moreover, maybe the most important factor was the district's location in the midst of an already long existing commercial and industrial network that was greatly facilitated by a comparatively well-developed infrastructure. This also meant that the proto-industrial producers in *Bogorodskii uezd* had

relatively easy access to the main commercial centres of nineteenth-century Russia. Finally, the development of the *Bogorodsk* textile region was depending on the active participation of individual peasants who had learnt the craft of textile production by employment as hired workers in Moscow silk manufactories. It was largely these peasants who towards the end of the eighteenth century started to use the skills they had acquired in Moscow to establish their own small-scale silk-weaving enterprises in *Bogorodskii uezd*. Apparently, the local population's familiarity with textile production techniques implied that future textile entrepreneurs regarded this district to be a suitable location for their businesses. In other words, the development of the *Bogorodsk* textile region depended greatly on structural circumstances but also on quite arbitrary and individual factors.

The textile industry being well established, it seems to have altered the functioning of local community institutions. In the silk-weaving villages of *Bogorodskii uezd*, the village commune and the repartitional system accommodated with the economic diversity that the textile industry brought about. During the second half of the nineteenth century, quite a few of the peasants in these districts abandoned agricultural work altogether. In *Bogorodskii uezd*, many village communes adapted their redistribution system to compensate for the negative influences on agricultural production that inevitably must have been the result when the majority of the population spent most of their time in the textile workshop.

However, the majority of the peasant households in *Bogorodskii uezd* continued to work their land. Even though the influence of the textile industry was considerable, only a relatively small share of the population abandoned agricultural work altogether. Rather, the proto-industrial workers seem to have developed a dual household economy, in which both agriculture and textile work were crucial components. Given the poor agricultural conditions in *Bogorodskii uezd*, the textile industry certainly must have constituted the main income source for the households in the district. The importance of the textile industry in the household economy of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* is shown in that the absolute majority of the able-bodied men, women and adolescents, and a considerable share of the children, were spending extremely long hours by the loom for an extensive period of the year. Compared to this, agricultural work was dominating only during a few short summer months, when the proto-industrial workers as well as workers employed in textile mills left the workshops and factories to attend to field work. For the rest of the year, it was mainly the elderly population that looked after the agricultural tasks in the household. Accordingly, the proto-industrial households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* used two main strategies to maintain the

dual economy, namely seasonal fluctuation in work patterns and the allocation of the work of different household members to the either agriculture or industry.

The allocation of work within the household to either agriculture or textile production depended largely on age, generation and to some extent on gender. Accordingly, domestic textile production was the main occupation of young individuals who had junior positions in the household. The elderly, on the contrary, were clearly more inclined to be working in agriculture, and this was especially true for men with senior positions in the household. Even though many of the elderly women also withdrew from industrial production, they were generally participating in the industrial work force much longer than the men, performing the most unrewarding tasks in the textile industry. This means that in many ways, agricultural work appears to have been only subsidiary in the household economy of the proto-industrial workers of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Even so, it seems to have been extremely important for most of the households to maintain the bond to the land. Supposedly, the maintenance of agriculture was important for the security of the household economy, because industrial incomes might be extremely varied.

The relative contribution of textile industry to the household economy of the proto-industrial workers must have varied, too, both what concerned the general income level in different branches and according to shifting business cycles. This means on the one hand that a dual household economy might have been especially important for the relatively poorly paid cotton workers and certainly for the individuals performing preparatory tasks in the textile production process. On the other hand, all proto-industrial workers were influenced by industrial crises; a fact which implies that a dual household economy must have been important for the relatively prosperous silk weavers, too.

Thus, the proto-industrial household economy depended on the ability to successfully alternate between the agricultural and industrial sphere. In this respect the large and complex household might have had an advantage compared to the smaller households, in that the allocation of work could be conducted in a more flexible way. Even so, the protection and safety net a large household could offer would probably be quite important for the domestic producers who were poorly paid and maybe less important for the workers who were employed in the better paid branches of the textile industry. Moreover, the seasonal fluctuation in work patterns provided the relatively small households with a rather great flexibility, too. By that, household system of the proto-industrial textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* may have developed in several directions under the influence of proto-industry.

We saw in the previous chapter that some districts of the Central Industrial Region were heavily influenced by the out-migration of young men, and that this had serious consequences for the household composition and the relationship between household members in these regions. However, in areas such as *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, where people relatively rarely needed to migrate to find industrial work, the village community and the household hierarchy remained quite intact compared to regions influenced by heavy out-migration. This could also mean that the consequences for the household composition were less severe in the proto-industrial districts compared to the migration districts. Even so, the fact that the proto-industrial household economy was extremely dependent on young household members' work, skills and competence, seems to have implied an increased status for these junior household members that was not accomplished in purely agricultural villages, which in turn might have altered the family pattern. In the following chapters, we will explore the interrelation between proto-industry and the family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

## CHAPTER 4

# THE DEMOGRAPHIC PATTERN IN *BUN'KOVSKAIA VOLOST'*, 1834-1869

The demographic environment was an important factor in the formation of the specific family patterns in pre-industrial societies throughout Europe. As pointed out by Steven Hoch, the demographic history of imperial Russia remains remarkably unknown.<sup>351</sup> Still, we know enough about the demographic regime of nineteenth-century Russia to affirm that it was a typical high-pressure regime, characterised by high mortality and fertility rates, along with early and universal marriage.<sup>352</sup>

There were two focal points in this system, namely mortality and marriage. It is an established fact of Russian demographic history that the mortality level among Russian peasants remained extremely high throughout the nineteenth century. Moreover, while most of Europe experienced a decline in the mortality rates during this period, this does not seem to have been the case in Russia until the very end of the nineteenth century.<sup>353</sup> This picture of the development of the mortality pattern in nineteenth-century Russia is largely based on observations of general trends in the post-emancipation period when Russian population statistics became more available. However, micro-level research seems to be required to study the relationship between demographic patterns and family development. Most studies of Russian mortality patterns on the micro-level concentrate on populations in the Central Agricultural Region of southern Russia, which demographic development differed considerably from the development in the Central Industrial Region during the nineteenth century. The population growth in the Central Agricultural Region was considerably larger than in the Central Industrial Region during the nineteenth century, partly as a result of lower mortality levels.<sup>354</sup> In the following we will examine to what extent the demographic pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was marked by the high mortality level that can be observed for the Central Industrial Region generally.

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<sup>351</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1998, p. 357-358.

<sup>352</sup> See for instance: Czap, P.: 1978, Frieden, N. M.: 1978, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, Mironov, B. N.: 1977.

<sup>353</sup> Vallin, J.: 1991, p. 66.

<sup>354</sup> See for instance Gestwa, K.: 1999, pp. 414-420.

Further, according to the established demo-economic model of rural Russia, early and universal marriage provided access to economic resources within the repartitional commune, and implied that the fertile period Russian peasant women spent within marriage was much longer than was the case in parts of the world where marriage took place later in life. In turn, this contributed to the high overall fertility level of the Russian peasant population. However, as shown in chapter two, this model might be too simplistic, as it does not account for the regional diversity in the functioning of the rural institutions in nineteenth-century Russia. For instance, in Moscow Province, it was not mainly the number of married couples within a household that controlled its access to allotment land, but rather the number of workers. In this chapter we will explore whether this affected the marriage pattern and fertility level of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869, and how this might have been connected to the proto-industrial development in the area.

#### 4.1. AGE STRUCTURE

In communities with no or little migration the age distribution of a population is determined by its mortality and fertility patterns.<sup>355</sup> Accordingly, if the age structure is known it gives considerable information on the demographic pattern of a population.

**Table 4.1.1:** Age distribution of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869.

Age group	1834		1850		1869	
0-14	2321	38,8 %	2562	35,9 %	2964	33,5 %
15-59	3296	55,1 %	4216	59,2 %	5339	60,3 %
60+	366	6,1 %	349	4,9 %	553	6,2 %
Total	5983	100,0 %	7127	100,0 %	8856	100,0 %

Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

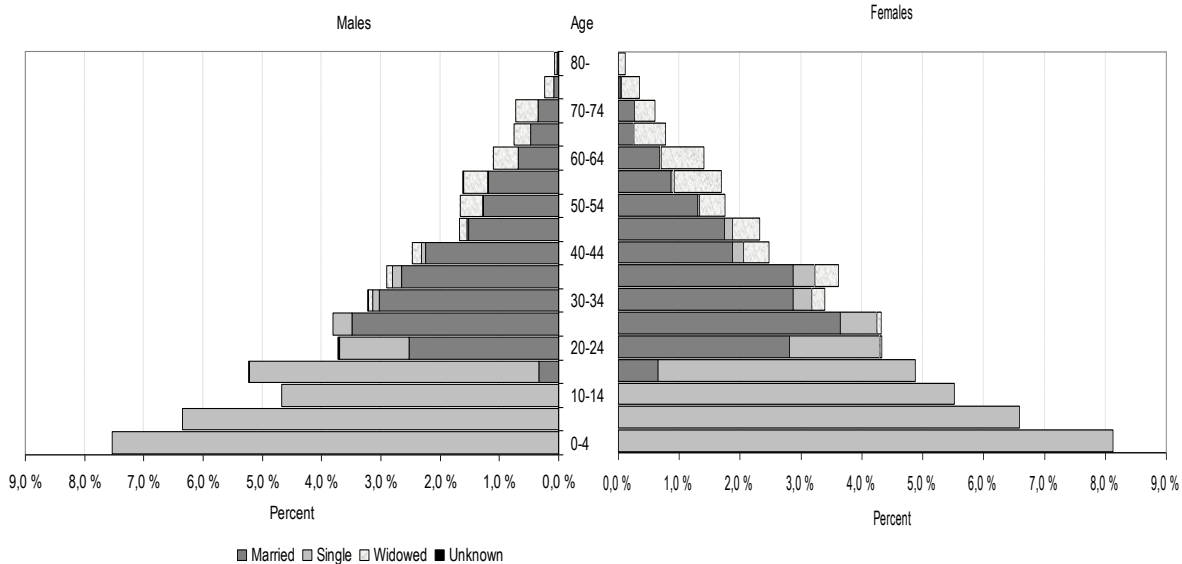
Table 4.1.1 shows the distribution of children, adults and elderly in the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869. The numbers show that this was a young population, in which at any time approximately 30 to 40 percent were children younger than 15 years. Simultaneously, only 5 to 6 percent of the population was 60 years or more. In other words, the demographic pattern of this population was marked by high fertility as well as mortality levels throughout the investigated period. However, during this period the proportion of children was reduced compared to the proportion of adults. The proportion of

<sup>355</sup> *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had relatively little migration during the period 1834 to 1869, even though it increased somewhat towards the end of the period.

children aged 0 to 14 years decreased by 5,3 percent in the period from 1834 to 1869. Simultaneously, the adult population between 15 and 59 years increased by 5,2 percent. These numbers indicate that from 1834 to 1869 the fertility of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might have been gradually reduced. The proportion of the population aged 60 or older was remarkably constant at about 6 percent. However, in 1850 only 4,9 percent of the population were 60 or older. This may be connected to a temporary increase in the mortality of the older generation. These signs of reduced fertility and temporary increased mortality will be explored further in a more detailed study of the age structure.

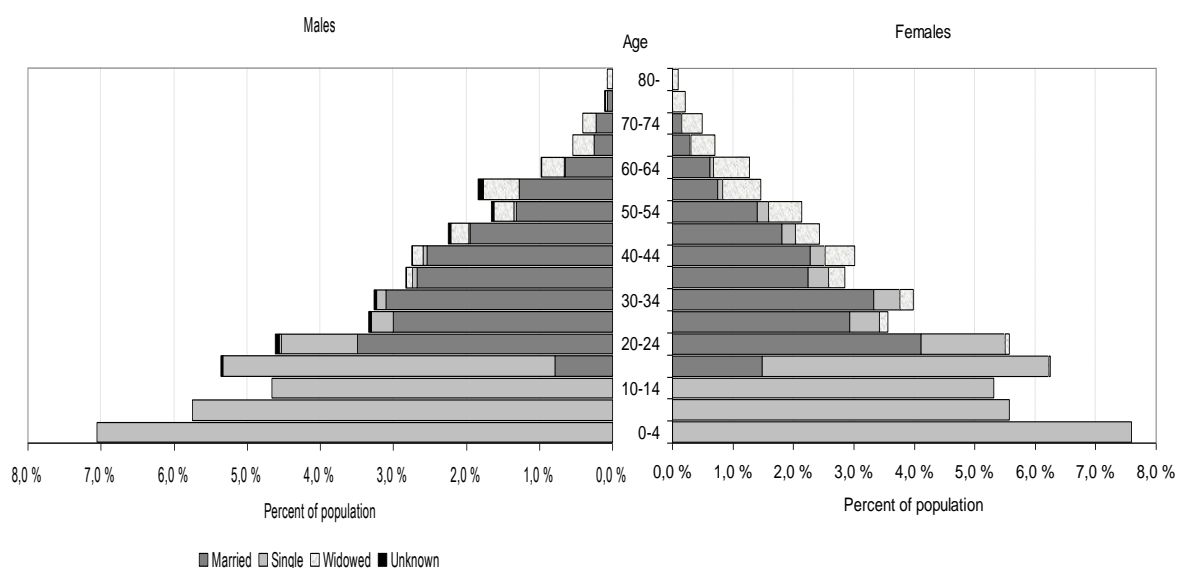
The figures 4.1.1 to 4.1.3 show age-pyramids in which the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* is distributed by five-year age groups, sex and marital status for the census years 1834, 1850 and 1869. The first noteworthy demographic development that can be traced in the age structure is a rise in the age at marriage and a larger proportion of the female population remaining unmarried throughout life. This fits well with the indications of reduced fertility seen earlier. The connection is probably as follows: As marriage was gradually postponed, at least for women, and a larger proportion remained unmarried their entire life, fertility was also gradually reduced.

**Figure 4.1.1:** Age distribution, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834.



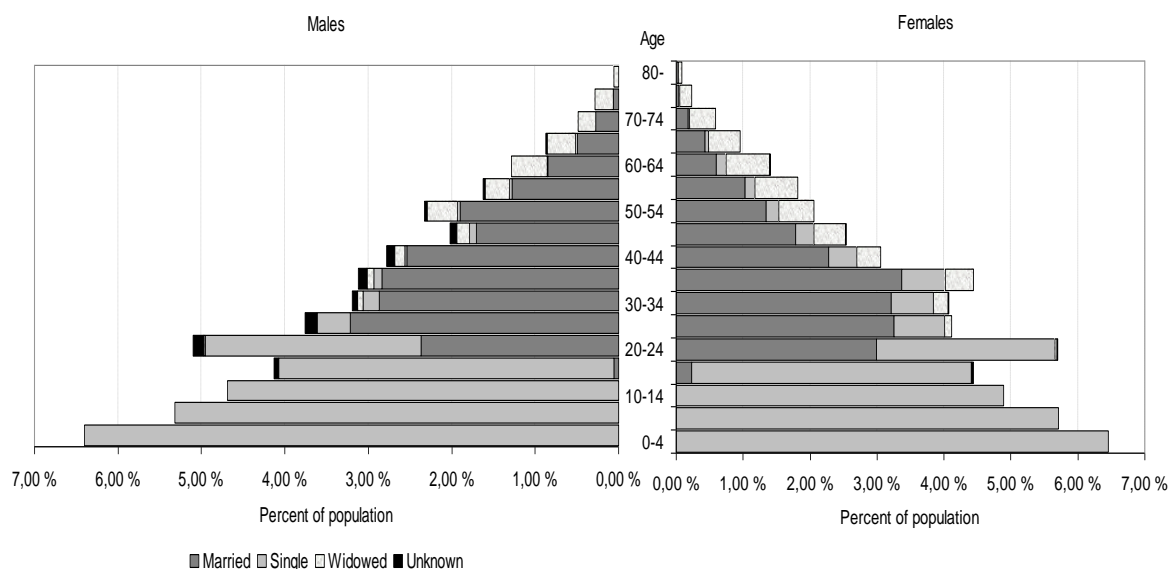
Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Figure 4.1.2:** Age distribution, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1850.



Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Figure 4.1.3:** Age distribution, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskaia volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

Another important feature of the age structure of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* is the alternation of exceptionally large and exceptionally small cohorts. Such “waves” were already in the nineteenth century noted by the Norwegian sociologist Eilert Sundt and is sometimes known as Sundt’s law. The pattern was formed in years of demographic crisis when the mortality was extraordinary high. The weakest individuals in a population would probably die during the crisis years. Therefore, the mortality would normally be lower than usual for some



period following the crisis. In addition, a demographic crisis was frequently followed by a rush of new marriages and births that would coincide with the reduction in the numbers of deaths. Taken together, this resulted in a few years in which the population could rise rapidly. The rise in the number of births meant that twenty years after the crisis there was a sudden jump in the number of young adults and this tended to set up a wave-like surge in numbers with a periodicity of about a generation. Each baby boom produced an “echo” after circa a quarter of a century as the babies in question themselves began to form families.

These “waves” are evident in all the census years. Still, the most obvious example of that the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* followed this pattern is demonstrated in figure 4.1.3. The age-pyramid for 1869 shows that the age group 20 to 24 years was exceptionally large, among the males as well as among the females. In other words, the individuals in this age group would have been born in the years 1845 to 1849. It is reasonable to believe that this was the product of a demographic crisis connected to the cholera epidemic that in 1848 severely affected Russia as well as other areas of Europe. A more detailed analysis shows that the number of 20-year-olds, i.e. individuals born in 1849, was 1,5 to 2 times higher than the number of those born in the years 1845 to 1848 and in 1850. These extra babies were probably the result of marriages among the young newlyweds during and immediately after the crisis in 1848. The age pyramid for 1850 certainly shows that a larger proportion of the very young men and women were married. For some time after the crisis, young men and women were probably married off earlier than usual. This might have happened because the existence and prosperity of a household depended on the number of conjugal units within it and also on the dependency-ratio in the household. For instance, a household head's death would probably accelerate his son's wedding, and the death of the head's wife would in many cases be followed by his remarriage. If a large proportion of the adult married population died, this would open the households for new conjugal units, leading for some time to a surge of new marriages. In a demographic regime where limitation of fertility within marriage hardly was an issue, an increase in the marriage rate would also lead to an increase in the fertility rate, which in turn led to a compensation of the population lost during the demographic crisis.

Accordingly, the age structure of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* for the period 1834 to 1869 reveal a demographic behaviour that by and large conforms to the pattern that is already well-known for nineteenth-century Russian peasants. The most apparent features of this pattern were high mortality and fertility levels, which led to an age structure with a relatively high proportion of young people and children. However, during the investigated

period the fertility level seem to have been somewhat reduced. This might be seen in connection with a simultaneous delay in the age at first marriage, especially among females, and an increase in the number of women who never married. While this pattern can be seen as a long-time trend, the age structure of the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* demonstrate even more clearly that the demographic pattern in the area went through frequent short-time fluctuations. The alternating extraordinary small and large cohorts witness of repeated years of demographic crisis. The largest such crisis in the investigated period was probably the cholera epidemic in 1848, which is reflected in the age structure of the population for the years 1850 and 1869. In 1850, a quite large proportion of the very young men and women were already married and the 1869 census show that the number of individuals born immediately after the crisis was extremely high compared to other years. This means that the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was compensating the period of demographic crisis by increasing their nuptiality and fertility levels. In other words, fluctuations in the mortality level turn out to be a key factor in the demographic regime of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869.

#### 4.2. MORTALITY

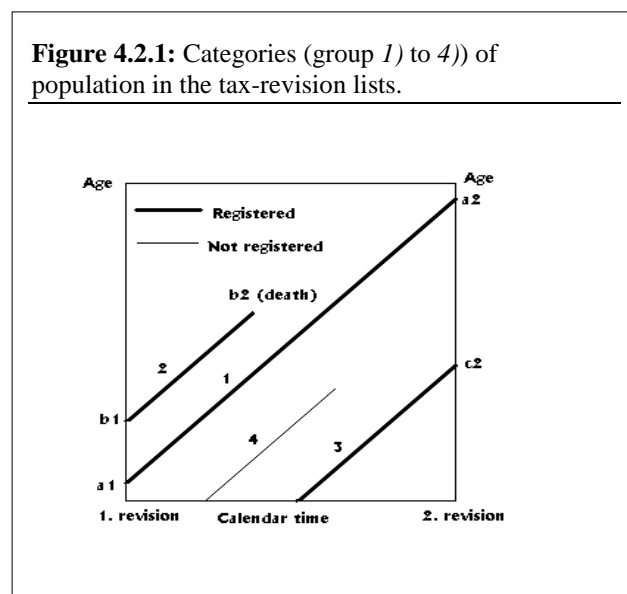
As demonstrated by the age structure of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, differences in the mortality level was one of the main factors regulating marital and fertility patterns as well as family patterns in historic populations. During the nineteenth century, the Russian mortality level was generally higher than in most countries in Western Europe, which had begun their demographic transition during the eighteenth and early nineteenth century. Findings on the aggregate level have revealed that the mortality level in the Central Industrial Region was higher than in the Central Agricultural Region, and micro-level studies seem to confirm this. Studies from the southern Tambov Province have shown a life expectancy at birth of approximately 27 years in the mid-nineteenth century, while a local study of the mortality pattern in Moscow Province has estimated the life expectancy to only 24 years.<sup>356</sup> How did the mortality pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* fit into this pattern?

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<sup>356</sup> The studies from Tambov Province are described in Hoch, S. L.: 1982, Hoch, S. L.: 1998, while the results from Moscow Province are found in Blum, A. and Troitskaia, I.: 1996.

#### 4.2.1. Estimation of mortality rates based on the revision lists

A valuable feature of the revision lists (*revizskie skazki*) is that they contain data on population changes by that the death or migration of male individuals registered in the previous revision is accounted for. This information makes it possible to estimate the mortality level for the male population between two revisions. However, the revisions do not capture individuals who were born and died between two revision years. This leads to an underregistration of deaths in the youngest age groups, which makes it impossible to calculate accurate mortality rates by traditional methods. Accordingly, to estimate the mortality level in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* on the basis of this material, it is necessary to reorganise the data.



For the estimation of mortality and thus in the reorganisation of the data, *age* is a key variable. According to this criterion, the individuals recorded in two succeeding revisions can be divided into four subgroups. Individual 1) was registered in both of the two succeeding revisions. He had the age  $a_1$  in one revision and the age  $a_2 = a_1 + t$  in the following revision, where  $t$  is the time interval between the two revisions. Individual 2) was registered with the age  $b_1$  in one revision, but died or migrated at the age  $b_2$ . The year of death or migration was registered in the following revision, which thus constitutes a basis for estimation of the mortality level. Individual 3) was born after one revision and registered with the age  $c_2$  in the following revision. Finally, the hypothetical individual 4) was born after one revision and died before the next revision, which means that he was not accounted for in any of the revisions. Accordingly, it is impossible to know the size of category 4) and as a consequence all individuals born between two revisions must be excluded from the analysis, also those

who survived to be registered in the following revision. Thus, the analysis of mortality patterns is based on the population that was registered in the first of two succeeding revisions, while the results of the following revision are needed to establish what happened to these individuals in the period between the revisions. In other words, only the groups of individuals in category 1) and category 2) are included in the analysis.<sup>357</sup> This means that the combined information on deaths in the revision lists from 1834 and 1850 makes it possible to estimate the mortality level of the male population aged 16 years or more, while the mortality among the male population younger than 16 years or among the females cannot be established.

#### 4.2.2. Annual fluctuations in mortality

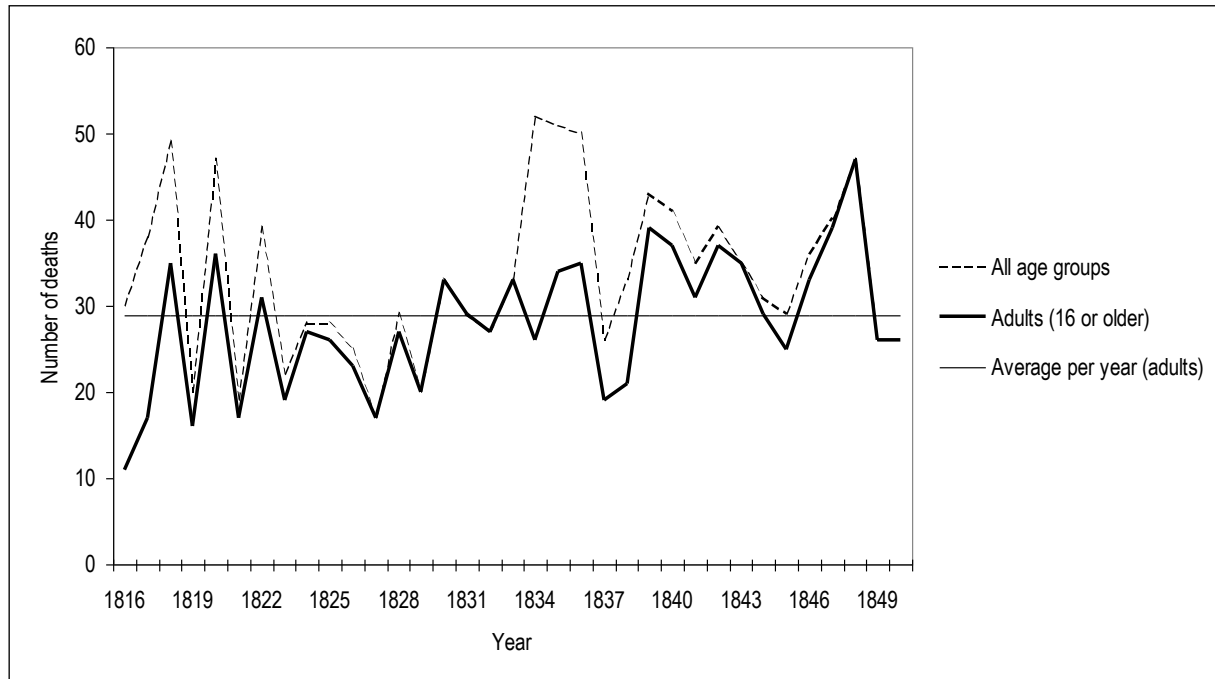
The revision lists for the villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* contain information on the death of 1173 male individuals in the period 1816 to 1850. A considerable part (190) of these deaths was among children and young people, while 983 deaths occurred in the adult male population. The adult population is here defined to be 16 years or older. The population younger than 16 years will not be included in the analysis because, as demonstrated in figure 4.2.2, the structure of the revision lists in combination with the high infant and child mortality led to a heaping of registered deaths in and immediately after the census years 1816 and 1834. In the period 1816 to 1850, an average of 28,9 deaths occurred in the adult population every year. Not surprisingly, there were several sharp peaks and troughs in the annual number of deaths. In 20 of the years between 1816 and 1850 the annual number of deaths was 28,9 or lower, while in 15 cases the number of deaths was higher than average. The lowest mortality seems to have been in the 1820s, when in eight of ten years the number of deaths was lower than the mean of 28,9 deaths per year. Further, figure 4.2.2 shows that during the period 1816 to 1850 there were five distinct peaks in the mortality of the adult population, when the mortality increased by more than 30 percent above average. These were the years 1818, 1820, 1835-36, the first half of the 1840s (1839-42), and the most severe of them all, the years 1847-48. In the years immediately after these peaks in the mortality, the number of deaths declined rapidly. Still, it is problematic to define the first three peaks in mortality as real demographic crises because the number of deaths in any of these cases was never higher than 25 percent above average. In 1839, however, the mortality exceeded the mean number of deaths among adults by 35 percent and in the following years (1840 and 1842) it was almost 30 percent above average. The most evident demographic crisis in the investigated period

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<sup>357</sup> The reorganisation of the data in the revision lists is adapted from Blum, A. and Troitskaia, I.: 1996, pp. 312-

happened in 1847-48 when in 1847 the death numbers surpassed the mean by 35 percent and increased to as much as 63 percent above average in 1848.

**Figure 4.2.2:** Annual fluctuations in mortality, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1816-1850



Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

What caused these demographic crises? Unfortunately, the revision lists does not contain information on the causes of death. However, historical demographic research has shown that it is possible to get a notion of the reasons behind a mortality crisis by studying the age pattern of those who died. The main causes of demographic crises in the past were epidemics and famine caused by years of bad harvest and increased grain prices. The age distribution of deaths commonly thought to accompany famine is one in which both children and adults are affected, with less impact on infants and the elderly. A cholera epidemic would be particularly fatal to adults, while any other kind of epidemic's affect on the age structure would depend on the particular disease at hand. An influenza epidemic, for instance, would be especially lethal to the elderly while an epidemic of measles would mostly affect small children.<sup>358</sup>

The analysis of the age structure of death in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1816 to 1850, is somewhat restricted by the revision lists' structure, in that they lack

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<sup>358</sup> Perrenoud, A.: 1984, pp. 42-43, Bourdelais, P.: 1991, p.128, Watkins, S. C. and Menken, J.: 1985, pp. 654-656, Walter, J. and Shofield, R.: 1989, p. 26.

information on the children born between the revisions. Thus, it is not possible to know to which extent the mortality crises in 1839 and 1848 affected the population younger than 16 years. Even so, the age distribution of deaths in the adult population is sufficient to make some suggestions on the causes of these two peaks in mortality. In 1848, the age distribution of deaths in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* is consistent with the typical age pattern of cholera mortality. The proportion of deaths among the adults aged 20 to 59 increased by almost 25 percent compared to the non-crisis years, while the proportion of deaths in the population aged 60 or more was reduced by 27 percent. The crisis in 1847-48 is clearly a result of the cholera pandemic that spread through Asia, Europe and the U.S. during the years 1846-49. More than 1 million Russians died as a result of the cholera in the years 1847-49 and as many as 700 000 of them died in 1848.<sup>359</sup> Obviously, the cholera caused a considerable number of deaths in the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, too.

**Table 4.2.1:** Proportion of deaths by age and percent change, adults aged 16 or older, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1816-1850

Age group	Non-crisis years		Crisis in 1839		Crisis in 1848	
	Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion	Number	Proportion
16-19	27	4,2 %	1	2,6 % (-38 %)	0	0,0 % (-100 %)
20-59	321	50,2 %	16	41,0 % (-18 %)	30	66,7 % (+25 %)
60+	292	45,6 %	22	56,4 % (+19 %)	15	33,3 % (-27 %)
Total	640	100,0 %	39	100,0 %	45	100,0 %

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

It is more difficult to establish the cause of the crisis in 1839. This peak in mortality is also found in other studies of demographic patterns in nineteenth-century Russia. In a study of the mortality pattern in a parish in Tambov Province, Steven Hoch found that 1839 was one of the most severe years of crisis mortality in the period 1830 to 1912.<sup>360</sup> He attributes it to an epidemic outbreak that mainly affected children. Opposite, Boris Mironov identifies 1839 as a year of bad harvest that caused increased grain prices in the following years. Yet, his analysis does not reveal a substantial correlating increase in mortality.<sup>361</sup> The distribution of deaths by age in the adult population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that the 1839 crisis was especially serious for the elderly. In this year, the proportion of deaths among those aged 60 or more increased by over 19 percent compared to the non-crisis years. Simultaneously, in the age

<sup>359</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1990, p. 60.

<sup>360</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1998, pp. 359-360.

<sup>361</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1990, p. 61.

group 16 to 59 the proportion of deaths was notably reduced. In other words, it is unlikely that the excess deaths in 1839 were caused by famine. Rather, the age distribution of deaths indicates that the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was affected by an epidemic of infectious disease, possibly influenza. Accordingly, years of crises mortality was still very much present in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the first half of the nineteenth century, and based on the limited data that are available, these demographic crises were mainly caused by epidemic outbreaks. Even so, years of demographic crisis were only one component in the mortality pattern of this population.

#### 4.2.3. Male mortality pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869

Given the relatively frequent mortality crises, what was the overall chance of surviving in this community? It is possible to estimate the mortality level of the adult male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the first half of the nineteenth century on the basis of the data on deaths in the revision lists. In this study, the reorganised data of the eight and ninth revision formed a basis for calculating survival rates for the male population that was present in both these two revisions. The time span between the two revisions was 16 years, which means that the survival rates were found by calculating the proportion surviving from age 0 and over in the 1834 revision to age 16 and over in the revision taken 16 years later, and so on.<sup>362</sup> Further, the survival rates were compared to 15-year<sup>363</sup> survival rates and subsequent projected populations corresponding to various specified levels of mortality calculated from the “East” male model life tables (MLT) of Coale and Demeny.<sup>364</sup> The mortality levels in this calculation were selected in such a way that, when the projected populations were cumulated so as to show the numbers at age 15 and over, 20 and over, 25 and over, etc., the cumulated

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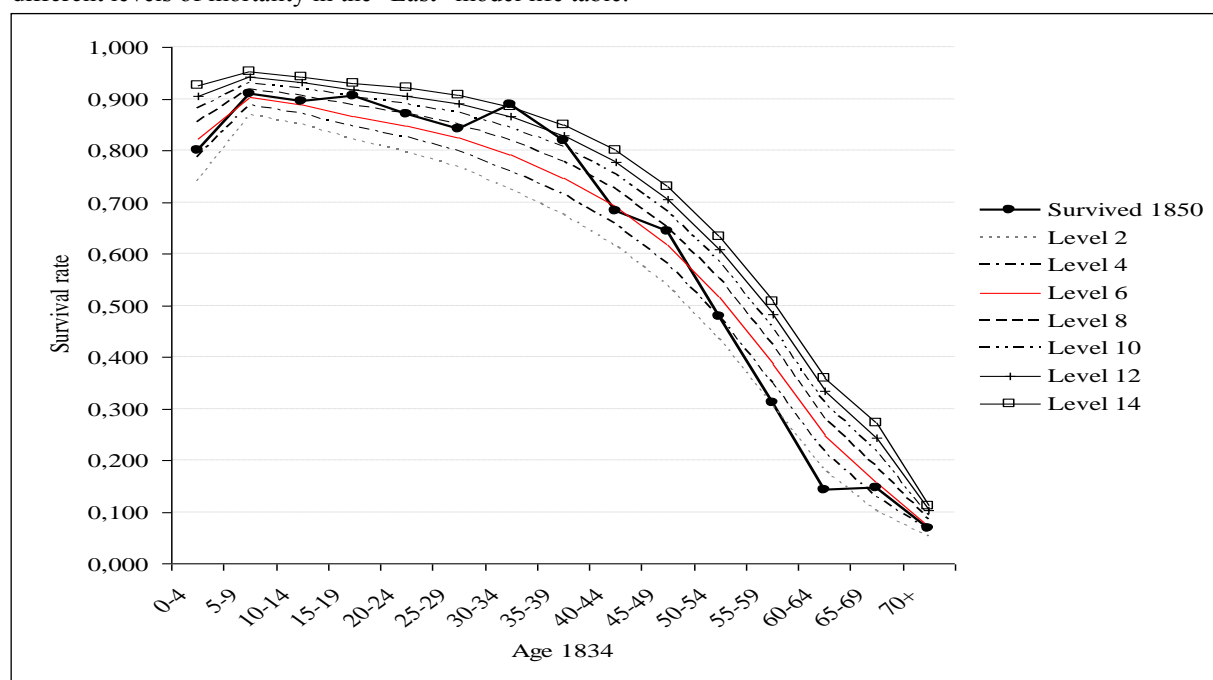
<sup>362</sup> The identification of “survivors” was obtained by record linkage, not by directly comparing the size of age groups in different revision years. For instance, the number of 16-year-olds in 1850 was much higher than the number of infants younger than 1 year in 1834, but only the individuals present in both 1834 and 1850 were included in the analysis.

<sup>363</sup> Even though the time interval between the two revisions was 16 years, 15-year survival rates were used because the organisation of the model life tables in five-year intervals makes this more convenient.

<sup>364</sup> The model life tables (MLT) consist of four sets, labelled “West,” “East,” “North,” and “South,” and each is based on the mortality experience of populations in different regions. The “East,” model is based mainly on Central European mortality experience, whereas the “North” and “South” models were derived from life tables of Scandinavian and South European countries, respectively. The “West” model was based on a broad range of life tables from several countries around the world, where the mortality experience did not show the systematic deviations from mean world experience found in the other three models. Each set of model life tables contains 24 tables that correspond to a certain level of mortality, which in turn is based on the life expectancy at birth. The life tables at the different levels are calculated for males and females separately, according to the typical relationship between male and female mortality occurring in a particular population. The “East” MLT was chosen here because the data suggested that the mortality in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had some of the features characterising this model. See: Coale, A. J. and Demeny, P.: 1966, pp. 438-461.

figures matched the reported population figures for 1850. Such mortality levels will generally show a reasonably high level of consistency. Consequently, by selecting the median of the series they permit a quite confident estimation of a single mortality level and corresponding life expectancies at different ages.<sup>365</sup> The estimation of the mortality level of the male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869 was essentially calculated by the same method, but the results may be somewhat less accurate, as the 1869 census lacks data on migration, recruitment and deaths. This means that the calculation of the survival rates had to depend solely on the age data in the two consecutive censuses of 1850 and 1869, which subsequently were compared to 20-year survival rates in the "East" model life tables of Coale and Demeny.

**Figure 4.2.3:** Male survival rates in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1850 and 15-year survival rates assuming different levels of mortality in the "East" model life table.



Sources: *Tsentral'nyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv, g. Moskvy* (TsIAM), Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*. Coale, A. J. and Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451.

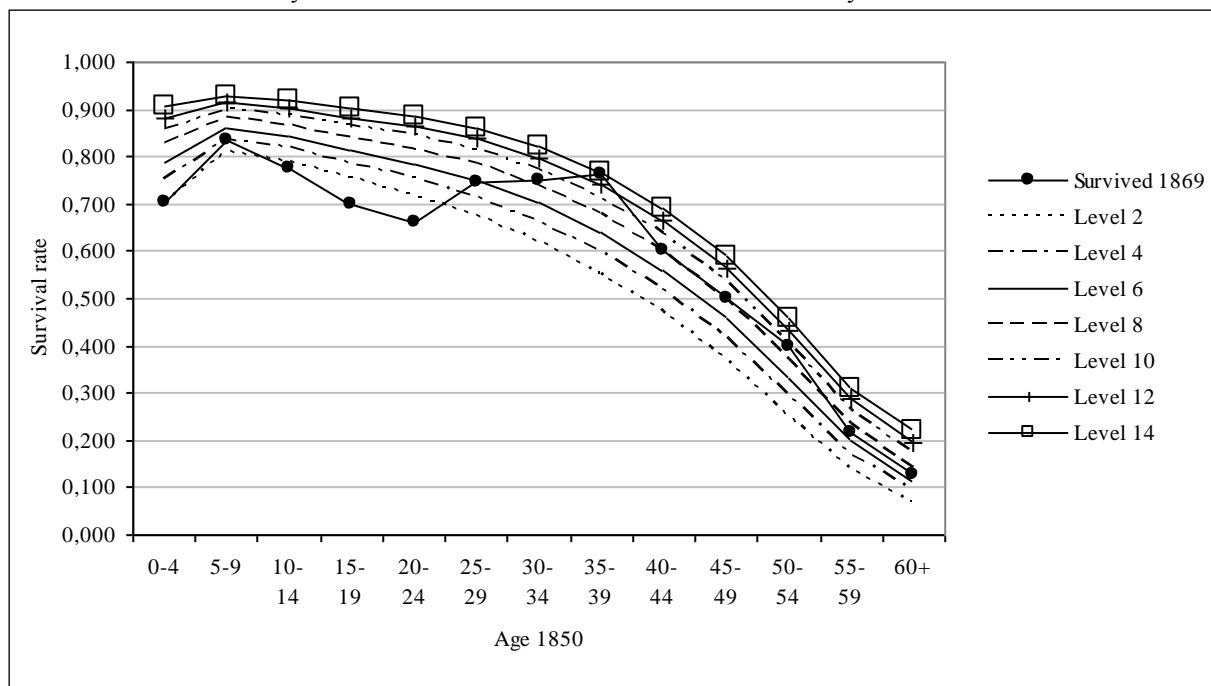
The estimated survival rates for males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1850 were corresponding to a mean mortality lying between level 6 and 7 of the male "East" MLT. However, the mortality levels were varying much according to age. Among small children who were aged 0 to 4 years in 1834, the survival rate was corresponding approximately to mortality level 5. Further, among the young men that in 1834 were in the age group 15 to 19

<sup>365</sup> The method is described in detail in; Shryock, H. S., et al.: 1976, p. 491-493.



years, the survival rate was notably higher, corresponding to level 10 of the MLT. The survival rate for males aged 30 to 34 in 1834, was even higher, matching level 14 and in the age groups from 50 years, the survival rates were quite low, equivalent to a mortality lying between level 2 and 4 of the male “East” MLT. Accordingly, during the period 1834 to 1850, the mortality pattern among males in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* was characterised by survival rates lower than average among infants and small children and in the population aged 50 years and over. Opposite, the population aged 15 to 39 years in 1834, had survival rates that were substantially higher than the mean for the total population.

**Figure 4.2.4:** Male survival rates in *Bun’kovskaia volost’*, 1850-1869 and 20-years survival rates assuming different levels of mortality in the “East” model life table of Coale and Demeny



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 10, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.* Coale, A. J. And Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451

In the period 1850 to 1869, the age-specific mortality pattern seems to have changed considerably. First, the survival rates in the age groups 0 to 24 years were strikingly lower in the period between 1850 and 1869, compared to the survival rates in these age groups during the period 1834 to 1869. The survival rates of the children aged 0 to 9 years in 1850 were corresponding to mortality levels 2 to 4 in the "East" MLT and among the population aged 10 to 24 years in 1850 the survival rates were extremely low. By that, the survival rates that can be calculated from the age data in the 1850 and 1869 censuses do not seem to correspond to the "East" model life table in the youngest age groups. Although the model life tables are

thought closely representative of age-specific mortality records in the “regions” upon which they are based, any extraordinary occurrence of a death cause that is highly age-and-sex specific, will produce a mortality record that does not conform to the model tables. This could have been the case for the young population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869, but it is hardly very likely. Rather, the low estimated survival rates among children, adolescents and young adults might be reflecting increased migration in these age groups, which again could have been caused by several factors. A considerable share of the young men was probably recruited to the army, especially in connection to the Crimean War in the mid-1850s. Further, the labour migration from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* between 1850 and 1869 could have been more significant than accounted for in the 1869 census. Accordingly, the stability of the male population aged 0 to 24 years in 1850 seems to have been rather low, while this was not the case among the male population aged 25 or more.<sup>366</sup> This also means that the calculated survival rates for the adult and elderly population should be rather accurate, and they correspond closely to the age-specific survival rates in the "East" MLT.

The calculations show a significant change in the mortality pattern among the elderly male population, indicating that men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were living considerably longer in the period 1850 to 1869 than during the first half of the nineteenth century. Among the male population aged 50 or older in 1850, the survival rates were corresponding to mortality level 7 to 10 in the "East" MLT of Coale and Demeny, which is a rather striking increase compared to the previous period.

The survival rates of the male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1850 are reflected in cumulated population figures for males, who in 1850 were aged 16 or more.<sup>367</sup> The cumulated population figures seem to confirm the age-specific variations in mortality level. Still, the cumulated figures show a higher level of consistency, which provides a more accurate estimation of the right mortality level. By linear interpolation it is possible to calculate the exact mortality level for the population over a certain age and their corresponding expectation of life at different ages. The actually reported 1850 population of 2106 remaining males who were aged 16 and over, would have resulted from a mortality level of 6,75 in the “East” model life table. Similar results for other ages  $x$  and over up to  $x=66$  are shown in table 4.2.3, both in terms of mortality level and in terms of the corresponding

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<sup>366</sup> The identification of "survivors" between 1850 and 1869 by record linkage showed a particularly high linkage proportion among the male population aged 25 or more, which indicates a higher degree of stability than in the younger age groups.

<sup>367</sup> The cumulated population figures along with projected populations assuming different levels of mortality for the period 1834 to 1850 and the period 1850 to 1869 are found in table 4.1 and 4.2 of the appendix.

expectation of life at birth. The results of the calculations at the oldest ages are very sensitive to age misreporting and were therefore left out.

The figures show rather constant mortality levels, which were between level 6 and 8 for the different ages from 16 years and over. After the age of 50, the mortality levels were somewhat lower, varying from level 5,75 for those who were 51 years or older to level 3 for those who were 66 years and over. The median level for the total male population aged 16 or older was 6,94, which corresponded to a life expectancy of 32,17 years at birth. In other words, in the mid-nineteenth century, the mortality level of the adult male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* matched a model that indicates that this population was marked by a relatively high level of mortality in infancy and early childhood, while those who survived to the age of five could expect to live another 48,6 years.<sup>368</sup> At twenty years, however, the life expectancy was again reduced to a median of 37,6 years and at forty a male in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* could expect to live circa another 24 years. The few who reached the age of sixty had a life expectancy of almost 12 years.

**Table 4.2.2:** Mortality levels for males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and corresponding expectation of life at different ages derived from proportions surviving to age x and over in 1850 from age x-16 and over in 1834.

Age 1850	Mortality level	Expectation of life at different ages				
		Birth	5 years	20 years	40 years	60 years
16 years and over	6,75	31,70	48,36	37,43	23,76	11,72
21 years and over	7,38	33,25	49,15	38,22	24,16	11,92
26 years and over	7,42	33,35	49,20	38,25	24,19	11,93
31 years and over	7,50	33,54	49,29	38,30	24,24	11,96
36 years and over	7,14	32,66	48,85	38,05	24,01	11,85
41 years and over	7,00	32,32	48,68	37,69	23,92	11,80
46 years and over	6,94	32,17	48,60	37,63	23,88	11,79
51 years and over	5,75	29,24	47,09	36,43	23,11	11,40
56 years and over	5,42	28,43	46,67	36,09	22,89	11,29
61 years and over	4,00	24,92	44,80	34,61	21,93	10,82
66 years and over	3,00	22,43	43,45	33,54	21,23	10,47
<b>Median</b>	<b>6,94</b>	<b>32,17</b>	<b>48,60</b>	<b>37,63</b>	<b>23,88</b>	<b>11,79</b>

Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*. Coale, A. J. And Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451.

So, what was the mortality level and expectation of life among the male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869, given the considerable change in the age-specific survival rates compared to the period 1834 to 1850? As for the previous period, the mortality levels were estimated by following the procedure of cumulating the male

<sup>368</sup> Of course, this is more or less a qualified guess, as we do not actually know if the male population younger than 16 years experienced the same mortality pattern as the population aged 16 years or older.

population surviving from 1850 to 1869 and compare the results to cumulated projected populations. Subsequently, the exact mortality level at different ages was established by linear interpolation. Whereas the mortality levels at different ages were quite stable during the period 1834 to 1850, the variation was much greater during the subsequent period, mainly due to low mortality levels among the young adults. Accordingly, the actual remaining male population of 2225 individuals aged 19 or more in 1869 corresponded to a mortality level of only 4,17 in the "East" MLT. Still, the median of the series of mortality levels for the population aged x or more corresponded to mortality level 8, which indicates a life expectancy at birth of 34,77 years. By that, the male life expectancy at birth was 2,6 years higher than in the period 1834 to 1850, mainly due to considerably higher survival rates among the adult and elderly male population.

**Table 4.2.3:** Mortality levels for males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and corresponding expectation of life at different ages derived from proportions surviving to age x and over in 1869 from age x-19 and over in 1850

Age (x and over)	Level of mortality	Expectation of life at different ages				
		Birth	5 years	20 years	40 years	60 years
19 years and over	4,17	25,34	45,03	34,79	22,05	10,88
24 years and over	4,70	26,64	45,72	35,34	22,40	11,05
29 years and over	4,81	26,92	45,87	35,46	22,48	11,09
34 years and over	5,31	28,15	46,52	35,97	22,92	11,26
39 years and over	6,63	31,42	48,21	37,32	23,68	11,69
44 years and over	8,55	36,09	50,58	39,19	24,89	12,28
49 years and over	9,16	37,58	51,32	39,78	25,27	12,46
54 years and over	9,21	37,72	51,38	39,83	25,30	12,48
59 years and over	8,17	35,17	50,12	38,82	24,66	12,17
64 years and over	8,13	35,07	50,07	38,78	24,63	12,15
69 years and over	8,00	34,77	49,91	38,66	24,55	12,11
<b>Median</b>	<b>8,00</b>	<b>34,77</b>	<b>49,91</b>	<b>38,66</b>	<b>24,55</b>	<b>12,11</b>

Sources: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg*, Coale, A. J. And Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451

Generally, these results fit well with what is known about the Russian mortality pattern in the nineteenth century. As also has been shown in other studies of nineteenth-century Russian mortality patterns, the life expectancy in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was low compared to the general level of mortality in Western European populations, where the life expectancy at birth was 40,3 years in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>369</sup> However, this relatively higher life

<sup>369</sup> Note: an average of Denmark, England and Wales, France, Massachusetts, Netherlands, Norway and Sweden in Wrigley, E. A.: 1969, p. 171.

expectancy was a recent feature of the Western European demographic pattern, associated with the overall decline in mortality levels during the nineteenth century. As recently as the end of the eighteenth century, the expectation of life in for instance France was only 28,8 years at birth.<sup>370</sup> Compared to previously investigated Russian populations, the life expectancy at birth in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was quite high, especially in the period 1850 to 1869. Local studies of mortality patterns in nineteenth-century Russia, which also are based on the revision lists and which partly use the same methods that have been employed in this study, have revealed life expectancies at birth that were substantially lower than in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In *Moskovskii uezd*, the area surrounding Moscow City, the male life expectancy has been estimated to be only 24,4 years at birth in the period 1850 to 1858.<sup>371</sup> In the village *Petrovskoe* and the parish of *Borshevka* in Tambov Province, the life expectancy at birth in the mid-nineteenth century was 27,3 years and 27 years respectively.<sup>372</sup> In other words, the results from *Moskovskii uezd* and Tambov Province seem to confirm the trend seen on the general level, which indicate that the mortality level in the Central Industrial Region was higher than in the Central Agricultural Region during the nineteenth century, while the results from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* do not fit into this pattern. What might have been the reasons for the differences between the Central Industrial and the Central Agricultural Region, and why did not the mortality pattern of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* deviate from the general pattern?

The reasons for variations in mortality levels among different populations and for changes over time has been one of the big controversies in historical demography, and a detailed exploration of the reasons for the differences in mortality patterns within Central Russia is probably beyond the scope of this study. Even so, some suggestions may be made. Generally, differences in mortality levels have been related to two distinct factors, namely differences in nutrition and differences connected to medical care in the widest sense.<sup>373</sup> Theoretically, both factors could have been at play in pre-industrial Russia, causing different levels of mortality in the two regions. First of all, the quality of nutrition might have differed considerably between different regions, especially in years of crop failures. In part, crop failures were caused by unfavourable climatic conditions, such as a short growing season and

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<sup>370</sup> Wrigley, E. A.: 1969, p. 131.

<sup>371</sup> Blum, A. and Troitskaia, I.: 1996, p. 314.

<sup>372</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 224, Hoch, S. L.: 1993, p. 68, Hoch, S. L.: 1998, p. 359.

<sup>373</sup> A relatively recent contribution to the discussion of the reasons behind the European mortality decline is found in Shofield, R., et al.: 1991

uneven levels of rainfall. As noted above, in the forest zone of Central Russia the climatic and agricultural conditions were especially unfortunate, which implied that the agricultural returns generally were meagre compared to the black-earth belt.<sup>374</sup> This probably meant that the population in the Central Industrial Region was more dependent on buying agricultural products than was the case for the population in the Central Agricultural Region, or in other words, they were more dependent on the market and a functioning system of transport. Until approximately the end of the eighteenth century, local crop failures might well have caused sudden rises in mortality in the forest zone, as a stable system of transportation had not yet been developed. However, from the end of the eighteenth century this was probably about to change, as a grain market covering large parts of the territory of European Russia was developing at this time.<sup>375</sup> Accordingly, at least in the nineteenth century, the difference in mortality level between the Central Industrial Region and the Central Agricultural Region does not seem to have been connected to differences in the nutritional status of the population.<sup>376</sup>

While crop failures largely were linked to climatic conditions, some scholars have also related differences in mortality levels to the climate in a more indirect manner, in which extremes in temperatures, such as cold winters and hot summers, were associated with rises in mortality.<sup>377</sup> In Russia, however, the climate must have been a levelling mechanism rather than a factor explaining differences. The winters in the Central Industrial Region were generally cold, while the summers in the Central Agricultural Region were usually warmer than average for European Russia at large. Accordingly, even though these regions had different climatic conditions, they were both influenced by climates that are supposed to aggravate the mortality level, especially among infants and small children, which mean that this factor hardly caused the differences in mortality level within Central Russia.<sup>378</sup>

If differences in the nutritional status and in climatic conditions are ruled out as factors that caused the differences in mortality levels between the Central Industrial and the Central Agricultural Region, explanations should probably be sought within the social and economic

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<sup>374</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.3, pp. 69-70 and Chapter 3, section 3.2, pp. 105-106.

<sup>375</sup> See for instance Koval'chenko, I. D. and Milov, L. V.: 1974.

<sup>376</sup> However, sudden rises in mortality caused by famine did occur during the nineteenth century, even as late as in the early 1890s.

<sup>377</sup> See for instance Perrenoud, A.: 1991, pp. 36-37.

<sup>378</sup> However, climatic differences might have been a factor explaining the difference in mortality level between Russia and Western Europe. Jacques Vallin makes the same point when considering the difference in mortality level between Norway and Finland during the nineteenth century. See Vallin, J.: 1991, pp. 42-43.

context. The most obvious socio-economic explanation for the different mortality levels in the two regions seems to be the level of urbanisation. During the nineteenth century, the proportion of the population that was living in urban areas and the population density was much higher in the Central Industrial Region than in the Central Agricultural Region. Throughout Europe, during the entire nineteenth century, life expectancy varied much according to geographical area and social class, and both in Western Europe and Russia the mortality level was especially high in the big cities, where the concentration of population facilitated the spread of infections in an environment in which public health and sanitation were notoriously deficient. Moreover, the process of industrialisation has also been associated with high levels of mortality, even though the exact demographic implications of early industrialisation are difficult to estimate.<sup>379</sup> Thus, the dissimilar mortality levels in the Central Industrial Region and the Central Agricultural Region that can be observed on the general level were most likely facilitated by the different degree of urbanisation and industrialisation in the two regions. The results in studies of local mortality patterns fit well into this picture. *Moskovskii uezd* was the rural district closest to Moscow City, which meant that urban influence was great. Moreover, in the nineteenth century, this district was marked by a process of industrialisation at scale with the one seen in *Bogorodskii uezd*. Still, there was one significant difference. In *Moskovskii uezd*, the proportion of proto-industrial producers was considerably smaller than in *Bogorodskii uezd*, while the share of centralised enterprises was noticeably larger.<sup>380</sup> The local studies from Tambov Province, however, discuss the mortality pattern of distinctly rural populations. Accordingly, if the investigated population in *Moskovskii uezd* represented an urban pattern and the populations of Tambov Province represented a rural pattern of mortality, the chance of survival among males in the industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was higher than in the agricultural villages as well as in the more or less urban environment of *Moskovskii uezd*.

It is complicated to interpret what might have been the reasons for deviating mortality level in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The estimation of the mortality level in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was based on the survival rates of the adult male population, which means the life expectancy calculated here might be somewhat higher than what had been the case if all age groups had been included in the analysis, as the survival rates of especially infants and small children most likely were just as low as elsewhere in nineteenth-century Russia. This further means

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<sup>379</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1990, p. 57-59, Wrigley, E. A.: 1969, p.174-176, Shofield, R. and Reher, D.: 1991, pp. 4-6, 14.

<sup>380</sup> See for instance *Kustarnoe tkachestvo v Moskovskoi gubernii*: 1883, pp. 4, 19, and 24.

that the actual life expectancy in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might have been more at level with investigated populations in Tambov Province, but hardly as low as in *Moskovskii uezd*. On the other hand, the mortality level calculated for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* on the basis of the survival rates of the population aged 16 or more, indicate a infant mortality rate of 332 per 1000 in this population, which is in course with what is known about the Russian pattern of infant mortality, generally.<sup>381</sup> Accordingly, the estimated mortality level seems to reflect a mortality pattern in which the risk of death in infancy was just as high as elsewhere in Russia but that the chances of survival in adulthood was somewhat higher than in previously investigated populations, and especially in the more or less urban environment of *Moskovskii uezd*.

Actually, it might well be that the differing results of these local mortality studies simply reflect a great variation in mortality on the micro-level, which again was caused by highly local factors. It seems as though the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was able to at least partly avoid the hazards of the urban environment. The high mortality levels in nineteenth-century cities have generally been associated with a higher population density and a housing pattern that increased the risk of exposure to disease. Even though *Bun'kovskaia volost'* experienced an industrial boom during the first half of the nineteenth century, this does not seem to have seriously altered the population density or the housing pattern of the population in the area. The distinctly proto-industrial development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* most likely meant that the rural housing pattern remained intact, and as we will see in the following chapter, mean household size stayed quite stable throughout the investigated period.<sup>382</sup> Moreover, the income level of the many silk weavers in this area was considerably higher than among most proto-industrial textile producers in Russia at the time<sup>383</sup>, which might have contributed to the relatively high life expectancy, too. Simultaneously, medical care might have been somewhat better in the proto-industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, which were located relatively close to urban centres such as Bogorodsk, Pavlovskii Posad, and Moscow, compared to the distant agricultural villages in southern Russia.<sup>384</sup> Altogether,

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<sup>381</sup> The calculation of infant mortality for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* follows mortality level 6,94 of the Coale and Demeny "East" model life tables. The pattern of infant and child mortality in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the first half of the nineteenth century will be discussed in detail in the next section. See pp. 160-165.

<sup>382</sup> See Chapter 5, section 5.1, p. 193.

<sup>383</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.3., pp. 124-129.

<sup>384</sup> This was hardly the most important factor, though. The low life expectancy in *Moskovskii uezd* indicates that closeness to urban centres implied a high mortality risk, which at least in the mid-nineteenth century probably was not counterbalanced by the relatively greater availability of medical care.



these factors could have led to a relatively lower mortality level than in previously investigated populations in nineteenth-century Russia.

Still, compared to in most other European countries, the mortality level in nineteenth-century Russia was high, and this certainly also included *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. What caused the mortality to be relatively higher in Russia than in other European countries at the time? The high mortality level of imperial Russia has in historical research frequently been attributed to recurring demographic crises, mainly associated with famines and food deficiency due to crop failures. In all, during the period 1801 to 1914, Russia experienced on year in five of significant deficiencies in the size of its grain harvests, which again have been ascribed to adverse climatic conditions and a short growing season along with a generally backward agricultural system.<sup>385</sup> However, there has been only very few attempts, using appropriate methods, to assess the nature of demographic crises in Russia and their overall contribution to the high mortality level. In contradiction to the prevailing hypothesis, recent research on the micro-level has found that crop failures and famines were not main causes of the high mortality level in nineteenth-century Russia. Rather, contemporary scholars have revealed a mortality pattern distinguished by repeated epidemics of different diseases, such as smallpox, influenza and cholera. For instance, during the nineteenth century there were outbreaks of cholera in 1831, 1847-48, 1853, 1855, and 1866 in the central regions of Russia. Still, probably the most important component of the Russian mortality regime was an extremely high infant and child mortality caused by diarrhoea and infectious diseases.<sup>386</sup>

Accordingly, there were two main reasons for the relatively higher mortality level in nineteenth-century Russia compared to Western Europe. Firstly, Russia experienced recurring epidemic crises in a period when fluctuations in mortality were a feature of the past in most countries of Western Europe.<sup>387</sup> Secondly, even in non-crisis years during the nineteenth century, Russian infants died at a much higher rate than was the case for infants in most Western European countries. Actually, a considerable share of the Western European mortality decline during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries has been attributed to an age-specific decline in mortality among infants and small children, mainly due to altered child-care practices.<sup>388</sup> As we will see below, this does not seem to have been the case in

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<sup>385</sup> Robinson, G. T.: 1967, pp. 94-116, Blum, J.: 1961, pp. 326-333, Smith, R. E. F. and Christian, D.: 1984, pp. 286-287, 327-360, Kahan, A.: 1989, pp. 108-144.

<sup>386</sup> Ransel, D. L.: 1990, p. 9, Hoch, S. L.: 1998, pp. 357-368.

<sup>387</sup> Perrenoud, A.: 1991, pp. 18-22.

<sup>388</sup> Morel, M.: 1991, pp. 196-219.

nineteenth-century Russia, but first we will consider the pattern of infant and child mortality in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the first half of the nineteenth century.

#### 4.2.4. Infant and child mortality

During the nineteenth century infant mortality varied much in Europe. At the end of the eighteenth century it was as low as 165 per 1,000 in England, while in France at the same time it was 273 per 1,000. In Norway an average of 144 of 1,000 infants died in the period 1832-38, while the infant mortality in the rural area that was closest to Moscow City, *Moskovskii uezd* has been estimated to 334 deaths per 1,000 live births in the middle of the nineteenth century.<sup>389</sup> A high infant and child mortality is also indicated in the estimation of mortality levels and life expectancy for the male population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1850. While the survival rates of the male population aged 16 or more conformed to a model that indicate a life expectancy at birth of circa 32 years, it increased to almost 49 years for those who survived to the age of five. In other words, the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have followed a mortality pattern in which a large proportion of the ever born children died before their fifth birthday, and supposedly, especially in the first year of life.

Demographic research has established that infant mortality levels were generally high because of deaths within the first three months of life. Thus, to estimate infant mortality rates, a complete set of information on births and deaths is needed. Unfortunately, such information is not available, but in the period 1834 to 1850, the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* followed a mortality model in which infant mortality can be estimated to 332 per 1000.<sup>390</sup> Moreover, a cohort analysis based on the revision lists from 1834 and 1850 can give an idea on the age-specific mortality pattern among children and adolescents in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the first half of the nineteenth century.

The revision lists' information on deaths makes it possible to study the mortality pattern of the cohort that was born around the year when the previous revision was taken. A cohort consisting of the children who were born in 1815-16 was built based on the revision list from 1834, and the 1850 revision list identifies a similar cohort of children born in 1833-34. Table 4.2.4 shows the distribution of deaths and migrations in childhood and adolescence for the two cohorts of males born in 1815-16 and 1833-34.

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<sup>389</sup> Livi-Bacci, M.: 2000, p. 113, Drake, M.: 1969, p. 94, Blum, A. and Troitskaia, I.: 1996, p. 314.

<sup>390</sup> See pp. 157-158.

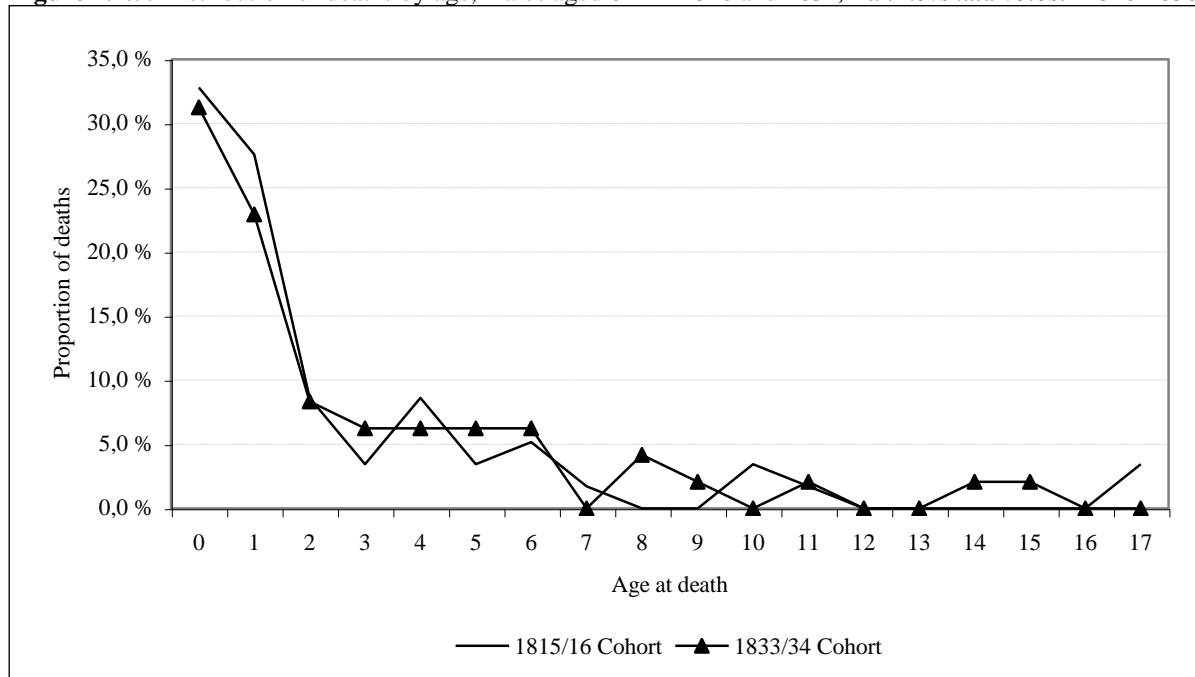
**Table 4.2.4:** Distribution of deaths and migrations between revisions, cohorts of males born in 1815-16 and 1833-34, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1816-1850.

	<i>1815/16 Cohort</i>		<i>1833/34 Cohort</i>	
	Percent	Number	Percent	Number
Present in the following revision	59,5 %	88	69,8 %	113
Died	39,2 %	58	29,6 %	48
Freed from serfdom	0,7 %	1	0,0 %	0
Moved out of <i>Bun'kovskaia volost'</i>	0,7 %	1	0,6 %	1
Total	100,1 %	148	100,0 %	162

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

First of all, in the period 1816 to 1850, migration was insignificant among male children and adolescents in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Death, however, was of much greater importance. Of the boys born in the years 1815-16 almost 40 percent were dead by 1834, when the following revision was taken. The boys who were born in 1833-34 may have had a somewhat better chance of surviving. Still, almost 30 percent of them were recorded as dead in the 1850 revision.

**Figure 4.2.5:** Distribution of deaths by age, males aged 0-1 in 1816 and 1834, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1816-1850



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*

A more detailed analysis indicates that death in early childhood was a major problem in this society in the period 1816 to 1850. Figure 4.2.4 show the distribution of deaths by age for male children aged 0 to 1 year in 1816 and 1834, for the periods 1816-1834 and 1834-1850, respectively. The calculation reveals that over 60 percent of the deaths in the 1815-16 cohort

occurred before the second birthday, while this was the case for nearly 55 percent of the deaths in the 1833-34 cohort. Further, for the 1815-16 cohort the proportion of deaths was 29 percent in the age group 2 to 6 years, whereas only 10 percent of the deaths occurred in the age group 7 to 17 years. The cohort born in 1833-34 followed a similar pattern. Approximately 33 percent of the deaths occurred in the age group 2 to 6 years, while just over 12 percent of the deaths occurred between 7 and 17 years. This means that almost one fourth, of the initial 1815-16 cohort died before they reached their second birthday and the same was true for 16 percent of the 1833-34 cohort. From two to six years the cohorts were again reduced by 11,5 percent of the 1815-16 cohort and 9,9 percent of the 1833-34 cohort, respectively. Further, during the next ten years only 4,1 percent of the 1815-16 cohort and 3,7 percent of the 1833-34 cohort died. Accordingly, the risk of early death was somewhat reduced for the 1833-34 cohort compared to the cohort born in 1815-16.

Compared to other studies of infant mortality patterns in pre-revolutionary Russia, these survival rates are quite high. According to the cohort analysis, the rate of infant mortality in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was approximately 250 per 1000 in 1815/16 and as low as 160 per 1000 in 1833/34. Theoretically, this could have been the case, given the considerably mortality fluctuations in this population. However, the general mortality level for the male population in the period 1834 to 1850 indicates an infant mortality of over 330 per 1000. Further, the intervals between the revision lists of 16-18 years correspond approximately to the age when young men were subject to military recruitment. The calculations show that 60 to 70 percent of the two cohorts survived until recruitment age. However, according to the *zemstvo* physician N. D. Sokolov, in *Bogorodskii uезд*, where *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was located, the proportion of males surviving to the age of recruitment was only 41 percent as late as in the 1880s.<sup>391</sup> It is unlikely that *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had especially favourable conditions compared to the larger district. This means that there must have been a substantial group of infants born in the years 1815-16 and 1833-34 who were not accounted for in the revision lists. Most likely, they died within the first few weeks and months of life and before the revisions in 1816 and 1834 were carried out. Still, the limited data on deaths in the revision lists clearly demonstrate a distinct age pattern of deaths among infants and children in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the years 1816 to 1850. The mortality pattern of both the two cohorts shows that a child in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was at the highest risk of dying immediately after birth and the risk remained very high during the two first years of life. After

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<sup>391</sup> Sokolov, N. D.: 1903, p. 12.

the second birthday the risk was gradually reduced and in adolescence it was rather small. This age pattern of infant and child mortality conforms to what is already found in other investigations of Russian nineteenth-century mortality patterns.<sup>392</sup> So, what were the causes of the high incidence of death in early childhood in nineteenth-century Russia?

Studies of mortality patterns in the Russian countryside show that the most common causes of death among infants were transmissible gastro-intestinal diseases, which in the sources were often referred to as colic, diarrhoea, vomiting and convulsions. Small children were more affected by acute infectious diseases, as whooping cough, diphtheria, smallpox, scarlet fever and measles.<sup>393</sup> The high incidence of gastro-intestinal and airborne infectious diseases was closely related to structural factors such as fertility levels, household size and housing conditions. Several demographic studies have found that the higher the fertility of a host population, and thus, the greater the proportion of children in the population, the higher the incidence of childhood infectious and diarrhoeal diseases, and the earlier the mean age at infection. Disease in very young age would increase the rate of case-fatality and accordingly the mortality level. The incidence of airborne infections and gastro-intestinal disease has also been shown to have a strong positive correlation with mean household size.<sup>394</sup> In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, an average of six persons lived in each household, which was quite many by Western European standards, and in many other areas of rural Russia the mean household size was considerably higher. In addition, the Russian peasants' generally small houses and the long months of confinement due to cold weather would increase exposure to infection.<sup>395</sup>

The child-rearing practices common in the Russian peasant population were probably of even greater importance for the high mortality level among infants. As mentioned above, most deaths among infants were caused by gastro-intestinal disease. Nineteenth-century observers and modern scholars agree upon that this was caused by the breastfeeding and weaning practises among Russian peasants. Age at weaning is an important variable in infant survival. An infant's immune system is very weak at birth, but maternal nursing provides scientifically verified protection. Colostrums as well as breast milk contain biologically active substances that protect the child from infection, and the duration of breastfeeding play a primary role infant survival. If weaning occurs too early, the infant is vulnerable to gastro-

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<sup>392</sup> See for instance Hoch, S. L.: 1998, pp. 364, 367.

<sup>393</sup> Ransel, D. L.: 1990p. 9, Hoch, S. L.: 1998, p. 363.

<sup>394</sup> John, A. M.: 1990, p. 208-210, Reves, R.: 1985, p.114-115, Benedictow, O. J.: 1987, p. 426.

<sup>395</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1998, p. 365.

intestinal and viral respiratory infections. This was even truer in the nineteenth-century Russian village, where breast milk was substituted by raw cow milk and even solid food. According to peasant convention, a mother should nurse her infant for three consecutive fasts, or about eighteen months, counting only the great fasts of the Assumption and Lent. However, this is not the picture normally drawn by physicians and welfare officials who visited the homes of peasants. On the contrary, the mother's household and agricultural tasks often kept her from breastfeeding. Moreover, the peasants seem to have believed that a child could not survive on breast milk alone.<sup>396</sup> Infants in the Russian village were therefore frequently fed solid food from a very early age, maybe already from birth. To judge from the many reports of the early use of solid foods and of efforts by government and the church to combat it, the practice was widespread.<sup>397</sup>

Another dangerous substitute for the mother's breast was the nineteenth-century version of a pacifier, the *soska*. The *soska* was a rag that covered crumbled bread or rolls, wet dough, or milk porridge. It was a device ripe with bacteria, especially when combined with milk or prechewed by an adult. The use of solid food and the *soska* was particularly frequent in harvest periods when many mothers worked long hours in the fields. The mother was forced to take her infant with her or leave the baby at home, sometimes completely unattended or in the care of young siblings or a grandmother, who often was too feeble and disabled to give the appropriate care. Detailed studies show that there was a steep rise in infant mortality in the late summer and early autumn, or in other words, the harvest season. Moreover, the summer months were also the time when disease was most prevalent and bacteria most virulent. Seasonal patterns in the number of births in rural Russia, with a peak of births in July and August, aggravated the effects of this link between weaning, absence of the mother and prevalence of disease. This unhappy combination of factors goes far toward explaining Russia's exceptionally high infant mortality rate.<sup>398</sup>

Contemporary educated observers of peasant life drew a depressing picture of the Russian peasants' attitude towards their children, in which neglect and indifference prevailed. The main sources to the Russian peasants' childcare practices are the publications of urbanised *zemstvo* physicians and various officials. By the late nineteenth century, the physicians had developed a generalised view of the average uneducated peasant woman as an

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<sup>396</sup> Ransel, D. L.: 1988, p. 267-270.

<sup>397</sup> Ransel refers to the Russian doctor Semen Zybelin, who noticed and condemned this practice already in the 1780s. It was also a returning concern in the works of the *zemstvo* physicians: Ransel, D. L.: 1988, p. 269.

<sup>398</sup> Frieden, N. M.: 1978, p. 252, Ransel, D. L.: 1988, p. 270-271, Hoch, S. L.: 1998, p. 366-367.

untrustworthy guardian of her children's health. For them, the peasant woman became a symbol of ignorance and superstition and they usually looked upon the prevailing childcare practices with a mixture of astonishment and revulsion. One aspect of the average peasants' attitude towards their children that particularly alarmed the doctors was an apparent feeling of fatalism about the death of small children. Often the peasants would look upon an infant's death as God's will.<sup>399</sup> However, under these conditions of high infant and child mortality, no parent could retain his or her sanity if he or she became too emotionally involved with such fragile creatures as young children. In some cases it seems as if they did not regard death as the worst thing that could happen to a child.<sup>400</sup> Indifference or accepting God's will, might have been natural solutions to the problem of how to deal with their deaths. Still, the attitude towards children and the quality of childcare must have varied a good deal from village to village, from family to family, and from mother to mother. As a rule, the sources emphasise the worst cases in an effort to capture the attention and sympathy of society and to engage it in the struggle to improve the conditions of infant care and peasant conditions, generally. The treatment of children probably depended upon a particular family's economic position, cultural level, and access to modern medical facilities.

In spite of their fatalistic attitude and even if their childcare practices may have been harmful it is unreasonable to claim that most parents in rural Russia did not welcome the birth of a child. On the contrary, the nineteenth-century sources state that the peasants looked upon children as a blessing, as a source of happiness and meaning in their lives. Russian folklorists have noted that the peasants viewed the birth of children as a sign of God's blessing on the parents, whereas not having children was considered a misfortune. Infertility must have been a very painful situation for the peasant woman because it deprived her of the privileges offered by motherhood. Through her children a woman in the peasant society could firmly implant herself in the family of her husband and be guaranteed consolation and comfort in her old age.<sup>401</sup> From this also followed that the peasants in nineteenth-century Russia usually did not practice any form of parity-specific limitation of fertility within marriage, as indeed was the case also for other rural populations in pre-industrial Europe.<sup>402</sup> Accordingly, in

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<sup>399</sup> Frieden, N. M.: 1978, p. 246, Ransel, D. L.: 1988, p. 271.

<sup>400</sup> For instance, Ransel notes that peasants often avoided medical assistance because they saw no point in further tormenting a child who was already suffering from disease. He also refers to an entire category of lullabies with the motif of wishing death on babies. The infants to whom women sang the lullabies were often those who appeared sickly, weak, or crippled. See Ransel, D. L.: 1988, pp. 272-273.

<sup>401</sup> Martynova, A.: 1978, p. 172.

<sup>402</sup> See for instance Coale, A. J.: 1986, p. 8-14.

nineteenth-century Russia, the high mortality rate among infants and small children was easily compensated by an even higher fertility rate.

#### 4.3. FERTILITY

Regardless of the high mortality level, Russia experienced a considerable population growth during the nineteenth century. In the period 1850-70 the total annual growth rate for Russia was 9,8 per 1,000. The population growth in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been somewhat higher than in Russia at large during this period. With an average annual growth rate of 13,7 per 1000 in the period 1834 to 1869, the population growth in this area was at pace with the growth rate experienced by Russia at large only after 1870, when the average annual growth rate increased to 13,6 per 1,000.<sup>403</sup> While the population growth in nineteenth-century Western European countries generally were facilitated by a reduction of the mortality levels, the Russian population growth has generally been thought to be accomplished through fertility rates that were much higher than in Western Europe, mainly because Russian women married at an earlier point in their lives than women in Western Europe and thus spent a more of their fertile years within marriage. Even so, as noted in the introduction to this chapter, in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Central Russia, on the regional level, population growth varied considerably, being highest in the Central Agricultural Region and relatively low in the Central Industrial Region. Partly, the regional variation in population growth can be explained by differences in the mortality level, but differences in the fertility level might be just as important. In the mid-nineteenth century, the population growth in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was relatively high compared to Russia at large, and we saw in the previous section that the mortality level in this area seems to have been somewhat lower than in previously investigated populations. Does this mean that the population growth in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was facilitated by a largely “western” course, through reduced mortality levels, or can it be explained by a basically “Russian” development, through an extraordinary high fertility rate?

##### 4.3.1. The traditional Russian fertility pattern

The two main characteristics of the fertility pattern in nineteenth-century Russia were high fertility rates within marriage and low illegitimacy rates. All literature on Russian pre-

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<sup>403</sup> The numbers are obtained from Livi-Bacci, M.: 2000, p. 133, and *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*



revolutionary fertility patterns indicates an annual birth rate of approximately 50 per 1000.<sup>404</sup> The majority of births happened within marriage, while prenuptial births made up only 2 to 3 percent.<sup>405</sup> The high fertility level was connected to the marriage pattern that prevailed in Russia, in which young men and women married early and a small proportion remained unmarried throughout life. This means that a very large part of the population spent most of their fertile years within marriage, which in turn raised fertility rates.

Apart from early and almost universal marriage, the main contribution to the high fertility rates among the nineteenth-century Russian peasants was the lack of birth control within marriage. They viewed conception and birth as beyond their control; these were matters where 'God decided'. Moreover, having many children was blessed by the Orthodox Church; to interrupt pregnancy or avoid having children was looked upon as a severe sin, both by the Church and the peasants.<sup>406</sup> Consequently, the Russian village was a community in which the only limitation to marital fertility would be variations in sexual activity during the year in accordance with the agricultural cycle, Lent, and because of migrant work.

Scholars studying the traditional demographic behaviour of the Russian village population have estimated that an average peasant woman, who was living with her husband during all her reproductive years, could theoretically give birth to a maximum of 10-11 children. However, only a few women in the Russian village could expect uninterrupted residence with their husbands for the entire childbearing period. Early widowhood and frequent separations due to out-migration would in many cases substantially reduce the time spent within marriage, and thus, the number of children a woman actually gave birth to during her reproductive years. Accordingly, nineteenth-century local investigations found that the average peasant woman bore between 7 and 9 children in her lifetime.<sup>407</sup>

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<sup>404</sup> According to the results of the first all-Russian census in 1897 the annual birth rate was 49,5 per 1000. See *Pervaia vseobshchaia perepis' naseleniia Rossiiskoi imperii 1897 g. Obshchii svod po Imperii resul'tatov razrabotki dannykh Pervoi vseobshchei perepisi naseleniia, proizvedennoi 28 ianvaria 1897 goda*: 1905. Steven L. Hoch have estimated a mean annual birth rate of 52,6 per 1000 during the years 1813-1827 in *Petrovskoe*, Tambov Province. See Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 226, while Boris Mironov estimates a mean annual birth rate of 49,5 per 1000 for the Russian Orthodox population in the period 1831-1870, see Mironov, B. N.: 1977, p. 90.

<sup>405</sup> Vishnevskii, A. G.: 1977, p. 130.

<sup>406</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1977, p. 94.

<sup>407</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1977, p. 96.

#### 4.3.2. Fertility pattern and development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869

The above portrait of the Russian fertility pattern is largely based on local investigations made by nineteenth-century observers and a few modern scholars. They have in common that they seek to describe the fertility behaviour of the peasant population, which mainly was occupied in the agricultural sector. The specific agricultural setting in nineteenth-century Russia is often thought to explain the demographic behaviour of the peasants. However, as we have seen, the peasant population's economic activities were very stratified, especially in the Central Industrial Region. Possibly, the heavy involvement in proto-industrial work, which was the case for the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, might have somehow affected their fertility pattern. Research on proto-industrial communities in Western Europe has sometimes associated proto-industrial development with increased fertility levels, but subsequent research has shown that this was hardly a universal development.<sup>408</sup> It has also been claimed that the widespread use of child labour in the nineteenth-century Russian textile industry implied a premium on childbirth and subsequent high fertility levels.<sup>409</sup> However, a large number of children may as well have been a disadvantage for the women who worked in the textile industry, both in districts where the population worked long hours in the proto-industrial workshop and for the women who found work in textile mills.<sup>410</sup> In other words, the fertility pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* could potentially develop in several different directions under the influence of proto-industry, which in turn may have had different effects on the population growth in the area.

So, what was the level of fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and how did it develop during the period 1834 to 1869? The usual method of measuring fertility is to relate the births in a calendar year to the total population or to women of reproductive age. The available census material does not contain satisfactory information on the number of births in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during this period. However, a possible method when the data are inadequate is to suppose that the number of births in a calendar year corresponded to the number of children aged 0 to 1 years plus the rate of infant mortality. Since mortality can be quite heavy among small children, this measure suffers from the impact of differences in mortality over time.

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<sup>408</sup> See for instance: Mendels, F. F.: 1972, Kriedte, P., et al.: 1981, Ogilvie, S. C. and Cerman, M.: 1996

<sup>409</sup> Pallot, J. and Shaw, D. J. B.: 1990, p. 237.

<sup>410</sup> Barbara A. Engel describes in her study of Russian factory women how women in factory districts by different means tried to limit their fertility – unmarried women in order to avoid the shame of illegitimate birth, married women to avoid the “great misfortune” or “unavoidable evil” of an additional child. However, birth rates from factory districts show that they were rarely very successful. Engel, B. A.: 1994, pp. 111-112.

Even so, most literature on child mortality in pre-revolutionary Russia claim that more than 1/3 of all infants died during the first year of life. My own calculations for the period 1834-50, indicate that 33,2 percent of the newborn children in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* died in infancy and another 15,4 percent died during the second year of life.<sup>411</sup> Another difficulty in the census material is that the age data for the youngest children seem to be somewhat inaccurate. In at least two of the census years the number of one-year-olds far exceeded the number of infants. Evidently, the different census takers often registered children to be 1 year old when they in fact were younger. This problem can be solved by calculating the mean rate of births in two succeeding years, including one-year-olds as well as infants in the analysis.

Accordingly, assuming a mortality of 48,6 percent in the two first years of life, the mean birth rate for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in 1833-34 was 39,7 per 1000. In 1849-50, the mean birth rate increased to as much as 50,6 per 1000, while in 1868-69, the birth rate was again reduced to a mean of 38,9 per 1000. Thus, these rates indicate that the fertility level in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was much lower than what is known from other demographic studies of Russian peasants. Only in 1849-50 the birth rate reached the level thought to be prevailing in nineteenth-century Russia. However, it seems clear that this was a short-time rise in the fertility connected to the crisis year in 1848. The crude birth rate is a simple measure of fertility. It can be misleading to compare the birth rates of two populations or over time if the distribution of age, sex and marital status are very different. Since a majority of births happened within marriage, a more precise measure would be to relate the births to married women in reproductive age, which usually includes women aged 15 to 49 years.

How many children did a married woman in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* give birth to during her reproductive years? To answer this question I have chosen to use Coale's index of marital fertility, which measures the marital fertility of the investigated population against a known "standard" population with high, natural fertility.<sup>412</sup> A woman in the "standard" population would give birth to an average of 12,45 children during her reproductive years. This number of children is the measure, *Ig*, which the fertility of other populations is compared to. Thus, an *Ig* of 0,5 would mean that a married woman potentially would give birth to 6,225 children from her fifteenth to her fiftieth birthday. This index has been extensively used in fertility studies around the world and it is therefore convenient when comparing results. The

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<sup>411</sup> Following mortality level 6,94 of the Coale and Demeny "East" model life tables.

<sup>412</sup> The Hutterite Protestant community of North America is the standard population forming the basis of Coale's index of marital fertility. Among the Hutterites marriage is universal and birth control is prohibited. See: Coale, A. J.: 1969.

calculations show that marital fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was highest in 1850 with an *Ig* of 0,71, while at the time of the preceding revision, in 1834, the *Ig* was 0,64, and in 1869, it was as low as 0,58. Accordingly, in the period 1834-69, a woman in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, who was married during her entire reproductive period would potentially give birth to a mean of 7 to 9 children. As noted above, under the condition of continual married life during the reproductive years, an average Russian peasant woman could theoretically give birth to 10-11 children. Only if taking into consideration the frequent interruptions of married life, an average of 7 to 9 children was proposed.<sup>413</sup> In other words, marital fertility seem to have been lower in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* than what has been thought typical for the Russian peasant population in the nineteenth century.

**Table 4.3.1:** Marital fertility (*Ig*) in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869, compared to various European regions and countries in the nineteenth century

Place	Year	<i>Ig</i> (children 0-1 years)	Number of children per woman*
<i>Bun'kovskaia volost'</i>	1833-34	0,64	8,2
<i>Bun'kovskaia volost'</i>	1849-50	0,71	8,8
<i>Bun'kovskaia volost'</i>	1868-69	0,58	7,2
Moscow Province	1896-97	0,64	8,0
- Urban population	“	0,44	5,5
- Rural population	“	0,77	9,6
European Russia	“	0,75	9,3
- Urban population	“	0,65	8,1
- Rural population	“	0,76	9,5
Norway	1801-1900	0,72	9,0
France	1831	0,54	6,7
England	1851	0,67	8,3

\* My calculations.

Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg*, Marchenko, O. V.: “Indeksy rozhdaemosti po 50 guberniiam Evropeiskoi Rossii v kontse XIX v.” p. 136 and Vishnevskii, A. G.: “Rannie etapy stanovleniia novogo tipa rozhdaemosti v Rossii” p. 131 in Vishnevskii, A. G. (ed.): *Brachnost', rozhdaemost', smertnost' v Rossii i v SSSR*, Moscow, 1977, Sogner, S., Randsborg, H. B. and Fure, E.: *Fra stua full til tobarnskull: Om nedgangen i barnetall i norske familier i de siste 200 år, med særlig vekt på perioden 1890-1930*, Oslo: Universitetsforlaget, 1984, p. 17, Livi Bacci, M.: *The Population of Europe*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 2000, p. 154.

The *Ig* values for different populations in Russia suggest that there were relatively large regional and social variations in marital fertility. At the turn of the twentieth century, the marital fertility for European Russia corresponded to a total number of 9,3 births per woman. This was close to the final number of births a married woman in a rural area of Moscow Province could expect in her reproductive period. However, if she lived in a town in Moscow

<sup>413</sup> See p. 167 in this chapter.

Province, she would give birth to only 5,5 children, altogether. This estimate includes Moscow City, which resulted in an extremely low urban marital fertility compared to other provinces of European Russia. Only in Moscow, St. Petersburg and Tver Provinces, urban marital fertility was at such a low level. In the fifty provinces of European Russia, the average urban *Ig* was 0,65, which corresponded to a mean of 8,1 children per woman during her reproductive years.<sup>414</sup> Marital fertility in the industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was by that higher than in the big cities, while it was at about the same level as in smaller urban centres elsewhere in European Russia. The indexes of marital fertility also show that in European Russia as a whole, marital fertility was somewhat higher than in other European countries. However, mean marital fertility for Moscow Province, as well as in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, was approximately at the same level as in Western Europe before the fertility decline.

The birth rates and indexes of marital fertility show that in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* fertility fluctuated rather much during the period 1834 to 1869. The sharp rise of the birth rate and also of marital fertility in the years 1849-50 imply that the population of this area responded instantly to compensate the excess deaths caused by the cholera crisis in 1848. Still, these fertility rates are calculated only for the three census years. This means that the results will vary according to the number of children born in that particular year and it is therefore difficult to conclude on fertility development. However, the age structure of the population indicated a gradual reduction of fertility during the period 1834 to 1869. To possibly confirm the fertility reduction in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the index of marital fertility was again used, but now children aged 0 to 4 years were included in the analysis. The assumed mortality in the age group was also taken into account.<sup>415</sup> In that way it was possible to calculate the mean marital fertility in the five years before a census year.

Accordingly, assuming a stable mortality rate of 53 percent in the age group 0-4 years, the calculations show that the fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* declined quite rapidly during the years 1834 to 1869. The largest decline happened from the early 1830s to the late 1840s. During this period the mean index of marital fertility was reduced from 0,74 to 0,62 and the corresponding number of births per married woman during the reproductive years, was reduced from over 9 children in the period 1830-34 to 7,7 children in 1846-50. By the late 1860s, marital fertility further decreased; the total number of births per married woman was

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<sup>414</sup> Source: Marchenko, O. V.: 1977, p. 136. My calculations.

<sup>415</sup> In addition to the 48,6 percent of a birth cohort who were expected to die in the two first years of life, another 4,4 percent were assumed to die between the second and fifth birthday. This made up a mortality rate of 53 percent in the age group 0 to 4 years.

just over 7 children in the years 1865-69. This means that already in the first half of the nineteenth century, marital fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was reduced to a level that was lower than the average marital fertility at the turn of the twentieth century for Moscow Province and the urban population of European Russia. This early decline in marital fertility is quite surprising. The comprehensive investigations of Russian fertility conducted within the framework of the Princeton European Fertility Project, have showed that the overall marital fertility in European Russia was as high as 0,76 in 1870, and that in the majority of the investigated provinces the  $I_g$  was in the range between 0,74 and 0,80. At this time, only three provinces in the Baltic area displayed a marital fertility on such a low level as the one found in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* already in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>416</sup>

**Table 4.3.2:** Marital fertility ( $I_g$ ) in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in 5 years preceding censuses in 1834, 1850 and 1869.

Period	$I_g$ (children 0-4 years)	Number of children per woman
1830-34	0,74	9,2
1846-50	0,62	7,7
1865-69	0,58	7,2

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

Thus, the analysis demonstrate that in the period 1834 to 1869 the pattern and development of fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* differed from the traditional fertility pattern of nineteenth-century Russia in several ways. First, the fertility level was lower than what was typical for the rural fertility pattern in nineteenth-century Russia. Other studies of fertility patterns among Russian peasants have found a birth rate of circa 50 per 1000. In *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the birth rate reached this level only in an extreme situation connected to a major demographic crisis, while the “normal” level seem to have been about 40 per 1000.

Likewise, the index of marital fertility show that married women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* most likely gave birth to fewer children during their reproductive years, compared to married women in other areas of rural Russia. Under the condition that a woman in rural Russia lived in marriage during her entire reproductive period, the estimate of marital fertility showed that she could theoretically give birth to almost 10 children. A woman in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, who was in a similar situation, would potentially give birth to 7-9 children. By this, marital fertility in this area was at about the same level as in smaller towns

<sup>416</sup> Coale, A. J. and Threadway, R.: 1986, p. 44.

in European Russia, but lower than in the large cities, such as Moscow and St. Petersburg. What is more, marital fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was gradually reduced in the years from 1830 to 1869. During the investigated period the number of potential births per married woman of reproductive age declined from approximately 9 in 1830-34 to 7 in 1865-69. By that, marital fertility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* became lower than in for instance nineteenth-century Norway.<sup>417</sup> Also this development differed from the general situation in nineteenth-century Russia. Most researchers stress the continuity of the Russian fertility pattern, which were altered only after the revolutionary years in the early twentieth century.<sup>418</sup>

Thus, among the proto-industrial workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the fertility level was relatively low, both what concerned the crude birth rate and marital fertility. Moreover, the development of marital fertility indicates that towards the end of the investigated period, women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might have succeeded to limit the number of childbirths to a certain extent. This further means that the considerable population growth in this area during the investigated period was not facilitated by an especially high fertility level. Even though the available sources do not make it possible to measure the mortality development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during this period, the decline in fertility along with population growth indicates a decline in the mortality level. Accordingly, the pattern of population development in nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been more or less in course with the general European development in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, in which mortality decline rather than high fertility rates facilitated population growth.

What may have caused the fertility pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* to diverge considerably from the prevailing pattern in nineteenth-century Russia, both what concerns crude birth rate and the exceptionally early decline in marital fertility? Relatively low fertility levels may be accomplished by way of two different means, either by restrictions on marriage or by birth control within marriage. Generally, the marriage pattern in nineteenth-century Russia surely facilitated a large number of childbirths, as a very large part of the population spent most of their fertile years within marriage due to a low marital age and practically universal marriage. Moreover, Russian peasants traditionally did not limit the number of childbirths within marriage. Accordingly, the unusual fertility pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*

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<sup>417</sup> See for instance Sogner, S., et al.: 1984, p. 17.

<sup>418</sup> According to the results of the Princeton European Fertility Project, in most provinces of European Russia a sustained decline in  $I_g$  happened as late as in the 1920s. Even so, in a few provinces, the decline happened much earlier; in Latvia already in the 1860s, in St.Petersburg Province in the 1870s, and in Moscow Province in the 1880s. See Coale, A. J. and Cotts-Watkins, S.: 1986, Map 2.1 in the back of the book.

may have been caused either by a marriage pattern that differed from the common Russian experience or by the introduction of some form of birth control within marriage.

#### 4.4. MARRIAGE

In pre-industrial society, a population's fertility level would to a great extent depend upon their marital behaviour. Peasants in nineteenth-century Russia were traditionally marrying early and only a few individuals remained single throughout their entire life. From 1830 the legal marital age in Russia was 16 years for females and 18 years for males. Boris Mironov claims that during the entire nineteenth and in the beginning of the twentieth century, sons and daughters in the Russian peasant household were married off as quickly as possible. This meant that young women married at the age of sixteen to eighteen while young men married when they were eighteen to twenty years old.<sup>419</sup> This has been largely confirmed by several studies of marriage patterns among Russian serfs. During the first half of the nineteenth century, the mean age at first marriage varied between 18 and 21 years for both males and females at the *Mishino* estate in Riazan Province. Likewise, the mean marital age for males and females in the village *Petrovskoe* in Tambov Province was 18 to 20 years in this period.<sup>420</sup> Apparently, the marital age in these regions was even lower in the eighteenth century. Thus, they conformed to a "non-European" marriage pattern that displayed features opposite of those associated with the European marriage pattern, which was dominating the north-western part of Europe at the time.<sup>421</sup>

According to the established demo-economic model, the marriage pattern among Russian peasants was connected to the agricultural system, which made large households an advantage. In the predominantly agrarian society of nineteenth-century Russia, where the household was the primary unit of production as well as consumption, the marriage pattern was closely linked to the performance of the economy as a whole. Within the repartitional commune the married couple was the primary labour unit, and was by that entitled to a land allotment. Thus, a household with many marital units was entitled to a larger share of the communal land. Moreover, before the abolition of serfdom, marriage touched the property

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<sup>419</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 1977, pp. 91-92.

<sup>420</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, p. 113, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 230.

<sup>421</sup> John Hajnal introduced the notion of the "European marriage pattern" in 1965. It consists of two main features - a high mean age at first marriage and a large proportion remaining single throughout life. This pattern was common in the western, central and northern parts of Europe, and occurred also around the Mediterranean. It can be traced in rural populations as far back as the medieval period and was a very stable feature of the European demographic regime. See: Hajnal, J.: 1965.



interests of the landlord as well. The tax paid by the peasants was distributed among the households according to the number of tax-paying units (*tiaglo*). Some accounts of Russian marriage patterns claim that the wish of landlords to increase the number of taxable units on their estates and guarantee the economic viability of households, led them to interfere in the personal lives of their serfs.<sup>422</sup> The high mortality level was further stimulating the prerequisite for early and universal marriage. By marrying early, a couple could produce a larger number of children and by that compensate for the losses caused by wars, epidemics and a high infant mortality.

Further, previous research on Russian marriage patterns maintain that the utilitarian purpose of early and universal marriage was reinforced by the village community's norms and traditions. The many-sided nature of the marital bond was reflected in customary law and in the prominent roles assigned to officials of the peasant commune in the practical and ritual aspects of a marriage. Marriage contracts, which were negotiated before witnesses and dealt with such matters as dowry, wedding costs, gifts, provisions for wedding guests, and compensation if either party failed to respect the contract, reflected the property interests of the peasants.<sup>423</sup> Moreover, with marriage, the young newlywed couple started a new life. A young man would become a "peasant" in the full meaning of the word, as only married males were entitled to a land allotment. Further, he would take his rightful place in the public society by becoming a member of the village commune (*obshchina*). Also for a young woman marriage was a dramatic event. Usually, a young woman moved into her husband's household when she married. The rewards that she received as wife and mother were often tempered by the adjustments she had to make in the new household. However, it introduced her to the larger community of married women, whose authority lay in the domestic sphere. Thus, early and universal marriage was the norm in the Russian village because of its economic and demographic advantages to all members of the community, to the young marriageable men and women, to the individual household, to the village commune, and to the landlord.

In other words, the established demo-economic model of Russian marital behaviour was depending on a number of preconditions, such as the connection between marriage and entitlement to allotment land and that arable land was an unconditional advantage. However, as outlined in chapter two, this does not always seem to have been the case. The regional variation in the criteria that made households entitled to arable land was great, and in Moscow

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<sup>422</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, pp. 115-116.

<sup>423</sup> Czap, P.: 1978, pp. 103-104.

Province, the number of *workers over a certain age* rather than the number of married couples regulated the distribution of arable land between the households in the peasant commune. Moreover, on the individual and household level an allotment of arable land also implied a certain tax burden, which may have been highly unattractive in districts such as *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, where agriculture yielded only meagre outcomes. Still, the peasant commune had to find a way to secure its common tax obligations, which in the proto-industrial districts of Moscow Province seem to have been accomplished through a modification of the repartitional system. In short, this modification implied that the obligation to take on allotment land was broadened to include individuals, who had no land rights in the traditional system, such as unmarried adult males and even adolescents.<sup>424</sup> The main issue here is how this development influenced the marriage pattern of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, both what concerns the timing of marriage and the overall marriage rate.

#### 4.4.1. Marriage pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869

The initial analysis of marital behaviour in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that the population in the area essentially conformed to a pattern of early and universal marriage. The figures 4.4.1 to 4.4.6 illustrate the pattern of marital behaviour for males and females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869. The first striking feature of the figures is that the transition from single to married life happened more or less collectively. This fit well with what is known from other studies of Russian marriage patterns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and probably means that many matches were arranged, at least to a certain extent. This feature of the marriage pattern also means that the calculated mean age at first marriage would reflect rather closely the actual marital age for most young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in this period.

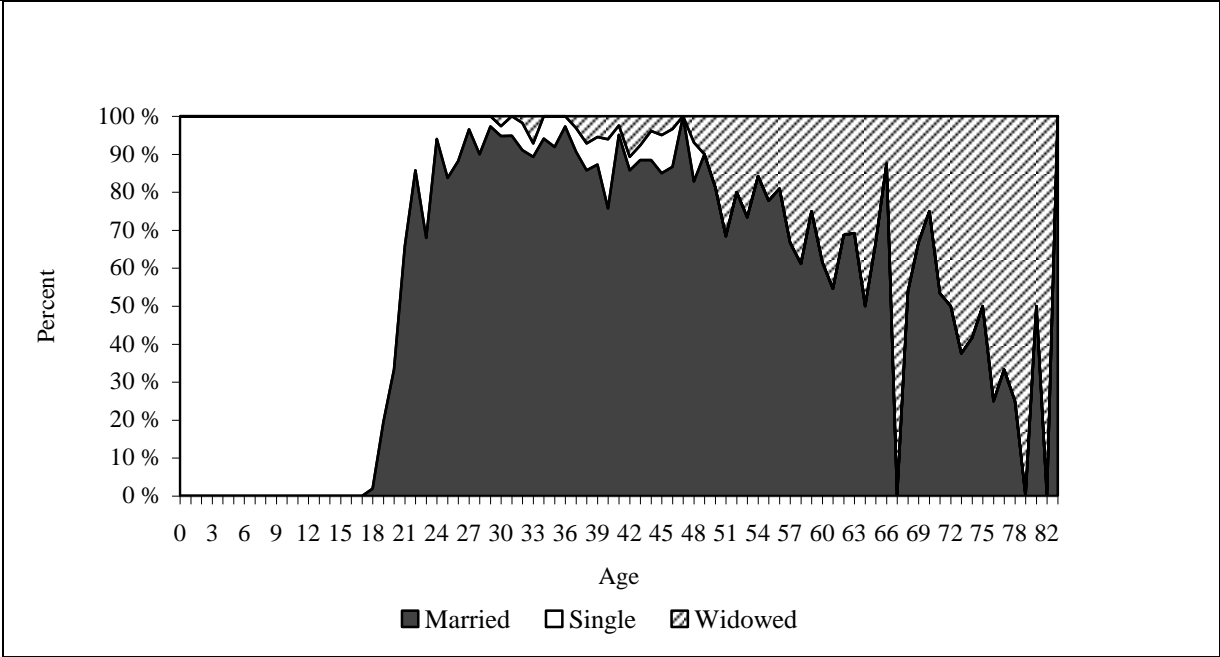
The figures further show that over the life course, the typical development for men and women in nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was to be single until the age of nineteen or twenty. At this age a majority of both men and women married, and married life continued until one of the spouses died. Widowhood could come quite early in life. Already among the nineteen- to twenty-year-old women there were a few widows, while the youngest widowers were approximately twenty-five years old. After this age the proportion of widows and widowers increased gradually and at the age of sixty, being widowed was just as usual as being married. Still, widowhood was more common for females than for males. The census

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<sup>424</sup> For a detailed outline of this argument, see Chapter 2, section 2.3, pp. 66-69.

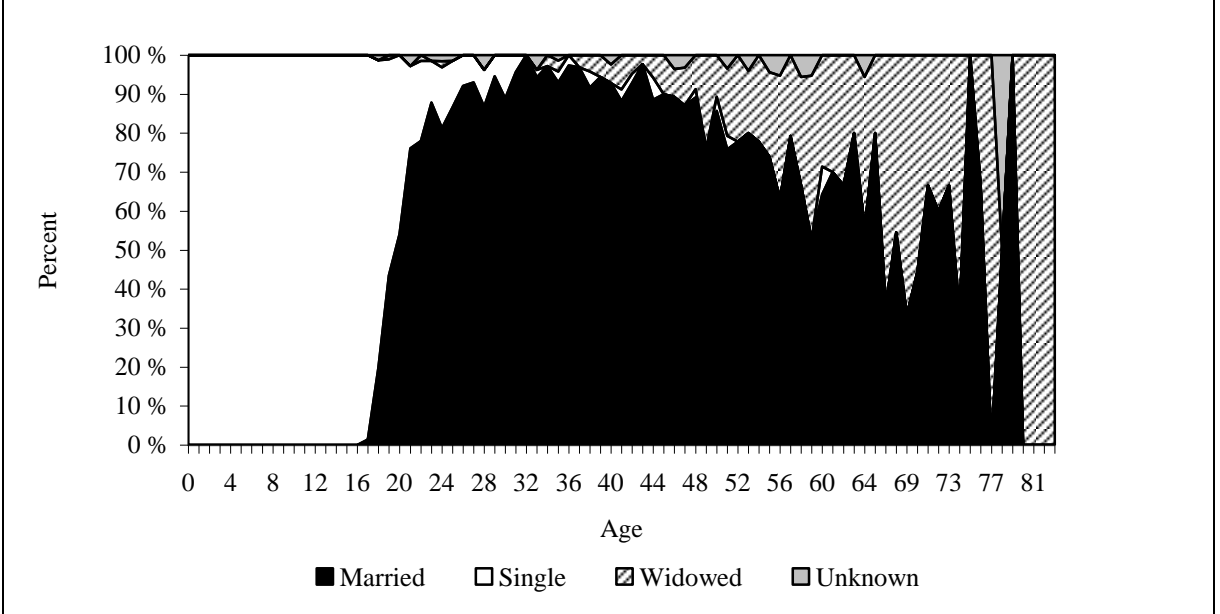
data show that remarriage was quite usual, and men remarried more frequently than women did. Thus, some of the married males of the older generation were probably in their second or third marriage. The figures also show that only a small proportion of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* remained unmarried throughout life, and that they mostly were females.

**Figure 4.4.1:** Marriage pattern, males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834.



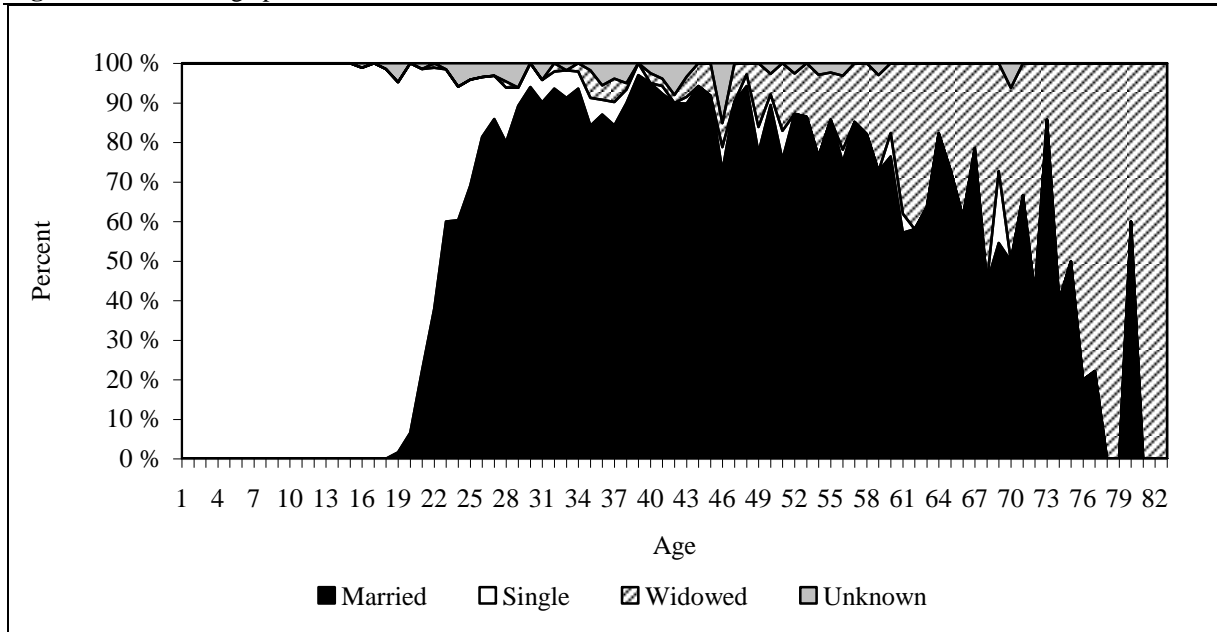
Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Figure 4.4.2:** Marriage pattern, males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1850.



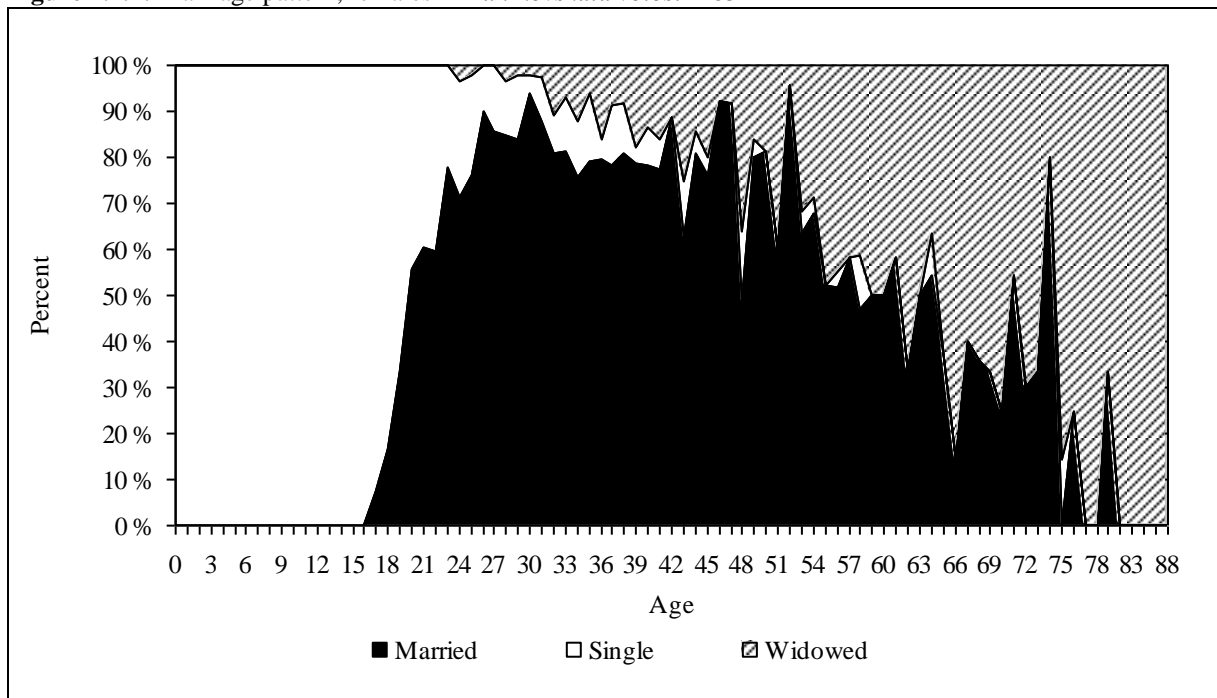
Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399:179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Figure 4.4.3:** Marriage pattern, males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

**Figure 4.4.4:** Marriage pattern, females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834



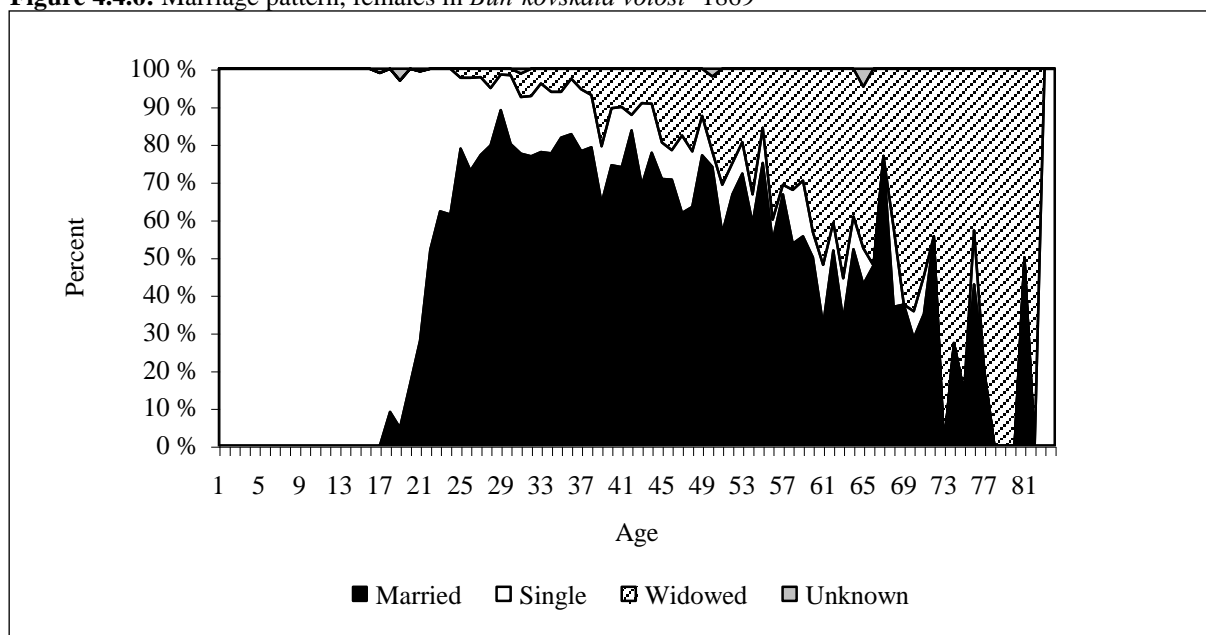
Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki.*

**Figure 4.4.5:** Marriage pattern, females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1850



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399:179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki.*

**Figure 4.4.6:** Marriage pattern, females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Seen together, the figures illustrate the development of the marriage pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869. In 1834, the marriage pattern was clearly "non-European". For most women the transition from single to married happened when they were 19 to 20 years old, while the young men typically married between their twentieth and twenty-first birthday. It was also very unlikely that an individual went through life and never

married. By 1850, this pattern was further intensified. In this year, the transition from single to married happened already at 18 to 19 years for both males and females. However, compared to 1834, a larger proportion of the women seem to never have married. By 1869, a change in the marriage pattern of both males and females had taken place. The transition from single to married life took place somewhat later, approximately between the twenty-first and twenty-third birthday. Furthermore, a larger proportion of the population remained unmarried throughout life, especially among the women.

**Table 4.4.1:** Singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM)<sup>425</sup> in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869

<i>Year</i>	<i>Males</i>	<i>Females</i>
1834	21,7 years	21,6 years
1850	20,9 years	20,2 years
1869	23,0 years	23,1 years

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

The calculations of singulate mean age at first marriage further confirms this pattern. In 1834, the mean age at first marriage was 21,6 years for women and 21,7 years for men. By 1850, the marital age was reduced to 20,2 years for females and 20,9 years for males. Nineteen years later the mean age at first marriage had increased considerably. It was now 23,1 years for women and 23 years for men. Accordingly, the marital age varied rather much over a relatively short period and it did not follow a linear trend towards higher or lower mean ages at first marriage. Even so, a closer look at the distribution of marital status by age demonstrates that by 1869 young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* may have been starting to change their marital behaviour.

In the tables 4.4.2 and 4.4.3 the marital status of young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* is shown in detail for the three census years. In 1834, the total proportion of married women in the age group 15 to 24 years was 37,9 percent. A few of the married women in the age group were only 17 years old. After this age the proportion of married females increased rapidly and after 20 years the married outnumbered the single. Still, for females younger than 25 years it was more common to be single than it was to be married, almost 62 percent of the females in the age group 15-24 were single in 1834. By

<sup>425</sup> Singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM) are calculated according to methods first described by John Hajnal in Hajnal, J.: 1953.

1850, the proportion of married women aged 15 to 24 years had increased by almost 10 percent and they constituted nearly half of the women in the age group. It is also remarkable that the youngest married woman was only 15 years old and as much as 43,8 percent of the eighteen-year-old women were married. Moreover, several young women were already widows. In 1869 the situation has changed once more. The proportion of married women in the age group 15 to 24 years was now only 31,9 percent and almost 70 percent were single. However, since 1850 the most notable change was that a larger group of young women remained single for a longer time. This was also true compared to 1834. Only at 21 years slightly more women were married than single and at 23 years almost 40 percent were still single. Accordingly, during the nineteen years between 1850 and 1869 the marital age of young women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* notably increased.

**Table 4.4.2:** Marital status among females aged 15-24 years in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869.

Age	1834						1850						1869					
	Married		Single		Widowed		Married		Single		Widowed		Married		Single		Widowed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15	-	-	42	100,0	-	-	1	1,1	86	98,9	-	-	-	-	98	100,0	-	-
16	-	-	58	100,0	-	-	-	-	77	100,0	-	-	-	-	90	100,0	-	-
17	4	7,3	51	92,7	-	-	8	12,1	58	87,9	-	-	7	8,8	73	91,3	-	-
18	10	16,4	51	83,6	-	-	57	43,8	72	55,4	1	0,8	3	4,8	60	95,2	-	-
19	25	33,3	50	66,7	-	-	41	48,8	43	51,2	-	-	10	16,1	52	83,9	-	-
15-19	39	11,4	252	88,6	-	-	107	21,2	336	78,7	1	0,2	20	5,1	373	94,9	-	-
20	25	55,6	20	44,4	-	-	76	68,5	34	30,6	1	0,9	41	27,9	106	72,1	-	-
21	32	60,4	21	39,6	-	-	53	73,0	19	25,7	1	1,4	53	52,0	49	48,0	-	-
22	34	59,6	23	40,4	-	-	55	77,1	14	20,0	2	2,9	51	63,0	29	35,8	1	1,2
23	39	78,0	11	22,0	-	-	45	68,8	20	31,3	-	-	54	61,4	34	38,6	-	-
24	40	71,4	14	25,0	2	3,6	60	82,2	12	16,4	1	1,4	67	77,9	17	19,8	2	2,3
20-24	170	65,0	89	34,3	2	0,7	289	73,9	99	24,8	5	1,3	266	52,8	235	46,9	3	0,6
Total	209	37,9	341	61,8	2	0,4	396	47,2	435	52,0	6	0,7	286	31,9	608	67,8	3	0,3

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

The young men displayed a similar marriage pattern, but they were somewhat older than the young women were when they married for the first time. In 1834, 31,9 percent of the males aged 15 to 24 years were married and 67,5 percent were single. There were no young widowers in 1834 and for a small proportion it was not possible to establish marital status. As for the women, the proportion married males in the age group 15 to 24 years had increased considerably by 1850. The youngest married male was only 17 years old and at 18 years almost 20 percent of the young men were married, compared to only 2 percent in 1834. A total of 42,9 percent of the males aged 15 to 24 years were married, 56 percent were still

single and a few, 0,4 percent, were already widowers. By 1869, the situation was again changed and the proportion of 26,3 percent married males in the age group 15 to 24 years was the lowest ever during the investigated period. It is also notable that only at 22 years the proportion married exceeded the proportion of single and at 24 years 27,8 percent of the young men were still unmarried.

**Table 4.4.3:** Marital status among males aged 15-24 years in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869.

Age	1834						1850						1869					
	Married		Single		Widowed		Married		Single		Widowed		Married		Single		Widowed	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
15	-	-	54	100,0	-	-	-	-	67	100,0	-	-	-	-	91	98,9*	-	-
16	-	-	56	100,0	-	-	-	-	77	100,0	-	-	-	-	80	100,0	-	-
17	-	-	56	100,0	-	-	1	1,4	69	98,6	-	-	-	-	68	100,0	-	-
18	1	2,0	50	98,0	-	-	15	19,7	60	78,9	-	-	2	2,1	91	95,8	-	-
19	19	19,8	77	80,2	-	-	40	43,5	51	55,4	1	1,1	2	5,3	36	94,7	-	-
15-19	20	6,4	293	93,6	-	-	56	14,7	324	84,8	1	0,2	4	1,1	366	98,1	-	-
20	19	34,5	36	65,5	-	-	33	54,1	28	45,9	-	-	30	23,4	97	75,8	-	-
21	27	65,9	14	34,1	-	-	54	76,1	15	21,1	-	-	34	39,5	52	60,5	-	-
22	24	85,7	3	10,7	-	-	52	77,6	14	20,9	1	1,5	39	60,0	26	40,0	-	-
23	34	68,0	15	30,0	-	-	58	87,9	7	10,6	-	-	41	61,2	21	31,3	-	-
24	47	95,9	2	4,1	-	-	52	81,3	10	15,6	1	1,6	67	69,1	27	27,8	-	-
20-24	151	67,7	70	31,4	-	-	249	75,7	74	22,5	2	0,6	211	47,6	223	50,3	-	-
Total	171	31,9	363	67,5	-	-	305	42,9	398	56,0	3	0,4	215	26,3	589	72,2	-	-

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

\* The proportions does not always add up to 100 in this table because there also existed a few young men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* for whom it was impossible to establish a marital status. However, this group never made up more than 1,5 percent of the age group 15 to 24 years.

Accordingly, in the period 1834 to 1869 the proportions of different marital statuses among young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, reveal two different trends. First, the years around 1850 seem to represent an exceptional time when people in the area married earlier than they usually did. As shown above, in the years 1847-48 *Bun'kovskaia volost'* went through a demographic crisis caused by a cholera epidemic that struck not only Russia but also large areas of Western Europe in the middle of the nineteenth century. The analysis of mortality fluctuations demonstrated that in 1848 the number of deaths among adults (aged 16 or older) was higher than in any other year of the investigated period. The crisis is also reflected in the number of extremely young widows and widowers present in the 1850 revision list. Further, in the year immediately after the crisis an extra large number of children were born. The unusually large proportion of married males and females in 1850 was probably also a result of this demographic crisis. By marrying earlier the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* may have hoped to compensate the human losses caused by the cholera



epidemic in 1848. Moreover, in the Russian village the survival of a household was to a large extent depending on the number of marital units in the household. Therefore, on the village level, a large number of deaths among those who already were married would stimulate the frequency of marriages among those who were single, to fill the “open spaces” in the households.

In spite of the situation in 1850, the general trend seems to have been towards an increased marital age for both women and men during the period 1834 to 1869. The distributions of marital status among those over 25 years show a partial reduction of the proportion of married compared to the proportion of single. In 1834, 14 percent of the women aged 25 to 29 years were single. This proportion was 13,8 percent in 1850 and had increased to as much as 18,4 percent in 1869. For males at the ages 25 to 29 years, the corresponding proportions were 8,3 percent in 1834, 8,8 percent in 1850 and 10,5 percent in 1869.<sup>426</sup> Accordingly, the mean age at first marriage as well as the distribution of marital status in the age group 25 to 29 years show that the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* gradually tended to postpone marriage.

The celibacy rate is one of the other main features characterising different marriage patterns. The celibacy rate can be measured by the proportion of the population that remained single throughout life. Hajnal defined the never married to be those who were still single at 50 years. The proportions are obtained by summing up the number of single men and women in the age groups 45-49 and 50-54 years, which then is divided by two. During the entire investigated period the proportion that remained single throughout life was quite low in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* but it gradually increased among the female population. In 1834, 3,8 percent of the female population and 1,5 percent of the male population were still single at 50 years. In 1850, only 1,2 percent of the men remained single their entire life while the proportion of women in this situation had increased to as much as 8,8 percent. Finally, by 1869, the celibacy rate had increased among the females as well as among the males. As much as 10 percent of the female population and 3 percent of the males were still unmarried at fifty years. These numbers reflect a male: female ratio with more women than men, which meant that it was more difficult for a woman to find a husband than for a man to find a wife. Moreover, the celibacy rate among the women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was considerably higher than what has been regarded typical for the peasant population in Imperial Russia,

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<sup>426</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

generally. At the turn of the twentieth century the proportion never married in the female population of European Russia was about 5 percent.<sup>427</sup>

**Table 4.4.4:** Proportions remaining single throughout life, as reflected in the share never married in the age group 45-54 years in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834-1869

Year	Males		Females		Male:female ratio
	No.	%	No.	%	
1834	3	1,5	10	3,8	91,5
1850	3	1,2	29	8,8	90,5
1869	11	3,0	41	10,0	90,2

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

As shown above most births in the past happened within marriage and contraception was largely unknown. Consequently, the lower the mean age at marriage and the lower the celibacy rate, the higher the number of children born in a population. In this context not only the proportion ever married is important, but also the marital status of women in reproductive age. Also in this respect, the women of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* differed from those in other investigated regions of Russia. Several studies of Russian marriage patterns in the nineteenth century indicate that as much as 80 to 85 percent of the female population of reproductive age were married or widowed.<sup>428</sup> Calculations for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* show that an unusually large share of the females of reproductive age was single. In 1834, 71,2 percent of the women of fertile age were married or widowed, while the corresponding proportions were 71,5 percent in 1850 and only 66 percent in 1869.<sup>429</sup> Accordingly, both the age at first marriage, the celibacy rate and the proportion single females of reproductive age were higher in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* than what is known from other studies of demographic patterns in nineteenth-century Russia.

Why did this population's marital behaviour differ from the prevailing marriage pattern? Even though most literature on the subject stress the continuity of demographic

<sup>427</sup> Hajnal, J.: 1965, p. 103. In a recent study of marriage patterns and household structures among peasants in Iaroslavl' Province during the nineteenth century, Tracy K. Dennison has found female celibacy rates that were at level with and at some points in time considerably higher than those estimated for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869. This indicates that the relatively large and increasing proportion of the females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* that remained unmarried throughout their lives was part of a larger regional trend in the Central Industrial Region. See Dennison, T. K.: 2003, p. 415.

<sup>428</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 231-232, Czap, P.: 1978, p. 114.

<sup>429</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

patterns in Russia, it is clear that there were differences in demographic behaviour between town and countryside, various social groups, and peoples in the country. Russian and Soviet scholars in particular emphasise that these differences increased after the abolition of serfdom in the early 1860s, and they connect this to the unequal development of industry and market relations in different areas of Russia.<sup>430</sup> The study of marriage patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to confirm that if industrial activities were important in a region's economy it might lead to the delay of marriage and to a larger proportion of the population remaining single throughout life. Moreover, an analysis of marital behaviour among different social groups within *Bun'kovskaia volost'* further strengthens the assumption that there existed a connection between the importance of industry and delayed marriage.

To study the connection between industrial development and marriage pattern it is preferable to have occupational data for each individual in the population. Such data are available in the 1869 census, while in the revision lists from 1834 and 1850 the population is registered only according to social estate (*soslovie*). In nineteenth-century Russia, an individual's social estate told little or nothing about what he or she actually was doing. In the central industrial region peasants usually combined agriculture and some form of handicraft or industrial employment. This means that it is not possible to define clear occupational groups on the basis of social estate. Thus, the analysis of marriage patterns among different social groups must be confined to the last census year.

In 1869 the occupational status of the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was much differentiated, but the overwhelming majority worked in the textile industry or in agriculture. Table 4.4.5 shows that there were clear differences in the marital age between individuals employed in agriculture and in the textile industry, both for males and females. The singulate mean age at first marriage for males working only in agriculture was 1 year lower than for the males connected to the textile industry. Similarly, females who had no other occupation than agriculture were marrying almost 2 years earlier than the females who were working in the textile industry. By that, the difference was largest in the female population. Moreover, a marital behaviour in which the female mean age at first marriage was more than 23 years did certainly not fit with the traditional Eastern European marriage pattern. The distribution of marital status among females of reproductive age employed in textile industry as opposed to females of productive age employed in agriculture point in the same direction. The females employed in the textile industry seem to have postponed marriage somewhat, compared to the

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<sup>430</sup> Vishnevskii, A. G.: 1977, p. 106-108.

agricultural workers. Still, there were no large differences in the celibacy rate. The proportion single females in the age group 15 to 49 years made up 25 percent among the agricultural workers and 28,4 percent among the textile workers. The marital behaviour among the industrial workers resembled the marital behaviour of the total population. Thus, it seems as if the agricultural workers were conforming to a marriage pattern that the rest of the population partly had left behind.

**Table 4.4.5:** Singulate mean age at first marriage (SMAM) among agricultural and industrial workers, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869.

Social status	Females		Males	
	SMAM	Mean age of workers (15-59 years)	SMAM	Mean age of workers (15-59 years)
Textile Industry	23,3 years	31,1 years	23,4 years	29,8 years
Agriculture	21,6 years	41,3 years	22,4 years	46,8 years
Total population	23,1 years	32,9 years	23,0 years	32,9 years

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 4.4.6:** Distribution of marital status among females 15-49 years according to occupation, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869. Percentages.

Age	Textile Industry					Agriculture			
	Married	Single	Widowed	Unknown	Age distribution	Married	Single	Widowed	Age distribution
15-19	2,3	97,2		0,5	17,6	14,8	85,2		8,8
20-24	47,7	51,2	0,3	0,9	22,3	71,9	28,1		10,4
25-29	81,4	15,5	1,7	1,5	15,6	85,0	12,5	2,5	13,0
30-34	84,3	10,8	4,1	0,8	14,1	77,8	13,9	8,3	11,7
35-39	81,3	10,6	7,3	0,8	14,2	76,0	14,0	10,0	16,3
40-44	83,1	7,4	7,7	1,8	9,4	71,4	14,3	14,3	20,5
45-49	80,1	6,4	12,3	1,3	6,8	69,5	6,8	23,7	19,2
Total	65,7	28,4	4,8	1,1	100,0	66,6	25,0	8,4	100,0

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

The differences between these two groups must in part be attributed to the fact that the textile workers far outnumbered the agricultural workers or any other occupational group. The clear results are also tempered by the age distribution of the different occupational groups. The mean age of females employed in agriculture alone was 10,2 years higher than the mean age of those working in the textile industry. Among the males the difference was even larger. The male textile workers were on average as much as 17 years younger than those employed in agriculture alone. Thus, the differences in mean age at first marriage between the occupational groups may be attributed to differences in marriage pattern between different generations, where the older generation had generally married earlier than the younger generation. Accordingly, there was no clear connection between occupation and age at marriage.

However, what seems clear is that employment in textile industry certainly did not stimulate earlier marriage, while agricultural work most likely did so.

Accordingly, in the period 1834 to 1869, the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* displayed a marriage pattern that in several ways differed from the traditional marriage pattern that is believed to have predominated in nineteenth-century Russia. First, the mean age at first marriage was somewhat higher among young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* than the marital age assumed to prevail in the Russian Empire, and it increased over time. Second, the proportion of women who never married grew in the years 1834 to 1869 and became gradually higher than in other investigated areas of nineteenth-century Russia. Third, the rate of single females in reproductive age was 10 to 15 percent higher in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* than in formerly studied populations. Accordingly, to a certain extent, the divergent fertility pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* can be explained by that alterations in the marriage pattern over the course of the investigated period. Finally, the textile workers may have delayed marriage somewhat, compared to the young men and women who were occupied in agriculture alone.

The reasons for delaying marriage seem obviously to have been connected to the socio-economic development in the eastern districts of Moscow Province during the nineteenth century, and especially in the post-emancipation period. The much accentuated link between marriage and land entitlement seem to have been very limited in Moscow Province during the last decades of the nineteenth century. The marriage of a son implied a slight increase in the amount of land obtained by a household, but generally land was distributed according to the number of workers over a certain age. Moreover, in the proto-industrial districts in the eastern part of Moscow Province, land was distributed not only to adult males but also adolescents were required to take on an allotment. This arrangement was probably imposed by the peasant commune in order to secure the payment of taxes, which in the nineteenth-century Russian tax system was the common obligation of all the households belonging to a given peasant commune. Obviously, distributing land and taxes only according to the number of married couples in each household was insufficient in a rural economy that became ever more dependent on industrial employment at the expense of agriculture. Agricultural incomes in the eastern districts of Moscow Province were probably too low to cover the tax expenses of the peasant commune, and by distributing land to new groups, the peasant commune was able to exploit the incomes that were yielded by young men and adolescents, who made up the main labour force in the textile industry. Under these circumstances early marriage seems to have lost its logical foundation, because it no longer contained any economic advantages. On the

contrary, even though marriage implied a slight increase in the amount of allotted land, the proto-industrial workers might have looked upon this to be rather a disadvantage, because it also increased the household's share of the common tax obligations. Moreover, for the proto-industrial household the early marriage of a daughter meant that the household lost valuable work power that could be employed in the textile industry. It was precisely at the age when a daughter in the peasant household of the Central Agricultural Region would be expected to marry that the involvement in proto-industrial textile production was at its highest level among the young daughters in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

Under the socio-economic conditions that prevailed in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, it becomes quite tricky to explain why the young men and particularly women who were employed in agriculture still conformed to the traditional marriage pattern, as the access to arable land was largely independent of marriage. Moreover, even though the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have combined agricultural and proto-industrial work, there are indications of a certain economic stratification between the households in this area, in which a few households maintained agriculture as their main activity. According to some accounts, these households often rented or received the peasant commune's permission to cultivate the allotments belonging to the households that concentrated on proto-industrial activities.<sup>431</sup> Thus, while land was formally distributed according to the equalising principles of the peasant commune, in the post-emancipation period, the economic reality of the proto-industrial villages seems to have been leaning towards increased stratification, in which some households were cultivating the land, while others were working in the textile industry. Further, the relations between the households belonging to different economic spheres were partly regulated by a market mechanism, in which land was rented and leased. Thus, the early marriage of the young women employed in agriculture seems to have been largely independent of the mechanisms regulating land availability.

Nevertheless, the agricultural households must obviously still have been highly dependent on the additional working power implied in a son's marriage. Agriculture in nineteenth-century Russia was still employing highly traditional methods, which were depending on a large number of working hands. Accordingly, the dependency on the married couple as a working unit in the traditional agricultural economy, in which husband and wife performed different tasks, may explain the relatively early marriage of women employed in agriculture. Moreover, if looking at marriage not from the point of view of the household

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<sup>431</sup> Orlov, V. I.: 1879, pp. 14-15n, 289-290.

economy but rather from the point of view of the individual young woman, an early marriage might be regarded as an alternative to work in the textile industry, even though industrial work seem to have been the preferred path for the majority of the young females in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the last decades of the nineteenth century. By that, the difference in the timing of marriage between females employed in agriculture and females employed in textile industry may have been an effect of their labour force participation. Moreover, the considerable employment of young women, married as well as unmarried, in the industrial labour force, might have reduced the number of childbirths within marriage as well, even though a closer investigation of the fertility pattern is needed to be conclusive on this issue.

## CONCLUSION

The study of the demographic pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the years 1834 to 1869 shows that this population's demographic behaviour in many ways differed from the one found in entirely agricultural communities in nineteenth-century Russia. First, the analysis of mortality patterns found that the male mortality level was lower and the life expectancy higher than in previously investigated Russian populations, and, moreover, the life expectancy increased considerably after 1850 among the adult and elderly men. Still, infant and child mortality was high, especially in the first two years of life, and mortality crises still seem to be a recurring experience for the population in this area. This mortality pattern deviates from what is known about nineteenth-century Russian mortality patterns on the general level. The mortality level in the Central Industrial Region has been found to be especially high, mainly due to a higher degree of urbanisation and industrialisation. The link between exceptionally high mortality rates and industrialisation does not seem to be confirmed in the case of nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Possibly, the distinctly rural development of proto-industrial textile industry and its concentration in relatively well-paid branches of production, made it possible to avoid the most hazardous effects of early industrialisation.

Further, the analysis clearly shows that the fertility level of this population was relatively low and that marital fertility declined during the period, to a level that was considerably lower than in other rural populations of late nineteenth-century Russia. Because the absolute majority of births in this population happened within marriage, the rather untypical fertility development must have been connected to the distinct marriage pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. At the initial year of the study, they started out conforming to the traditional Eastern-European marriage pattern, with early and almost universal marriage.

However, over the investigated period the mean age at first marriage increased gradually and a larger proportion of the female population remained single throughout life. Moreover, and most important for the fertility level, during the entire investigated period the proportion single women of reproductive age was 10 to 15 percent higher than in agricultural areas of nineteenth-century Russia. In spite of the general trend of reduced mortality, fertility and nuptiality, the response to the cholera crisis in 1848 shows that the demographic behaviour of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* also could be adjusted very quickly if the situation demanded it. Nevertheless, in the period 1834 to 1869 the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been experiencing a demographic development that can be associated with a beginning demographic transition.

By that, the second key element in the demographic regime of nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, in addition to a possible mortality decline, seems to have been marriage, or more precisely, an alteration of the marriage pattern due to the specific development of the rural economy in the eastern districts of Moscow Province. Most likely, proto-industrialisation was only one of several factors at play in this process. The interaction of proto-industrial work, poor agricultural conditions, the nineteenth-century Russian tax system, and the distinct rules regulating access to arable land within the peasant communes in this district, meant that the logic of early and universal marriage disappeared.



## CHAPTER 5

# THE PROTO-INDUSTRIAL HOUSEHOLD

On the macro-level, historians have found that there were considerable regional variations in the size of Russian peasant households. However, most studies on the micro-level concentrate on populations living in the Central Agricultural Region of European Russia. Supposedly, the specific family system in this region, the now archetypical “perennial” multiple family household of Russian peasants, as well as the suggested explanatory factors, were closely linked to the agricultural economy in this region during serfdom. The lack of detailed investigations of family patterns in the Central Industrial Region means that the mechanisms and development of Russian households that were engaged in industrial work are not known in any detail. The investigation of the family system in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* will give more knowledge about the characteristics of Russian households which at least in part had abandoned agriculture as their only income source.

In the previous chapter, we saw that during the years 1834 to 1869, the demographic pattern of *Bun’kovskaia volost’* diverged substantially from patterns found in other Russian nineteenth-century populations, particularly what concerned marriage and fertility patterns, and that this diverging pattern most likely was connected to the specific features of the rural economy in the area. As the demographic regime is an important factor in the formation of a particular family system, this might indicate that the households in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* were substantially different from previously investigated Russian households. A second important factor for explaining family systems is the material environment in which each individual household has to make its economic decisions. When a majority of the population found employment outside agriculture, which was the case in nineteenth-century *Bun’kovskaia volost’*, this most likely affected the strategies of families and individuals, which in turn would modify the family system. Accordingly, this chapter will focus on the family system in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* during the period 1834 to 1869. The discussion will be concentrated on the specific structural features of the household and how the composition of the domestic group changed according to the developmental cycle of the family and life course of the individual household members. It will also be significant to discuss the households of *Bun’kovskaia volost’* in connection to the socio-economic and demographic forces in which they were formed.

## 5.1. HOUSEHOLD SIZE

An essential variable in the study of households generally and proto-industrial households specifically, is household size. According to prevailing research, the pre-industrial Western-European household was quite small compared to households in other parts of the world. It is also clear that under certain conditions, the Western-European household became larger when its members engaged in proto-industrial activities.<sup>432</sup> The pre-industrial Russian peasant household was generally much larger than its Western-European counterpart. Some scholars have suggested that the size of the Russian peasant household remained unchanged under the influence of proto-industrialisation, as this large and complex entity was accommodated to proto-industrial production from the outset. In other words, the large Russian peasant household did not have to change to be able to exploit the opportunities provided by proto-industrialisation; rather, it was an important factor in the process of proto-industrial growth.<sup>433</sup> However, on the macro-level, it has been shown that households in the Central Industrial Region generally were smaller than in the Central Agricultural Region, and supposedly, this trend was connected to the different economic profiles in the two regions. Yet, there were also great variations in the economic profile within the Central Industrial Region. Broadly speaking, Kostroma, Tver', and Iaroslavl' Provinces along with the western districts of Moscow Province were areas of heavy male out-migration, while proto-industrial and later industrial development was largely confined to certain districts of Vladimir and Moscow Provinces. Previous research has shown that the peasant households in the migration districts accommodated to the changes brought about by out-migration, both what concerned mean household size and the relationship between household members.<sup>434</sup> Was this the case also for households in proto-industrial districts, such as *Bun'kovskaia volost'*?

The calculation of mean household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows a great degree of stability in household size during the investigated period. In 1834, the mean household size (MHS) was 6,2 members per household. By 1850, the MHS had increased to 6,7 members per household, while it in 1869 again was reduced to 6,1 members per household. The household

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<sup>432</sup> On household size in various Western European countries see for instance Laslett, P. and Wall, R.: 1972, pp. 60-62, Sogner, S.: 2003, p. 66. On the size of proto-industrial households, see for instance Kriedte, P., et al.: 1981, pp. 54, 84, Ogilvie, S. C. and Cerman, M.: 1996, pp. 127-128.

<sup>433</sup> Rudolph, R. L.: 1985, p. 65-66.

<sup>434</sup> Studies of family patterns in Iaroslavl' Province have found that the mean household size among peasants in this part of the Central Industrial Region was considerably smaller than among the peasants in the Central Agricultural Region investigated by Czap and Hoch. See Mitterauer, M. and Kagan, A.: 1982, and Dennison, T. K.: 2003. Further, as for instance Barbara A. Engel has shown, the relationship between family members changed in migration areas of Kostroma, Iaroslavl', and Tver' Provinces. See Engel, B. A.: 1994.

size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was by that considerably lower than in European Russia at large, which in the mid-nineteenth century had a MHS of 8,4 members per household. Simultaneously, the household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was somewhat lower than the average household size of the northern and central regions of Russia, which in the middle of the nineteenth century was 6,8 members per household, and considerably lower than in the Central Agricultural Region, where each household contained as much as 10,2 members on average.<sup>435</sup> Accordingly, the calculation confirms the assumption that in the nineteenth century, households in this proto-industrial district were significantly smaller than in the agricultural areas of southern Russia.

**Table 5.1.1:** Household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869

	<b>1834</b>	<b>1850</b>	<b>1869</b>
Number of households	961	1068	1445
Total population	5985	7127	8856
Range	1-29	1-21	1-21
Mean household size	6,2	6,7	6,1
Population in households of 1-3 members	6,7 %	5,3 %	8,4 %
Population in households of 4-9 members	65,4 %	61,6 %	66,8 %
<b>Population in households of 10 or more members</b>	27,9 %	33,0 %	24,9 %

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Further, the overall stability of household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869 is also confirmed by the fact that the majority of the population was living in households which size was close to the mean household size. In all three census years, more than 60 percent of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were living in households with 4 to 9 members. As such, the middle sized household also seems to have been the ideal household for the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, even though the size of the households in the area ranged from only 1 to as much as 29 members in 1834 and from 1 to 21 members in the two succeeding census years.

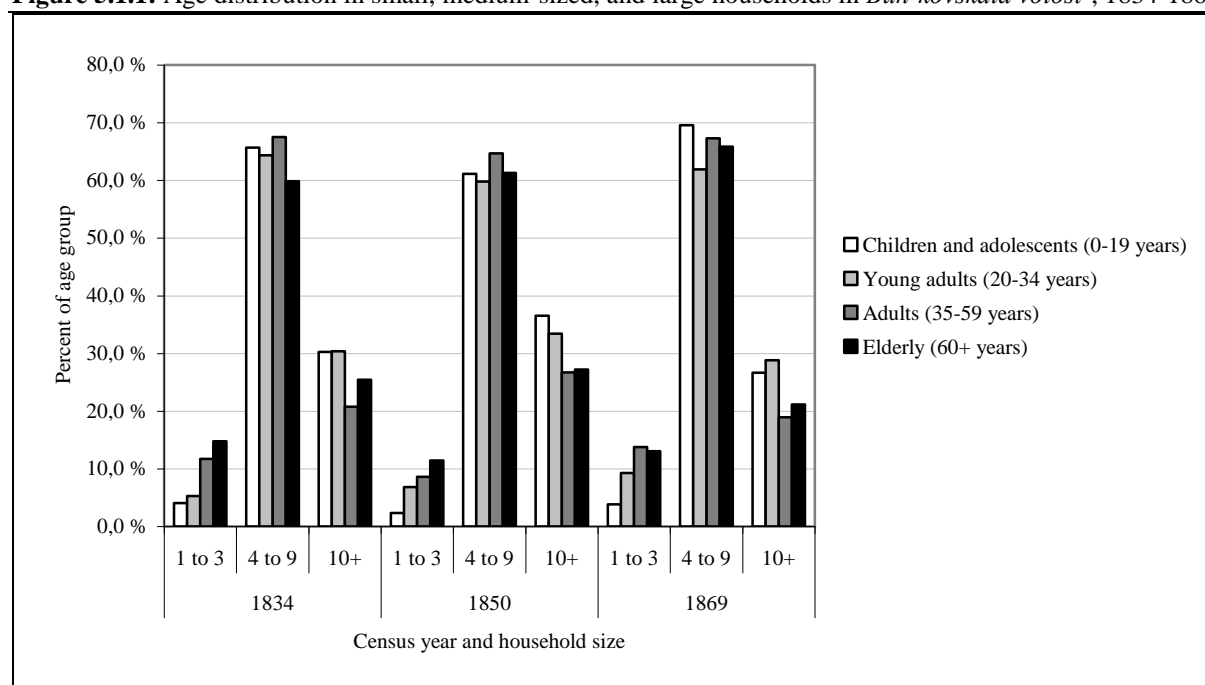
Although there were a few very large households in this area during the nineteenth century, a considerably smaller share of the population lived in such households compared to populations in the Central Agricultural Region. At *Mishino* estate in Riazan Province, Peter Czap found that approximately 60 to 67 percent of the population was living in households with 9 members or more in the first half of the nineteenth century.<sup>436</sup> At the same time, in

<sup>435</sup> Mironov, B. N.: 2003a, p. 221.

<sup>436</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, p. 11.

*Bun'kovskaia volost'* only approximately 28 percent of the population in 1834 and 33 percent of the population in 1850 was living in large households with 10 members or more. Moreover, by 1869, the share of the population living in large households was reduced to less than 25 percent. In other words, towards the end of the investigated period the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* tended to be living smaller households than earlier. This is also confirmed by the fact that a larger share of the population was living in small households with only 1 to 3 members compared to the previous census years. While households with 1 to 3 members was the home of circa 7 percent of the population in 1834 and only about 5 percent in 1850, over 8 percent of the population were living in such households in 1869.

**Figure 5.1.1:** Age distribution in small, medium-sized, and large households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Further, the likelihood of living in a small, a medium sized or a large household seems to have varied during the life course of each individual. In all three census years, the medium sized household with 4 to 9 members was the home of a majority of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* independently of their age, but the likelihood of living in such households was especially great among mature adults, aged 35 to 59 years. The chance of living in a medium sized household was also great in childhood and adolescence, especially towards the end of the investigated period, when almost 70 percent of the population aged 0-19 years were living in such households. Still, the most distinct age pattern was found in the

small households with only 1 to 3 members and in the large households with 10 members or more. Throughout the investigated period, the age structure of the small households showed that in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the likelihood of living alone or with only a few other individuals increased with age. Accordingly, while only very few of the children and adolescents were living in small households; this was the case for circa 10 to 15 percent of the elderly aged 60 or more. Further, the analysis shows that the increase in the share of the population that lived in small households towards the end of the investigated period must be attributed to the fact that a larger share of the adult population lived in small households compared to the previous census years, and especially in 1850.

Opposite, although the large households with 10 members or more had a relatively even age distribution, the proportion children, adolescents, and young adults were large compared to the other age groups. Thus, among those aged 0 to 19 years, the proportion living in large households made up circa 26 to 36 percent during the investigated period, while approximately 29 to 33 percent of the young adults were living in such households. On the other hand, among the mature adults and the elderly the likelihood of living in a large household was reduced to comprise between 19 and 27 percent of those aged 35 to 59 years, and between 21 and 27 percent of those aged 60 or more. Finally, the reduction in the proportion living in large households in 1869 was a common tendency in all age groups, but most so among children, adolescents, and the elderly.<sup>437</sup>

Accordingly, early in the life course, in childhood, adolescence, and in early adulthood the chance of living in a large household was especially great, while later in the life course, and especially in old age, the likelihood of living alone or with only a few other individuals increased. However, the dominance of the middle sized households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was so great that the majority of the population seem to have been living in such households throughout their lives.

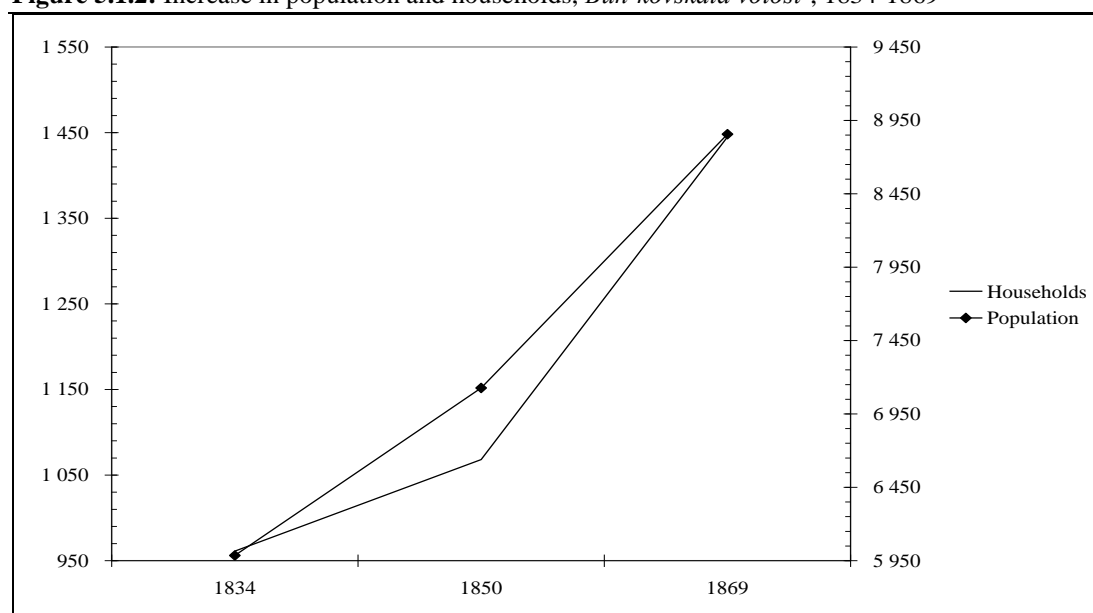
The general stability in household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been facilitated by the fact that during the investigated period the number of households increased at pace with population growth, except in the mid-nineteenth century, when the population increased at a higher rate than the growth in the number of households. Accordingly, in 1850 the mean household size was somewhat higher than in the two other census years, and a relatively larger proportion of the population at different ages was living in large households with 10 members or more. Generally, however, the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to

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<sup>437</sup> See figure 5.1 to 5.4 the appendix for details, pp. 298-299.

have been able to create an equilibrium between population growth and the number of households, which led to an overall stability in mean household size and the distribution of the population between households of different sizes. We will return to the reasons behind the balance between population growth and the number of households later in this chapter and in the following chapter, but, in short, this situation seems to have been facilitated by the specific pattern of household division and inheritance that prevailed among the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the investigated period.

**Figure 5.1.2:** Increase in population and households, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869



Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

The households in the proto-industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were smaller than the households of previously investigated populations in the Central Agricultural Region, but were there differences in household size among different categories of population within *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, such as different social estates, different occupational groups, or different confessions?

Under serfdom, the majority of the population in this area was proprietary serfs (*pomechichnye krest'iane*), but the tax revisions also registered the factory serfs (*fabrichnye krest'iane*), bound to the paper factory in the village Uspenskoe, the household serfs (*dvorovye krest'iane*) of different serfowners, and clergy. The analysis shows that there was a certain connection between household size and social status in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869. The proprietary serfs and the factory serfs displayed similar mean

household sizes for most of the investigated period. The only exception was in 1850, when the mean household size among the factory serfs increased more than among the proprietary serfs. Accordingly, the mean household size among the proprietary serfs varied between 6,5 in 1834 via 6,7 in 1850 to 6,1 in 1869. Likewise, the mean household size of the factory serfs was 6,2 in 1834, 7,2 in 1850, and 6,4 in 1869. Even though the figures varied somewhat, the difference in mean household size between these two different categories of serfs can probably not be attributed to their different social status. On the one hand, the mean household size of the household serfs was considerably smaller than what was the case among the two other groups of serfs, mainly due to a large share of solitaries among them. The mean household size of the household serfs was only 2 members per household in 1834 and 3,3 members per household in 1850. The clergy, which were the only non-serf/peasant population registered in the 1834 revision list and in the 1869 household census, were also living in relatively small households. Especially in 1834, the mean household size of the clergy in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was only 3,3 members per household. By 1869, however, the average household size among the clergy had increased to 6 members per household, mainly due to a larger number of children in each household. Accordingly, the smallest households were found among the household serfs, whose special status also seems to have led to an unusual family life. Similarly, the households of the clergy tended to be quite small. On the other hand, the households of the two major social groups in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the proprietary serfs and the factory serfs, tended to be approximately of the same size, indicating that the family situation of these two categories of serfs was quite similar.

For the period after the abolition of serfdom, the data of the *zemstvo* household census from 1869 provide more detailed information on the social structure and occupational structure in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The analysis of household size among the main occupational groups shows that the connection between relatively small households and industrial work was quite close not only compared to purely agricultural areas, but also within *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The MHS of the households headed by individuals working in the textile industry was 5,5 members per household, while households headed by individuals working in agriculture were containing 6,9 members on average. Moreover, approximately 26 percent of the textile households were small households containing from one to three members, while this was the case for only 16 percent of the agricultural households. Likewise, 8,3 percent of the textile households were made up of 10 members or more, while this was the case for 18,5 percent of the agricultural households. In other words, the textile households, defined to be the households in which the head was involved in textile

production, were clearly smaller than the households in which the head was working in agriculture.

We saw in the previous chapter that the occupational structure in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was corresponding closely to the age structure, in the way that the majority of the textile workers were quite young and that employment in agriculture became increasingly important in old age.<sup>438</sup> This means that the difference in household size between these two occupational categories might actually have been the result of a correspondence between household size and age of the household head, rather than a correspondence between household size and occupation. In order to verify which factor was decisive, age or occupation, the household heads aged 45 to 54 years were singled out for a closer analysis.<sup>439</sup> The mean size of the households headed by textile workers aged 45 to 54 years was 5,9 members per household, and as such these households were slightly larger than the textile households generally. However, households headed by agricultural workers in this age group were even larger, containing 7 members on average. Further, while 25,3 percent of the textile households headed by individuals aged 45 to 54 years contained 1 to 3 members, this was the case for only 14 percent of the agricultural households. Opposite, 15,7 percent of the agricultural households in the age group were large households with 10 members or more, while this was the case for 12 percent of the textile households. In other words, while the size of both textile households and agricultural households could vary greatly, the mean size of the textile households tended to be smaller than the mean size of the agricultural households. This indicates that the correspondence between household size and economic profile was valid not only between the different regions within Central Russia, but also within the smaller geographical area of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

Even though the analysis so far has shown that the household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been highly dependent on the economic profile of the area as well as of each household, other factors might also have been at play. The 1850 revision lists contain information on the confession of each individual, which shows that *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was the home of a considerable number of Old Believers. Family life among the Russian Old Believers has frequently been associated with an especially high degree of conservatism and patriarchal values, which could mean that their households were larger than the households of

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<sup>438</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.3, pp. 116-119.

<sup>439</sup> The age group 45 to 54 years was chosen because in 1869 a large share of the heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were in this age group and because at this age approximately equal shares of the household heads were working in agriculture and in the textile industry, which provides for comparable results.



the Orthodox population. However, in 1850 the mean size of the Old Believer households was 6,6 members per household, which was similar to the household size of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* generally. Further, the distribution of the Old Believer population on small, middle-sized and large households was similar to this distribution in the area at large. Accordingly, the possible conservatism and patriarchal relationships within the Old Believer community was certainly not reflected in the household size of this confessional group in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, which also indicates that different cultural or religious values within the Russian peasant population hardly was decisive for the size of their families.<sup>440</sup>

Thus, the analysis of household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that the variation in the mean size of Russian peasant households was depending on economic factors. Large households were associated with agriculture, while relatively smaller households were associated with industrial work, and this seems to have been true on the regional as well as the local level. Moreover, contrary to the belief that the large Russian peasant household remained unchanged under the influence of proto-industrialisation, these results indicate that involvement in proto-industrial textile production reduced the mean household size among Russian peasants and led to a situation when a relatively larger share of the population lived alone or in quite small households.

Still, the analysis of household size provides a very limited understanding of the family. To understand why there were such differences in household size between the Central Industrial and the Central Agricultural Region as well as between agricultural and textile households, it is necessary to study the composition and development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and compare them to households in other regions of nineteenth-century Central Russia.

## 5.2. COMPOSITION OF HOUSEHOLDS IN *BUN'KOVSKAIA VOLOST'*, 1834-1869

We know from other countries in pre-industrial Europe that the family systems of different socio-economic groups might be essentially dissimilar.<sup>441</sup> Accordingly, the significant difference in household size between the Central Industrial Region and the Central

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<sup>440</sup> The sources for the analysis of household size according to social status, occupation, and confession were: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715; *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

<sup>441</sup> For instance, the great variety in household systems within Mediterranean countries can largely be attributed to different socio-economic conditions that influenced the system of inheritance and the timing of crucial events in the life course of the individual. An outline of the variations within the Mediterranean countries is for instance found in Kertzer, D. I.: 1991, 160-162.

Agricultural Region could be the result of two different family systems among basically different socio-economic groups within the nineteenth-century Russian peasantry. On the other hand, the observed difference in household size between the two regions might also be a result of that the households in these regions have been investigated at different phases in their development cycle, which made them seem dissimilar even though they actually belonged to the same family system. In the following, we will look at the composition of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, using different approaches, compare them to previously investigated households in the Central Agricultural Region, and try to establish whether the proto-industrial households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were part of the same system as the agricultural households in Southern Russia or not.

Several different approaches are possible when analysing the composition of households. As outlined in chapter one, the most commonly used approach has been the methods developed by the Cambridge Group for the History of Population and Social Structure. These methods have frequently been criticized, but they are suitable in comparative analyses and maybe especially so in geographical areas where the knowledge about family patterns still is rudimentary, which certainly is the case for the Russian Empire. In the following, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* have been classified according to the modified version of the Hammel/Laslett scheme that was described in the first chapter.<sup>442</sup>

The distribution of household structures in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that at any time during the period 1834 to 1869 two of the five household types were especially widespread, namely multiple family households and single family households, which made up the overall majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the investigated period. The multiple family households were most common. In the period 1834 to 1869, multiple family households made up between 46,5 percent and 56 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. However, the analysis shows that simple family households were almost as widespread as multiple family households were. In 1834, 37,7 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were simple family households. By 1850 the proportion simple family households had declined to approximately 30 percent of the households. Yet, in 1869, the proportion such households had again increased and constituted as much as 40,6 percent of the households in the area. The other household categories were much less common. The proportion extended family households was quite stable and made up between 7,6 and 8,3 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the investigated period.

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<sup>442</sup> See Chapter 1, section 1.1 and 1.2 for a more detailed outline of the methodological and theoretical dispositions in this study, pp. 5-21.

The remaining two categories, solitaries and ‘no family’ households, were even less common and both categories of households were gradually reduced in the period from 1834 to 1869. In 1834, 5,2 percent of the population in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* were living alone. In 1850 this category was reduced to 3,6 percent and by 1869 only 2,1 percent were living alone. The “no family” households were even less numerous, making up only 1 to 2 percent of the total number of households in the area.

**Table 5.2.1:** Distribution of household structures in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* 1834-1869.

Household Structure	1834				1850				1869			
	Households		Population		Households		Population		Households		Population	
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent
1; Solitaries	50	5,2 %	50	0,8 %	38	3,6 %	38	0,5 %	30	2,1 %	30	0,3 %
2; “No family”	20	2,1 %	56	0,9 %	14	1,3 %	46	0,6 %	27	1,9 %	72	0,8 %
3; Simple	362	37,7 %	1717	28,7 %	325	30,4 %	1519	21,3 %	587	40,6 %	2681	30,3 %
4; Extended	80	8,3 %	446	7,5 %	81	7,6 %	458	6,4 %	115	8,0 %	613	6,9 %
5; Multiple	447	46,5 %	3713	62,0 %	599	56,1 %	5045	70,8 %	686	47,5 %	5460	61,7 %
6; Unknown	1	0,1 %	3	0,1 %	11	1,0 %	21	0,3 %	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %
<i>Total</i>	<i>961</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>5985</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>1068</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>7127</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>1445</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>8856</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis’ 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis’ 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis’ selenii Bun’kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

Further, the analysis also shows that the majority of the population in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* was living in multiple family households. At any time during the investigated period as much as 60 to 70 percent of the population in these villages was living in households consisting of more than one conjugal family unit. Correspondingly, in 1834 and 1869 roughly 30 percent of the population were living in simple family households, while in 1850, this was the case for only 21,3 percent of the population. Finally, circa 6 to 8 percent of the population were living in extended family households, while only a few were living alone or in “no family” households. Thus, the multiple family household was the daily environment for the majority of the population in *Bun’kovskaia volost’*.

Accordingly, the analysis of the census data from 1834 show that the proto-industrial villages of *Bun’kovskaia volost’* had a family system in which the multiple family households and simple family households were both very widespread, the former household type being slightly dominant. However, in the middle of the nineteenth century a larger share of the households was of the multiple type. Still, this seems to have been an extraordinary situation because the previous pattern was recovered in 1869. In *Bun’kovskaia volost’*, simple and multiple family households seem by that to have formed a double system. A more detailed subdivision will give more information on how these households were organised.

**Table 5.2.2:** Distribution of household structures in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834-1869, based on a modified version of the Hammel/Laslett scheme of classification

<i>Household Structure</i>	<i>1834</i>		<i>1850</i>		<i>1869</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1a; Solitaries – widowed	22	2,3 %	17	1,6 %	13	0,9 %
1b; Single/unknown marital status	28	2,9 %	21	2,0 %	15	1,0 %
1c; Solitaries – married with spouse absent ( <i>Soldatka</i> )	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %
2a; Co-resident siblings	14	1,5 %	8	0,7 %	18	1,2 %
2b; Other co-resident relatives	4	0,4 %	4	0,4 %	4	0,3 %
2c; Non-related co-residents	2	0,2 %	2	0,2 %	5	0,3 %
3a; Married couple without offspring	32	3,3 %	39	3,7 %	70	4,8 %
3b; Married couple with offspring	277	28,8 %	236	22,1 %	419	29,0 %
3c; Widower with offspring	18	1,9 %	14	1,3 %	27	1,9 %
3d; Widow with offspring	34	3,5 %	36	3,4 %	69	4,8 %
3e; <i>Soldatka</i> with offspring	1	0,1 %	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %
4a; Extension upwards	35	3,6 %	34	3,2 %	33	2,3 %
4b; Extension downwards	8	0,8 %	14	1,3 %	16	1,1 %
4c; Extension sideways	34	3,5 %	30	2,8 %	64	4,4 %
4d; Combinations of 4a-c	3	0,3 %	3	0,3 %	2	0,1 %
5a; Secondary units up	8	0,8 %	13	1,2 %	14	1,0 %
5b; Secondary units down	250	26,0 %	364	34,1 %	461	31,9 %
5b*; Secondary units down with widowed/single head	98	10,2 %	102	9,6 %	126	8,7 %
5c; Secondary units sideways	11	1,1 %	19	1,8 %	17	1,2 %
5c*; Secondary units sideways with widowed/single head	3	0,3 %	5	0,5 %	4	0,3 %
5d; <i>Frèrèches</i>	18	1,9 %	29	2,7 %	19	1,3 %
5e; Combinations of 5a-d	59	6,1 %	66	6,2 %	45	3,1 %
5e*; Combinations of 5a-d with widowed/single head	0	0,0 %	1	0,1 %	0	0,0 %
6; Unknown or indefinable	1	0,1 %	11	1,0 %	0	0,0 %
<b>Total households</b>	<b>961</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>1068</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>1445</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

In table 5.2.2 the households are distributed by the different subdivisions in the modified version of the Hammel/Laslett scheme. This gives several interesting results. The impression of a dual system of household structures is largely confirmed. Over the entire period, the two most widespread household types in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were simple family households consisting of married couples with offspring (3b) and multiple family households with secondary units disposed down (5b). Each of these categories made up roughly 30 percent of all the households both in 1834 and 1869. However, 1850 was again an exception to the rule. In this year, more households were multiple households with secondary units disposed downwards; over 34 percent of the households were of this type. The proportion of married couples with offspring was somewhat reduced but this household type was still the second largest category and made up 22,1 percent of all households in the area.

In addition to these two categories, the multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards and where the household head was widowed or single (5b\*) made up a quite large part of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In 1834, circa 10 percent of the households were of this type. In 1850, a widow or a widower headed 9,6 percent of the multiple households with secondary units disposed down, and in 1869, this category made up 8,7 percent of all households. Further, the most complex of the multiple households that were extended by secondary units in several directions simultaneously (5e), made up circa 6 percent of the households in 1834 and 1850. By 1869, however, the proportion such households was reduced to only 3,1 percent of all the households in the area. Also the proportion of the population living alone was considerably reduced over the years. Opposite, the number and proportion of married couples without children (3a) increased throughout the investigated period, composing almost 5 percent of the households in 1869. The same was true for the households consisting of widows with children (3d). Most of the other household categories in the scheme were rather insignificant and did not change much neither in numbers nor in proportions.

Accordingly, the subdivision of household categories confirms that in the period 1834 to 1869, a large proportion of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were complex households with several co-resident conjugal family units. However, even though the multiple family households were important they still were not absolutely dominant, as has been shown for agricultural villages in the black-earth belt of southern Russia. For instance, in the village *Petrovskoe* in Tambov Province, multiple family households made up as much as 60 to 65 percent in the first half of the nineteenth century and a majority of these households were of the most complex type (5e). Simultaneously, simple family households composed only 15 to 16 percent of all households. Likewise, Czap found in his pioneering study of *Mishino* in Riazan Province that in the period 1782 to 1858, as much as 75 to 82 percent were multiple family households. At the same time only 6,7 to 12,2 percent of the households were simple family households.<sup>443</sup>

In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the most widespread multiple family households were extended by secondary conjugal family units downwards from the household head. The multiple family households extended either sideways or upwards from the household head were rather unusual and the same was true for combinations of multiple households. Moreover, simple household forms made up a substantial part of the households in

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<sup>443</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1993, pp. 78-79 or the English original: Hoch, S. L.: 1986, and Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 5-26, Czap, P.: 1983, pp. 105-151.

*Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Most of the simple family households were nuclear families consisting of a married couple with children. Both in 1834 and 1869 this household type made up almost 30 percent of the households in the area, and even in 1850, when the proportion such households was considerably reduced, it was much higher than what has been shown for populations in the Central Agricultural Region during the nineteenth century. Accordingly, not only mean household size but also the distribution of household structures differed considerably between the proto-industrial villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and the purely agricultural areas in Southern Russia. Still, the dissimilar distribution of different household categories in the two regions does not really make it possible to conclude on whether this was the result of variations within one family system or the result of essentially different family systems. The importance of multiple family forms in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* indicates that they also belonged to a family system in which several generations of co-resident married couples was the norm. However, the large number of simple family households and the fact that the multiple family households in this area were generally less complex than such households in the agricultural areas, might indicate that the family system here differed from the one prevailing among peasants in Southern Russia, where allegedly the goal was to develop households which at any time contained at least two married couples.<sup>444</sup>

From this follows that a better approach to the analysis of family systems might be to examine the generational depth and the composition of marital units within the households. This approach gives a more detailed picture of especially the multiple family households, which to some extent is concealed when distributing the households by the categories in the Hammel/Laslett scheme. For instance, the multiple family household with secondary units down (5b), which were very common in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, could theoretically contain from 2 to x marital units, depending on how many of the head's married children were residing with him. The average number of marital units and generations per household in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* compared to other areas would indicate whether there existed diverse behavioural patterns and residence rules in different regions within Russia, and thus whether the population in these regions adhered to the same family system or not.

Table 5.2.3 shows the distribution of marital units and generational depth in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869. The distribution of marital units support the impression of a dual system of household structures and what is more, it stresses to an even greater extent the relative simplicity of household forms found in the

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<sup>444</sup> See for instance Czap, P.: 1982, p. 17.

analysis above. The analysis shows that as much as 12 to 15 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* did not contain any marital unit at all. During the entire period, households containing only one married couple predominated. In 1834 as well as in 1869, households with one marital unit made up over half of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, while in 1850, the proportion was somewhat reduced. Even so, with 46,7 percent, the households with one marital unit were still most widespread. The variation in the number and proportion of marital units seems again to be related to the fact that the year 1850 represented a time when the household structures in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* became more complex. In this year, almost 30 percent of the households contained two marital units as opposed to 23-24 percent in the two other census years. Moreover, nearly 12 percent of the households contained three or more marital units, while this was the case for only 6,8 percent of the households in 1834 and 1869.

**Table 5.2.3:** Distribution of households by number of marital units and number of generations in each, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869 compared to *Petrovskoe* in Tambov Province, 1850 and a sample of 230 households in Voronezh Province, 1887-96.

Number of marital units	1834		1850		1869		Petrovskoe 1850		Voronezh 1887-96
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	Percent**
0	145	15,1 %	134	12,5 %	186	12,9 %	10	9,6 %	0,4 %
1	524	54,5 %	500	46,8 %	814	56,3 %	32	30,8 %	41,3 %
2	226	23,5 %	309	28,9 %	347	24,0 %	29	27,9 %	32,6 %
3	55	5,7 %	102	9,6 %	87	6,0 %	20	19,2 %	16,5 %
4	9	0,9 %	19	1,8 %	10	0,7 %	11	10,6 %	3,9 %
5 or more	2	0,2 %	4	0,4 %	1	0,1 %	2	1,9 %	5,2 %
Total	961	100,0 %	1068	100,0 %	1445	100,0 %	104	100,0 %	100,00 %
Average number of marital units	1,2		1,4		1,3		2,0*		2,0

Number of generations	1834		1850		1869		Petrovskoe 1850		Voronezh 1887-96
	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	No.	Percent	Percent**
1	103	10,7 %	98	9,2 %	142	9,8 %	11	10,8 %	6,5 %
2	455	47,3 %	477	44,7 %	720	49,8 %	53	52,0 %	42,2 %
3	380	39,5 %	472	44,2 %	557	38,5 %	37	36,3 %	46,1 %
4	23	2,4 %	21	2,0 %	26	1,8 %	1	1,0 %	5,2 %
Total	961	100,0 %	1068	100,0 %	1445	100,0 %	102	100,0 %	100,0 %
Average number of generations	2,3		2,4		2,3		2,3*		2,5

\* My calculations.

\*\* Numbers not available

Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*, Hoch, S. L.: *Serfdom and Social Control in Russia: Petrovskoe, a Village in Tambov*, Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1986, pp. ??, Worobec, C. D.: *Peasant Russia: Family and Community in the Post-Emancipation Period*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 111.

The generational depth of the households also confirms that there existed a dual system of household structures in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869. First, during the investigated period the households that contained two generations predominated and its share varied from 47,3 percent in 1834 via 44,7 percent in 1850 to 49,8 percent in 1869. Second, the proportion of households consisting of three generations was also quite high. In 1834, 39,5 percent of the households contained three generations, while by 1850 it had increased to as much as 44,2 percent. In this year, the three-generation households became by that equally important to the two-generation households. However, by 1869 the percentage of households with three generations was reduced to the previous level, making up 38,5 percent of the households. At last, in all the three census years approximately 10 percent of the households consisted of members belonging to the same generation.

Once again some of these findings can be contrasted to investigations of the household system in the Central Agricultural Region. The results from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* have been compared to results from two similar analyses of household structures in the agricultural *Tambov* and *Voronezh* Provinces. Steven Hoch found in the previously mentioned village *Petrovskoe* that in the mid-nineteenth century approximately 30 percent of the households contained only one marital unit. In a study based on budget studies of peasant households in *Voronezh* Province, Christine Worobec discovered that the proportion of households with one marital unit was circa 40 percent. The proportion of households with one married couple was by that much lower in these populations compared to *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The contrast is even more striking when one takes into account that 60 to 70 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* contained 0 or 1 marital unit, while this was the case for approximately 40 percent of the households in the two populations of the central black-earth belt. Further, almost 60 percent of the households in *Petrovskoe* and in the *Voronezh* sample contained two or more marital units, while this was the case for only 30 to 40 percent of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

Households with two marital units were quite common in all three populations but the difference was large as regards the proportion of households with three or more marital units. Households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* rarely contained three or more marital units, while this was the case for almost 32 percent of the households in *Petrovskoe* and 26,5 percent of the households in the *Voronezh* sample. In the three census years, the average number of marital units in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* varied between 1,2 and 1,4 per household. On the other hand, in both *Petrovskoe* and *Voronezh*, the average number of marital units was 2 per household. What generational depth in the households was concerned, the differences



were relatively small between *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and *Petrovskoe*. However, the households in the *Voronezh* sample were clearly more complex also in the way that fewer households consisted of members belonging to the same generation, while more households consisted of four generations. In other words, the analysis shows that the complexity of the households in *Petrovskoe* mainly was caused by a high proportion of marital units within each household, while in the *Voronezh* sample high proportions of marital units as well as generations contributed to the complexity of the households. The households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* differed from these populations in the way that they generally contained fewer marital units. On the other hand, households with several generations beyond the parent-child relation were quite common in all three investigated populations.

The household structures as well as the distribution of marital units and generations within the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* indicate that co-resident kin beyond the nuclear family must have been quite widespread. However, so far the analysis has not provided exact information on the importance of co-resident kin in these households and how frequently individuals in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were living with kin beyond the conjugal family unit. The kin-based Hammel/Laslett scheme gives some indications to which kin relations were prevailing within the households. However, the scheme is mainly concerned with the overall structure of the household rather than the individuals who composed the household. By looking at each co-resident individual's relation to the household head, it is possible to determine exactly which type of coresidence between relatives that was most widespread and it brings out both the changes and continuities in household composition somewhat better than the above approaches.

Table 5.2.4 examines the relation to the household head of co-resident kin, excluding the head's spouse and children, placing each individual into an exclusive kinship category. Further, the majority of these relations were distributed on four different categories of kinship, depending on the character of the kin-relation to the household head. As expected, the analysis shows that co-resident relatives beyond the nuclear family were an important element in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869. During the entire investigated period, over half of the households contained relatives beyond the nuclear family and co-resident relatives made up approximately one third of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. A consistent feature of the household composition was that the kin-relations were mainly *vertical*, that is, the households with additional kin were in most cases extended downwards by relatives belonging to a younger generation than the household head. At any time during the investigated period, more than 70 percent of the co-resident kin were

in the position of spouse to offspring of head or head's grandchild. Moreover, a few of the heads' co-resident grandchildren were married and had their own children, who, accordingly, held the position of great grandchildren to the household head. In such households the vertically oriented kinship line was stretching over several generations.

**Table 5.2.4:** Co-resident kin of head in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1869.

<i>Relation</i>	1834			1850			1869		
	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Category</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>%</i>	<i>Category</i>
Grandparents	2	0,1 %		0	0,0 %		0	0,0 %	
Parents	53	2,5 %	8,3 %	61	2,2 %	8,1 %	41	1,4 %	8,6 %
Siblings	121	5,7 %		160	5,9 %		203	7,1 %	
Spouses of offspring	505	23,9 %		710	26,1 %		792	27,8 %	
Grandchildren	1071	50,7 %	74,6 %	1242	45,7 %	71,8 %	1485	52,1 %	80,0 %
Spouses of grandchildren	18	0,9 %		33	1,2 %		35	1,2 %	
Great grandchildren	26	1,2 %	2,1 %	32	1,2 %	2,4 %	38	1,3 %	2,6 %
Spouses of siblings	60	2,8 %		93	3,4 %		61	2,1 %	
Nephews	80	3,8 %	10,5 %	144	5,3 %	13,5 %	71	2,5 %	6,4 %
Nieces	81	3,8 %		131	4,8 %		49	1,7 %	
Affines	35	1,7 %		32	1,2 %		36	1,3 %	
Other relatives	62	2,9 %		80	2,9 %		37	1,3 %	
Co-resident kin as proportion of population in households		35,3 %			38,1 %			32,2 %	
Percentage of households with co-resident kin		56,8 %			64,8 %			57,0 %	

Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399; *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715; *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

In other words, co-residence with married children was very frequent for the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, and in a few households, the household head was co-residing with their married grandchildren as well. Likewise, a similarly continuous feature of the household system in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was that *horizontal* kin-relations within the household were relatively rare. The category consisting of spouses of siblings, nephews and nieces to the household head made up from 6,4 to 13,5 percent of the co-resident kin. Accordingly, married siblings did not usually live in the same household. It was also relatively unlikely for the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* to live with kin belonging to their family of orientation.<sup>445</sup> Only 8 to 9 percent of the co-resident kin were in the positions of grandparents, parents or siblings. Finally, the categories of 'affines' and 'other relatives' were rather insignificant during the entire investigated period.

<sup>445</sup> *Family of orientation*: The family into which an individual was born and reared, consisting of his/her father, mother, brothers and sisters.

Despite the overall continuity in the characteristics of co-resident relatives, there were some significant changes during the period 1834 to 1869. First, the overall tendency was that the entire set of individuals classified as co-resident kin first was increasing and then decreasing in size. From composing circa 35 percent of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in 1834, the co-resident kin made up as much as 38 percent in 1850 and only 32 percent in 1869. The share of households with co-resident kin was also increasing from 56,8 percent in 1834 to almost 65 percent in 1850 and again reduced to 57 percent in 1869. However, the most important development during the investigated period was that the horizontal kin-relations within the households were considerably reduced, while the vertical kin-relations became increasingly widespread. In 1834, the 'spouses of siblings', 'nephews' and 'nieces' made up 10,5 percent of the co-resident kin and this proportion had increased to 13,5 percent in 1850. By 1869, however, this category was reduced to only 6,4 percent of the co-resident relatives. Simultaneously, the proportion of 'spouses to offspring' with 'grandchildren' and the 'spouses of grandchildren' with 'great grandchildren' was reduced from 76,7 percent in 1834 to 74,2 percent in 1850. By 1869, these categories had increased and made up almost 83 percent of the co-resident kin. Likewise, the co-resident kin from the head's family of orientation was growing slowly, mainly as a result of an increased number of unmarried or widowed siblings in the households. In other words, the analysis of co-resident kin shows that the complex households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were structurally relatively uncomplicated. In addition, the kinship ties within these households were quite close, consisting mainly of a parent-child-grandchild-relation. Over the investigated period, these vertical kinship ties within households were reinforced compared to other, more distant types of kinship ties. Moreover, the overall importance of co-resident kin was reduced during the period 1834 to 1869, even though the household structures developed towards more complex forms between 1834 and 1850.

The presence of a large proportion of co-resident kin beyond the nuclear family has been established as one of the main differences between the family systems of Western Europe and Russia. Previous studies of households in Russia have also stressed the importance of co-resident kin in peasant households. However, calculations show that co-resident kin was even more important in the households of populations in agricultural areas of southern Russia. In *Petrovskoe*, as much as 76 percent of the households contained co-resident kin in 1850 and Hoch's analysis of household structure shows that extended and multiple family households largely were extended either upwards or sideways. In other words,

the co-resident kin in these households were often the head's parents or siblings.<sup>446</sup> Likewise, the data from *Voronezh* at the end of the nineteenth century show that 67,8 percent of the households contained kin beyond the nuclear family. Moreover, co-resident kin of the household head excluding spouses and children made up almost half of the population in the *Voronezh* sample. Over 60 percent of these co-resident relatives were daughters-in-law and grandchildren who, accordingly, had a vertical bond to the household head. Even so, almost 20 percent were the household head's sisters-in-law, nephews or nieces. In other words, horizontal kin relations were clearly more important in these households than was the case in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Another difference compared to *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was that in the *Voronezh* households, the head was more often co-residing with one or both of his/her parents.<sup>447</sup> To sum up, co-resident kin was quite widespread in the households in the industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* but it was even more important in the agricultural villages in the southern provinces of Russia. Moreover, the kin relations in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were close – the household head's married offspring and grandchildren made up the overwhelming majority of the co-resident kin in these households. Even though married children and grandchildren were very important in the southern Russian households as well, the co-resident kin in these households were to a greater extent made up of the household head's parents, and especially more distant kin such as married siblings and their children.

In Russian peasant society, co-resident kin have been supposed to fill the functions that among Western European peasants were filled by non-kin household members, and then especially life cycle servants. Therefore, according to the prevailing literature on the subject, non-kin members were practically absent in the Russian households. Basically, the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have conformed to the general Russian tendency of not bringing unrelated individuals into their households, especially in the beginning of the investigated period. In 1834 as well as in 1850, less than one percent of the households in the area contained non-kin members. By 1869 the non-kin household members still did not constitute a large part of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, but there was a striking increase in the number of households which contained member who were not related to the household head.

So, who were these rare individuals who were living in households headed by non-kin, and what characterised the households that took them in? In 1834, the non-kin household

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<sup>446</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 234-235. My calculations.

<sup>447</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 112. My calculations. See Table 5.5 in the appendix for details, p. 299.

members were mainly single or widowed elderly females, who seem to have been lodgers in the households where they were living. The majority of these lodging elderly females were living in rather small and structurally simple households. This is hardly very surprising as it seems logical that small, simple households would see the benefit of taking in additional household members. By 1850, the profile of the non-kin household members had changed to a certain extent. Still, some of them were widowed elderly solitaires but most of the non-kin household members were belonging to some form of family unit. The census data show that these families recently had been transferred from villages outside *Bun'kovskaia volost'* belonging to the same serfowner. They may have been placed as lodgers in the households where they were residing because there was no other houses available, or because these households needed extra members. This is sustained by the fact that the households taking in lodgers were structurally quite simple. While the lodging families were living in households headed by elderly widows, the individual lodgers were living in nuclear family households.

Compared to the two previous census years, in 1869, the profile of the non-kin household members in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had changed quite remarkably. Still, the largest group of non-kin household members was the lodgers, but they were much more diversified than in the previous census years. First, a group of solitary elderly female lodgers seems to have existed throughout the investigated period, but in 1869, it was much larger than before. Many of these women were immigrants from the nearby towns *Bogorodsk* and *Pavlovskii Posad* or from other villages in *Bogorodskii uezd*. The lodging elderly females were accompanied by a group of solitary widows with children, who previously seem to have been living exclusively in the households of relatives. Opposite from the solitary female lodgers, these women were largely belonging to the local population. An entirely new group of lodgers were seemingly newly formed family units from the local area. This was a change compared to 1850, when the lodging families tended to be immigrants from other villages. However, the most radical change from the previous census years was that a quite large group of solitary male immigrants of working age were living as lodgers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The majority of these lodgers had emigrated from other villages in Moscow Province or from neighbouring provinces, in particular from Vladimir Province, which was the other main proto-industrial province in the Central Industrial Region. Generally, they seem to have come to *Bun'kovskaia volost'* to work in the textile industry.

The non-kin household members were distributed on relatively few different households located in only a few of the 28 villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. As much as 61,5 percent of the non-kin population was living in the five villages *Bol'shoe Bun'kovo*, *Bol'shoi Dvor*,

*Fabrika Rakhmanova*, *Kuznetsy* and *Timkova*. *Bol'shoe Bun'kovo* was the administrative centre in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and in 1869 the village had a total population of almost 900. *Bol'shoi Dvor* and *Kuznetsy* were also large villages that were located in the southern part of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* not far from *Pavlovskii Posad*. The high proportion of non-kin in these villages was caused by a particularly large number of lodging solitary females and small nuclear families. *Fabrika Rakhmanova* was not a real village, but rather the territory of a paper factory located near the large village *Uspenskoe*. The large proportion of non-kin household members was almost entirely caused by the extensive number of servants in the household of the factory owner Nikolai Rakhmanov. Compared to the other villages with a high share of non-kin household members, *Timkova* was on a relatively isolated location in the northern part of the *volost'*. However, in 1869, it was a large village with an apparently prosperous industry. The non-kin population in this village mainly consisted of solitary males, who were working in the textile industry.

The high concentration of non-kin household members in these villages was clearly connected to their industrial development. In a report at the turn of the twentieth century, the local *zemstvo* physician for *Bogorodskii uezd* noticed that households in this area frequently took in industrial workers as lodgers. The census material from 1869 shows that already thirty years earlier, housing of lodgers and factory workers was practised in some of the larger industrial villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Accordingly, although non-kin household members were rare in this area, they were not entirely unknown and their number seems to have been increasing over the years. Moreover, the housing of non-kin was apparently closely connected to the industrial profile of the area. Owners of different enterprises, mostly small textile factories, headed all the households that were housing industrial workers. Accordingly, these peasant entrepreneurs were taking in factory workers in their own homes.

To sum up, it is possible to identify two distinct household forms in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The typical household form was the complex household with two or more generations of married couples and the second typical household form was the married couple with children. Further, these two household forms seem to have been equally important. During the period 1834 to 1869, this residence pattern was a quite stable feature of the family system in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, even though the exact distribution of household categories changed from census year to census year. In addition, after the abolition of serfdom the households in some of the villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* displayed an increasing tendency to house non-kin members. This tendency seems to have been connected to increased in-migration to the area as well as the industrial development. Compared to previously investigated areas of

Russia, relatively uncomplex household structures predominated in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In this area, a large share of the households was made up of simple family households and, moreover, the multiple family households were less complex than was the case in the agricultural areas of southern Russia. The average household in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* contained fewer marital units/conjugal units, fewer generations and less co-resident kin compared to previously investigated populations in Russia.

What might have facilitated this household pattern and the clear differences that can be observed between *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and previously investigated populations in the Central Agricultural Region? Theoretically, variation in the demographic regime, such as different mortality levels or marriage patterns, could have been important for explaining the differences in household composition between *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and the populations in Southern Russia. Supposedly, particularly high mortality rates might have led to the relatively few marital units in each household, as less people would survive until marriage and more people would be at risk of widowhood. However, in Chapter 4 we saw that the mortality level in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might have been somewhat lower than in for instance *Petrovskoe*, and that it probably improved during the investigated period.<sup>448</sup> Moreover, the fact that the generational depth of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was similar to the generational depth of the households in Southern Russia, indicates that the relatively low share of marital units per household in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* cannot have been caused by particularly high mortality levels. A high marital age might also have led to a comparatively few marital units per household. Towards the end of the investigated period, the marital age in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was clearly higher than among the peasants in Southern Russia. Still, in the two first census years the mean age at marriage was quite low and largely conformed to the pattern of early and universal marriage that was common in pre-revolutionary Russia. Simultaneously, the average number of marital units per household was quite stable during the investigated period, which means that differences in marital age hardly was decisive for the difference in the number of marital units per household in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and the populations in Tambov and Voronezh Province. In other words, the relative simplicity of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* does not seem to be mainly caused by demographic factors.

This turns the attention towards variations in the timing of transferring household authority from one generation to the next in different regions within Central Russia. Generally, the younger generation in the Russian peasant household could expect to attain

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<sup>448</sup> See chapter 4, section 4.2.3, pp. 149-159.

authority either due to deaths in the older generation or because of household division. Variations in the mortality level would lead to variations in the complexity of households. Certainly, mortality levels within Central Russia varied regionally as well as locally, but they do not seem to have been sufficiently large to explain the variations in the complexity of households. This means that a difference in the frequency of household division rather turns out to be the key factor in explaining the variation in household composition between the Central Industrial and the Central Agricultural Region. This is largely an unexplored field of research, so that explanations provided here must be regarded as highly preliminary. Still, investigations of populations in the Central Agricultural Region have shown that a crucial factor for explaining the complexity of the households in this region was that the timing of household division and the transfer of authority from one generation to the next was delayed until both the divided and the newly formed household contained at least two marital units.<sup>449</sup> This was obviously not the case in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* as throughout the investigated period a majority of the households in the area contained only one marital unit. This might indicate that the relative simplicity of the households investigated in this study was connected to a distinct development cycle that differed from the one found among previously investigated Russian peasant populations.<sup>450</sup>

Especially in 1850, the overall stability of this household pattern was broken by a marked increase in complex family forms that largely was the result of a higher number of co-resident married siblings compared to the two other census years. This leads to the conclusion that the complexity was caused by either demographic development or the pattern of household division. The most obvious explanation relating to the demographic development in the area is the demographic crisis in 1848, which was described in detail in the previous chapter.<sup>451</sup> This crisis had several demographic consequences for the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Apart from an increased number of deaths, the age at first marriage was temporarily reduced in the years immediately following 1848, and the fertility rates increased. It seems possible that the household structures also were influenced by such a serious demographic crisis. The fact that the proportion of nuclear families was reduced and the proportion multiple families increased, point in the direction of less frequent household divisions than what seems to have been usual in the two other census years. Maybe young

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<sup>449</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 17-19, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 237-239.

<sup>450</sup> I will return to an analysis of the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in section 5.4, see pp. 220-226.

<sup>451</sup> See Chapter 4, section 4.2.2, pp. 146-149.



couples had to stay longer in the parental household under conditions of increased mortality. The age pattern of deaths in 1848 showed that there was an increase in the share of deaths among the male population of working age, 20-59 years.<sup>452</sup> The worker-consumer balance must have been very important in any household. If several of the household members of working age recently had died, it would be crucial for the survival of the household to bring in additional work power through the marriage of surviving sons, and it might be more difficult for junior couples to leave the household to establish their own. Still, it is an open question to which extent these mechanisms would lead to the observed pattern of increased household size and complexity. Theoretically, a large number of deaths would actually reduce household growth, but the increase in mortality during 1847-48 does not seem to have had a severe effect on the demographic composition of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Moreover, the long-term demographic trend in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1850 was not demographic crises and increased mortality but rather a considerable population growth. Most likely, the population growth led to a situation when the rural economy was unable to provide for the establishment of new households at pace with the growth of junior family units, which in turn meant that the size and complexity of the existing households would increase. Accordingly, the reason for the increased household size and complexity in 1850 was probably a reduced marital age, due to the recent demographic crisis, in combination with the long-term trend of population growth during the period 1834 to 1850.

In spite of the relative simplicity of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, multiple family households still made up a considerable share of the households in the area. This means that a large share of the junior conjugal units in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* lived in households headed by others, such as a father, a grandfather, an elder brother, or maybe an uncle. The residence of newly formed conjugal family units is one of the main differences between various family systems, which partly explain the large regional differences in household size and complexity within Europe. In other words, to establish whether the observed regional differences in household size and complexity within Central Russia was a result of different family systems or not, it seems crucial to compare the residence rules prevailing in proto-industrial *Bun'kovskaia volost'* to those found among previously investigated agricultural populations in Southern Russia. Moreover, dissimilar residence rules would most likely influence the timing of household events, which in turn would affect the development cycle of the household.

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<sup>452</sup> See Chapter 4, section 4.2.2, p. 148.

### 5.3. RESIDENCE RULES

Generally, a young newlywed couple in nineteenth-century Europe had two options on where to live. In the north-western part of Europe and in some parts of the Mediterranean area, neo-local rules required young newlywed couples to establish their own independent household upon marriage. This arrangement led to a high age at first marriage and a high proportion of simple family households. The patrilocal rules that dominated in Eastern Europe, including Russia, required young newlywed couples to move into the parental household of the groom.<sup>453</sup> The patrilocal rules contributed to the early and universal marriage among Russian peasants, as young men and women did not have to earn an independent livelihood in order to marry. Moreover, an obvious consequence of the patrilocal rules was a high proportion of complex household forms.

Previous research has shown that in the purely agricultural areas of southern Russia patrilocality was an absolute rule. Moreover, the “perennial multiple family household” was based on the extension of patrilocal principles over several generations so that for instance the household head’s grandson would bring his wife into the parental household if he married before his grandparents died.<sup>454</sup> The considerable share of multiple family households in *Bun’kovskaia volost’* indicates that patrilocal residence was a common arrangement for young newlywed couples also in this area. Even so, the considerable number of simple family households as well as the large proportion households containing only one marital unit, suggest that patrilocality might not always have been the rule, or that it ceased to be the rule at an earlier point in the households’ development cycle and the individual’s life course than was the case in previously investigated areas.

The household position of married couples at different ages shows to what extent patrilocal rules were prevailing in the households of *Bun’kovskaia volost’*. Figure 5.3.1 to 5.3.3 shows the ratio of household positions for the married population in different age groups for the three census years 1834, 1850 and 1869. In the analysis the categories are made up of “couples” of household positions as for instance household head with spouse, child with spouse and so on, while the categories ‘parent’, ‘other relatives’ and ‘non-kin’ were a mixture of several relatively rare household positions. The analysis is gender-neutral but it is clear that some of the household positions were predominately male while other positions were

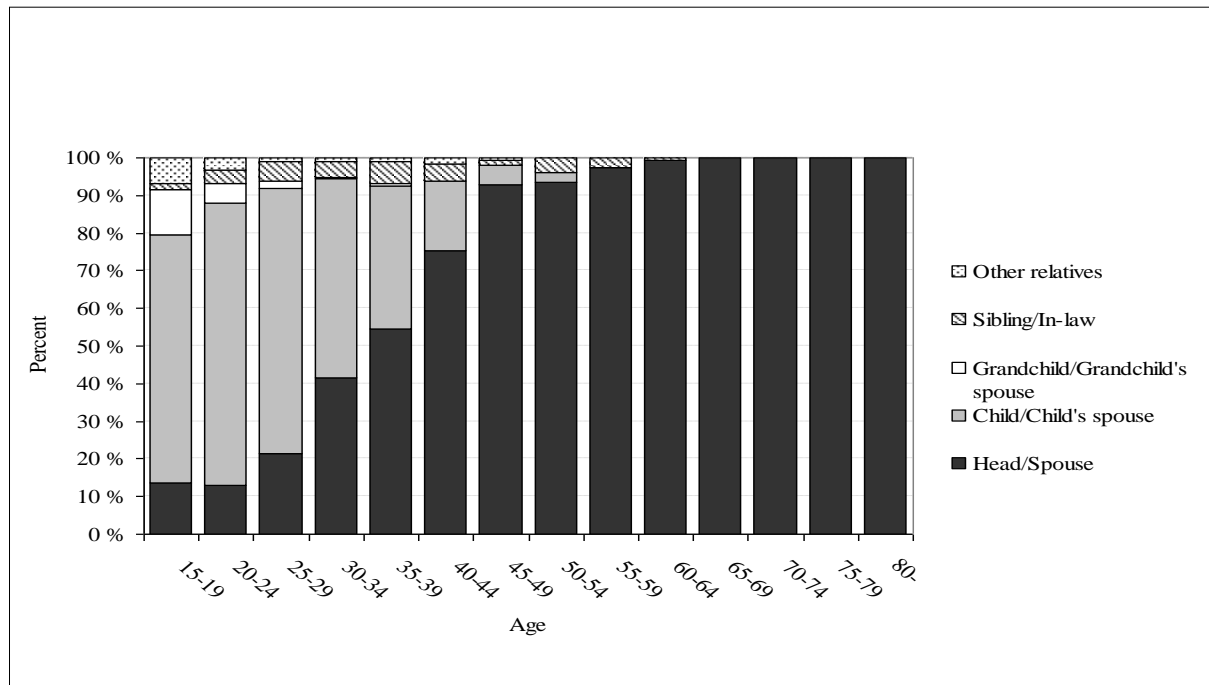
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<sup>453</sup> In some instances, though, the newlywed couple moved into the parental household of the bride. If this household lacked sons or other male household members of the younger generation, admission of a son-in-law made it possible to establish an extra conjugal family unit and by that provide for the future survival of the household.

<sup>454</sup> See for instance Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 13-14, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 238-239.

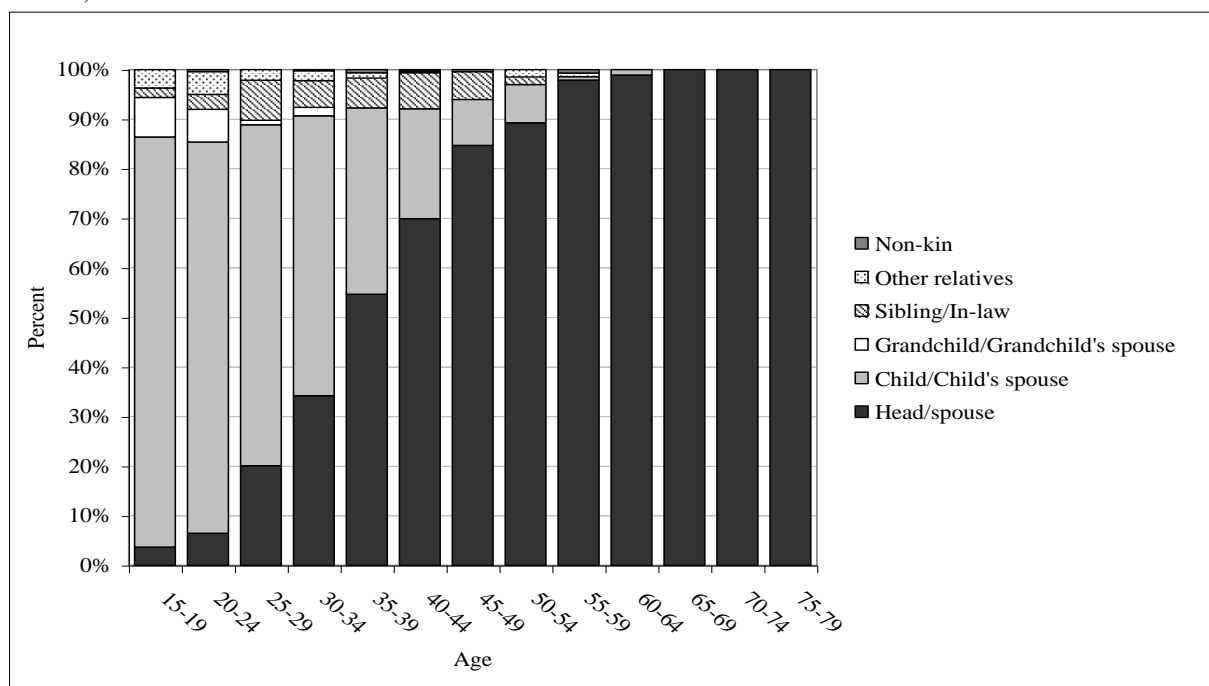
predominately female. The positions of ‘household head’, ‘child’, ‘grandchild’ and ‘sibling’ were mainly male, while females made up a majority of the spouses.

**Figure 5.3.1:** Distribution of household positions at different ages for the married population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834.



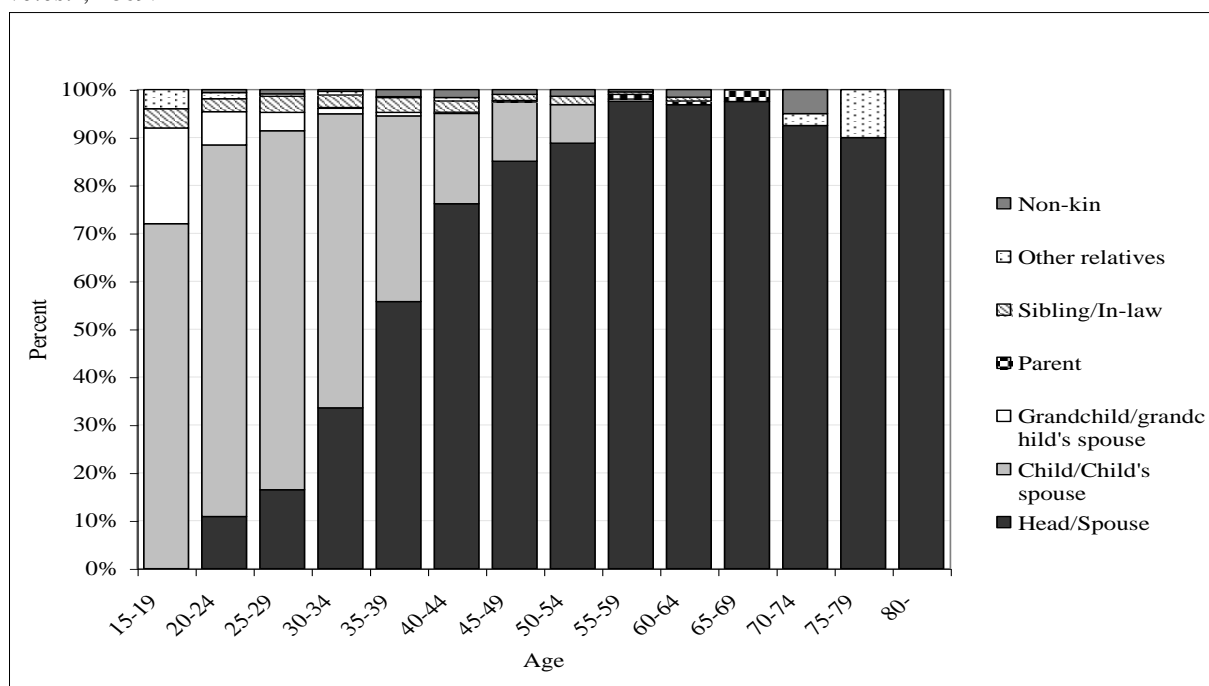
Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185 and 189: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki 1834 goda.*

**Figure 5.3.2:** Distribution of household positions at different ages for the married population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1850.



Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 394, 396, and 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki 1850 goda.*

**Figure 5.3.3:** Distribution of household positions at different ages for the married population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869.



Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

The analysis of the census data from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1834 to 1869 clearly shows that young married couples in this area tended to move into the parental household of either the bride or groom upon marriage. In the investigated period, between 65 and 83 percent of the married population aged 15 to 29 years were in the positions of 'child/child's spouse' in the household where they were living. Moreover, in the youngest age groups 15-19 years and 20-24 years, 5 to 20 percent of the married population was in the position of grandchildren or spouses to grandchildren.

Still, a few of the young married couples in these age groups were already heading their own households. In 1834, from 13 to over 20 percent of the married population aged 15 to 29 years were in the category household head with spouse. At the following census years the proportion young household heads was somewhat reduced. In 1850, approximately 4 to 7 percent of the 15-to-24-year-olds held the positions household head with spouse, while this was the case for nearly 20 percent of those aged 25 to 29 years. Further, in 1869, none of the household heads or spouses was younger than twenty years. In the age group 20-24 years 11 percent of the married population were heading households or married to a household head, while this was the case for almost 17 percent of those aged 25-29 years.

After thirty years the positions of household head with spouse increased quite sharply in the married population. In 1834, almost 42 percent of the married population in the age group

30-34 was in the positions of household head with spouse. In the following census years, the proportion household heads with spouses was reduced to approximately 34 percent of the married population in this age group. However, in all three census years, the proportion of household heads with spouses in the age group 35-39 years was circa 55 percent of the married population and in the age group 40-44 years they made up 70 to 76 percent of the married population. After the age of 45 practically the entire married population consisted of household heads and their spouses. Simultaneously, the proportion of married children and their spouses was equally reduced. Accordingly, from composing 70 to 80 percent of the married population in the age groups 15 to 29 years, the children with spouses made up only circa 20 percent in the age group 40-44 years. After 45 years only an insignificant part of the married population was in the positions of 'child/child's spouse'.

The analysis of the marriage pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* showed that in the period 1834 to 1869 the majority of the population married when they were in their early twenties, but the turning point for attaining leading positions in the household seems to have come somewhere between the thirtieth and thirty-fifth birthday. Before this point the majority of young married couples were living in the parental household of the husband. In other words, patrilocality was the dominating residence form for young couples from marriage until they were well into the thirties. Most of the married young males were children of the head in the household where they resided, but some of them were living either as grandson or son-in-law to the household head. Likewise, the majority of the married women in these age groups were daughters-in-law, while a few were married daughters, who had brought a son-in-law into the household, or married to a grandson or nephew of the household head. Still, headship was not entirely impossible for the newlywed couple. Some 10 to 20 percent of the young married couples were already heading households. Moreover, it seems as if the overwhelming majority attained headship at some point in their life. Broadly speaking, transfer of headship sometime after the thirtieth birthday appears to have taken place in most young couple's lives. It was as unusual for a fifty-year-old male to be son in a household as it was for a twenty-year-old male to be household head.

Thus, the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were clearly adhering to patrilocal rules in the way that in the first years after marriage, newly formed marital units tended to live under the authority of others. Still, patrilocality was a temporary arrangement, which in most cases lasted some ten to fifteen years. It was designed to provide young newlywed couples with a home and economic means and the parental household with work power in a period when the older generation was ageing and therefore not able to work as much as earlier. In other words,

among young married couples in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* patrilocal residence was very widespread, but it should only be seen as one of several stages in the development cycle of the household. This also means that the family system of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was similar to the family system among previously investigated populations in the Central Agricultural Region. However, the attainment of headship seems to have happened at a somewhat earlier point in the development cycle of the household and in the individual's life course than was the case among the peasants in Southern Russia.

#### 5.4. THE DEVELOPMENT CYCLE

The family system is not only the distribution of households according to certain categories, but also the idealised system of cultural values, the theoretical changes that the household undergo, and the frequency with which they actually occur. This means that in the study of family patterns, the development cycle of the household becomes important, both by mapping the actual stages of household development as the individual household members moved in and out of the household, married, gave birth, or died, and by defining idealised stages through which most households within a certain context would pass.

Age is an important variable in defining the stages of the development cycle within a certain family system. It is therefore possible to define the stages of the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* by analysing the household composition in accordance with the age structure of the household heads. The age span of the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was wide, ranging from only 10 years to as much as 90 years. However, only a small minority of the household heads was younger than 15 years or older than 80 years. In fact, the majority of the household heads were aged between 30 and 65 years. The following analysis examines which of the household categories of the modified Hammel/Laslett scheme that prevailed among household heads in different age groups, and from the results of this analysis the various stages of the household's development cycle in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were defined. The distribution of selected household categories<sup>455</sup> according to the age of household heads for the years 1834, 1850 and 1869 is found in the figures 5.4.1 to 5.4.3.

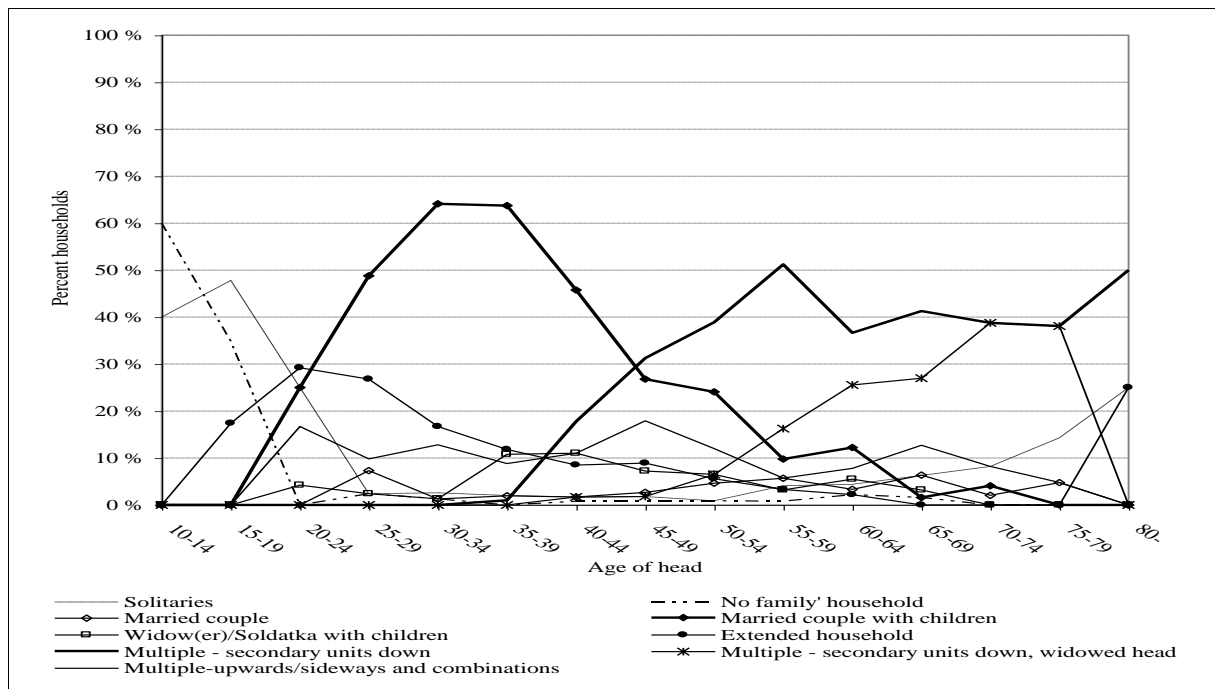
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<sup>455</sup> Again, the basis of the analysis was the household categories of the Hammel/Laslett scheme. However, a distribution based on the main categories of the scheme could not clearly illustrate the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Moreover, a distribution by all the subcategories of the scheme proved to give a rather meaningless level of details. Therefore, the best solution seemed to analyse by the main categories of the scheme and some selected subcategories, which turned out to be important for the understanding of the development cycle in the investigated area.

The very young household heads, aged 10 to 19 years, were either unmarried solitaires or heading households consisting of themselves and their unmarried siblings. This was a distinct pattern that recurred in all the three census years. It is problematic to place the youngest household heads at a particular stage in a development cycle. Certainly these households were not at the initial stage in their development, maybe rather in the last stage, as the household heads in the youngest age groups seems to have been left alone as the other household members had moved out and even more important, died.

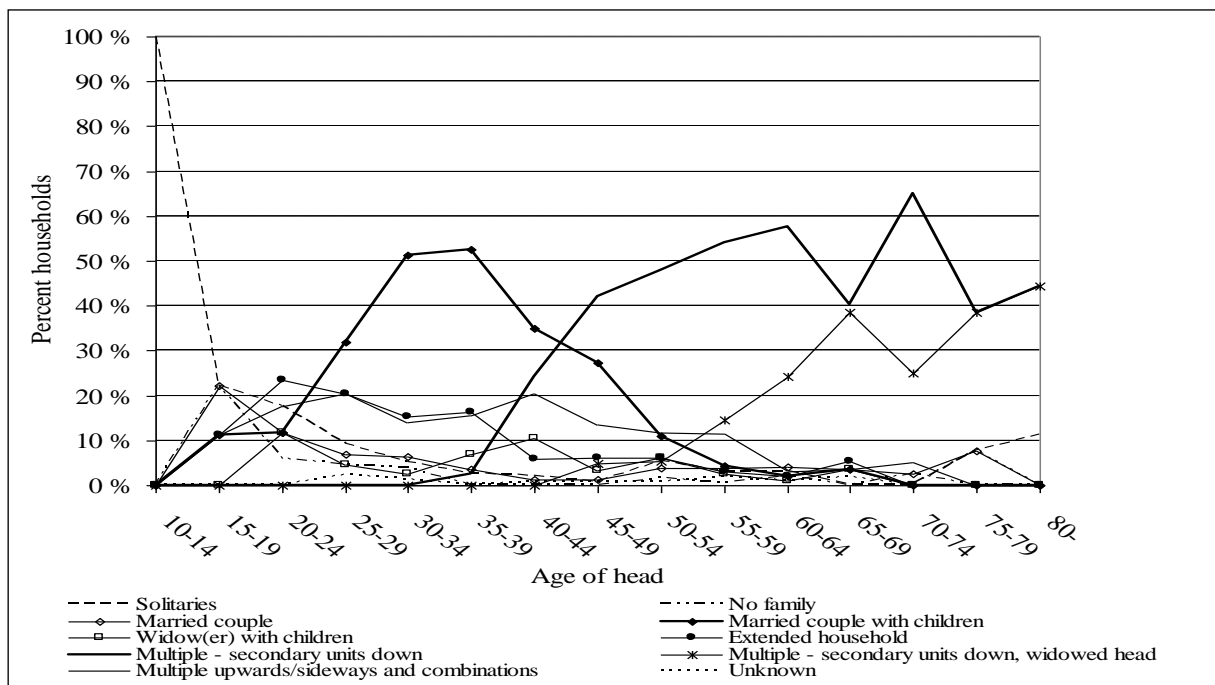
The age group 20 to 24 years displayed the greatest variety in household structures and over the investigated period some household types became increasingly important while others disappeared. First, in the two first censuses, many of the household heads in the age group 20-24 years resembled their younger peers in that large proportions of them were unmarried solitaires. By 1869, however, the unmarried household heads in this age group tended to live with their unmarried siblings rather than alone. The resulting 'no family' households were uncommon among these household heads in the previous census years. Second, over the entire period some of the household heads aged 20 to 24 years were living in simple family households. In 1834 and 1850, the majority of these households were made up of married couples with children, while in 1869 the majority of the simple family households were married couples without children. Third, some of the household heads in this age group were heading extended family households, which in 1834 mostly were extended by a parent of the household head. Later on, extended family households with co-resident siblings became more important than households extended by a parent. Finally, in 1834, a few of the heads aged 20 to 24 years were heading multiple family households with secondary units disposed upwardly or sideways. In the following censuses, multiple family households headed by 20-to-24-year-olds were only extended upwardly. To sum up, the households headed by individuals aged 20-24 years seems to have been in transitional period when part of the households were at the last stages of their development cycle while others were at the initial stages of their development cycle. Probably, the solitaires, the no family households, the extended households and multiple family households with co-resident parents should be regarded as typical examples of final stages in the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Young married couples without or with children, on the other hand, seem to have been at some of the first stages in the development cycle.

**Figure 5.4.1:** Distribution of household categories according to age of household head, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834.



Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185 and 189: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki 1834 goda.*

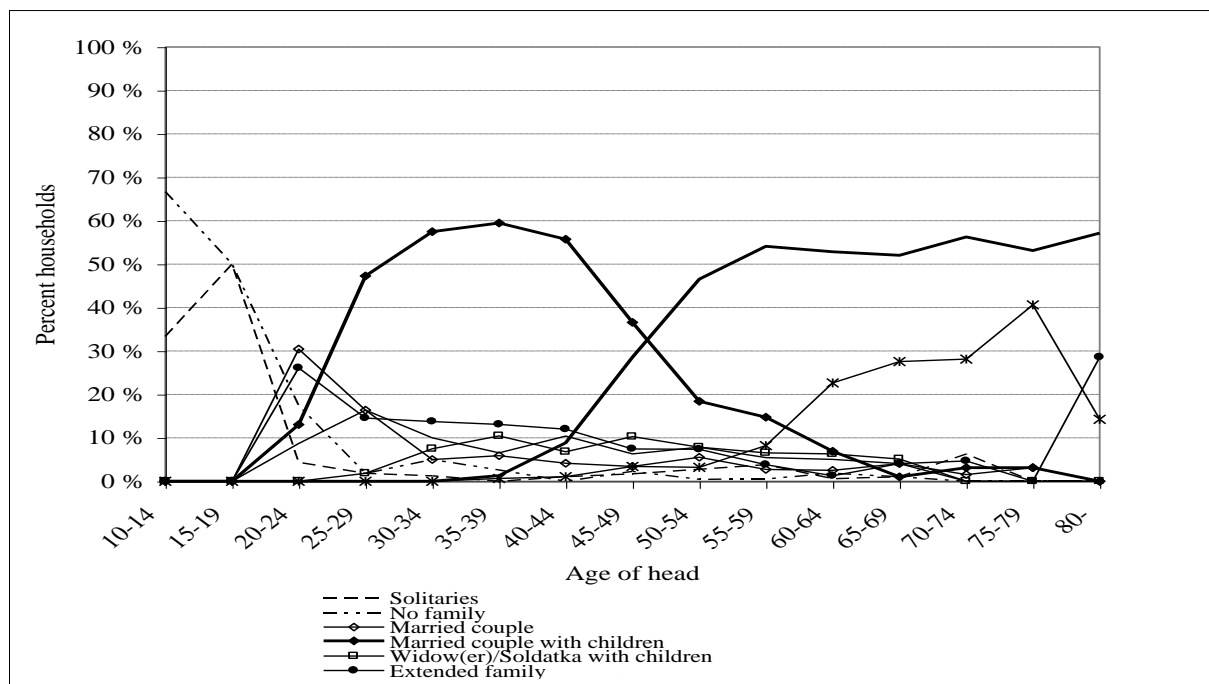
**Figure 5.4.2:** Distribution of household categories according to age of household head, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1850



Sources: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 394, 396, and 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki 1850 goda.*



**Figure 5.4.3:** Distribution of household categories according to age of household head, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869.



Sources: *TsIAM, Fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

The first clear shift to a distinct phase in the development cycle happened among the household heads aged 25 to 29 years. At this age the proportion simple family households made up of married couples with children increased very rapidly and became the dominant household form among household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The nuclear family reached its peak among the household heads aged 35-39 years, when it made up as much as 53 to 64 percent of the households. After this age the proportion such households was reduced, and depending on census year, the shift to the next phase in the development cycle happened when the household heads were aged circa 45 to 50 years. In 1834 and 1850 this should be seen as the first phase in the idealised development cycle of the household, while in 1869, it followed a short phase of married life without children, at least for some households. In these age groups we also find a number of widows and widowers with children, which together with the nuclear families, contribute to the overall predominance of simple family households among the household heads aged 25 to 45-50 years.

Among the household heads aged from circa 45-50 to circa 75-79 years, multiple family households extended by secondary units disposed downwards clearly predominated. As shown above, according to the residence rules of this society newlywed sons would bring their wives into their parental household. The analysis of development cycle shows that the majority of the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were aged 45-50 years when their

children married. The household would by that enter a new phase in its development cycle, which in a large proportion of the households lasted until the household head was quite old.

A rather substantial part of these households entered into yet another phase of its development cycle when the household head was approximately 55 to 60 years old. At this age an increasing number of the household heads in multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards became widowed. Accordingly, the household category shifted from the 5b type to the 5b\* type, and this category made up circa 25 to 40 percent of the households headed by individuals aged 60 or more. The multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards and with widowed head was by that just as important as the multiple family household of the same type where the household head belonged to a conjugal family unit. Among the oldest household heads, aged circa 80 years or more, the household structures once again became more differentiated. Still, the majority of them were heading multiple family households but the share of solitary widows and widowers increased among the oldest household heads. A few of them were also heading extended family households with younger co-resident kin.

Accordingly, the analysis shows that the general tendency during the investigated period was that there was no tight connection between household composition and the household head's age in the sense that among household heads of the same age many different types of household composition were possible simultaneously. However, it is also clear that the likelihood for heading a specific household type was higher at certain ages. Thus, relatively simple household forms dominated among the young household heads while more complex household forms dominated among the elderly household heads. For the majority of the household heads, the shift from simple to complex household forms happened when he or she was approximately fifty years old. The households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* followed by that an ideal development cycle that was composed of the following phases:

*Phase 1)* A simple family household consisting of a married couple with children (3b). This was the most widespread household form among young adult household heads aged 25 to 50 years, and should be seen as the first distinct phase in the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

*Phase 2)* A multiple family household with secondary units disposed downwards (5b). This household form was only possible after the marriage of at least one of the household head's children. Accordingly, it became common only when the household

head was 45 to 50 years old but continued to be the most common household form among the heads, who were aged 50 or more.

*Phase 3)* A multiple family household with secondary units disposed downwards where the household head was widowed or single (5b\*). When a married household head, who lived with at least one of his married children, lost his wife or died himself, the household went into a new phase when the household head continued to head the household as a widower or his widow became the new household head. This situation became increasingly common from the age of 55 to 60 years and was a very common household form among the elderly household heads. This phase would continue until also the widowed household head died.

*Phase 4)* In a number of the multiple family households, the members remaining after the death of the household head would continue to live together and form households consisting of several married brothers (5d) or households with secondary conjugal units disposed sideways (5c and 5c\*). In this phase, the household heads were generally quite young, aged circa 30 to 45 years. In other words, they were about the same age as the household heads in the nuclear families that were in the first phase of their development cycle.

*Phase 5)* The household could develop further into multiple family households that were extended in several different directions or consisting of more distant relatives as for instance uncles and nephews or cousins (5e). Such households were generally most common among the household heads older than 45 years.<sup>456</sup>

Thus, if a household in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* went through all the phases of this ideal development cycle, the household would grow in size and complexity for approximately two generations of household heads before it was divided and the cycle started all over again in the new households. However, the analysis shows that the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* would divide into two or more new households at an earlier phase in the development cycle. For many households this division seems to have happened after the third phase. In other words, the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* went through the first three phases of the idealised development cycle and split up after the death of the first household head. A minority went through all the phases of the idealised development cycle

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<sup>456</sup> In addition, several half phases appeared as the members of the household married, gave birth, remarried, moved or died.

with at least two different household heads, and divided only at a point when the kin-relations within the original household had become relatively distant. The fact that the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* divided before they reached the phase of horizontal kin-relations, seems to explain why these households were smaller and less complex than the households in other investigated areas of Russia. This also implies that the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* hardly can be defined to be “perennial” such as the households of previously investigated peasant populations in the Central Agricultural Region. In other words, the inheritance strategies in the two regions seem to have been essentially dissimilar, even though their family systems resembled each other.

## 5.5. THE FAMILY PATTERN AND THE HOUSEHOLD ECONOMY

So far the analysis has shown that the household composition, the residence of married couples, and the households' development cycle in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869 differed considerably from what has been found in previous studies of family patterns among Russian peasants during the eighteenth- and nineteenth centuries. Moreover, these differences seem to be connected to regional economic differences between the Central Industrial Region and the Central Agricultural Region. Still, the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* encompassed several sub-groups, social, economic, as well as confessional. We saw above that there were clear differences in the size of households where the household head was involved in textile production and households where the household head was working in agriculture, which probably means that the difference in household size within Central Russia can be attributed not only to economic differences on the regional level, but that economic differences between households on the local level also were reflected in differences in the mean size of these households. In other words, proto-industrial involvement seems to have led to reduced mean household size in the Russian setting. To what extent was this difference in household size between different occupational groups reproduced in the composition of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*?

As outlined in chapter 3, the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was involved in a large number of different occupations, but for the purposes of this study it seems essential to concentrate on the possible differences in composition and development of households involved in either the textile industry or in agriculture. The households were defined as either ‘agricultural households’ or ‘textile households’ according to the occupation of the household head, assuming that the head's occupation would be vital for strategic choices what concerned

the timing of children's marriage or the division of households, which in turn were reflected in the composition of the households.

**Table 5.5.1:** Distribution of household structures according occupation of head, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Household Structure</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>		<i>Textile industry</i>	
	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>No.</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1a; Solitaries – widowed	3	0,9 %	5	0,9 %
1b; Single/unknown mar.st.	2	0,6 %	6	1,0 %
1c; Solitaries – married with spouse absent ( <i>Soldatka</i> )	1	0,3 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Solitaries</i>	6	1,7 %	12	2,0 %
2a; Co-resident siblings	0	0,0 %	14	2,4 %
2b; Other co-resident relatives	3	0,9 %	0	0,0 %
2c; Non-related co-residents	1	0,3 %	1	0,2 %
<i>"No family" households</i>	4	1,2 %	15	2,6 %
3a; Married couple without offspring	12	3,5 %	37	6,3 %
3b; Married couple with offspring	48	13,9 %	231	39,3 %
3c; Widower with offspring	6	1,7 %	12	2,0 %
3d; Widow with offspring	19	5,5 %	42	7,1 %
3e; <i>Soldatka</i> with offspring	0	0,0 %	2	0,3 %
<i>Simple family households</i>	85	24,6 %	324	55,1 %
4a; Extension upwards	1	0,3 %	15	2,6 %
4b; Extension downwards	2	0,6 %	4	0,7 %
4c; Extension sideways	5	1,4 %	39	6,6 %
<i>Extended family households</i>	8	2,3 %	58	9,9 %
5a; Secondary units up	1	0,3 %	7	1,2 %
5b; Secondary units down	181	52,3 %	116	19,7 %
5b*; Secondary units down with widowed/single head	40	11,6 %	20	3,4 %
5c; Secondary units sideways	3	0,9 %	7	1,2 %
5c*; Secondary units sideways with widowed/single head	1	0,3 %	3	0,5 %
5d; <i>Frérèches</i>	2	0,6 %	11	1,9 %
5e; Combinations of 5a-d	15	4,3 %	15	2,6 %
<i>Multiple family households</i>	243	70,2 %	179	30,4 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>346</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>588</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

The analysis shows that there was a clear correspondence between the head's occupational status and the structure of the household. Over 70 percent of the agricultural households were multiple family households, containing two or more conjugal family units. The overall majority of these multiple family households were extended with secondary conjugal family units downwards from head (categories 5b and 5b\*), in other words, they were consisting of the household head, who could be married or widowed, one or more of his or her married children, and in many cases the domestic unit also included grandchildren and/or unmarried children. Compared to this, the proportion simple households headed by individuals working in agriculture was relatively small. Approximately 25 percent of the agricultural households were belonging to the category simple family households. Most of the agricultural simple

family households were nuclear families, but quite a few were consisting of a married couple only or a widow with children. By that, the two main household types in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, namely the nuclear family and the multiple family household consisting of a married or widowed head co-residing with one or more of his or her married children, were reflected among the heads of agricultural households, but the multiple family households were much more widespread than was the case on the general level.

Nuclear families and multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards from head were certainly also the most important household types headed by individuals employed in the textile industry, but the distribution was quite different. The majority of the textile households were simple family households, and almost 40 percent were nuclear families. Compared to this, only approximately 30 percent of the textile households were multiple family households, of which the majority were extended with secondary conjugal family units downwards from head. Another notable difference between the agricultural and the textile households was that a larger share of the textile households contained siblings to the household head. This concerned unmarried siblings living together (category 2a), unmarried siblings living in the household of a married brother or sister (category 4c), and married brothers sharing the same household (category 5d). However, apart from the nuclear families that were extended sideways, which made up 6,6 percent of the textile households, horizontal kin-relations were quite rare in the agricultural as well as in the textile households.

Accordingly, the heads working in agriculture were heading households that were considerably more complex than the households headed by individuals working in the textile industry. Even so, these results should partly be attributed to a combination of different factors influencing the life course of the individual household members and the development cycle of the household. The heads of textile households were considerably younger than the heads in the agricultural households, which also means that they were at a stage in their life course when work in the textile industry was the most likely alternative, given the age structure of the textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.<sup>457</sup> The average age of the heads in the textile households was 43,9 years. Thus, many of the textile households were simply at a stage in their development cycle when the simple family forms were likely to dominate. Opposite, with a mean age of 55,5 years, the individuals heading agricultural households were considerably older than the heads in textile households, which means that many of them most

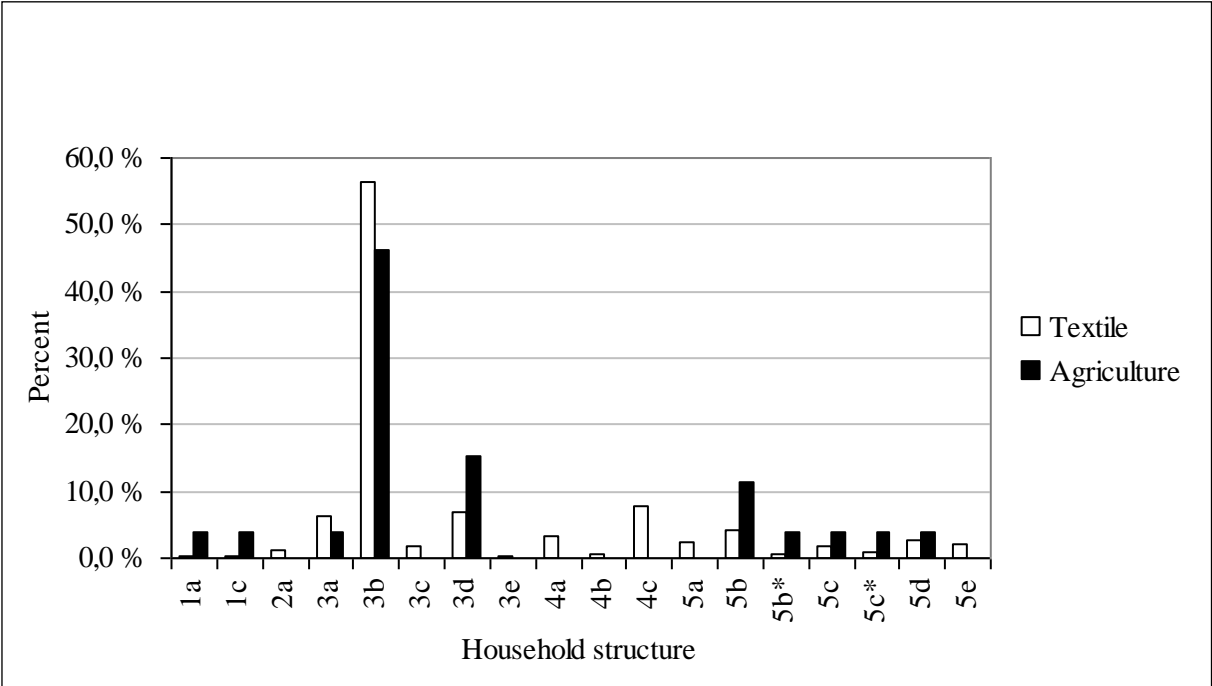
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<sup>457</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.3, pp. 117-120.

likely were at a stage in their life course when they had retired from the textile industry and their children were starting to marry. In turn, this would influence the development cycle of the household, so that a larger share of the households headed by individuals working in agriculture were complex. Accordingly, to establish whether the composition of the household was depending on the household economy, one needs to consider the age of the household head as well as his or her occupation.

The heads in these households were aged 11 to 79 years, but only the age groups 25 to 74 years were represented among the heads in the agricultural as well as the heads in the textile households. The analysis will therefore be confined to this age group, which was further divided into three subgroups that each was supposed to represent a certain stage in the life course of the individual and the development cycle of the household.

**Figure 5.5.1:** Distribution of household structures according to occupational status of heads aged 25 to 44 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869



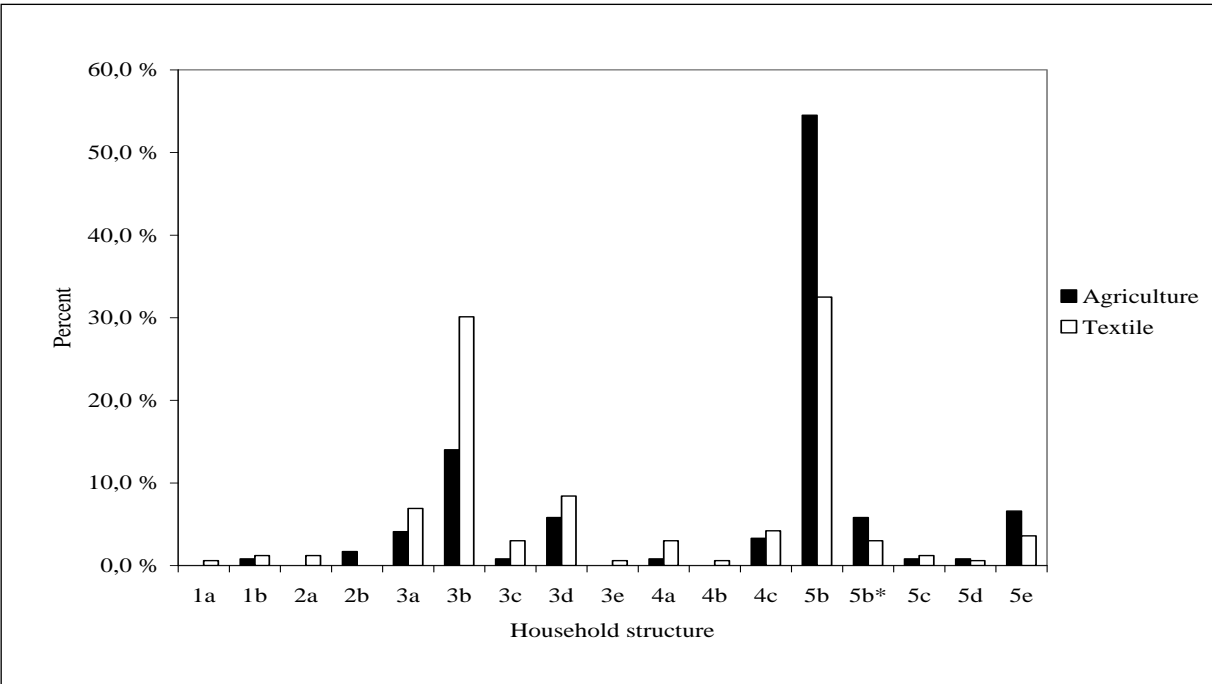
Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

In the age groups 25 to 44 years one would expect most households to be relatively simple and a majority of the household heads were probably employed in the textile industry. Indeed, the majority of the household heads in this age group were working in the textile industry, and, therefore, the agricultural households made up a quite small sample. Although this makes it more difficult to compare the results for the two occupational groups, the distribution of household structures shows that the nuclear family was the most important household

category among the heads employed in the textile industry as well as those working in agriculture. Compared to this, multiple family households were relatively insignificant in both occupational groups. Accordingly, in the age group 25 to 44 years there was a clear age pattern in the distribution of household structures, which seem to have superseded the differences according to occupational status that was observed on the general level.

However, even among these young household heads, there were some important differences between the agricultural and the textile households. Simple family households consisting of a married couple with offspring made up a larger share of the households headed by individuals working in the textile industry than was the case among the households headed by individuals working in agriculture. Likewise, only textile households were represented among the extended households headed by individuals in the age group 25 to 44 years. On the other hand, agricultural households in the age group showed a greater tendency to contain several conjugal family units, which means that the agricultural households were somewhat more complex also when their household head was young.

**Figure 5.5.2:** Distribution of household structures according to occupational status of heads 45 to 54 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

The next group of heads, namely those in the age group 45 to 54 years, is probably the most significant for verifying to what extent there was a correspondence between household composition and household head's occupation. This was the age when one should expect



household heads to marry off their children and, thus, the stage in the household's development cycle when the structure could shift from simple to multiple forms. This also means that differences in the composition of agricultural and textile households in this age group might indicate that the heads in the two household types employed dissimilar strategies in the timing of important household events.

The distribution of household structures among the heads in the age group 45 to 54 years shows a significant change compared to the households headed by younger household heads. The proportion multiple family household was much larger and the proportion simple family households considerably smaller than was the case for the households headed by individuals aged 25 to 44 years. Accordingly, the notion that the difference in household composition between the agricultural and textile households was partly connected to an age-specific pattern of household development seems to be confirmed. Still, the increase in multiple family forms and simultaneous reduction in simple family forms was much larger in the households headed by individuals working in agriculture than was the case for the households headed by textile workers. While only 14 percent of the agricultural households were nuclear families, this was the case for over 30 percent of the households headed by 45-54-year-olds working in the textile industry. Likewise, over 60 percent of the agricultural households were multiple family households with secondary conjugal family units disposed downwards from head (categories 5b and 5b\*), while this was the case for 35,5 percent of the textile households. Accordingly, the distribution of household structures in the age group 45 to 54 years shows that the connection between simple household forms and head's employment in the textile industry can not simply be attributed to a combination of changes in the occupational structure and household composition over the life course. Rather, the head's employment in the textile industry seem to have promoted the nuclear family among the heads in the age group 45 to 54 years, while agricultural work promoted multiple family households.

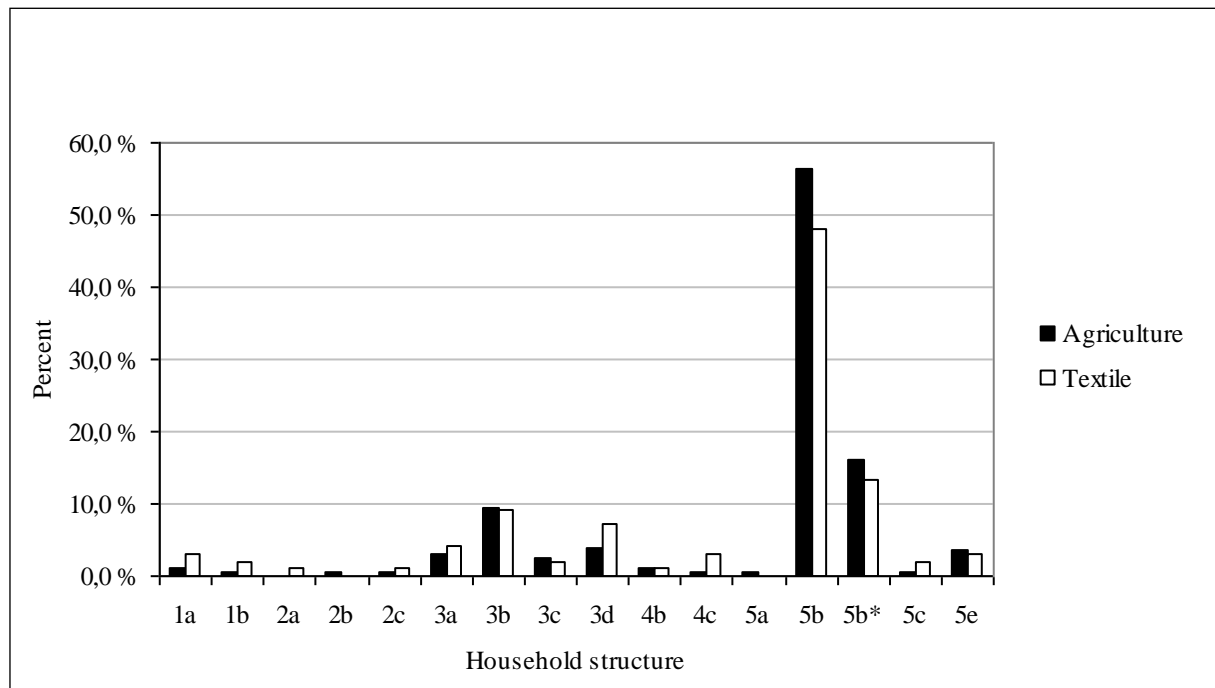
The distribution of different household structures are closely connected to the development cycle of the household, which stages in turn were depending on the timing of major household events. Within the setting of nineteenth-century Russian peasant society, the distribution of simple and multiple household forms might have been facilitated by two different timing processes within the household, namely the timing of household division and the timing of children's marriage. In other words, the clear difference in the distribution of simple and multiple household forms between the agricultural and the textile households seem to be connected to different family strategies. The individuals in the age group 45-54 years,

who were heading nuclear families, might be in a situation when they relatively recently had broken off from their parental household and not yet had children at marriageable age. This was probably a common pattern for the agricultural as well as the textile households, but the especially large share of nuclear families headed by textile workers could have been caused by a greater frequency of household division in this occupational group. Work in the textile industry might have provided junior household members with certain independence, in particular an economic independence, which allowed them to break off from the parental household more often than was the case for young men and women who were employed in agriculture. However, a closer examination is necessary to establish whether occupation influenced the frequency of household division.

A second and equally plausible reason for the difference in the distribution of simple and multiple family forms between the agricultural and the textile households was the timing of children's marriage. We saw in the previous chapter that especially in the female population, the mean age at first marriage was higher among those employed in the textile industry than was the case among those who were employed in agriculture. The large proportion of nuclear families headed by individuals employed in the textile industry might have been facilitated by the fact that the marriage of children was postponed for a longer time in these households compared to the agricultural households, in which children seem to have been married off relatively early.

The final group in the analysis of the composition of agricultural and textile households encompassed the elderly household heads aged 55 to 74 years. As expected, the majority of the heads in this age group headed multiple family households with secondary conjugal units disposed downwards from head, while the other household categories were relatively insignificant. As much as 72,4 percent of the agricultural households were in the categories 5b and 5b\*, while such households made up 61,2 percent of the textile households. The share of nuclear families was approximately the same among the heads in the textile households as well as the agricultural households; 9,5 percent of the agricultural households were nuclear families, while this was the case for 9,2 percent of the textile households. Thus, the clear distinction between textile nuclear families and agricultural multiple family households, which was seen on the general level, and to some extent in the preceding age groups, was not valid among the eldest household heads. This means that among the elderly household heads, the household composition seem to have been depending on the household development pattern rather than the occupation of the household head.

**Figure 5.5.3:** Distribution of household structures according to occupational status of heads aged 55 to 74 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Still, the analysis also shows some differences that probably should be attributed to the occupational status of the household head rather than the age-specific pattern. Also among the elderly household heads, individuals working in agriculture headed multiple family households more often than was the case for the textile workers. Moreover, the elderly textile workers were more frequently living alone than was the case for agricultural workers in the age group 55 to 74 years, and the proportion widows with children (category 3d) was relatively high among the textile workers and rather insignificant among the agricultural workers.

Accordingly, the analysis of household structures according to the combination of the age and occupation of household heads shows that the distribution of household structures was highly dependent on the age of the household head, so that young household heads were mostly heading simple family households while the elderly household heads were mostly heading multiple family households. This pattern coincided with an age-specific occupational pattern in which the majority of young household heads were working in the textile industry and the majority of the elderly household heads were working in agriculture. Still, to some extent household composition also seem to have depended on the occupation of the household head. The distribution of household structures among the heads aged 25 to 44 years and especially among the heads aged 45 to 54 years, showed that a larger proportion of the textile

workers were heading simple family households, in particular nuclear families, than was the case among the agricultural workers. Opposite, in all three age groups the proportion multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards from head was noticeably larger among the agricultural workers than among the textile workers.

Most likely, this pattern was connected to different family strategies in the two occupational groups, concerning the timing of such important events as household division and children's marriage. In the textile households, children's marriage seems to have been postponed for a longer time than was the case in the agricultural households. This is also supported by the fact that the mean age at marriage was higher among the textile workers than among the agricultural workers. Moreover, the relative simplicity of the textile households could also have been caused by a higher frequency of household division compared to the agricultural households. By that, a combination of the timing of marriage and distinct inheritance strategies might explain the differences in household composition between agricultural and textile households within *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.

## CONCLUSION

In the period 1834 to 1869, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had a family system that in several ways resembled the one found in previous studies of eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian peasants. Throughout the investigated period, the majority of the population in the area was living in multiple family households and approximately half of the households were made up of more than one conjugal family unit. Further, a considerable share of three-generation households indicates that the complex household was a normal arrangement among the proto-industrial producers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In the early phases of the development cycle, these households tended to grow in complexity and after a certain period most households became multiple family households if the demographic development in the household allowed it. The transition to multiple family forms happened upon a son's marriage, when he normally would bring his wife into his parental household. By that young newlywed couples in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* adhered to patrilocal residence rules, which was the common arrangement among peasants in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia. In other words, the prevalence of patrilocal residence for young newlywed couples and a quite large share multiple family households seem to have been common characteristics of the family system of peasants in Central Russia, independent of region and economic profile.

Even so, the analysis of household composition and development cycle in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* also shows a distinct pattern that in many ways differed from what in previous research has been regarded to be universal for the Russian peasant population in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. The mean household size was varying between 6,1 to 6,7 members per household, which was at level with the household size in the Central Industrial Region at the time but noticeably less than the households in the Central Agricultural Region, where households contained over 10 members per household on average. Further, compared to the households in previously investigated local communities in the black earth belt, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were relatively simple. At any time during the investigated period, the majority of the households in the area belonged to one of two household categories in a modified version of the Hammel/Laslett scheme, namely the simple family household consisting of a married couple with offspring (category 3b) or the multiple family household with secondary units disposed downwards from head (category 5b). These two household categories were equally important, and seem to have formed a dual system of household structures that was lacking in previously investigated populations, where the absolute majority of the households were complex multiple family households. Moreover, the relative simplicity of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was facilitated by a low number of married couples per household.

This specific household pattern seems to have been caused by a combination of two different factors, namely the marriage pattern and the pattern of household division. During the period 1834 to 1869 the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had a relatively high celibacy rate and towards the end of the investigated period, the age at first marriage was considerably higher than what has previously been shown for Russian peasants. In particular young women employed in the textile industry seem to have delayed marriage somewhat compared to young women employed in agriculture. Apparently, the working power of unmarried daughters, who were employed in the textile industry, was an asset that the household was reluctant to give away to another household through marriage. Moreover, given the economic and institutional framework in the eastern districts of Moscow Province, the marriage of sons also became less important for the household economy. Most likely, these factors caused not only an altered marriage pattern but also led to a reduction in the size and complexity of households.

Still, the marriage pattern was hardly the only factor at play. The kin-relations within these households were mainly vertical, i.e. consisting of a parent-child-grandchild relation, while horizontal kin-relations as for instance the co-residence of married sibling or uncles and nephews were rather rare; yet another feature where the household composition in

*Bun'kovskaia volost'* deviated significantly from the pattern in the Central Agricultural Region. The dominance of vertical kin-relations indicates that these households split up before the co-residence of relatively distant kin became possible, and the specific development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to confirm this. Previous research has found that households in the Central Agricultural Region rarely split up until both the existing and new households contained at least two conjugal family units. Thus, these households followed a development cycle in which they grew in size and complexity for at least two generations of household heads; a cycle that facilitated the dominance of multiple family households as well as a considerable share of households with horizontal kin-relations. In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, however, the majority of households expanded for approximately one generation of household heads before they divided. By that, the development cycle of these households was closely associated with the life cycle of the current head; when he or she died, the expansion of the household would stop and the household divided into several separate domestic units, in which the expansion would start all over again. As a result of this development cycle, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had a larger variety of household structures than was the case in the Central Agricultural Region, and simple household forms became just as important as complex households.

Moreover, the differences in household structure between agricultural and proto-industrial households were also reflected on the local level. Within *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the households headed by individuals employed in the textile industry were clearly less complex than the households headed by agricultural workers. In part, this was caused by an age-specific occupational pattern, in which young heads were working in the textile industry and elderly heads were working in agriculture, combined with the fact that simple household forms dominated among young household heads and multiple family households prevailed among elderly household heads. Still, independently of age, textile workers tended to head nuclear families, while agricultural workers more often headed multiple family households. Accordingly, to some extent, the occupation of the head influenced the household composition in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Similar to the regional level, these differences between agricultural and textile households seem to be caused by different strategies concerning the timing of children's marriage and household division. In other words, the differences between agricultural and industrial households that can be found on the regional as well as the local level were most likely connected to a variation in the inheritance strategies in the Russian peasant population.

## CHAPTER 6

# POWER AND INHERITANCE: HOUSEHOLD FORMATION AND HEADSHIP ATTAINMENT IN THE PROTO-INDUSTRIAL SETTING

As outlined in chapter one, previous research on family patterns among Russian peasants has resulted in the development of the concept of the “perennial multiple family household”.<sup>458</sup> This concept implies that the prevalence of multiple family households in different locations in the Central Agricultural Region was based on a development cycle in which the division of households was delayed until both the existing and the new households contained at least two marital units. By employing this strategy, the peasants were aimed at securing the future demographic survival and economic viability of their households as well as the transfer of authority along patrilineal lines. Moreover, this strategy of postponed household division meant that the household would be continuously multiple throughout its development cycle.

The household pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* indicates that the peasants in this area were employing quite different strategies in the transfer of authority from one generation to the next. As we saw in the previous chapter, the household pattern in the proto-industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* deviated considerably from the one found among peasants in the purely agricultural regions of Central Russia, in that a much larger share of the households were nuclear family households, in that vertical rather than horizontal kin-relations dominated within the households, and in that the majority of the households seems to have split up at a relatively early stage in the development cycle. In other words, these households can hardly be defined as perennial multiple family households, which also implies that their inheritance strategies most likely differed from those found among peasants in the Central Agricultural Region.

The study of the inheritance strategies among the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* will be concentrated on the establishment of independent households and on how authority was transferred from one generation to the next through household division and within existing households. Accordingly, the main focus will be on how junior household members attained *authority* rather than how they attained *property*, although these two aspects of the inheritance

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<sup>458</sup> Czap, P.: 1982.

pattern frequently must have coincided. Household establishment and headship transfer in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* will be approached from family cycle perspective by looking at the pattern of household division during the period 1834 to 1869, and from a life course perspective by considering the timing of headship attainment among junior household members. Moreover, the pattern of household division and headship transfer in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* will be placed into a broader institutional, economic, and demographic context in an attempt to explain the possible differences between the inheritance pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and previously investigated peasant populations in eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russia.

### 6.1. INHERITANCE PRACTICES AMONG RUSSIAN PEASANTS

To understand the inheritance strategies of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869, it is first necessary to explore which options that were available to them within the Russian nineteenth-century context. Which inheritance practices were possible in a social system where serfowners often aspired to prevent the establishment of new households on their estates and the peasant commune controlled the distribution of land resources?

Even though Russian peasants lived in a system of relatively tight social control before as well as after the abolition of serfdom, inheritance and the establishment of new households was still an important aspect of village life. In the previous chapter, we saw that the patrilocal residence rules that prevailed among Russian peasants implied that the establishment of new households and marriage did not coincide. Instead, new households were established through the division of already existing households. At a certain stage in the development cycle the household was divided into several smaller units. The division implied a legal act in which the common land rights and property of the household was distributed among the male members, and as such household division was also the system of inheritance prevailing among Russian peasants. The peasant commune controlled arable lands and, accordingly, this land could not be inherited. However, the real and movable property that remained outside the commune's jurisdiction could freely be divided and transferred from one generation to next. These included the farmstead (*usad'ba*) and the buildings erected upon it, privately owned land, plus all the household animals, farm equipment, money, agricultural produce, sown crops, and domestic items.<sup>459</sup>

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<sup>459</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 44.



The exact rules of inheritance through household division were regulated by local customary law, and displayed considerable variety in different regions and local communities, but some general features can be identified. The available empirical evidence for Russia as well as for other Eastern European regions suggests that the inheritance pattern in this area was based on equally partible male inheritance. Accordingly, through division, household property was divided equally between all male heirs, while women were excluded from inheritance. It has been claimed that the prevalence of this inheritance system was connected first, to the inability of landlords in a largely tributary system to intervene in customary law and second, the focus among peasants in Eastern Europe on the agnatic family group instead of the conjugal unit when property was transferred.<sup>460</sup> In the tributary system that prevailed in Eastern Europe, the exclusive purpose of administrative intervention from the landlord was to oblige peasant families to pay their taxes and fees and fulfil their labour obligations. The issues of inheritance, family formation and organisation of landed property were left for the peasants to decide for themselves according to customary law.<sup>461</sup> Moreover, these customary laws had in common that in the transfer of property and headship from one generation to the next they focused on the agnatic core of the family. In other words, the inheritance pattern was part of a patriarchal system in which power and resources were transferred by patrilineal principles to members of the male descent group.

This means that the customary law among Russian peasants provided for that all sons should inherit equally. If the household still was undivided when the household head died, his authority devolved to the most senior member of the family in the male line, either his eldest brother or his eldest son. At this point other male family members had to decide whether to remain in the household or to split off from the household. In such a *postmortem* division or *razdel*, the patrimony was usually divided on the basis of genealogical descent, in the way that each child in every generation was entitled to an equal share of his father's property. A number of rules had to be followed in the break-up of a household upon a father's death. In the post-emancipation period, written law obliged households that wanted to divide first to

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<sup>460</sup> Kaser, K.: 2002, pp. 382-385.

<sup>461</sup> However, there is evidence that serfowners in Russia tried to and partly succeeded in controlling the inheritance pattern among the peasants, which in their view was a precondition for the successful fulfilment of tax- and labour obligations. For instance, the studies of *Mishino*, *Petrovskoe* and *Manuilovskoe* all indicate that the serfowner of these estates effectively regulated the frequency and possibility of household division among his serfs. The correspondence between the landlord's administration and the bailiffs at these estates showed that a household division could take place only when both the original and the new households remained complex in structure after division. Further, the analysis of household structures and division patterns among the peasants at these estates indeed show that this was the case. See: Czaj, P.: 1982, pp. 15-20, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 240-241; and Bohac, R. D.: 1985, pp. 29-31.

apply to the village assembly for permission.<sup>462</sup> In practice, peasants often bypassed this step, but the village community usually assisted the partitioning parties in the process of dividing the property as equitably as possible and in order to maintain family peace and unity.<sup>463</sup>

A household could also decide to divide at an earlier point in the development cycle, when the household head was still alive. Such *premortem* divisions could be carried out by an elderly household head that wanted to supervise the division and distribute the property according to own preference.<sup>464</sup> In this connection he could make a testament to make sure that his wife, unmarried daughters or other relatives were provided for after his death. Moreover, a father had the right to give one son a greater share of the property if that son had to support his elderly mother or other relatives.<sup>465</sup> If the household divided before the household head's death, the partitioning parties could formulate a written agreement that specified the type and amount of support the sons were required to give to their parents after division. In some cases the household head would divide the patrimony equally among the heirs but would retain two parts for himself and the son who was supposed to stay in the parental household. The son would then be obliged to manage both portions, pay all taxes, and take care of his parents. In other cases the father apportioned household property equally among his sons on the condition that they every year contributed a certain amount of grain or clothing for their parents' maintenance. The contributions of food and clothing could sometimes be replaced by contributions in money. A rotational system in which parents boarded first at one son's home and then another's was also sometimes adopted. In all cases, equality of rights went hand in hand with equality of obligations, and parents' claims to sustenance from their children were upheld by village assemblies and *volost'* courts.<sup>466</sup>

A household division did not always imply property devolution to all the heirs simultaneously. There existed two subsets of the *razdel* in which one of the adult household members or a conjugal branch left the complex family and established an independent household. In a *vydel* a brother, son or nephew left the household with the head's sanction while in an *otdel* the heir was driven from the household by the head or left without permission.<sup>467</sup> The departing heir usually took with him his share of the household property,

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<sup>462</sup> *Pol'noe Sobranie Zakonov*, ser. 2, no. 36657, arts. 51-53, 57.

<sup>463</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 47-48.

<sup>464</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 38.

<sup>465</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 44-45.

<sup>466</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 51-52.

<sup>467</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 38.

even though the practices varied in the *otdel* cases. Most often, a son who left the household against his father's will or was forced out could at least depend on receiving his share of the allotment land, if nothing else.<sup>468</sup> The remaining heirs stayed behind in the original household until they themselves decided to move out or the household underwent a full division.

In the case of postmortem division, the transfer of authority in the original household followed a principle of seniority in which the eldest son or brother succeeded the deceased household head. The head's widow could also become temporary head when no adult males lived in the household.<sup>469</sup> What concerned premortem divisions, the situation was somewhat different. The possibility a junior member in the multiple family household had to establish an independent household seems to have been based on a principle of seniority, as well. Accordingly, the likelihood of moving out of the original household was largest for the eldest sons or brothers of the household head. The result was that one of the youngest sons stayed behind in the original household and eventually became household head when his father died.<sup>470</sup> Further, one has to assume that headship in the original household was transferred to the son who was believed to be able to take care of the ageing parents in the best way. Thus, the succession line in the complex family household was rather flexible, depending not only on seniority but also on demographic development and at which point in the development cycle the household was divided.

Although the general pattern of patrilineality excluded women from inheritance, women held their own inalienable property in the form of dowries and personal possessions and in certain cases they were entitled to a share of their husbands' property. Accordingly, a daughter was entitled to a dowry when she married but she was excluded from further inheritance. The dowry could consist of clothing, cloth, bed linens and chest, sometimes money, grain, or a few animals, as well as a loom or a spinning wheel.<sup>471</sup> Dowry contents were a woman's inalienable possessions, protected by customary law. Yet, dowries were not usual in all regions of Russia. In the central industrial region, as well as in several southern and some northern provinces, the arrangement was turned around. In these areas the groom's family gave a sum of money to the bride's family to pay for the wedding and the bride's trousseau. However, the goods purchased by this *kladka* were also considered the personal

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<sup>468</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 40.

<sup>469</sup> Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 28.

<sup>470</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 51.

<sup>471</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 63.

property of the young woman.<sup>472</sup> Unmarried daughters inherited the paternal property only if all male lineal and collateral heirs had died. The commune subsequently determined whether such women could retain the household's land allotments and maintain production on them. When there were male heirs, unmarried females were dependent on their brothers or other male relatives when their father died.<sup>473</sup>

The widow of the household head usually received between one tenth and one seventh of the property in a postmortem household division.<sup>474</sup> This was fairly consistent with the provisions for widows belonging to other social estates than the peasantry, who were entitled to one seventh of their husband's real and one quarter of the movable property.<sup>475</sup> The property rights of a widow, who was in an inferior position in the household, depended to a great extent on the structure of the household in which she lived. Generally, widows had fewer property rights in the multiple family households than they had in the simple family households. Moreover, the multiple family household distinguished between widows with children and those without, making exceptions for the latter only if the marriage had lasted for a significant time. It provided a widow and her children shelter and sustenance, but the widow did not get a share of her late husband's patrimony unless he had specifically left property to her in a testament. On the other hand, a recently married childless widow was expected to return to her parents. She received nothing from her life within her husband's household but her dowry and personal clothing. Once the widow had observed a six-week period of mourning, she was free to remarry. Even so, the in-laws were obliged to support a childless widow who had been married for a long time.<sup>476</sup>

In a nuclear family household, the widow was in a more uncertain economic position and so received a portion of her late husband's patrimony to ensure her livelihood. Usually, she managed her husband's property either for life or until her sons reached maturity, at which time she received a patrimonial share for her maintenance or else became her sons' responsibility. Normally she received between one-seventh and one-fourth of her late husband's real and movable property. The same proportion applied to a childless widow, although if her husband did not leave behind any collateral heirs, she inherited all his real and

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<sup>472</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 63 and Hoch, S. L.: 1993, pp. 94-98.

<sup>473</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 40.

<sup>474</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987 p. 40.

<sup>475</sup> *Svod Zakonov Rossiiskoi Imperii*, vol. 10, pt. 1, arts. 1127, 1148, St. Petersburg, 1876, cited in Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 62-63.

<sup>476</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 62-65.

movable property.<sup>477</sup> Generally, the property rights of women were increasingly influenced by written law in the period after the abolition of serfdom, when the number of nuclear families increased and the introduction of *volost'* courts made it possible for women to appeal in order to change unfair inheritance decisions.<sup>478</sup>

The inheritance practices of the Russian peasants also provided for small children who lost one or both of their parents. In the event of a father's death in a complex family household, customary law dictated that the household head should hand over the property share of the deceased to his sons when they set up households of their own. In a nuclear family, the widowed mother would become guardian for the children, but it was of primary concern that she was able to provide for her children without help from in-laws or other relatives. Sometimes the village assembly would appoint a guardian for the children, even if their mother still was alive. The village assembly would certainly appoint a guardian for those children who had lost both parents. In the complex family household, the household head would be expected to take on a guardianship role. When orphaned children were without a family, village elders normally appointed a guardian from among the children's closest relatives in the village. Property that could not endure the period of the orphan's childhood and adolescence was normally auctioned off. The money from the sale was kept by village or *volost'* officials until guardianship ended. Other property was managed by the appointed guardian, and the orphans were entitled to their full property shares when they reached a certain age; normally this would be when they were between 17 and 24 years old, depending upon region. The guardianship ended upon the ward's marriage.<sup>479</sup>

From the above description of the inheritance practices inherent in the customary law of Russian peasants, it follows that the *timing of household division* was a crucial factor in deciding how the household property was distributed among the different household members. According to prevailing research, the timing of division was also crucial for the economic prosperity of the households that were divided, for the households that were established as a result of division, and ultimately for the whole village community. Serfowners and contemporary observers from the Russian educated elite believed that household divisions carried out at an inappropriate time in the household's development cycle would lead to economic ruin for those who were involved. As noted above, several studies of

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<sup>477</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 66.

<sup>478</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 62.

<sup>479</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, pp. 70-74.

the Russian peasant family prior to the abolition of serfdom show that landlords were trying to regulate both the frequency and timing of household division among their serfs.<sup>480</sup>

Moreover, the peasants themselves seem to have had an interest in the postponement of household division until existing as well as newly formed domestic units were economically self-sufficient. Small households were believed to be financially weaker than the large ones. A *razdel* that occurred at the peak in the original household's number of workers, land allotments, and accumulation of livestock and equipment meant that each of the partitioning parties could expect a fairly large portion of the property.<sup>481</sup> This secured the wellbeing of the original as well as the new households after division, and in turn, it secured the prosperity of the village community because only financially stable households were able to fulfil their tax obligations. On the other hand, households that were divided at an inappropriate point in their development cycle were running a far greater risk of becoming impoverished. In a supposedly premature division, the original household lost workers as well as other resources and the new household would have only an insignificant economic basis. The prospective new household head would after such divisions be heading a nuclear family, and could expect to carry the burden of work and tax-obligations himself, with only his wife as a partner until any sons might have reached working age.<sup>482</sup> Accordingly, it seemed to be in the peasants' best interest to postpone household division as long as possible.

Contemporary observers of peasant life and customs were also convinced that this was the case. The general opinion was that poverty, caused either by inadequate land or inadequate labour, would be the inevitable effect of family division and the consequent diminution of peasant households. This belief among the contemporary observers of peasant life was connected to their image of the peasantry as profoundly economic actors. Bureaucrats, statisticians, and scholars saw the peasant as a product of the agricultural cycle, "a specific type that had evolved through generations of struggle with the Russian soil and climate in an effort to master the land rather than be mastered by it."<sup>483</sup> Thus, in their view, the primary relationship between man and earth was *the* fundamental element in the peasant's consciousness from which he adjusted his behaviour to fit the needs of the household economy.<sup>484</sup> The contemporary observers were therefore puzzled by the existence of

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<sup>480</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.2, pp. 51-52, 54-56.

<sup>481</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 42-43.

<sup>482</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 43.

<sup>483</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 45.

<sup>484</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 45-46 and Frierson, C. A.: 1993

household division and they became increasingly worried about the economic effects of accelerated division rates during the post-emancipation years.<sup>485</sup>

After 1861 household divisions became more frequent and in particular the incidence of premortem divisions intensified. When serfdom was abolished the Russian government chose to fill the authority vacuum in the countryside by extending the peasant commune's power. The emancipation legislation of 1861 placed household divisions under the jurisdiction of the village assembly, and if a simple majority of the assembly accepted a request for household division it could be carried through legally. It soon became clear that peasants were failing to seek the village assembly's permission for household division and that they increasingly tended to divide their households more frequently than before. In the 1880s government officials started to map the prevalence of household division among the peasants, and they found that during the twenty years since emancipation almost 2,5 million peasant households had divided in 46 provinces of European Russia. The data made available to the government also indicated that in some provinces the number of households was growing at a faster rate than the population and that the average household size was decreasing.<sup>486</sup> Aggregate figures confirm that the mean size of Russian peasant households was indeed declining during the second half of the nineteenth century. While the mean household size in European Russia was as much as 8,4 members per household in the 1850s, it was only 5,8 members per household in 1897.<sup>487</sup>

Accordingly, during the nineteenth century, peasant inheritance and household division were matters of concern not only for the parties involved and the local peasant community but also for serfowners, observers from Russia's educated community, and government authorities. The contemporary observers of peasant life blamed the increased frequency of household division during the post-emancipation years, not only on the abolition of serfowner control, but also on a greater importance of non-agricultural economic activities among the peasants, which caused a general struggle that undermined the patriarchal relations within peasant society. In other words, there was supposedly a close connection between proto-industrial and industrial development and increased frequency of household division. Still, we know very little about the exact mechanisms that might have connected industrial work and household division. A closer investigation of the pattern of household division in the industrial villages of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* may give some answers.

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<sup>485</sup> See for instance Engel'gardt, A. N.: 1987, pp. 356-359.

<sup>486</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 92.

<sup>487</sup> Mironov, B.: 2003, p. 221.

## 6.2. HOUSEHOLD DIVISION IN *BUN'KOVSKAIA VOLOST'*, 1834-1869

In the analysis of the household division pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, once again the revision lists from 1834 and 1850 and the *zemstvo* household census from 1869 constituted the main sources. These documents make it possible to follow the pattern of household division in the years stretching from one census year to the next. Thus, the analysis is naturally divided into two periods, one that ranges from 1834 to 1850 and a second that ranges from 1850 to 1869. By comparing the residence of each individual in two succeeding census years it was possible to determine whether a particular household had divided or not in the period between the censuses. Households that had divided were singled out and so were the new households that were established as a result of division. Moreover, a set of variables which were relevant for the analysis, such as headship and household structure in the original and new households, kinship of the partitioning parties, and whether the division happened before or after the death of the household head, were recorded.

### 6.2.1. Frequency and timing of household division

The pattern of household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* both resembled and differed from the patterns found in previous studies of Russian peasants. What concerns the frequency of household divisions, the analysis demonstrates that divisions were a rather common occurrence in both the period 1834 to 1850 and the period 1850 to 1869. Nevertheless, there was a distinct increase in the number and proportion of households that were divided in the last period. Altogether, almost 16 percent of the households in 1834 had been divided into two or more units by 1850. The household divisions resulted in the establishment of 194 new households, which gave a division rate of approximately 1,3 new households per every divided household. In the period from 1850 to 1869, there was a large increase in the number and proportion of households that were divided. By 1869, as much as 293 or 27,4 percent of the households in 1850 had partitioned. However, the large increase in household divisions did not lead to an increased proportion of new household establishments. As in the period from 1834 to 1850, the division rate was circa 1,3 new households for each of the divided households. Thus, both in the period 1834-50 and in the period 1850-69 the divided households were splitting into approximately the same number of new household units, while the number and proportion of divided households was much larger in the period 1850-69 compared to the period 1834-50. In other words, household divisions seem to have been part of the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* even in the period



before the abolition of serfdom. Still, the population in this area clearly tended to divide their households more often during the last years of serfdom and in the first post-emancipation years. By that, this development seems to correspond to the already sufficiently documented general tendency of increased household division frequency in the second half of the nineteenth century.

**Table 6.2.1:** Household divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in period 1834 to 1869

Period	Divided households		Number of households established as a result of division	Rate of division*
	Number	Proportion of total households		
1834-1850	153	15,9 %	194	1,27
1850-1869	293	27,4 %	383	1,31
Total 1834-1869	<b>446</b>	<b>21,7 %</b>	<b>577</b>	<b>1,29</b>

\* *Rate of division*: The number of new households established as a result of division according to the number of divided households.

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

As noted above, previous research has established that one of the main reasons for the higher frequency of household divisions in the post-emancipation years was that the proportion of so-called *premortem* divisions conducted between kin of different generations and during the lifetime of the household head increased, while household divisions after the death of the household head, so-called *postmortem* divisions, had been the norm during serfdom.<sup>488</sup> Can the increased frequency of household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869 also be attributed to such a development?

The distribution of the household divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* by kinship of the partitioning parties, shows that to some extent there was an increase in *premortem* household divisions during the period between 1850 and 1869. However, there was also a longitudinal pattern of household division in these villages that included both division types. In both the period 1834-50 and the period 1850-69, divisions between siblings made up the most common form of household partition; the majority of the divisions involved brothers who decided to set up independent households. In the period 1834-50, divisions between siblings made up over half of the divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. In the following period, even though reduced by almost 13 percent, household divisions between siblings were still very widespread and made up over 43 percent of the divisions in the area. Still, over the entire

<sup>488</sup> See section 6.1 in this chapter, p. 245.

investigated period, household divisions between kin belonging to different generations were also very common among the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Divisions between fathers and sons made up 25,8 percent of the divisions during the period 1834 to 1850, and such divisions had increased to almost 33 percent of all divisions in the subsequent period. If household divisions between mothers and sons and between stepmothers and stepsons are added to this picture, the proportion partitions between household members belonging to different generations made up over 38 percent in the period 1834 to 1850. In the following period, such partitions made up almost 45 percent in the period 1850 to 1869, constituting by that the most significant type of division in the latter period.

**Table 6.2.2:** Distribution of divisions by kinship of partitioning parties as well as the distribution of *postmortem* and *premortem* divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1850 and 1850-1869

<i>Type division</i>	<i>1834-1850</i>		<i>1850-1869</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Between siblings	109	56,2 %	166	43,3 %
Between father and son	50	25,8 %	126	32,9 %
Between mother and son	20	10,3 %	43	11,2 %
Between stepmother and stepson	4	2,1 %	2	0,5 %
Between grandfather and grandson	-	-	2	0,5 %
Between in-laws of different generations	-	-	5	1,3 %
Between in-laws of the same generation	-	-	15	3,9 %
Between uncle or aunt and nephew	8	4,1 %	19	5,0 %
Between cousins	3	1,5 %	5	1,3 %
<i>Postmortem</i> divisions	120	61,9 %	197	51,4 %
<i>Premortem</i> divisions	74	38,1 %	186	48,6 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>194</b>		<b>383</b>	

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

Accordingly, during the period 1834 to 1869, household divisions involving siblings as well as inter-generational household divisions were common in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the latter becoming more significant in the last years of serfdom and in the first decade of the post-emancipation period. This pattern both resembled and differed from the pattern found in previous research. An increase in divisions involving household members of different generations have been regarded to be widespread among peasants in the Central Industrial Region as well as in the Central Agricultural Region during the post-emancipation period, but in the years before the abolition of serfdom such household divisions were regarded to be a rarity. The existence of a considerable share of father/son divisions for a relatively long period before the abolition of serfdom means that the pattern of household divisions in

*Bun'kovskaia volost'* broke with the pattern found in the Central Agricultural Region during the first half of the nineteenth century. Here the majority of household divisions involved co-resident siblings, who decided to break up the household after the death of the parental generation.<sup>489</sup>

Even though the kin-relations of the partitioning parties is a good indicator of the timing of household division, it is necessary to combine the data on kinship of the partitioning parties, demographic development in the original household, and headship in the original and newly created households to determine the exact prevalence of pre- and postmortem fission in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The following criteria were used:

*Postmortem fissions:*

- \* Division between siblings, household head dead, headship in the original household transferred to one son while head in the new household(s) also is/are son(s) of the original household head.
- \* Division between mother and son/stepmother and stepson, household head dead, headship in the original household transferred to the wife of the original household head while his son(s) is/are head(s) in the new household(s).
- \* Division between cousins, household head dead, headship in the original household transferred to a son while head in the new household is a nephew of the original household head.

*Premortem fissions:*

- \* Division between siblings, household head alive, and headship in the original household is unchanged while head in the new household is a brother of the original household head.
- \* Division between father and son, household head alive, headship in the original household unchanged while head in the new household(s) is/are son(s) of the original household head.
- \* Division between father and son, household head dead, headship in the original household transferred to a son while head in the new household is a grandson of the original household head.
- \* Division between uncle or aunt and nephew, household head alive, headship in the original household unchanged while head in the new household is a nephew of the original household head.

The distribution of the household divisions according to the criteria listed above, confirmed that there existed a combination of post- and premortem fissions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834-69. In the period 1834 to 1850, households clearly tended to wait until after the death of the household head before they arranged a division. Thus, the postmortem variant of household division was prevailing, making up 62 percent of the total divisions, while premortem household divisions made up 38 percent. In the following period, there was

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<sup>489</sup> Hoch, S. L.: 1982, pp. 238-239, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 98, Czap, P.: 1982, p. 19, Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 42, Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 31.

a considerable increase in the number and proportion of household divisions conducted in the lifetime of the household head. The share of premortem divisions had increased by as much as 11 percent, and constituted approximately half of the household divisions in the period, while the other half of the household divisions still was the result of postmortem fissions. Moreover, in 15 of the totally 23 villages in the area the peasants tended to increasingly divide their households while the household head still was alive, while in the remaining villages the distribution of pre- and postmortem fissions showed no changes or there was a slight reduction in the proportion premortem fissions in the period 1850-69 compared to the period 1834-50. In most of the large villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* the share of premortem fissions had increased considerably, which means that the shift towards earlier division must have affected the majority of the population in the area.<sup>490</sup>

To sum up, previous research has maintained that Russian peasants in the period before the abolition of serfdom tended to delay the partition until at least after the death of the household head, and often they continued to live together for a considerable time after this point if the economic and demographic situation within the household was such that it was impossible to sustain several domestic units after a division. In the post-emancipation period, the peasants increasingly divided their households during the lifetime of the household head. In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, there was a strong continuity in the pattern of household division, which does not seem to have been disrupted by the abolition of serfdom. This pattern was characterised by some of features that in previous research have been associated with developments that were specific for the household division pattern during the post-emancipation years. The peasants in this area split up their households prior to the death of the household head before as well as after the abolition of serfdom, and as such they broke with the pattern thought to be prevailing in Central Russia. Even so, in the period from 1834 to 1850, it was more common for heirs to wait until after the death of household head before they arranged a partition. In this period, the parental generation generally seems to have kept the household together, but when the parents died, children tended to break up the household. This connection between the presence of a parental generation and the undivided household was diminishing in the last decade of serfdom and in the first post-emancipation years.

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<sup>490</sup> See Table 6.3 in the Appendix, p. 301.

### 6.2.2. Household structures and household division

Although a considerable share of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* undertook premortem divisions even under serfdom, this does not necessarily mean that they broke with prevailing inheritance customs. If the households were divided at a point in time when both the original household and the households established as a result of division could survive economically, divisions should receive the support of serfowners as well as the peasant commune. Thus, the timing of division was not exclusively depending on the development cycle and demographic growth within the original household but also on the economic prosperity of the household and individual household members. Still, according to prevailing research, the economic prosperity of the household was closely connected to its size and complexity. Accordingly, Russian peasant households were divided only when they had developed into multiple family households and when the original as well as the new households could stay multiple also after division.<sup>491</sup> In the following, we shall explore if the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* followed this norm of household division, first by analysing the household structure of the divided households before and after division.

To a certain extent, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* that partitioned in the period 1834 to 1850, followed the prevailing pattern of household division. This is seen by that the majority of the partitioning households were at a stage in their development cycle when they contained at least two conjugal units and thus were defined as multiple family households. In the first period, totally 85,6 percent of the partitioned households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were multiple family households before division, of which almost 3/4 were households with secondary conjugal units distributed downwards or upwards from head (5a, 5b and 5b\*). The households with secondary units sideways from head (5c and 5d) and the combined multiple family households (5e and 5e\*) made up approximately 1/4 of the partitioned multiple family households in the period 1834 to 1850. In other words, the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* usually divided their households only when they had developed into multiple family households but before they reached the stage of horizontal kin-relations.

Further, simple family households made up the second largest category of divided households in the period 1834 to 1850. Approximately 11 percent were of this household type, of which the majority consisted of married couples with children (category 3b).

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<sup>491</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, p. 21, Bohac, R. D.: 1985, Czap, P.: 1982, p. 29-34, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, p. 237-241, Worobec, C. D.: 1991, 78-79, Frierson, C. A.: 1987, pp. 42-43, Mironov, B.: 2003, p. 230.

According to what have been established as the prevailing rules of household divisions it may seem exceptional that simple family households were divided. However, in 1834, most of the simple family households that later divided, were at a point in their development cycle at which one child or several children were adolescent or young adults but not yet married. Further, all these young men, who at some point between 1834 and 1850 moved out of their parental simple family household were married in 1850 and headed households consisting of themselves, their wives, and in most cases children. Most likely, marriage must have been a precondition for the possibility of establishing an independent household, also for the children in the simple family households. This means that the simple family households in the sample in reality had developed into multiple family households before the point of division, but that the departing sons in these households must have left the parental household at a relatively early point after marriage. Accordingly, in a few cases the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* found the possibility to allow young, comparatively newlywed men to establish their own independent households.

**Table 6.2.3:** Households divided in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834-50, distributed on different household categories in 1834 and 1850.

Household structure	Household structure before division (1834)		Household structure after division (1850)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
2a; Co-resident siblings	1	0,7 %	-	-
"No family" households	1	0,7 %	-	-
3a; Married couple without offspring	-	-	2	1,3 %
3b; Married couple with offspring	16	10,5 %	21	13,7 %
3c; Widower with offspring	-	-	1	0,7 %
3d; Widow with offspring	1	0,7 %	6	3,9 %
<i>Simple family households</i>	17	11,1 %	30	19,6 %
4a; Extension upwards	-	-	7	4,6 %
4b; Extension downwards	2	1,3 %	3	2,0 %
4c; Extension sideways	2	1,3 %	1	0,7 %
<i>Extended family households</i>	4	2,6 %	11	7,2 %
5a; Secondary units up	1	0,7 %	1	0,7 %
5b; Secondary units down	77	50,3 %	73	47,7 %
5b*; Secondary units down – widowed/single head	20	13,1 %	26	17,0 %
5c; Secondary units sideways	2	1,3 %	-	-
5d; <i>Frèrèches</i>	7	4,6 %	4	2,6 %
5e; Combinations of 5a-d	23	15,0 %	7	4,6 %
5e*; Combinations of 5a-d – widowed/single head	1	0,7 %	1	0,7 %
<i>Multiple family households</i>	131	85,6 %	112	73,2 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

Most of the original households stayed complex also after partition. In 1850, as much as 73,2 percent of the divided households were multiple family households, 19,6 percent were simple family households, and 7,2 percent were extended family households. However, very few of the multiple family households were of the most complex types, which above were defined to be extended with secondary units sideways or to be combinations of multiple family household (5c, 5d, 5e, 5e\*), or in other words, households with horizontal kin-relations. Altogether, these household types made up only 1/10 of the divided households that continued to be multiple after a division. Simultaneously, the less complex households with secondary units disposed downwards or upwards from head (5a, 5b, 5b\*) made up as much as 9/10 of the multiple family households after division. There was also a marked increase in simple and extended forms among the original households after division. Altogether, simple family households made up almost 20 percent and extended family households over 7 percent of the original households after division. The majority of these households consisted of married couples with children (3b), but quite a few of the divided households were made up of nuclear families extended with an aged relative (4a), and some households consisted of widows with children (3d). Accordingly, in the period 1834 to 1850 there was a general tendency that the divided households became less complex after partition. Even though most of the original households remained multiple family households, the relative importance of relatively uncomplex multiple households increased. Simultaneously, the proportion simple family and extended family households increased considerably among the households that had been divided during the period 1834 to 1850.

This pattern of household division continued in the following period, maybe to an even greater extent. The large majority of the households that were divided in the period 1950 to 1969 were multiple family households. This was the case for as much as 88,1 percent of the original households. As in the previous period, approximately 3/4 of the multiple family households divided at the point in their development cycle when they were vertically extended, either upwards or downwards. The remaining 25 percent of the divided multiple family households were extended horizontally. Another 12 percent of the original households were belonging to the categories of simple family and extended family households before division, of which the overwhelming majority consisted of married couples with children. Most likely, the majority of the children, who in 1850 lived in simple family households and by 1869 had established their own households, were married and had lived in the parental household of the husband for a while before they set up their own household. In 1869, the overwhelming majority of these newly formed households were nuclear families and some of

them consisted of a young married couple without children, indicating that they had moved out of the parental household shortly after marriage.

**Table 6.2.4:** Households divided in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1850-69, distributed on different household categories in 1850 and 1869.

<i>Household structure</i>	<i>Household structure before division (1850)</i>		<i>Household structure after division (1869)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
2a; Co-resident siblings	-	-	3	1,0 %
2b; Other co-resident relatives	-	-	1	0,3 %
<i>"No family" households</i>	-	-	4	1,4 %
3a; Married couple without offspring	-	-	8	2,7 %
3b; Married couple with offspring	26	8,9 %	45	15,4 %
3c; Widower with offspring	1	0,3 %	6	2,0 %
3d; Widow with offspring	1	0,3 %	9	3,1 %
<i>Simple family households</i>	28	9,6 %	68	23,2 %
4a; Extended upwards	4	1,4 %	6	2,0 %
4b; Extended downwards	2	0,7 %	-	-
4c; Extended sideways	1	0,3 %	12	4,1 %
<i>Extended family households</i>	7	2,4 %	18	6,1 %
5a; Secondary units up	1	0,3 %	2	0,7 %
5b; Secondary units down	157	53,6 %	146	49,8 %
5b*; Secondary units down – widowed/single head	34	11,6 %	41	14,0 %
5c; Secondary units sideways	11	3,8 %	2	0,7 %
5c*; Secondary units sideways – widowed/single head	1	0,3 %	-	-
5d; <i>Frèrèches</i>	19	6,5 %	2	0,7 %
5e; Combinations of 5a-d	35	11,9 %	10	3,4 %
<i>Multiple family households</i>	258	88,1 %	203	69,3 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

Further, in the period 1850 to 1869 the original households' composition after division followed a pattern similar to the one shown for the previous period. A majority of almost 70 percent stayed multiple family households after division, while 23,2 percent had become simple family households and 6,1 percent extended family households. A few of the households were belonging to the category "no family" after division, which were households lacking a central conjugal family unit, such as for instance co-resident siblings (2a). Of the households that continued to be multiple family households after division, over 93 percent were extended with vertical kin (parents, children, grandchildren), while only circa 7 percent were extended with horizontal kin (brothers, nephews, uncles, cousins). Moreover, in this period the households with secondary units disposed downward from head and where the main conjugal unit was intact (5b), had become more important at the expense of the similar households where the head was widowed or single (5b\*). This could mean that the



households were dividing at a somewhat earlier point in their development cycle, or it could mean that the risk of widowhood was reduced compared to the previous period.<sup>492</sup> The same tendency is sustained by the increase in the proportion simple family households among the original households in the period 1850-1869.

Accordingly, the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* that were divided in the period 1834 to 1869, were at a point in their development cycle when they consisted of more than one conjugal family unit. Most often, the different conjugal units were distributed vertically. Only relatively few of the divided households contained horizontally distributed conjugal family units before division. The original households that contained only one conjugal unit at the first point of registration were probably also multiple family households at the point of division, as it is highly unlikely that these households divided before the departing children were married. Even so, the existence of simple family households among the divided households could indicate that in some cases adult children were able to establish independent households at a relatively early point after marriage. After division, the proportion simple and extended family households among the original households increased considerably. Yet, most of the divided households continued to be multiple family households also after division, but a larger proportion of these multiple family households were relatively uncomplex, with conjugal family units distributed on the vertical line of kinship. Simultaneously, the proportion of the more complex multiple family households, with conjugal units distributed horizontally was considerably reduced.

By that, the pattern of household division deviated considerably from the pattern found in previously investigated populations in the Central Agricultural Region. Not only did households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* split up more frequently than the households in the agricultural region, but they also usually divided at an earlier point in the household development cycle. Generally, the timing of household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have depended on three differed aspects of the demographic development within the household. First, a minimum precondition for household division was that the junior household member had to be married before he could establish an independent household. Second, household division often coincided with the death of the household head of the original household, but with time it increasingly happened during the lifetime of the household head. Finally, household division was rarely postponed so that the household for an extensive period would contain co-resident kin with a horizontal relation to the household

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<sup>492</sup> I will return to a discussion of the reasons behind the pattern of household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* towards the end of this chapter, see pp. 271-276.

head. This pattern seems to have been quite stable throughout the investigated period and was in fact reinforced during the period 1850 to 1869. Moreover, this pattern indicates that in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* household division did not require newly established households to be complex in structure at the point of division. Still, to determine whether this was the case, one needs to consider not only the composition and development of the original households but also the composition of the new households that were established as a result of division.

**Table 6.2.5:** Household structure of the new households created by division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the periods 1834-1850 and 1850-1869.

<i>Household structure</i>	<i>New households 1834-1850</i>		<i>New households 1850-1869</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
1a; Solitaries – widowed	1	0,5 %	1	0,3 %
1b; Solitaries – single/unknown marital status	-	-	3	0,8 %
<i>Solitaries</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,5 %</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1,0 %</i>
2a; Co-resident siblings	2	1,0 %	2	0,5 %
2c; Non-related co-residents	1	0,5 %	1	0,3 %
<i>"No family" households</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1,5 %</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>0,8 %</i>
3a; Married couple without offspring	11	5,7 %	33	8,6 %
3b; Married couple with offspring	121	62,4 %	211	55,1 %
3c; Widower with offspring	1	0,5 %	9	2,3 %
3d; Widow with offspring	3	1,5 %	17	4,4 %
3e; <i>Soldatka</i> with offspring	-	-	1	0,3 %
<i>Simple family households</i>	<i>136</i>	<i>70,1 %</i>	<i>271</i>	<i>70,8 %</i>
4a; Extension upwards	5	2,6 %	5	1,3 %
4b; Extension downwards	2	1,0 %	4	1,0 %
4c; Extension sideways	6	3,1 %	13	3,4 %
<i>Extended family households</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>6,7 %</i>	<i>22</i>	<i>5,7 %</i>
5a; Secondary units upwards	1	0,5 %	1	0,3 %
5b; Secondary units downwards	27	13,9 %	61	15,9 %
5b*; Secondary units downwards – single/widowed head	3	1,5 %	6	1,6 %
5c; Secondary units sideways	2	1,0 %	1	0,3 %
5d; Frérèches	6	3,1 %	7	1,8 %
5e; Combinations of 5a-d	2	1,0 %	7	1,8 %
<i>Multiple family households</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>21,1 %</i>	<i>83</i>	<i>21,7 %</i>
<b><i>Total households</i></b>	<b><i>194</i></b>	<b><i>100,0 %</i></b>	<b><i>383</i></b>	<b><i>100,0 %</i></b>

Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

Table 6.2.5 shows how the newly created households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were distributed on different household categories during the period 1834 to 1850 and the period 1850 to 1869. In both these periods, there was an overall stability in the distribution of the newly created households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and these households were considerably less complex than was the case for newly formed households in the Central Agricultural Region. The majority of the newly created households were simple family households. In the period 1834-1850 as well as the period 1850-1869, approximately 70 percent of the newly created

households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were simple family households. Of these, nuclear family households (category 3b) were absolutely most widespread. In the period 1834-1850, over 60 percent of the new households were nuclear families, while this was the case for 55 percent of the new households in the period 1850-1869. Further, the most important change in the composition of newly created households during the investigated period concerns the distribution of different categories of simple family households. During the period 1850 to 1869, there was a relatively significant increase in the proportion newly formed households consisting of married couples without children as well in the proportion widowers and widows with children. This development indicates first, that even though the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* most often established independent households after giving birth to at least one child, there was an growing tendency for relatively newlywed couples to establish their own household, and second, that individuals who according to prevailing research had a quite marginal position in Russian peasant society, such as widows with children, increasingly were able to sustain independent households.

Thus, the pattern of household establishment after division confirms that the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* only to a limited extent postponed household division until the original as well as the new households retained complex structures after division. On the contrary, the norm seems to have been that the original households should be complex in order to divide, but that the newly created households preferably should be nuclear families. Even though this seems to have been the main rule, a considerable minority of the newly created households were complex. In both the period 1834-50 and the period 1850-69, approximately 20 percent of the newly created households were multiple family households, while extended family households made up between 6 and 7 percent. The majority of the newly established complex family households were extended by secondary units downward from head (category 5b), which made up 13,9 percent of the newly created households in the period 1834-50 and 15,9 percent in the period 1850-69. In other words, also in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* household division did not necessarily imply a universal return to simple household forms.

As outlined above, contemporary observers as well as modern scholars have generally attributed the increase in premortem household divisions and simple household forms during the post-emancipation years to economic factors. Following their argumentation, when the peasant population became involved in non-agricultural activities, this stimulated the break-up of the large, patriarchal Russian peasant household. Accordingly, a main task in this study is to make an assessment of whether the economy influenced the pattern of household division. The 1869 household census contain occupational data that in combination with the

analysis of household divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869 can give an understanding of this issue.

### 6.2.3. The household economy and household division

The newly established households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* displayed a variety of structures, which most likely were the result of divisions conducted at different points in the development cycle of the original households. To what extent was the variety in composition of the new households connected to the occupation of the head in these households?

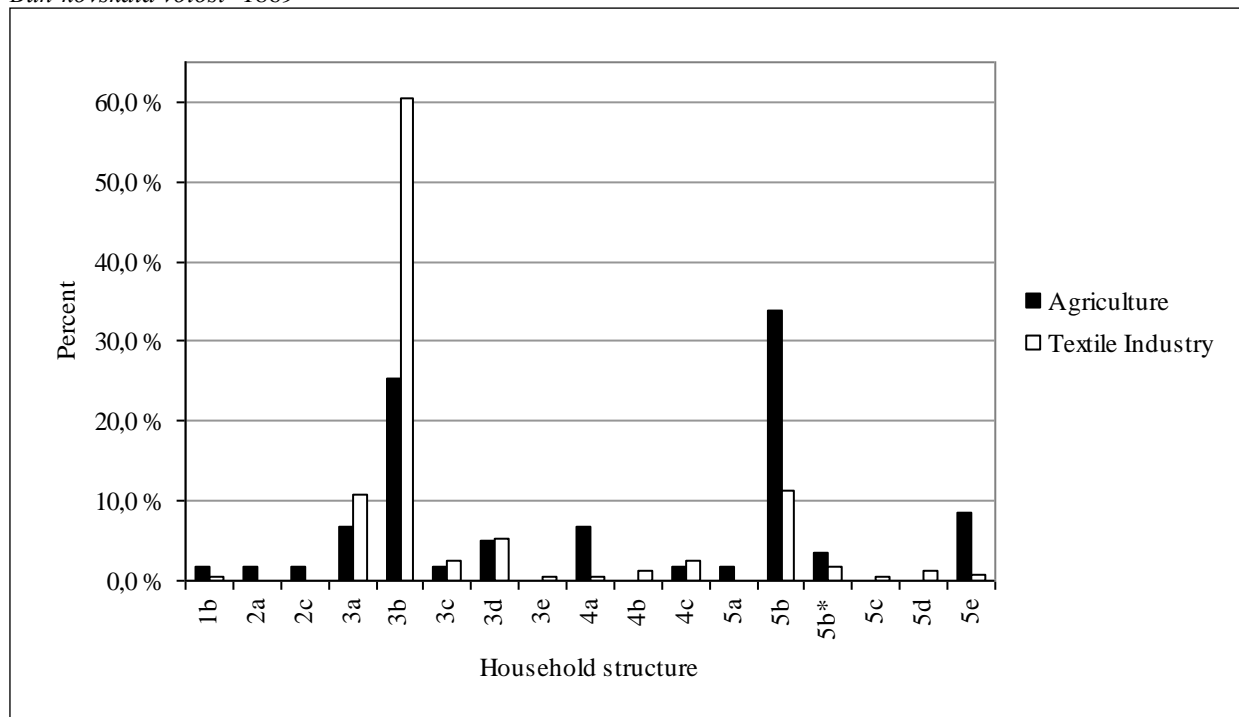
The distribution of household structures according to the occupation of the head in the newly formed households shows that there was a clear correspondence between simple household forms, in particular the nuclear family, and the head's employment in agriculture. Opposite, the heads working in agriculture were obviously more likely to form complex households after division. Altogether, almost 80 percent of the newly created households headed by individuals working in the textile industry were simple family households, while this was the case for only 39 percent of the newly created households headed by individuals who were working in agriculture. On the other hand, the newly formed multiple family households were mostly headed by agricultural workers. As much as 47, 5 percent of the agricultural workers and only 15,7 percent of the textile workers were heading newly formed multiple family households.

As noted several times already, the textile workers were generally considerably younger than the agricultural workers. Thus, the correspondence between newly established simple family households and textile work and between newly established multiple family households and agriculture might in part be attributed to the age-specific occupational pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Even so, these figures still indicate that the timing of household division to a certain extent depended on the occupation of the departing junior household member. Supposedly, the junior household members who were employed in agriculture had to wait longer to establish their own households than was the case for the junior household members who were employed in the textile industry.

Similar to the analysis of household division on the general level, the timing of household division according to occupation can be measured by studying the kin-relations between the partitioning parties and the prevalence of premortem versus postmortem household divisions in the two occupational groups. The analysis shows that over half of the newly established households where the household head was working in agriculture were the

result of household divisions between siblings, while this was the case for 36,5 percent of the newly established households headed by textile workers. Moreover, household divisions between mothers and sons, between in-laws of the same generation and between an uncle or aunt and a nephew also quite frequently resulted in the formation of households headed by agricultural workers. In other words, the agricultural newly established households seem frequently to have been the result of divisions taking place at a relatively late point in the development cycle of the original households.

**Figure 6.2.1:** Structure of households created by division distributed according to occupation of the head, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда, 1869-71 gg.*

Opposite, the newly formed households headed by individuals working in the textile industry were more frequently the result of household divisions between fathers and sons. Almost 40 percent of the new textile households were products of such divisions, while only approximately 12 percent of the new agricultural households were attributed to divisions between fathers and sons. Thus, even though a considerable share of the new households headed by textile workers was caused by divisions between brothers and between mothers and sons, the textile households frequently appear to have been established at a relatively early point in the development cycle of the original households.

**Table 6.2.6:** Kin-relation between partitioning parties distributed according to the occupation of the head in the newly created households, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869

<i>Generations</i>	<i>Agriculture</i>		<i>Textile Industry</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Cousins	0	0,0 %	4	1,7 %	4	1,4 %
Father/son	7	11,9 %	89	38,7 %	96	33,2 %
Grandfather/grandson	0	0,0 %	2	0,9 %	2	0,7 %
In-laws of different generations	1	1,7 %	3	1,3 %	4	1,4 %
In-laws of the same generation	6	10,2 %	8	3,5 %	14	4,8 %
Mother/son	8	13,6 %	28	12,2 %	36	12,5 %
Siblings	32	54,2 %	84	36,5 %	116	40,1 %
Stepmother/stepson	1	1,7 %	1	0,4 %	2	0,7 %
Uncle/aunt and nephew	4	6,8 %	11	4,8 %	15	5,2 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>59</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>230</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>289</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

**Figure 6.2.2:** Timing of household divisions in the period 1850-69 distributed according to the occupation of heads of newly established households, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869.



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

The distribution of postmortem and premortem divisions in the period 1850 to 1869 according to the occupation of the heads in households established as a result of division largely confirms the trend seen above. The majority of the agricultural households were established after the death of the household head in the original household; over 60 percent of the agricultural households were the result of postmortem divisions, while approximately 40 percent had been established while the head in the original household still was alive. The

textile households were to a much greater degree the result of household divisions that had taken place during the life time of the head in the original household. Approximately half of the individuals working in the textile industry were heading households that were established due to premortem fissions, while the other half were heading households established after the death of the head in the original household.

Thus, the pattern of kin-relations between partitioning parties as well as the distribution of premortem and postmortem household divisions suggest that employment in the textile industry accelerated the timing of household division and the establishment of new households, while employment in agriculture often implied that household division was delayed until after the death of the household head in the original household. In other words, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* there seem to have been a certain correlation between proto-industrial and industrial work and the acceleration in the household division rate during the last decade of serfdom and in the first post-emancipation years. Still, part of the distinction in the timing of household establishment between these two occupational groups might be attributed to an age-specific occupational structure, in which the textile workers usually were quite young and agricultural workers were considerably older. This means that household division should be approached not only according to its timing in the development cycle of the household and occupational differences but also according to the age of the departing junior household members. In other words, it becomes essential to study the pattern of headship attainment in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869.

### 6.3. HEADSHIP

The inheritance pattern common among Russian peasants ensured that in the course of a household division every male heir in the household would receive an equally large share of the accumulated household property, independently of his position in the household hierarchy. By that, the access to *property* was distributed according to essentially egalitarian principles; at least what concerned the male population. On the other hand, the inheritance rules ensured that household *authority* was transferred through primogeniture.<sup>493</sup> In other words, within the household headship authority was reserved for the eldest son, leaving younger sons, brothers, and nephews to the current household head in junior positions until they either collectively or individually decided to move out. Accordingly, there were essentially two ways of attaining headship in Russian peasant society, through succession

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<sup>493</sup> See for instance Czap, P.: 1982, p. 20, Bohac, R. D.: 1985, p. 23, Kaser, K.: 2002.

within an already existing household or through establishment of an independent household after division. The reasons for maintaining this pattern of headship transfer were generally connected to the agricultural economy among Russian proprietary serfs. To what extent did the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* behave according to these principles, and was the transfer of authority from one generation to the next somehow influenced by the proto-industrial development in the area?

Due to the significance of seniority in headship attainment, the average age of household heads in Russian peasant society was quite high. Broadly speaking, being a household head was the privilege of the mature man. This was also the case for the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The mean age of all household heads varied between 48,4 years in 1834, via 48,7 years in 1850, to 50,2 years in 1869. Throughout this period a substantial minority of the household heads in the area were female. In 1834, females comprised approximately 16 percent of the household heads and the share of female heads had increased to approximately 20 percent by 1869. Most female household heads seem to have been elderly widows and the average age of all female household heads was circa 55 years, increasing slightly towards the end of the investigated period. The same was true for the male household heads. The mean age of the male heads increased with almost two years during the investigated period, being 47,1 years in 1834 and 48,9 years in 1869.<sup>494</sup> As shown in chapter four, the life expectancy among adult males increased during the years after 1850, and the increase in the average age of heads was most likely connected to this development.<sup>495</sup> The increase in life expectancy implied that household heads lived for a longer time as well as enhanced the share of the population that survived until adulthood. These developments meant that the chances for junior household members to attain headship at a relatively early age decreased, which in turn would increase the mean age of household heads. This development is sustained by the fact that very young household heads disappeared from the household listings from *Bun'kovskaia volost'* towards the end of the investigated period. The adolescent household heads, who especially were found in the census material from 1834, seem all to have attained headship due to the demographic development within their parental households, that is, due to the death of a father, a mother, or an older brother. Already in 1850 but in particular in 1869, very few of the household heads in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were

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<sup>494</sup> Source: *TsIAM*, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

<sup>495</sup> See Chapter 4, section 4.2.3, pp. 150-155.



younger than 20 years old. Simultaneously, the number of households and, thus, the number of household heads, increased considerably throughout the investigated period. This indicates that succession through death in the oldest generation became increasingly rare among the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, while succession through household division became ever more usual.

This is further confirmed by the fact that the majority of the nuclear family households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were the result of household division rather than demographic development within existing households. Already in the period 1834 to 1850, almost 65 percent of the nuclear families in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was established after a division of an existing household. In the following period, between 1850 and 1869, as much as 71,3 percent of the nuclear families were results of household divisions. Hence, the following analysis will concentrate on the junior household members who attained headship through a household division, first, by estimating the timing of authority transfer during the life course of those who attained headship, and second, by discussing how the position in the hierarchy of the original household influenced the chances of attaining headship.

In order to study the timing of headship transfer, one should preferably have individual age data from the exact point in time when each household division took place. Unfortunately such information is not available for nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. What we have, however, is age data from succeeding censuses that along with information on which of the households in the area that had undertaken a division between two censuses, makes it possible to make an assessment of the approximate age at which most junior household members had moved out of the parental household and had establish their own. First, the analysis shows that there was an increase in the mean age of household heads that had attained headship through division in the period 1834 to 1869. The heads in the households established by division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1850 were on average 38,5 years in 1850, while the heads of households established during the period 1850 to 1869 were on average 42,1 years in 1869. There might have been several reasons for this. First of all, the calculation includes households that had been established in the beginning of a period as well as shortly before the next census was taken. Because the intervals between the censuses were quite large, and was larger in the latter period, this might have influenced the results. However, the reason might also have been connected to the local demographic development of increased life expectancy, which on the household and community level might have meant that available resources had to be distributed on a larger number of individuals, and which in

turn meant that junior household members had to wait somewhat longer to establish their own household.

Although the development in the timing of headship attainment is difficult to measure, it is still possible to discern a clear pattern of headship attainment in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* on the basis of the available sources. Generally, household heads, who had attained headship due to a household division between siblings, were several years older than household heads, who had departed from the parental households during the lifetime of their father. While household heads, who had departed from their fathers' household, were on average 36 to 38 years old, the household heads, who had attained headship due to division between siblings were on average 41 to 44 years old.

Moreover, during the period 1850 to 1869, there were also clear differences in the timing of headship attainment according to the occupation of the departing junior household member. The mean age of heads in recently established agricultural households was almost 50 years, while the mean age of heads in recently established textile households was 40 years.<sup>496</sup> In other words, it appears that textile work stimulated the establishment of independent households, while junior household members working in agriculture remained longer in the parental household. This assumption can be tested in a cross-sectional analysis of the life course pattern of individuals working in agriculture and textile industry, respectively. In figure 6.3.1 and 6.3.2 the household position of males working either in textile industry or in agriculture is distributed according to their age. This makes it possible to assess at which age individuals working in the textile industry and in agriculture were likely to attain headship.

The figures show that there were several important differences in headship attainment between the agricultural workers and the textile workers. First, some textile workers had attained headship quite early in the life course. Already in the age group 20 to 24 years, a few of the textile workers were heading their own households and in the age group 25 to 29 years, approximately 15 percent of the textile workers were household heads. None of the agricultural workers in these age groups headed independent households; all the household heads working in agriculture were thirty years or older.

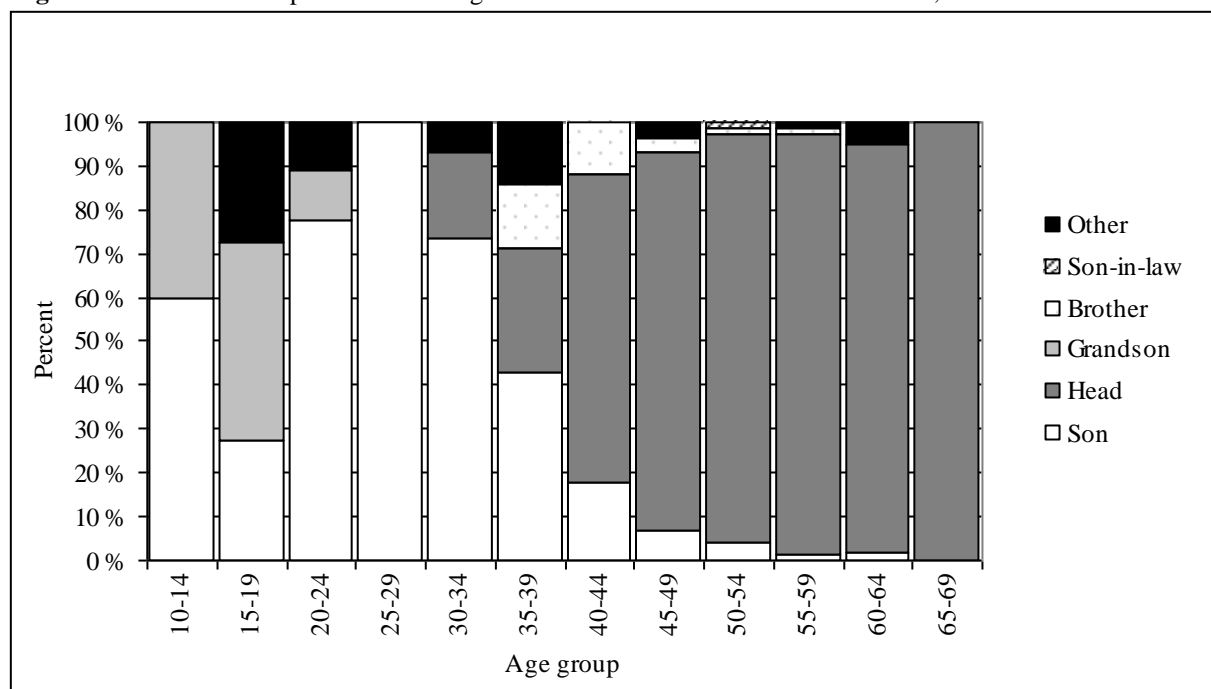
Secondly, after the age of thirty, an increasing number of both the textile workers and the agricultural workers gradually attained headship. In the age group 30 to 34 years, 23 percent of the textile workers and 20 percent of the agricultural workers were heading their own

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<sup>496</sup> The calculations are based on the 1834 and 1850 revision lists as well as the 1869 household census. *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

households. In the age group 35 to 44 years, which seems to be the phase in junior household members' lives when household authority frequently was transferred, there were large differences in the distribution of household positions between the agricultural workers and the textile workers. Approximately half of the textile workers in the age group 35 to 39 years were heading their own households in 1869, while this was the case for only circa 30 percent of the agricultural workers. Moreover, in this age group, a considerable share of the individuals working agriculture had the position of "brother" or "other kin" to the household head, while this was not the case among the textile workers. Most of the textile workers aged 35-39 years, who had junior household positions, were sons of the household head. A similar tendency can be observed between agricultural and textile workers in the age group 40 to 44 years, although the distinction in this age group was less apparent.

**Figure 6.3.1:** Life course pattern of male agricultural workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

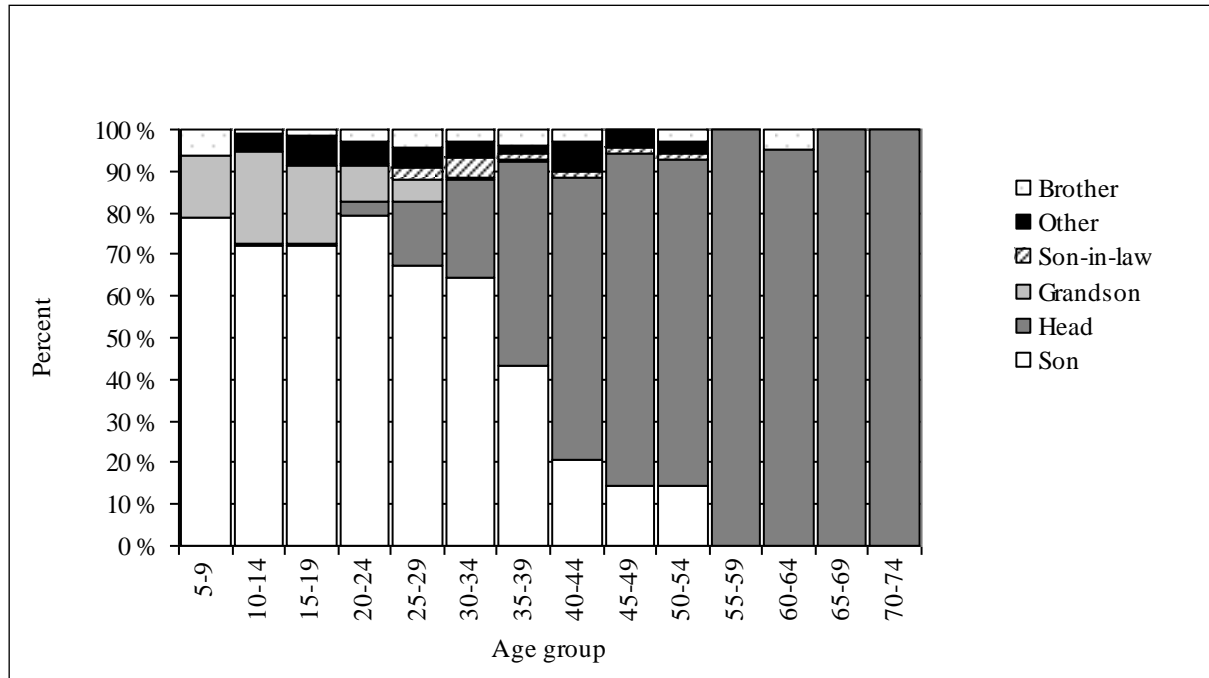


Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

In other words, there was a clear difference in the timing of headship attainment between individuals working in the textile industry and individuals working in agriculture. Agricultural workers tended to a greater extent to delay headship transfer than was the case among the textile workers. It might be that junior agricultural workers to a larger extent were dependent on the demographic development within their parental households, that is, death in the older generation, to attain headship, than was the case among junior textile workers. The textile

workers, on the other hand, had probably a greater economic as well as personal freedom, which in turn made it possible for them to establish independent households through household division at an earlier phase in their life course.

**Figure 6.3.2:** Life course pattern of male textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869



Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

The household composition in Russian peasant society depended greatly on the rules of headship attainment and to which extent headship was available to the individuals holding various positions within the multiple family household. As noted above, previous research has found that headship attainment among Russian peasants was organised according to patrilineal principles, which meant that headship usually was transferred to the eldest son after the death of a household head. Younger sons, brothers, and possible nephews to the deceased household head would retain junior positions until they eventually moved out of the parental household.<sup>497</sup> The likelihood of headship attainment for these different groups of junior household members must largely have depended on the timing of household division in the development cycle of the household. This also means that the regional variety in headship attainment probably was great and that an increased frequency of household division could have provided headship attainment to a larger group of individuals. Who attained headship in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869?

<sup>497</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, p. 20, Kaser, K.: 2002, p. 383-384.

**Table 6.3.1:** Headship in original and new households after division, distributed according to position in household before division, 1834-1850.

<i>Head in divided households</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Head in new households</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
Son	73	47,7 %	Son	147	75,8 %
Same head	51	33,3 %	Brother	17	8,8 %
Wife	21	13,7 %	Grandson	12	6,2 %
Daughter-in-law	3	2,0 %	Daughter-in-law	9	4,6 %
Grandson	3	2,0 %	Nephew	7	3,6 %
Brother	1	0,7 %	Cousin	1	0,5 %
Brother-in-law	1	0,7 %	Sister-in-law	1	0,5 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the distribution of headship in the households that were affected by division, shows that a close kin relation to the household head in the original household was the most important criteria for attaining headship after a division. Moreover, this was true in the original as well as in the households established after a division. The distribution of headship in the households affected by division in the period 1834 to 1850 shows that in 33,3 percent of the divided household there was no change in headship from 1834 to 1850. However, in almost half of the divided households the original household head's son was head after division. Further, the wife of the original household head was heading almost 14 percent of the divided households. This means that after division, individuals belonging to the immediate conjugal family unit of the original head were heading as much as 95 percent of the households. It also means that in the overwhelming majority of cases where the original household head was still alive, he was still heading the original household after division.

The distribution of headship in the households created by division shows that 3/4 of the heads in the new households were sons of the heads in the original households, while brothers made up almost 9 percent and grandsons approximately 6 percent of the new household heads. In other words, sons of the original household head had the greatest chance of attaining headship in the original as well as the new households, but to a much greater extent in the newly established households. Thus, the population of *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems largely to have conformed to the succession rules inherent the customary law of the Russian peasants, where headship was transferred according to the male descent line. However, a quite large proportion of former household heads' widows among the heads in the original households means that also women could become household heads under certain circumstances. Interestingly, most of the households headed by widows were multiple family households containing married sons. Supposedly, an adult married son should attain headship in such a household instead of his mother, but this does not seem to have happened to a very large

extent, as there were very few mothers to household heads present in these households. This might witness to a rather strong position of senior women in the households of *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, although a more detailed study of gender relationships seems necessary to be conclusive on this issue.

The development in the period 1850 to 1869 shows first of all that the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* tended to increasingly divide while the original household head was still alive. Most of the households where division had taken place were still headed by the original household head. 43 percent of the original household heads in 1850 were still alive in 1869, and of these, 41,3 percent were still heading their households. Accordingly, sons were less likely to head the original households compared to the earlier period. Approximately 36 percent of the divided households were headed by a son of the original household head, which means that the proportion sons among the heads of the divided households was reduced by almost 12 percent compared to the period 1834-1850. The proportion households headed by the wife of the original household head was also reduced, while the number and proportion of households headed by a daughter-in-law of the original household head was considerably increased. Seen together, these developments indicate firstly that household heads were more likely to survive, and secondly that the speed of household division was faster compared to the previous period.

**Table 6.3.2.:** Headship in original and new households after division, distributed according to position in household before division, 1850-1869.

<i>Head in divided households</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Head in new households</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>
Same head	121	41,3 %	Son	247	64,5 %
Son	105	35,8 %	Grandson	35	9,1 %
Wife	30	10,2 %	Brother	29	7,6 %
Daughter-in-law	18	6,1 %	Daughter-in-law	22	5,7 %
Grandson	4	1,4 %	Nephew	20	5,2 %
Sister-in-law	4	1,4 %	Sister-in-law	16	4,2 %
Brother	2	0,7 %	Grandson's wife	4	1,0 %
Daughter	2	0,7 %	Son-in-law	3	0,8 %
Son-in-law	2	0,7 %	Daughter	2	0,5 %
Adopted son	1	0,3 %	Sister	2	0,5 %
Granddaughter	1	0,3 %	Adopted son's son	1	0,3 %
Grandson's wife	1	0,3 %	Brother-in-law	1	0,3 %
Nephew	1	0,3 %	Non-kin	1	0,3 %
Non-kin	1	0,3 %			
<b>Total</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>Total</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda, 1869-71 gg.*

The distribution of headship in the newly established households further confirms this tendency. Still, sons made up the largest group of heads in the new households established as a result of division. However, the proportion sons among the heads in the new households were reduced by over 10 percent, making up 64,5 percent. Instead, the range of individuals who had attained headship in the newly created households was considerably broader than was the case in the previous period. For instance, the number and proportion of grandsons, daughters-in-law, nephews and sisters-in-law who had become household heads in the new households had all increased noticeably. This could mean that it had become easier for more people to establish a new household, more or less independently of their position in the original household. In a more closely regulated system, the establishment of an independent household would probably be the privilege of a small group with close kin-relations to the household head. In a less regulated system, the opportunity of household establishment could have been open to a larger range of individuals, also those who were not in the closest kin group. Further, greater opportunities for attaining headship could have been connected to the acceleration in the frequency of household division during the latter period.<sup>498</sup>

#### 6.4. A PROTO-INDUSTRIAL INHERITANCE PATTERN?

Which factors regulated the pattern of household division among peasants in Central Russia and what might have caused the growth in household divisions during the last part of the nineteenth century? During the 1880s, the increase in household divisions that had taken place in the post-emancipation period, which was reflected in the pattern of household division in nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, became a matter of concern on the highest political level in Russia. The government was concerned that the rapid rate of household division among peasants and the significant increase in the number of households would weaken their labouring power and impoverish the peasantry. Thus, they decided to regulate the divisions more strictly.<sup>499</sup> In 1886, this political process resulted in a law that required peasant households to obtain the village assembly's permission before conducting a household division. It authorised the assembly to consider the request only of the household head had

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<sup>498</sup> Peter Czap notes the same tendency among the peasants at *Mishino* estate in Riazan Province during the first half of the nineteenth century, when there was an acceleration in the frequency of household division that reduced the share of horizontally extended multiple family household on the estate. Yet, the share of multiple family households with secondary conjugal units disposed sideways from head was considerably larger among the peasants at *Mishino* than was the case for the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* also after the reduction in such households. See Czap, P.: 1982, p. 22.

<sup>499</sup> Worobec, C. D.: 1991, p. 93.

agreed to the partition. The village assembly would determine the possibility of a household division on the basis of explicit criteria, which emphasised the authority of the household head and importance of economic viability for the original as well as the newly created households.<sup>500</sup> Only if the household met these requirements, a two-thirds majority of the assembly could permit the division. Then the assembly was empowered to divide the communal land allotments among members of the partitioning household and ensure that each new household received a farmstead, building, and movable property adequate to establish a viable household economy.<sup>501</sup> The government's engagement in this issue shows that peasant inheritance practices was a matter of concern not only for the individuals and households directly involved in divisions, but also for the local community and even for state authorities.

The government officials who initiated the law of 1886 believed that the increase in household divisions was caused by the lack of control and the disruption of patriarchal values in the Russian countryside after the abolition of serfdom. Accordingly, serfowners had supposedly been able to control the inheritance practices among their serfs. In chapter two, we saw that serfowners in Central Russia indeed attempted to regulate the family life of their serfs, mainly by requiring especially peasant women to marry young and by prohibiting household division if they believed that the division would lead to economic ruin for the involved parties.<sup>502</sup> However, the extent to which they succeeded is far from clear. The micro-studies of household division in the Central Agricultural Region conducted by Peter Czap and Steven Hoch, witness to that here the serfowner had a certain success in making the serfs postpone household divisions. On the other hand, these authors also underscores that the serfowner most likely only confirmed the general interest of the village community and the *dvor*, which simultaneously were protected by peasant customary law. The question is thus whether the postponement of household division that can be traced in the inheritance practices of the serfs in these estates, were the result of peasant customary law, landlord intervention or a combination of the both.<sup>503</sup> Substantial evidence suggest that economic considerations lay at the root of the pattern of postponed household division as well as the considerable acceleration of household divisions in the post-emancipation period. Further, under serfdom,

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<sup>500</sup> Such criteria were for instance that the reasons for division had to be legitimate, and the newly created households should be able to carry on independent household economies. Further, the amount of farmstead land for the new household(s) should meet government building standards, and the provisions should be adequate to discharge the original household's arrears, taxes, dues, and other obligations.

<sup>501</sup> *Pol'noe Sobranie Zakonov*: , ser. 3, no. 5578.

<sup>502</sup> See Chapter 2, section 2.2, pp. 51-52, 54-56.

<sup>503</sup> Czap, P.: 1982, pp. 15-20, Czap, P.: 1983, Hoch, S. L.: 1982, Hoch, S. L.: 1986.



the economic interests of serfowners and serfs frequently seem to have coincided. This also means that we have to reckon with a large degree of variation in the pattern of household division between different economic regions within Central Russia. Accordingly, it might well be that the postponement of household division until the original and new households contained at least two conjugal family units was a reasonable strategy among serfs living in local communities that were highly dependent on agriculture. The household division pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* demonstrates that even though the peasants in this area were serfs for most of the period investigated in this study, they did not consistently conform to the strategy of postponed household division. Under the economic conditions in the Central Industrial Region, and maybe especially in proto-industrial areas such as *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the postponement of household division seems to have been rather unnecessary in order to uphold the economic viability of the partitioning parties, both from the serfowner's and the peasants' point of view.

This argument is largely supported by evidence on the development of household division during the post-emancipation period. Even though the authorities attempted to regulate household divisions, reports from several different regions in Russia stated that the village assembly rarely blocked a division, but simply worked to make the distribution of property as fair and economically viable as possible.<sup>504</sup> Accordingly, the peasants themselves were probably not as concerned about the acceleration in the division rate as the contemporary observers from the educated elite as well as the government were. This means that household division was a natural element in the development cycle of the Russian peasant household. Moreover, the strategy of postponed household division was probably more closely connected to the specific economic conditions of serfs in the purely agricultural regions of Central Russia than to the prevalence of a patriarchal outlook among Russian peasants and serfowners. Finally, the peasants may have been able to solve the economic issues and potential problems involved in such divisions to a much greater extent than some serfowners, contemporary observers and the government believed.

As briefly noted above, the contemporary observers in post-emancipation Russia thought that one of the reasons for the acceleration in the rate of household divisions during the post-emancipation years was that the peasants increasingly found employment outside agriculture, notably in domestic industries, in factories, and as migrant labourers. They connected the employment in the industry to an increased "urge for independence" among the

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<sup>504</sup> Frierson, C. A.: 1987, p. 50.

young industrial labourers, especially among those who had been away from the village for some time. Indeed, migrant work was an important element in the lives of many peasants in the post-emancipation period, especially in the Central Industrial Region. Estimates based on issued passports indicate that as much as one third of the adult male peasants in this region were involved in migrant work.<sup>505</sup>

It is quite possible that being away from his native village gave the young migrant industrial labourer a sense of independence and even caused a change in the way he looked upon agricultural work and life in the village generally. However, the most important factor, which could have influenced the rate of household division directly, must have been that the industrial worker earned his own money. This means that not only migrant workers but also proto-industrial and industrial workers, who found employment close to home, could have changed their inheritance strategies and the timing of household division.

In chapter three, we saw that due to the poor agricultural conditions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the earnings obtained in the textile industry must have been extremely important in the household economy. Moreover, because it mainly was the junior household members that worked in the textile industry, particularly in branches and positions where payments were relatively high, it was also they who provided the household with vital incomes.<sup>506</sup> Most likely, this situation altered the power balance within the multiple family household, so that junior members had a greater personal freedom than was the case for junior household members in purely agricultural areas. Obviously, this freedom was used to establish independent households relatively early in life. Furthermore, earnings from industrial work must have provided an extra guarantee against economic extinction for the newly established households, which lacked in exclusively agricultural communities. Accordingly, the original household did not have to be at the peak of its demographic development in order to undertake a division in villages where industrial work was a real income alternative. Moreover, in an industrial community such as *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the availability of land resources must have been less important than was the case in the Central Agricultural Region. The connection between land availability and household structures is well documented for several communities in largely agricultural areas of the Russian Empire. In areas where the availability of work in the industry seems to have been more important than land resources, less complex household structures seems to have been the norm. Furthermore, this household

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<sup>505</sup> Burds, J.: 1991, p. 55.

<sup>506</sup> See Chapter 3, section 3.3, pp. 117-123, 134-135.

pattern was closely connected to household division strategies that deviated from those found in purely agricultural areas.

In *Bun'kovskaia volost'* these processes seem to have been reflected on the local level in that textile workers attained headship earlier in the life course than was the case for agricultural workers. However, because we lack occupational data for the period before the abolition of serfdom, it is still uncertain to what extent the industrial boom in the eastern districts of Moscow Province from the 1820s on, immediately influenced the pattern of household division. The overall stability of the pattern of household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the nineteenth century, indicates that the inheritance pattern in this area in fact should be regarded as being part of a larger regional trend, which had long roots in the forest zone of Central Russia. This inheritance pattern seems to have adhered to a stem-family ideology that required only one married son to remain in the parental household, while other sons sooner or later moved out. Investigations of household formation patterns in the Central Agricultural Region, on the other hand, show that at least during the eighteenth and first half of the nineteenth century, the peasants in this region rather adhered to a joint-family ideology in which at least two married sons lived in the parental household for an extensive period of time. However, the increased frequency in household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* towards the end of the investigated period seems clearly to have been connected to the proto-industrial development in the area. In the post-emancipation years, the textile industry in the eastern part of Moscow Province attracted an increasing number of workers, and the dependency on industrial income seems also to have increased over the investigated period due to a general deterioration of agriculture in the area. The young men who were employed in the textile industry had probably a greater economic and personal freedom than the agricultural workers; a freedom that they used to establish their own households.

Finally, the demographic development in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might also explain the change in the pattern of household division during the post-emancipation years. The increase in premortem fissions towards the end of the investigated period was most likely connected to the reduction of the mortality level and rise in life expectancy among the male adult population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1850 to 1869. When a larger share of the population survived, households would grow in size and complexity at a greater speed than what was the case when the population had a higher mortality. The intensified household growth most likely led to acceleration in the frequency of household division. Moreover, the increased life expectancy among the elderly meant that the household head more often would

be alive at the point of household division, and accordingly, the proportion premortem fissions increased.

## CONCLUSION

Previous research has shown that the inheritance strategies among Russian peasants were formed within a system of tight social control, in which serfowner interests and the interests of the peasant community's own institutions, such as the peasant commune and the household represented by its head, worked together to ensure that the to frequent household division did not endangered the economic viability of these institutions. Further, the economic viability of the household, the peasant commune, as well as the serfowner, was supposedly closely connected to the demographic growth within each household so that large and complex households were the norm. Accordingly, household division was delayed until both the original and the newly formed households would contain at least two marital units after division, a system that has been labelled "the perennial multiple family household" and which has been thought universal for the peasant population in Imperial Russia.

The analysis of the pattern of household division and headship attainment among the proto-industrial producers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* shows that the system of social control found in previous research must be regarded to have been characteristic only for a certain economic and social environment, namely the serf estate in the Central Agricultural Region of Southern Russia. During the period 1834 to 1869, household division in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* showed a distinct pattern in which households tended to divide at the stage in the development cycle when they consisted of several marital units of different generations, or in other words, when one or more sons were married and had lived with their wives within the parental household for some time. Thus, in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, household division generally took place earlier in the development cycle than was the case among previously investigated peasant populations in Southern Russia, where division more often happened only when the household had reached a stage in the development cycle when it was extended with several marital units that were belonging to the same as well as different generations.

Further, in the Central Agricultural Region the households that were established as a result of division were usually complex households but this was not the case in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. On the contrary, the overwhelming majority of the newly formed households in this area were simple family households consisting of husband, wife and children. Simultaneously, the majority of the original households continued to be multiple also after

division. In other words, it seems as if the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* adhered to a stem-family ideology in which only the heir remained in the parental household while the remaining sons moved out and established their own households some time after marriage.

Given the relatively early marital age, the period of patrilocal coresidence could last for quite a while. Most young men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* married when they were in the age group 20 to 25 years, while headship attainment, either through succession within the parental household or through household division, happened when they were approximately 35 to 40 years. Accordingly, the period of patrilineal coresidence lasted for ten to twenty years before household division took place. This implied that some of the males who had recently established their own household and attained headship, their children were soon to marry. Accordingly, if they had sons, the nuclear stage in the development cycle of the household must have been rather short. Such households would certainly conform to the concept of the "perennial multiple family household". However, this seems to have been the exception rather than the rule for the newly established households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. On the contrary, the married couple with children was a distinct phase in the household development cycle which in most cases came about as a result of division when the junior household member was circa 35 to 40 years old and lasted until the household head was approximately 50 years old.

Further, this pattern of household division intensified during the investigated period, due to a greater frequency of household division and because the incidence of so-called premortem household divisions increased. Generally, household division among Russian peasants was associated with the death of the household head in the original household, so that divisions between brothers, uncles and nephews, or cousins were the common arrangement. In both the period 1834-50 and in the period 1850-69, many households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* adhered to this practice. However, it is equally true that division between fathers and sons were quite usual among the peasants in the area and that such divisions became increasingly widespread in the years after 1850.

There might be demographic as well as economic explanations for this change. In the period 1850-69, life expectancy among adult males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* increased, so that elderly household heads generally must have lived longer. If the peasants in the area exclusively had found it necessary to delay household division until after the death of the head, the increased life expectancy in the older generation would mean that headship attainment among junior household members also was delayed. Indeed, the mean age of those who attained headship through division during the period 1850-69 was somewhat increased

compared to the previous period. However, the inheritance strategies of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have been quite flexible and the incentive of establishing nuclear family households great, so that the increased life expectancy in the elder generation in fact led to an increase in the incidence of divisions between fathers and sons.

Still, independent on the prevailing household formation system and inheritance practices, everywhere in pre-industrial Europe household establishment was impossible without available resources. In nineteenth-century Russian peasant society, economic resources were available through several different channels; in the Central Agricultural Region mainly through arable land, and in the Central Industrial Region, increasingly through different forms of non-agricultural activities, such as handicrafts, proto-industrial, and industrial work. The connection between the availability of land resources and the multiple family household as well as delayed household division is well documented for the Central Agricultural Region. In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the young men, who worked in the textile industry attained headship at an earlier age and undertook father/son divisions more frequently than was the case for young men working in agriculture. Accordingly, work in the textile industry seems to have stimulated the rate of household division, while the young men working in agriculture seem to have been required to postpone household division somewhat. Among the textile workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, the household's and individual's economic prosperity, which certainly must have been a precondition for the establishment of new households, might have been rather independent of the demographic growth within existing households. The economic resources provided to households and individuals involved in proto-industrial textile production seem to have enabled them to establish independent households largely independent of the availability of arable land, and accordingly, the social control of household division and headship attainment, associated with the largely agrarian institutions of serfdom and the peasant commune, seems to have been less tight.

CONCLUSION:

REGIONAL FAMILY PATTERNS  
IN NINETEENTH-CENTURY RUSSIA

Historical research on family patterns in Europe focused for a long time on the striking contrast between the Russian peasant's family patterns and the family patterns that prevailed in rural areas of North-Western Europe. The early mapping of family patterns in Europe stated that the Western family was generally small and simple in structure, as young newlywed couples usually were required to establish their own household immediately after marriage. The Russian family, on the other hand, was large and complex in structure, because the newlywed couple was required to move into the parental household of the groom upon marriage. These contrasting residence norms for young couples also led to contrasting marriage patterns in the two areas. Young men and women in North-Western Europe married relatively late in life and a considerable share of the population never married at all. Among Russian peasants, marriage happened much earlier in the life course and was practically universal. The contrasting family patterns in the two European regions also implied that the North-Western household's development cycle was closely associated with the life cycle of the married couple that formed it in the first place; when they died, the household would also be extinguished. The development cycle of the Russian peasant household, on the other hand, stretched over several generations. Throughout its development cycle, the household expanded and decreased in size and complexity as the individual members married, gave birth, died, or moved out of the household, but it always retained complex forms; it became a "perennial multiple family household".

Since the first models of family patterns in Europe were developed, the research on households in Western Europe has mounted, mainly in the form of numerous micro-studies of family patterns in local communities throughout Europe. The results of this research have in turn led to a modification of the theories on how families in pre-industrial Western Europe were formed and developed, which underscores diversity and flexibility in family patterns rather than uniformity. This has not been the case for the Russian peasant family. Micro-studies of Russian peasants' family patterns have until quite recently been confined to a few studies concentrating on the serf population at three different estates that in the eighteenth- and nineteenth century were belonging to the Gagarin family. Accordingly, our knowledge

about Russian family patterns is in fact derived from an exceptionally small sample. Although Peter Czap, who is the person behind the concept of the “perennial multiple family household”, already in the first micro-studies underscored that the regional variation in family patterns among Russian peasants must have been great, this has generally not been pursued in further research. Rather, the Russian peasant family has been interpreted into a model of tight social control in which patriarchal and collective values controlled family formation under serfdom as well as in the post-emancipation period. Accordingly, the multiple family household was the norm; the ideal family form that not only gave economic security, but also ensured the power of the village community over the individual, the power of men over women, and the power of the elderly over the young.

The findings in this study do not support such a view. On the contrary, the study of the family patterns among the proto-industrial textile producers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834 to 1869 shows that demographic, economic and institutional diversity on the regional level most likely was decisive for the formation of family patterns among Russian peasants in the nineteenth century, and that the main division line was between the Central Industrial Region in the forest zone and the Central Agricultural Region in the black earth belt of European Russia. Moreover, both in the pre- and post-emancipation period, the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* did accommodate their family strategies to changing circumstances in the local environment and in their individual lives, which means that the great focus on continuity and stability in earlier research must be considered as quite exaggerated.

The family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the nineteenth century deviated from the family pattern found in the Central Agricultural Region in several important respects. First of all, the demographic aspects of the family pattern seem to have differed significantly from what has been found in earlier studies. Previous research has revealed that the demographic regime of nineteenth-century Russia was a typical high-pressure regime, with high mortality, fertility and marriage rates. Moreover, the mortality level in the Central Industrial Region was even higher than in the Central Agricultural Region, due to a higher degree of industrialisation and urbanization. Although census material hardly is an ideal source for studying mortality patterns, the age data of the three consecutive censuses from 1834, 1850 and 1869, shows that the life expectancy among adult males in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was somewhat higher than among previously investigated Russian populations in the nineteenth century and that there most likely was an increase in the life expectancy during the period 1834 to 1869. Accordingly, the possible harmful consequences of early industrialisation seem to have been rather limited among the adult male population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*.



However, infant and child mortality remained high, and mortality crises were still a common occurrence in this area during the nineteenth century, and as such, the mortality pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* resembled the mortality pattern thought to be prevailing among Russian peasants. Thus, the demographic pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* diverged from the high-pressure demographic regime mainly what concerned the marriage pattern and the level of natality.

At the beginning of the investigated period, the marriage pattern in this area essentially conformed to the traditional Eastern-European marriage pattern. Even though it never was under 20 years, the mean age at first marriage was quite low and the absolute majority of the population seems to have married at some point during the course of their lives. However, by the end of the investigated period, the mean age at first marriage had increased to approximately 23 years for both sexes and the proportion never married females had increased considerably, making up 10 percent in 1869. Both the mean age at first marriage and the proportion never married was exceptionally high by Russian standards. Finally, throughout the investigated period, the celibacy rate among females of reproductive age was 10 to 15 percent higher than among previously investigated populations in purely agricultural regions of nineteenth-century Central Russia.

This specific marriage pattern was most likely one of the reasons why the fertility pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* differed so much from the pattern found in previous research. In the beginning as well as the end of the investigated period, the birth rate was approximately 40 per 1000, while previous research has shown that the birth rate among Russian peasants in the nineteenth century was in the order of 50 per 1000. The natality of the population in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* reached this level only in 1850, when they seem to have been recovering from a demographic crisis associated with the cholera epidemic in 1847-48. Moreover, during the period 1834 to 1869, the level of marital fertility declined to a level that at the time only was found in the Baltic region of the Russian Empire.

This particular development in the marital behavior and fertility pattern was most likely connected to the importance of proto-industrial textile production as opposed to agriculture in the household economy of the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, in particular during the post-emancipation years. Proto-industrial development worked together with such factors as poor agricultural conditions, population growth, and the nineteenth-century Russian tax system, to alter the functioning of the repartitional system in the peasant commune, so that marriage seized to be the crucial factor for obtaining arable land. Instead, the arable land controlled by the peasant commune was distributed according to the number of workers in each household

and land rights were widened to include adolescents as well as adult male workers. The motivation of the peasant commune seems obvious. Because the right to an allotment of arable land was associated with the duty to pay a share of the commonly held tax obligations, the distribution of allotment land to a wider group of individuals enabled the peasant commune to exploit the incomes that adolescents and unmarried males earned in the textile industry. Moreover, evidence from different parts of the Central Industrial Region shows that arable land was frequently rented and leased. The proto-industrial workers in the eastern part of Moscow Province also seem to have engaged in such transactions, in the way that households concentrating on proto-industrial work would lease out their land rights to households that rather concentrated on agriculture. Accordingly, in this region the availability of land resources was only to a limited extent depending on the composition of the peasant household and marriage became essentially independent of the economic structures, which in turn means that early and universal marriage lost its logical foundation.

Moreover, the phase in the life course when marriage was most likely to take place coincided with the phase when employment in the textile industry was at its most intense for the young men and women in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. For the young women in this area, work in the textile industry seems to have implied that they remained longer in the parental household, maybe because their parents were reluctant to marry off daughters that must have contributed considerably to the household economy. On the other hand, daughters who were working in agriculture married earlier, and seem by that to have conformed to the pattern of early marriage thought prevailing in pre-Revolutionary Russia. The reason for this was probably that their work power was needed in agricultural households also in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, although the access to land resources was independent of marriage. The specific features of the marriage pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* might also have influenced the fertility pattern by reducing the years a female spent within marriage and thus the potential number of children. Moreover, work in the textile industry, which was extremely common among single as well as married women in this area, might have been an incentive for controlling child birth also within marriage, even though further research is needed to be conclusive on this issue.

Further, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were both smaller and less complex than was the case for the households in the Central Agricultural Region. The average size of the households was approximately six members per household, increasing to 6,7 in 1850, when the household in the area tended to be more complex than in the preceding and following census years. Moreover, very few of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were

really large, comprising 10 members or more, while such households were quite usual in the Central Agricultural Region. What concerns the composition of households, there seems to have been a great extent of diversity and flexibility in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, and during the investigated period, this diversity was a continuous feature of the family pattern in the area. Complex family households, consisting of several co-resident conjugal units made up a considerable share of the households in the area, but the simple family household was almost equally widespread. Generally, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* were clearly more simple than what has been found in the purely agricultural communities in the black earth belt, both what concerned the proportion nuclear family households and the relative complexity of multiple family households. Nuclear families and multiple family households with secondary units disposed downwards from head made up the overwhelming majority of the households in the area, comprising approximately 30 percent each, and as such, these two household forms seem to have made up a dual system. Moreover, the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* contained only one married couple, while households in the Central Agricultural Region usually contained two or three marital units. Furthermore, the complex households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* rarely contained horizontal kin-relations, while vertical kin-relations beyond the nuclear family were extremely common. In other words, the complexity of these households were facilitated by the large number of married sons co-residing with their parents rather than the co-residence of married brothers, which was widespread in the investigated populations in the Central Agricultural Region.

By that, the complex form was only one of several distinct stages in the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. The nuclear family was the dominating household form among household heads aged circa 25 to 50 years. When the children in the nuclear family started to marry and brought spouses into the parental household, the household entered a new stage in its development cycle, in which the married head co-resided with one or more of his married children. Accordingly, the household shifted from a simple family household to a multiple family household, and this household form was dominating among the household heads aged 50 or more. When the head died or lost his wife, the household entered yet another stage in the development cycle, in which the widowed head or his wife would head a household with co-resident married sons. Such households were especially common among the elderly household heads, aged 60 or more. At this stage and certainly after the death of both parents, the majority of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* tended to split up into smaller units. In *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, such household divisions implied that each conjugal unit received a share of the household property and established

their own independent household, in which the cycle started all over again. In other words, household division was the main mechanism for transfer of property and authority from one generation to the next. Thus, the population in this area seems to have avoided the co-residence of married brothers after the death of the parental generation. This is one of the main differences between the family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* and the family pattern found on the Gagarin estates. This also implies that the development cycle of the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* was rather short; due to division, the households in this area rarely expanded over several generations of household heads, which seem to have been the common arrangement in the Central Agricultural Region.

Accordingly, the timing of household division was the crucial factor that made the family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* differ from the family pattern found in the studies of the Gagarin serfs. The serf households on these estates divided only when the original as well as the newly established households would contain at least two marital units after division, so that they continuously retained complex forms and the nuclear family rarely became a part of the development cycle. The households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, by contrast, seem to have divided at a point when the original household remained complex, while the newly established households were nuclear families. In most cases, only one married son remained in the parental household for life, while the other married sons sooner or later moved out. Accordingly, the peasants in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem to have followed a stem-family ideology rather than a joint-family ideology in the timing of household division and in the decisions concerning the transfer of authority from one generation to the next. This relatively early timing of household division implied that the nuclear family was a distinct phase in the household development cycle and in the life course of the individual married couple. The majority of young men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* attained headship in a nuclear family when they were approximately twenty-five to thirty years old and continued to head nuclear families until they were approximately forty-five to fifty years old. Accordingly, the nuclear phase of the households in this area could last for as much as 25 years and at least for approximately 15 years. Thus, the households in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* can hardly be defined to be "perennial multiple family households".

Further, although this development cycle and household division pattern were stable features of the family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* throughout the period 1834 to 1869, it seems to have been intensified towards the end of the investigated period. The frequency of household division increased, so that a larger share of the households split up and junior household members to a greater extent moved out of the parental household while the

household head still was alive. Accordingly, the divisions between fathers and sons became ever more important while divisions between siblings became less common. Moreover, during the period 1850 to 1869, headship attainment through division became available to a larger set of kin, so that not only sons or brothers became heads in newly established households but also individuals with a more distant kin-relation to the household head in the original household, such as grandsons, nephews, and daughters-in-law.

Part of the change in the frequency and timing of household division from postmortem to premortem division should probably be attributed to the increase in the expectancy of life among adult males that seems to have occurred in the period after 1850. When a larger proportion of the population survived, this inevitably must have led to a faster household growth which in turn meant that the point in the household's development cycle when division became possible or necessary was moved forward in time. Moreover, because the increased life expectancy mainly concerned the adult and elderly males, household heads would frequently be alive when junior members moved out of the parental household.

However, not only the mortality pattern but also the economy seems to have influenced the timing of household division. In 1869, the young men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* that worked in the textile industry had a greater chance of headship attainment at a relatively early age, compared to young men who were working in agriculture. Some of the textile workers attained headship already when they were in their twenties and early thirties and in the age group 35-39 years, approximately half of the male textile workers were already household heads. On the other hand, none of the agricultural workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* had attained headship before their thirtieth birthday, and in the age group 35-39 years the majority were still in junior household positions. Young men in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* who found work in the textile industry most likely accomplish a personal and economic independence that allowed them to established their own households at an earlier point in their lives than was the case for the young men working in agriculture. This is also sustained by the fact that the majority of the textile workers established nuclear family households after a division, while agricultural workers more frequently established multiple family households. In other words, the agricultural workers often had to wait until they had married children to establish independent households, and as such, they resembled the serfs in the Central Agricultural Region.

Accordingly, the effect of proto-industrialisation on the family patterns in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seems to have been especially strong in the early phases of the life course, influencing the timing of major transition points such as marriage and establishment of independent

households. While employment in proto-industrial textile production postponed marriage, especially among females, it stimulated the establishment of independent households and headship attainment. In other words, proto-industrialisation was crucial for a change in the timing of exactly those transitions that in previous research has been depicted as decisive for the formation of the family pattern of Russian peasants. It was precisely the specific timing of marriage and household division that made the family pattern among Russian peasants so different from the family patterns of their North-Western European counterpart, and which led to the formation of the concept of the “perennial multiple family household” in the first micro-studies of Russian peasant families.

The implications of the results for *Bun'kovskaia volost'* seem therefore to be that the tendency in historical research on the Russian family to make conclusions on the general level that in fact are based on highly local studies, should be reconsidered. The concept of the “perennial multiple family household” was valid only in a clearly defined geographical and economic region, namely the black earth belt of Central Russia where the populations main economic activity was agricultural grain production. Does this also mean that one should reconsider the effect of patriarchy and mechanisms of tight social control in the proto-industrial setting? Most likely, patriarchal structures made a contribution to the formation of the family patterns also in nineteenth-century *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. For instance, the majority of household heads were men and households had a quite hierarchical structure in which headship generally was to be found in the eldest generation and remained in the eldest generation throughout life. Moreover, attainment of headship through succession within the household or through household division was mainly reserved for men belonging to the closest kin-group of the current household head, in particular sons. In this way, the family pattern in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* conformed to the pattern thought to be prevailing among Russian peasants in the nineteenth century.

However, the tight social control of the peasant commune and serfowners over marriage and household division, which has been shown to be so important for the formation of the family patterns in the Central Agricultural Region, seem to have been largely lacking among the proto-industrial workers in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*. Rather, the peasant commune seem to have accommodated their practices in order to exploit the economic possibilities that the textile industry provided, and the serfowners in this area were highly involved in the industrial development, as well, both by establishing industrial enterprises themselves and by supporting peasant entrepreneurs. The economic logic of maintaining the tight social control and patriarchal structures associated with the “perennial multiple family household” seems

certainly to have largely disappeared in the proto-industrial setting. Accordingly, the system of social control connected to the major rural social institutions, which has been regarded to be quite universal for Russian peasant society, seems in fact to have been either confined to a specific regional and economic setting, or highly flexible, and thus showing a great deal of variety in different parts of Central Russia. This further entails that the emphasize on Russian peasant society and culture as essentially “traditional” and incapable of change, which for a long time was predominant and still occurs in the literature on pre-Revolutionary Russia, does not stand up to empirical scrutiny.





## APPENDIX

**Table 3.1.:** Occupational structure among males and females of working age 15-59 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Females</i>		<i>Males</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Textile industry	2123	74,4 %	1596	64,3 %	3719	69,7 %
Agriculture	423	14,8 %	243	9,8 %	666	12,5 %
Paper industry	82	2,9 %	96	3,9 %	178	3,3 %
Wood crafts	0	0,0 %	140	5,6 %	140	2,6 %
Nothing	86	3,0 %	23	0,9 %	109	2,0 %
Transport	8	0,3 %	72	2,9 %	80	1,5 %
Iron crafts	2	0,1 %	75	3,0 %	77	1,4 %
Trade	28	1,0 %	44	1,8 %	72	1,3 %
Coaching inn-keeper	19	0,7 %	18	0,7 %	37	0,7 %
Unknown	15	0,5 %	20	0,8 %	35	0,7 %
Servant	12	0,4 %	22	0,9 %	34	0,6 %
Administrative	1	0,0 %	25	1,0 %	26	0,5 %
Butcher	13	0,5 %	9	0,4 %	22	0,4 %
Innkeeper	10	0,4 %	9	0,4 %	19	0,4 %
Clergy	0	0,0 %	15	0,6 %	15	0,3 %
Housekeeping	11	0,4 %	0	0,0 %	11	0,2 %
Watchman	0	0,0 %	11	0,4 %	11	0,2 %
Shoemaker	2	0,1 %	8	0,3 %	10	0,2 %
Disabled	3	0,1 %	6	0,2 %	9	0,2 %
Cook	8	0,3 %	1	0,0 %	9	0,2 %
Education	1	0,0 %	7	0,3 %	8	0,1 %
Waiter	3	0,1 %	5	0,2 %	8	0,1 %
Fishing	0	0,0 %	7	0,3 %	7	0,1 %
Chemical industry	3	0,1 %	4	0,2 %	7	0,1 %
Stove maker	0	0,0 %	7	0,3 %	7	0,1 %
Police	0	0,0 %	3	0,1 %	3	0,1 %
Other industry	0	0,0 %	3	0,1 %	3	0,1 %
Machinist	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %	2	0,0 %
Gardener	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %	2	0,0 %
Land surveyor	0	0,0 %	2	0,1 %	2	0,0 %
Warehouse assistant	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Wafer baker	1	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Unskilled labourer	1	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Tailor	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Street sweeper	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Medicine	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Plaiting	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Ditcher	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Painter	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Icon painter	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
Cooper	0	0,0 %	1	0,0 %	1	0,0 %
<i>Total</i>	2855	100,0 %	2484	100,0 %	5339	100,0 %

**Source:** *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaja statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 3.2:** Distribution of occupation according to age group among females aged 15-59 years, *Bun'kóvskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age Group</i>								
	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
<b>Textile industry</b>									
Silk-mixture weaver	115	180	109	121	104	56	40	15	4
Unwinding cotton	52	52	50	49	65	47	42	33	30
Wool-mixture weaver	63	85	57	48	75	38	30	8	6
Unwinding silk	25	46	35	33	31	23	19	12	13
Silk weaver	12	14	14	11	11	9	4	5	1
Cotton weaver	13	12	6	7	9	3	5	2	2
Wool weaver	11	11	10	7	2	1			
Cotton mill worker	6	5	1		2		1	1	1
Spinning by hand					3	2	2	4	4
Weaver at a mechanized textile mill	2	5	4	1					
Ribbon maker	6	3							
Textile mill owner	2	1	1		1	2	1	1	
Weaver	2	1	1	3					1
Calico weaver	2	3							
Cotton twisting	1	1	1	1				1	
Knitter	2	2					1		
Factory worker	1			1	1				1
Unwinding cotton and silk						2			
Cloth-printer		1							
Designer		1							
Linen-spinner									1
Silk twisting			1						
Spinner		1							
Warper							1		
<i>Total textile industry</i>	<i>315</i>	<i>424</i>	<i>290</i>	<i>282</i>	<i>304</i>	<i>183</i>	<i>146</i>	<i>82</i>	<i>64</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>80,2 %</i>	<i>84,0 %</i>	<i>79,7 %</i>	<i>78,1 %</i>	<i>77,4 %</i>	<i>67,8 %</i>	<i>64,6 %</i>	<i>44,8 %</i>	<i>40,0 %</i>
<i>Percent of textile industry</i>	<i>15,1 %</i>	<i>20,3 %</i>	<i>13,9 %</i>	<i>13,5 %</i>	<i>14,5 %</i>	<i>8,8 %</i>	<i>7,0 %</i>	<i>3,9 %</i>	<i>3,1 %</i>
<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Farmer	24	29	36	31	44	54	54	74	76
<i>Total agriculture</i>	<i>24</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>36</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>44</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>76</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>6,1 %</i>	<i>5,7 %</i>	<i>9,9 %</i>	<i>8,6 %</i>	<i>11,2 %</i>	<i>20,0 %</i>	<i>23,9 %</i>	<i>40,4 %</i>	<i>47,5 %</i>
<i>Percent of agriculture</i>	<i>5,7 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>	<i>8,5 %</i>	<i>7,3 %</i>	<i>10,4 %</i>	<i>12,8 %</i>	<i>12,8 %</i>	<i>17,5 %</i>	<i>18,0 %</i>
<b>Other industries</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Paper mill worker	15	18	7	15	12	3	5	6	1
Owner of a chemical factory		2		1					
Unskilled labourer						1			
<i>Total other industries</i>	<i>15</i>	<i>20</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>16</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>3,8 %</i>	<i>4,0 %</i>	<i>1,9 %</i>	<i>4,4 %</i>	<i>3,1 %</i>	<i>1,5 %</i>	<i>2,2 %</i>	<i>3,3 %</i>	<i>0,6 %</i>
<i>Percent of other industries</i>	<i>17,4 %</i>	<i>23,3 %</i>	<i>8,1 %</i>	<i>18,6 %</i>	<i>14,0 %</i>	<i>4,7 %</i>	<i>5,8 %</i>	<i>7,0 %</i>	<i>1,2 %</i>
<b>Trade</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Coaching inn-keeper	2	2	3	4	1	1		5	1
Trader	4	3	1	3	2	1	2	1	1
Butcher	3	2	1	2	2	2	1		
Innkeeper	2	1	1		2		2	1	1
Shopkeeper			2	1	1	1	1		
<i>Total trade</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>3</i>

<i>Percent of age group</i>	2,8 %	1,6 %	2,2 %	2,8 %	2,0 %	1,9 %	2,7 %	3,8 %	1,9 %
<i>Percent of trade</i>	16,7 %	12,1 %	12,1 %	15,2 %	12,1 %	7,6 %	9,1 %	10,6 %	4,5 %
<b>Service</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Housekeeping			3	3		1	2	1	
Cook		1			1	3	2		1
Servant			1		3			1	1
Maid	4		1						
Waiter			1		2				
Nursemaid								1	
<i>Total service</i>	4	1	6	3	6	4	4	3	2
<i>Percent of age group</i>	1,0 %	0,2 %	1,6 %	0,8 %	1,5 %	1,5 %	1,8 %	1,6 %	1,3 %
<i>Percent of service</i>	12,1 %	3,0 %	18,2 %	9,1 %	18,2 %	12,1 %	12,1 %	9,1 %	6,1 %
<b>Transport</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Carter		1	2		2			1	
Coachman		1	1						
<i>Total transport</i>	-	2	3	-	2	-	-	1	-
<i>Percent of age group</i>	-	0,4 %	0,8 %	-	0,5 %	-	-	0,5 %	-
<i>Percent of transport</i>	-	25,0 %	37,5 %	-	25,0 %	-	-	12,5 %	-
<b>Crafts</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Blacksmith				1	1				
Shoemaker				1					1
Shuttle maker			1						
Wafer-baker								1	
<i>Total crafts</i>	-	-	1	2	1	-	-	1	1
<i>Percent of age group</i>	-	-	0,3 %	0,6 %	0,3 %	-	-	0,5 %	0,6 %
<i>Percent of crafts</i>	-	-	16,7 %	33,3 %	16,7 %	-	-	16,7 %	16,7 %
<b>Education</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Office manager and goes to school				1					
Domestic work and goes to school									1
Goes to school	1								
<i>Total education</i>	1	-	-	1	-	-	-	-	1
<i>Percent of age group</i>	0,3 %	-	-	0,3 %	-	-	-	-	0,6 %
<i>Percent of education</i>	33,3 %	-	-	33,3 %	-	-	-	-	33,3 %
<b>None or unknown occupation</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Nothing	20	19	12	14	15	16	8	9	10
Unknown	3	2	1	2	1	3	2		1
Disabled						1	1		1
<i>Total none/unknown</i>	23	21	13	16	16	20	11	9	12
<i>Percent of age group</i>	5,9 %	4,2 %	3,6 %	4,4 %	4,1 %	7,4 %	4,9 %	4,9 %	7,5 %
<i>Percent of none/unknown</i>	16,3 %	14,9 %	9,2 %	11,3 %	11,3 %	14,2 %	7,8 %	6,4 %	8,5 %
<b>Total all occupations</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>505</b>	<b>364</b>	<b>361</b>	<b>393</b>	<b>270</b>	<b>226</b>	<b>183</b>	<b>160</b>

Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 3.3:** Distribution of occupation according to age group among males aged 15-59 years, *Bun'kóvskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Age group</i>								
	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
<b>Textile industry</b>									
Silk-mixture weaver	128	148	104	100	92	58	37	20	7
Wool-mixture weaver	68	90	54	43	41	37	31	19	5
Silk weaver	11	16	10	10	8	14	7	6	2
Cotton mill worker	26	15	11	11	3			4	
Wool weaver	16	11	19	5	7	5		1	
Foreman	4	16	10	7	6	8	7	2	1
Cotton weaver	8	11	4	6	7	5	1	6	2
Spinner	3	6	7	7	2	1			
Textile mill owner		4	1	2	2	4	3	3	4
Cloth printer	2	7	5	1	1				1
Unwinding cotton	7	1			1		1	3	3
Warper		3	2		3	1	2		
Weaver at a mechanized textile mill	1	5	2	3					
Weaver	1	2	5			1		1	
Factory worker	2	1		1	2				1
Calico weaver		2	2	1					
Unwinding silk	3			1					1
Cotton twisting			1	1	1			1	
Designer					3				
Worker		3							
Machinist		2							
Bleacher								1	
Dyer						1			
Knitter							1		
Making borders						1			
Silk twisting				1					
Unskilled labourer			1						
Unwinding wool bobbins						1			
<i>Total textile industry</i>	280	343	238	200	179	137	90	67	27
<i>Percent of age group</i>	76,5 %	76,1 %	71,3 %	70,4 %	64,9 %	55,9 %	50,6 %	32,5 %	18,8 %
<i>Percent of textile industry</i>	17,9 %	22,0 %	15,2 %	12,8 %	11,5 %	8,8 %	5,8 %	4,3 %	1,7 %
<b>Agriculture</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Farmer	11	9	7	15	7	17	29	75	73
<i>Total agriculture</i>	11	9	7	15	7	17	29	75	73
<i>Percent of age group</i>	3,0 %	2,0 %	2,1 %	5,3 %	2,5 %	6,9 %	16,3 %	36,4 %	50,7 %
<i>Percent of agriculture</i>	4,5 %	3,7 %	2,9 %	6,2 %	2,9 %	7,0 %	11,9 %	30,9 %	30,0 %
<b>Crafts</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Joiner	2	9	12	12	8	4	6	4	1
Woodcutter		5	7	3	7	16	5	3	1
Locksmith	6	8	7	4	3	2	2	3	
Blacksmith	1	4	3	4	9	4	1	2	2
Carpenter	1		2	1	2	2	4	8	3
Shuttle maker	4	5	4		2	2	1	2	1
Wood carver	3	3	1	1		1			
Shoemaker		2	2	1			2	1	
Fisherman						2	1	4	

Stove-maker				1	1		1	2	2
Engraver		3			1				
Poleaxe-maker	2			1					
Chaser						1		1	
Foundry worker			1	1					
Cart-maker								1	
Cooper					1				
Glasscutter and joiner						1			
Icon-painter			1						
Painter							1		
Plaiting			1						
Tailor							1		
<i>Total Crafts</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>39</i>	<i>41</i>	<i>29</i>	<i>34</i>	<i>35</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>31</i>	<i>10</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>5,2 %</i>	<i>8,6 %</i>	<i>12,3 %</i>	<i>10,2 %</i>	<i>12,3 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>14,0 %</i>	<i>15,0 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>
<i>Percent of crafts</i>	<i>7,2 %</i>	<i>14,8 %</i>	<i>15,6 %</i>	<i>11,0 %</i>	<i>12,9 %</i>	<i>13,3 %</i>	<i>9,5 %</i>	<i>11,8 %</i>	<i>3,8 %</i>
<b>Trade</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Shopkeeper	3	2		2	4	3	1		
Butcher		2		1	2	3	1		
Innkeeper	1	1	2	1	1	1		1	1
Horse trader		1	1				1		
Shop assistant				1					
Warehouse assistant					1				
Trader	2	5	3	2	3	4	3	2	1
Coaching inn-keeper	4	1	5		1	3	1	1	2
<i>Total Trade</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>2,7 %</i>	<i>2,7 %</i>	<i>3,3 %</i>	<i>2,5 %</i>	<i>4,3 %</i>	<i>5,7 %</i>	<i>3,9 %</i>	<i>1,9 %</i>	<i>2,8 %</i>
<i>Percent of trade</i>	<i>12,3 %</i>	<i>14,8 %</i>	<i>13,6 %</i>	<i>8,6 %</i>	<i>14,8 %</i>	<i>17,3 %</i>	<i>8,6 %</i>	<i>4,9 %</i>	<i>4,9 %</i>
<b>Other industries</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Paper mill worker	8	18	8	6	19	9	2	7	6
Owner of a chemical factory			2	1					1
Unskilled labourer						3			
Supervisor at paper factory				1	2				
Director at paper factory				1					
Manager								1	
Paper mill owner								1	
<i>Total other industries</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>21</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>2,2 %</i>	<i>4,0 %</i>	<i>3,0 %</i>	<i>3,2 %</i>	<i>7,6 %</i>	<i>4,9 %</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>	<i>4,4 %</i>	<i>4,9 %</i>
<i>Percent of other industries</i>	<i>8,3 %</i>	<i>18,8 %</i>	<i>10,4 %</i>	<i>9,4 %</i>	<i>21,9 %</i>	<i>12,5 %</i>	<i>2,1 %</i>	<i>9,4 %</i>	<i>7,3 %</i>
<b>Transport</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Carter	4	1	9	6	4	8	5	8	5
Cabman		2	4	2	4	1	2		1
Coachman		1		3				2	
<i>Total transport</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>13</i>	<i>11</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>	<i>0,9 %</i>	<i>3,9 %</i>	<i>3,9 %</i>	<i>2,9 %</i>	<i>3,7 %</i>	<i>3,9 %</i>	<i>4,9 %</i>	<i>4,2 %</i>
<i>Percent of transport</i>	<i>5,6 %</i>	<i>5,6 %</i>	<i>18,1 %</i>	<i>15,3 %</i>	<i>11,1 %</i>	<i>12,5 %</i>	<i>9,7 %</i>	<i>13,9 %</i>	<i>8,3 %</i>

<b>None or unknown occupation</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Nothing	20	4	6	4	3	1	1	1	4
Unknown	5	7	1		1	3	3	1	1
Disabled		1		1	1	1	2		
<i>Total none/unknown</i>	<i>25</i>	<i>12</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>5</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>6,8 %</i>	<i>2,7 %</i>	<i>2,1 %</i>	<i>1,8 %</i>	<i>1,8 %</i>	<i>2,0 %</i>	<i>3,4 %</i>	<i>1,0 %</i>	<i>3,5 %</i>
<i>Percent of none/unknown</i>	<i>34,7 %</i>	<i>16,7 %</i>	<i>9,7 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>	<i>8,3 %</i>	<i>2,8 %</i>	<i>6,9 %</i>
<b>Service</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Servant		3	4	2		2	1	3	1
Hired hand	1	2			1	1			1
Waiter		2	1		1	1			
Cook				1					
<i>Total Service</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>0,3 %</i>	<i>1,6 %</i>	<i>1,5 %</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>	<i>1,6 %</i>	<i>0,6 %</i>	<i>1,5 %</i>	<i>1,4 %</i>
<i>Percent of service</i>									
<b>Administrative functions</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Village elder				1	2	1	3	3	1
Clerk		3			1	2	1		
Bailiff				2		2		1	1
Volost' elder						1			
<i>Total administrative functions</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>	<i>2,4 %</i>	<i>2,2 %</i>	<i>1,9 %</i>	<i>1,4 %</i>
<i>Percent of administrative functions</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>12,0 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>12,0 %</i>	<i>12,0 %</i>	<i>24,0 %</i>	<i>16,0 %</i>	<i>16,0 %</i>	<i>8,0 %</i>
<b>Clergy</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Sexton		2		1	3	1	1		
Deacon		1	1				2		
Priest					1	1			1
<i>Total clergy</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>	<i>0,3 %</i>	<i>0,4 %</i>	<i>1,4 %</i>	<i>0,8 %</i>	<i>1,7 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>
<i>Percent of clergy</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>20,0 %</i>	<i>6,7 %</i>	<i>6,7 %</i>	<i>26,7 %</i>	<i>13,3 %</i>	<i>20,0 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>6,7 %</i>
<b>Police functions</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Policeman			1			1			1
Watchman						2	3	1	5
<i>Total police functions</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>3</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>6</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,3 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1,2 %</i>	<i>1,7 %</i>	<i>0,5 %</i>	<i>4,2 %</i>
<i>Percent of police functions</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>7,1 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>21,4 %</i>	<i>21,4 %</i>	<i>7,1 %</i>	<i>42,9 %</i>
<b>Education</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Goes to school	6								
Telegrapher's apprentice	1								
<i>Total education</i>	<i>7</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>1,9 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<i>Percent of education</i>	<i>100,0 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>-</i>
<b>Various occupations</b>	<b>15-19</b>	<b>20-24</b>	<b>25-29</b>	<b>30-34</b>	<b>35-39</b>	<b>40-44</b>	<b>45-49</b>	<b>50-54</b>	<b>55-59</b>
Gardener		1							1
Land surveyor	1					1			
Ditcher							1		
Paramedic				1					
Street sweeper					1				

<i>Total various occupations</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>1</i>
<i>Percent of age group</i>	<i>0,3 %</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,4 %</i>	<i>0,4 %</i>	<i>0,4 %</i>	<i>0,6 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>
<i>Percent of various occupations</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>	<i>-</i>	<i>14,3 %</i>
<b>Total all occupations</b>	<b>366</b>	<b>451</b>	<b>334</b>	<b>284</b>	<b>276</b>	<b>245</b>	<b>178</b>	<b>206</b>	<b>144</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 3.4:** Occupational structure among males and females aged 60 or older, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1869

<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Females</i>		<i>Males</i>		<i>Total</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>No/unknown occupation</b>						
Nothing	148	26,8 %	106	19,2 %	254	45,9 %
Unknown	0	0,0 %	3	0,5 %	3	0,5 %
<i>Total no/unknown occupation</i>	<i>148</i>	<i>26,8 %</i>	<i>109</i>	<i>19,7 %</i>	<i>257</i>	<i>46,5 %</i>
<b>Agriculture</b>						
Farmer	77	13,9 %	79	14,3 %	156	28,2 %
Hired hand	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Bee-keeper	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Total agriculture</i>	<i>77</i>	<i>13,9 %</i>	<i>81</i>	<i>14,6 %</i>	<i>158</i>	<i>28,6 %</i>
<b>Textile industry</b>						
Unwinding cotton	21	3,8 %	8	1,4 %	29	5,2 %
Unwinding silk	15	2,7 %	2	0,4 %	17	3,1 %
Wool-mixture weaver	5	0,9 %	5	0,9 %	10	1,8 %
Textile mill owner	2	0,4 %	8	1,4 %	10	1,8 %
Silk weaver	4	0,7 %	1	0,2 %	5	0,9 %
Silk-mixture weaver	2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %	4	0,7 %
Foreman			2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %
Knitter	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %
Silk twisting	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %
Cotton weaver	1	0,2 %			1	0,2 %
Cotton mill worker			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Cotton twisting	1	0,2 %			1	0,2 %
Designer			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Linen-spinner	1	0,2 %			1	0,2 %
Spinning by hand	1	0,2 %			1	0,2 %
Weaver			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Weaver at a mechanized textile mill	1	0,2 %			1	0,2 %
<i>Total textile industry</i>	<i>56</i>	<i>10,1 %</i>	<i>33</i>	<i>6,0 %</i>	<i>89</i>	<i>16,1 %</i>
<b>Trade</b>						
Coaching inn-keeper	4	0,7 %	3	0,5 %	7	1,3 %
Trader			2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %
Tavern-keeper	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %
Butcher			2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %
Shopkeeper			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Total trade</i>	<i>5</i>	<i>0,9 %</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>1,6 %</i>	<i>14</i>	<i>2,5 %</i>

<b>Crafts</b>						
Carpenter			6	1,1 %	6	1,1 %
Shoemaker			2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %
Shuttle maker	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %	3	0,5 %
Joiner			5	0,9 %	5	0,9 %
Well-mender			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Woodcutter			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Plaiting			1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Total crafts</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>18</i>	<i>3,3 %</i>	<i>19</i>	<i>3,4 %</i>
<b>Other industries</b>						
Paper mill worker	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %	3	0,5 %
Owner of a chemical factory	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %	2	0,4 %
Gluing	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Total other industries</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0,4 %</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0,7 %</i>	<i>6</i>	<i>1,1 %</i>
<b>Various occupations</b>						
Carter	1	0,2 %	5	0,9 %	6	1,1 %
Watchman	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	2	0,4 %
Servant	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
Priest	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %
<i>Total various occupations</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>1,6 %</i>	<i>10</i>	<i>1,8 %</i>
<b>Total all occupations</b>	<b>290</b>	<b>52,4 %</b>	<b>263</b>	<b>47,6 %</b>	<b>553</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaja statistika. Podvornaia perepis' Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 3.5:** Occupational structure among females aged 0 to 14 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

Occupation	Age group						Total	
	0-4 years		5-9 years		10-14 years		Number	Percent
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Nothing	571	99,8	442	87,4	164	37,9	1177	77,9
<i>Total no/unknown occupation</i>	<i>571</i>	<i>99,8 %</i>	<i>442</i>	<i>87,4 %</i>	<i>164</i>	<i>37,9 %</i>	<i>1177</i>	<i>77,9 %</i>
<b>Textile industry</b>								
Unwinding cotton	1	0,2 %	34	6,7 %	82	18,9 %	117	7,7 %
Silk-mixture weaver	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	74	17,1 %	76	5,0 %
Wool-mixture weaver	0	0,0 %	6	1,2 %	51	11,8 %	57	3,8 %
Unwinding silk	0	0,0 %	4	0,8 %	16	3,7 %	20	1,3 %
Silk weaver	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	9	2,1 %	11	0,7 %
Cotton weaver	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	8	1,8 %	10	0,7 %
Cotton mill worker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	4	0,9 %	4	0,3 %
Knitter	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
Weaver	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	2	0,5 %	2	0,1 %
Factory worker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Spinner	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Spool-girl	0	0,0 %	3	0,6 %	1	0,2 %	4	0,3 %
Unwinding cotton and silk	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Silk twisting	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total textile industry</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>54</i>	<i>10,7 %</i>	<i>253</i>	<i>58,4 %</i>	<i>308</i>	<i>20,4 %</i>
<b>Other industries</b>								
Paper mill worker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	4	0,9 %	4	0,3 %
<i>Total other industries</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0,9 %</i>	<i>4</i>	<i>0,3 %</i>



<b>Education</b>								
Goes to school	0	0,0 %	10	2,0 %	4	0,9 %	14	0,9 %
<i>Total education</i>	0	0,0 %	10	2,0 %	4	0,9 %	14	0,9 %
<b>Agriculture</b>								
Farmer	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
<i>Total agriculture</i>	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
<b>Trade</b>								
Shopkeeper	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
Coaching inn-keeper	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total trade</i>	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	4	0,9 %	4	0,3 %
<b>Crafts</b>								
Locksmith	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total crafts</i>	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<b>Total all occupations</b>	<b>572</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>506</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>433</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>1511</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 3.6:** Occupational structure among males aged 0 to 14 years, *Bun'kovskaia volost' 1869*

<b>Occupation</b>	<b>Age group</b>						<b>Total</b>	
	<b>0-4 years</b>		<b>5-9 years</b>		<b>10-14 years</b>		<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>	<b>Number</b>	<b>Percent</b>
<b>No/unknown occupation</b>								
Nothing	567	100,0 %	403	85,6 %	137	33,0 %	1107	76,2 %
Disabled	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total no/unknown occupation</i>	567	100,0 %	403	85,6 %	138	33,3 %	1108	76,3 %
<b>Textile industry</b>								0,0 %
Silk-mixture weaver	0	0,0 %	3	0,6 %	72	17,3 %	75	5,2 %
Wool-mixture weaver	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	53	12,8 %	55	3,8 %
Unwinding cotton	0	0,0 %	22	4,7 %	30	7,2 %	52	3,6 %
Cotton mill worker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	15	3,6 %	15	1,0 %
Silk weaver	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	11	2,7 %	11	0,8 %
Unwinding silk	0	0,0 %	3	0,6 %	11	2,7 %	14	1,0 %
Cotton weaver	0	0,0 %	2	0,4 %	9	2,2 %	11	0,8 %
Wool weaver	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	4	1,0 %	4	0,3 %
Textile mill owner	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
Spool-boy	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	4	1,0 %	5	0,3 %
Warper	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	3	0,7 %	3	0,2 %
Spinner	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Unwinding cotton and silk	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total textile industry</i>	0	0,0 %	33	7,0 %	217	52,3 %	250	17,2 %
<b>Agriculture</b>								0,0 %
Woodcutter	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Farmer	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	5	1,2 %	5	0,3 %
<i>Total agriculture</i>	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	6	1,4 %	6	0,4 %
<b>Education</b>								0,0 %
Goes to school	0	0,0 %	34	7,2 %	36	8,7 %	70	4,8 %
Apprentice	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	2	0,5 %	2	0,1 %
<i>Total education</i>	0	0,0 %	34	7,2 %	38	9,2 %	72	5,0 %
<b>Other industries</b>								0,0 %
Paper mill worker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	5	1,2 %	5	0,3 %
<i>Total other industries</i>	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	5	1,2 %	5	0,3 %

<b>Crafts</b>								0,0 %
Blacksmith	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Blacksmith's apprentice	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Engraver	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Joiner	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Locksmith	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Locksmith's apprentice	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Shoemaker	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,2 %	2	0,1 %
Shuttle maker	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total crafts</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>8</i>	<i>1,9 %</i>	<i>9</i>	<i>0,6 %</i>
<b>Service</b>								0,0 %
Servant	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total service</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,2 %</i>	<i>1</i>	<i>0,1 %</i>
<b>Trade</b>								0,0 %
Trader	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
Coaching inn-keeper	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	1	0,2 %	1	0,1 %
<i>Total trade</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>0</i>	<i>0,0 %</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0,5 %</i>	<i>2</i>	<i>0,1 %</i>
<b>Total all occupations</b>	<b>567</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>471</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>415</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>1453</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: TsIAM, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 4.1:** Cumulated male population surviving from 1834 to 1850, and cumulated projected population in 1850 assuming various levels of mortality, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1850

Age 1850	Cumulated remaining population 1850	Cumulated projected population in 1850						
		Level 2	Level 3	Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8
16 years and over	2106	1915	1958	2001	2041	2077	2113	2147
21 years and over	1761	1596	1629	1663	1695	1723	1752	1779
26 years and over	1429	1279	1309	1339	1368	1393	1419	1444
31 years and over	1193	1055	1082	1109	1136	1158	1182	1205
36 years and over	924	811	835	858	882	901	922	942
41 years and over	738	641	662	682	702	720	738	756
46 years and over	553	472	490	507	524	538	554	569
51 years and over	387	337	351	365	379	390	403	416
56 years and over	251	225	236	247	258	266	277	287
61 years and over	154	138	146	154	162	168	176	184
66 years and over	91	85	91	97	103	108	114	120
71 years and over	48	46	50	54	59	62	66	70
76 years and over	19	18	20	22	24	26	28	31
81 years and over	10	7	8	9	10	10	12	13
86 years and over	4	3	3	4	4	4	5	5

Sources: TsIAM, Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*. Coale, A. J. And Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451.

**Table 4.2:** Cumulated male population surviving from 1850 to 1869, and cumulated projected population in 1869 assuming various levels of mortality, *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1850-1869

Age 1869	Cumulated remaining population 1869	Cumulated projected population in 1869						
		Level 4	Level 5	Level 6	Level 7	Level 8	Level 9	Level 10
19 years and over	2225	2215	2273	2327	2378	2428	2474	2519
24 years and over	1871	1839	1885	1930	1972	2013	2052	2089
29 years and over	1529	1495	1537	1577	1616	1652	1687	1721
34 years and over	1272	1224	1261	1297	1332	1365	1396	1427
39 years and over	1005	924	956	986	1016	1044	1071	1097
44 years and over	788	676	702	728	752	776	798	820
49 years and over	611	506	528	549	570	589	608	627
54 years and over	436	352	369	386	402	417	433	447
59 years and over	282	231	244	256	269	280	292	303
64 years and over	164	129	138	147	155	163	171	179
69 years and over	84	63	68	73	79	84	89	94
74 years and over	37	29	32	34	37	40	43	46
79 years and over	9	6	7	8	9	10	11	12

Sources: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg*, Coale, A. J. And Demeny, P.: *Regional Model Life Tables and Stable Populations*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1966, pp. 442-451

**Table 5.1:** Age structure of the population according to household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834

Age structure	Small households (1-3 members)		Medium households (4-9 members)		Large households (10 or more members)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Children and adolescents (0-19 years)	119	29,7 %	1921	49,1 %	886	53,1 %
Young adults (20-34 years)	72	18,0 %	878	22,4 %	414	24,8 %
Adults (35-59 years)	156	38,9 %	897	22,9 %	276	16,5 %
Elderly (60+ years)	54	13,5 %	219	5,6 %	93	5,6 %
<b>Total population</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>3915</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>1669</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Table 5.2:** Age structure of the population according to household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1850

Age structure	Small households (1-3 members)		Medium households (4-9 members)		Large households (10 or more members)	
	Number	Percent	Number	Percent	Number	Percent
Children and adolescents (0-19 years)	79	20,8 %	2072	47,2 %	1238	52,6 %
Young adults (20-34 years)	118	31,1 %	1037	23,6 %	580	24,6 %
Adults (35-59 years)	142	37,5 %	1070	24,4 %	442	18,8 %
Elderly (60+ years)	40	10,6 %	214	4,9 %	95	4,0 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>4393</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>2355</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Table 5.3:** Age structure of the population according to household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Age groups</i>	<i>Small households (1-3 members)</i>		<i>Medium households (4-9 members)</i>		<i>Large households (10 or more members)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Children and adolescents (0-19 years)	142	19,2 %	2589	43,8 %	992	45,0 %
Young adults (20-34 years)	213	28,7 %	1423	24,1 %	662	30,0 %
Adults (35-59 years)	314	42,4 %	1536	26,0 %	432	19,6 %
Elderly (60+ years)	72	9,7 %	364	6,2 %	117	5,3 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>5912</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>2203</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 5.4:** Distribution of household positions according to household size, *Bun'kovskaia volost'* 1834.

<i>Position in household</i>	<i>Small households (1-3 members)</i>		<i>Medium sized households (4-9 members)</i>		<i>Large households (10 or more members)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Head	188	46.9 %	632	16.1%	141	8.4%
Spouse	79	19.7 %	458	11.7%	97	5.8%
Child	87	21.7 %	1693	43.2%	469	28.1%
Child's spouse	7	1.7 %	291	7.4%	205	12.3%
Grandchild	3	0.7 %	545	13.9%	517	31.0%
Grandchild's spouse	0	0.0 %	8	0.2%	9	0.5%
Great grandchild	0	0.0 %	16	0.4%	10	0.6%
Parent	3	0.7 %	38	1.0%	12	0.7%
Sibling	18	4.5 %	69	1.8%	34	2.0%
Grandparent	2	0.5 %	0	0.0%	0	0.0%
Other relatives	8	2.0 %	143	3.7%	167	10.0%
Others	6	1.5 %	22	0.6%	8	0.5%
<b>Total</b>	<b>401</b>	<b>100.0 %</b>	<b>3915</b>	<b>100.0%</b>	<b>1669</b>	<b>100.0%</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki.*

**Table 5.5:** Distribution of household positions according to household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1850

<i>Position in household</i>	<i>Small households (1-3 members)</i>		<i>Medium sized households (4-9 members)</i>		<i>Large households (10 or more members)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Head	176	46,4 %	698	15,9 %	194	8,2 %
Spouse	84	22,2 %	482	11,0 %	140	5,9 %
Child	83	21,9 %	1833	41,7 %	686	29,1 %
Child's spouse	6	1,6 %	423	9,6 %	277	11,8 %
Grandchild	4	1,1 %	590	13,4 %	637	27,0 %
Grandchild's spouse	0	0,0 %	11	0,3 %	21	0,9 %
Great grandchild	0	0,0 %	3	0,1 %	29	1,2 %
Parent	3	0,8 %	48	1,1 %	10	0,4 %
Sibling	15	4,0 %	85	1,9 %	60	2,5 %
Grandparent	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %
Other relatives	7	1,8 %	176	4,0 %	299	12,7 %
Others	1	0,3 %	44	1,0 %	2	0,1 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>379</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>4393</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>2355</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki.*

**Table 5.6:** Distribution of household positions according to household size in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1869

<i>Position in household</i>	<i>Small households (1-3 members)</i>		<i>Medium households (4-9 members)</i>		<i>Large households (10 members or more)</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Head	303	40,9 %	956	16,2 %	186	8,4 %
Spouse	166	22,4 %	670	11,3 %	121	5,5 %
Child	186	25,1 %	2497	42,2 %	720	32,7 %
Child's spouse	21	2,8 %	482	8,2 %	287	13,0 %
Grandchild	7	0,9 %	859	14,5 %	618	28,1 %
Grandchild's spouse	2	0,3 %	21	0,4 %	12	0,5 %
Great grandchild	0	0,0 %	22	0,4 %	16	0,7 %
Parent	1	0,1 %	31	0,5 %	5	0,2 %
Sibling	38	5,1 %	131	2,2 %	34	1,5 %
Grandparent	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %	0	0,0 %
Other relatives	9	1,2 %	160	2,7 %	85	3,9 %
Others	8	1,1 %	83	1,4 %	119	5,4 %
<b>Total</b>	<b>741</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>5912</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	<b>2203</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 5.7:** Distribution of co-resident kin in *Voronezh* 1887-1896

<i>Relation</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion</i>	<i>Category</i>
Parents	43	5,6 %	11,3 %
Sibling	44	5,7 %	
Spouse of offspring	160	20,7 %	63,1 %
Grandchild	327	42,4 %	
Spouse of sibling	43	5,6 %	18,5 %
Nephew	60	7,8 %	
Niece	40	5,2 %	
Other kin	55	7,1 %	
<b>Total</b>	<b>772</b>	<b>100,0 %</b>	
Co-resident kin as proportion of population in households		45,8 %	
Percentage of households with co-resident kin		67,8 %	

Source: Worobec, C. D.: *Peasant Russia. Family and community in the post-emancipation period*, Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1991, p. 112.

**Table 6.1:** Household divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* during the period 1834-1850, distributed by village

<i>Village</i>	<i>Divided households</i>		<i>Number of households established as a result of division</i>	<i>Rate of division</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion of total households</i>		
Andronova	11	25,6 %	15	1,36
Bol'shoe Bun'kovo	20	19,6 %	21	1,05
Bol'shoi Dvor	15	21,1 %	18	1,20
Borisova	3	14,3 %	3	1,00
Dal'naia	3	15,0 %	3	1,00
Gavrilova	5	13,5 %	8	1,60
Gavrina	5	20,8 %	6	1,20
Gribanino	1	3,8 %	2	2,00
Ivan'kova	2	33,3 %	2	1,00
Korobanova	7	22,6 %	10	1,43
Korovaeva	1	10,0 %	1	1,00
Kuznetsy	9	11,3 %	12	1,33

Mikhaleva	3	18,8 %	3	1,00
Nosyrevo	1	2,9 %	1	1,00
Pankratova	8	18,6 %	10	1,25
Sledova	9	25,0 %	16	1,78
Tarasova	4	19,0 %	4	1,00
Timkova	16	44,4 %	18	1,13
Uspenskoe	20	10,5 %	28	1,40
Vasiutina	6	26,1 %	8	1,33
Vostrikovo	4	28,6 %	5	1,25
<b>Total Bun'kovskaia volost'</b>	<b>153</b>	<b>15,9 %</b>	<b>194</b>	<b>1,27</b>

Sources: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki*.

**Table 6.2:** Household divisions in *Bun'kovskaia volost'* in the period 1850-1869, distributed by village.

<u>Village</u>	<i>Divided households</i>		<i>Number of households established as a result of division</i>	<i>Rate of division</i>
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Proportion of total households</i>		
Andronova	14	25,9 %	19	1,36
Bogoslovskoe	2	20,0 %	4	2,00
Bol'shoe Bun'kovo	30	20,0 %	34	1,13
Bol'shoi Dvor	21	24,1 %	25	1,19
Borisova	6	28,6 %	7	1,17
Dal'naia	2	7,4 %	2	1,00
Gavrilova	13	30,2 %	23	1,77
Gavrina	4	16,7 %	4	1,00
Gribanino	7	25,9 %	11	1,57
Ivan'kova	5	71,4 %	5	1,00
Korobanova	8	21,1 %	12	1,50
Kuznetsy	24	29,3 %	26	1,08
Mikhaleva	3	16,7 %	5	1,67
Nosyrevo	6	18,8 %	6	1,00
Pankratova	17	28,8 %	23	1,35
Sledova	20	42,6 %	30	1,50
Tarasova	5	21,7 %	6	1,20
Timkova	22	43,1 %	36	1,64
Uspenskoe	66	32,2 %	85	1,29
Vasiutina	10	37,0 %	10	1,00
Vostrikovo	5	27,8 %	7	1,40
Zaozer'e	3	21,4 %	3	1,00
<b>Total Bun'kovskaia volost'</b>	<b>293</b>	<b>27,4 %</b>	<b>383</b>	<b>1,31</b>

Sources: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uезда Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*

**Table 6.3:** The prevalence of pre- and postmortem household division distributed according to villages in *Bun'kovskaia volost'*, 1834-1850 and 1850-1869

Village	<i>Household divisions 1834-1850</i>				<i>Household divisions 1850-1869</i>			
	<i>Postmortem</i>		<i>Premortem</i>		<i>Postmortem</i>		<i>Premortem</i>	
	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>	<i>Number</i>	<i>Percent</i>
Andronova	6	0,40	9	0,60	9	0,47	10	0,53
Bogoslovskoe	-	-	-	-	4	1,00	-	-
Bol'shoe Bun'kovo	14	0,67	7	0,33	19	0,56	15	0,44
Bol'shoi Dvor	8	0,44	10	0,56	11	0,44	14	0,56
Borisova	1	0,33	2	0,67	1	0,14	6	0,86
Dal'naia	2	0,67	1	0,33	1	0,50	1	0,50
Gavrilova	8	1,00	0	-	18	0,78	5	0,22
Gavrina	4	0,67	2	0,33	1	0,25	3	0,75
Gribanino	-	-	2	1,00	8	0,73	3	0,27
Ivan'kova	1	0,50	1	0,50	2	0,40	3	0,60
Korobanova	10	1,00	0	-	8	0,67	4	0,33
Korovaeva	1	1,00	-	-	-	-	-	-
Kuznetsy	8	0,67	4	0,33	12	0,46	14	0,54
Mikhaleva	1	0,33	2	0,67	0	-	5	1,00
Nosyrevo	-	-	1	1,00	3	0,50	3	0,50
Pankratova	7	0,70	3	0,30	9	0,39	14	0,61
Sledova	10	0,63	6	0,38	18	0,60	12	0,40
Tarasova	1	0,25	3	0,75	3	0,50	3	0,50
Timkova	14	0,78	4	0,22	12	0,33	24	0,67
Uspenskoe	18	0,64	10	0,36	47	0,55	38	0,45
Vasiutina	2	0,25	6	0,75	7	0,70	3	0,30
Vostrikovo	4	0,80	1	0,20	4	0,57	3	0,43
Zaozer'e	-	-	-	-	-	-	3	1,00
<i>Total</i>	<i>120</i>	<i>0,62</i>	<i>74</i>	<i>0,38</i>	<i>197</i>	<i>0,51</i>	<i>186</i>	<i>0,49</i>

Source: *TsIAM*, fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179, 180, 180a, 181, 185, 186, 189 and 386, 392, 393, 394, 396, 399. *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. Revizskie skazki* and fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715. *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii 1869-71 gg.*





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## GLOSSARY

<i>Barshchina;</i>	Serf labour duties
<i>Bezpopovtsy;</i>	Old Believer groups that dismissed church sacraments except baptism and the authority of priests within the church.
<i>Desiatina;</i>	Russian measure equivalent to 2,7 acres.
<i>Dvor;</i>	A Russian peasant household
<i>Dvorovye krest'iane;</i>	Household serfs
<i>Fabrychnye krest'iane;</i>	Factory serfs
<i>Feldsher;</i>	Medical practitioner lacking graduate qualification
<i>Khorovod;</i>	Folk dance
<i>Kladka;</i>	Bridal price
<i>Korennoi peredel;</i>	A redistribution of arable land in the Russian peasant commune, involving all arable land and all the households in a given commune
<i>Krest'ianskoe pravo;</i>	Peasant law; written law applicable to the Russian peasantry in the juridical system developing after the abolition of serfdom in 1861
<i>Masterok;</i>	Peasant agent in the rural textile industry, who organised the distribution of yarn among his neighbours and/or provided his fellow weavers with workshop premises.
<i>Mir;</i>	The peasant commune
<i>Obrok;</i>	Serf quitrents
<i>Obshchina;</i>	The peasant commune
<i>Obychnoe pravo;</i>	Customary law
<i>Otdel;</i>	A partial household division conducted without the household head's permission
<i>Pereverstka;</i>	A partial redistribution of arable land, involving the households whose size and composition had changed since the last repartition
<i>Pomechichnye krest'iane</i>	Proprietary serfs
<i>Popovtsy;</i>	Old Believer groups that accepted the authority of priests and church sacraments.
<i>Posidelka;</i>	Social and working gathering of young women and men in the Russian village
<i>Possessionnaia fabrika;</i>	Rural manufactories established by nobles and merchants in the second half of the eighteenth century, employing serf labour.
<i>Pozemel'naia obshchina;</i>	The peasant commune as an agricultural unit in the post-

	emancipation period
<i>Pud</i> ;	Russian measure equivalent to 16,38 kg.
<i>Razdatochnaia kontora</i> ;	Subcontracting office in the rural textile industry, specialising in the distribution of yarn.
<i>Razdel</i> ;	Household division conducted after the death of the household head, involving all household members
<i>Revizskaia skazka</i> ;	Tax-revision list
<i>Sazhen</i> ';	Russian measure of length equivalent to 2,13 metres.
<i>Sel'skoe obshchestvo</i> ;	The peasant commune as a juridical and administrative unit in the post-emancipation period.
<i>Snokhachestvo</i> ;	A sexual relationship involving a household head and his daughter-in-law.
<i>Soska</i> ;	A primitive pacifier consisting of a rag that covered crumbled bread or porridge.
<i>Staroobriadtsy</i> ;	Old Believers; religious groups emerging after the schism in the Russian Orthodox church during the second part of the seventeenth century.
<i>Svetelka</i> ;	Proto-industrial workshop
<i>Svobodnye khlebopashchtsy</i> ;	'Free farmers'. A law of 20 February 1803 gave serfowners the right to free serfs with an allocation of land in full individual property. These former serfs were called 'free farmers'.
<i>Tiaglo</i> ;	A taxpaying labour unit in the eighteenth- and nineteenth-century Russian tax system.
<i>Uezd</i> ;	District; administrative unit in the Russian Empire on the intermediary level, between the <i>guberniia</i> (province) and the <i>volost'</i> (township)
<i>Usad'ba</i> ;	Land on which the peasants built their houses and cultivated gardens
<i>Volost'</i>	Township; administrative unit in the Russian Empire after the abolition of serfdom in 1861, consisting of a group of peasant communes. There were several <i>volost'</i> s within a <i>uezd</i> (district).
<i>Vydel</i> ;	A partial household division conducted with the household head's sanction
<i>Zemskaia podvornaia perepis'</i> ;	<i>Zemstvo</i> household census
<i>Zemstvo</i> ;	Elective local assembly that functioned as a body of provincial self-government in Russia from 1864 to 1917.



## PRIMARY SOURCES

*Tsentral'nyi Istoricheskii Arkhiv Moskvyy (TsIAM):*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 179: *Moskovskaia kazennia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Bogorodskii uezd. Revizskie skazki kuptsov, meshchan g. Bogorodska udel'nykh krest'ian Karpovskogo prikaza fabrichnykh vol'nykh khlebopashtsev.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 180: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy R-Ia.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 180a: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy L-P.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 181: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki sviashchenno- i tserkovnosluzhitelei g. Bogorodska i uezda.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 185: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy A-D.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 186: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy E-K.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 189: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 8. Reviziia, 1834 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian i dvorovykh, prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy N-R.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 386: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Revizskie skazki fabrichnykh kazennoi losinnoi fabriki, Frianovskoi fabriki kuptsa Efimova, Uspenskogo porokhovogo zavoda i bumazhnoi fabriki Gubina, posesionnoi fabriki s-tsa Chudinok Rybnikovyykh, sukunnoi posesionnoi fabriki s. Kupavnoi i Ostrovkov.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 392: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy M-O.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 393: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy A-K.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 394: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy R-Ia.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 396: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Revizskie skazki krest'ian prinadlezhashchikh pomeshchikam s familiiami na bukvy L-P.*

Fond 51, opis' 8, delo 399: *Moskovskaia kazennaia palata. 9. Reviziia, 1850 god. Dopolnitel'nye revizskie skazki kuptsov, meshchan g. Bogorodska i Pavlovskogo Posada, pomeshchichnykh krest'ian i dvorovykh (1851).*

Fond 184, opis' 10, delo 1715: *Zemskaia statistika. Podvornaia perepis' selenii Bun'kovskoi volosti Bogorodskogo uezda Moskovskoi gubernii, 1869-71 gg.*

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