

Domestic Craft Activities of the Voronezh Peasants under New Economic Policy

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ABSTRACT

The prospects of social and economic development of Russia are related to the studying of variety and features of its regions. The task of the regional history researcher is considering and describing his own samples of variety of the Russian regions. The NEP period is noted, on one hand, by quick recovery of domestic industries, and on the another hand, by the change of an overall picture of their development in the era of new economic policy, in the agrarian region of Russia after destructive impact of an October revolution of 1917, the Civil war and policy of "military communism". The most widespread peasant crafts of the 1920th in comparison with pre-revolutionary time, their conditions of development, special lines, development tendencies, influence of crafts on various categories of peasant farms are shown in this paper. The methodological basis of this research was constituted by historical and genetic, historical and comparative methods, the method of historical and typological analysis, as well as methods of the quantitative and correlation analysis. This article is based on the analysis both published sources and archival sources stored in the State Archive of the Russian Federation, Russia's State Archive of the socio political history, the State Archive of Economy, the State Archive of the Voronezh region. The specific historical researches provided in the article show specialization of local economy. everyday life of peasants. their knowledge of life and creativity.

KEYWORDS

Peasant farm, domestic crafts,
agrarian region, local economy,
hand-made goods

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Introduction

The prospects of Russia development are linked with studying variety of regions and its features. Studying of regional history is the most important direction of historical science. With respect thereto, the task of the researcher of regional history is considering and describing his own samples of the variety of Russian regions. The studied area in modern territorial division constitutes the Voronezh and Lipetsk regions.

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In the period of the new economic policy the peasant economy and domestic crafts were the most important indicator of recovery and development both the national economy in general and its separate industries, as well as local economy. Studying the peasant crafts allows determining their role, value and features, both in separate industries of the national economy and in the general course of economic development of Russia in the 1920th. The history of peasant domestic crafts in Russian regions allows to establish both general regularities of economic activity development and civilization features of Russia in regions specialization, in public job specialization. Economic prospects of the region as the object of research are extremely important as they can clear up assessment of alternative ways of Russia development in the late 1920-s. The domestic craft activities of peasants show everyday life of various social groups of people, their knowledge of life and creativity.

Data on the Russian cottage industry – mainly fragmentary– starts to appear only since the beginning of the 50th of the 19th century. Before it was only known that working country-people, except arable farming, had occupations of various crafts and needlework. To precisely determine what is the handicraftsman and cottage industry, to draw the line differentiating the handicraftsman and the artisan is almost impossible. The special commission on studying domestic craft industries formed in the 70th of the 19th century by Council of Trade and Manufactories after long discussions, having determined domestic craft industry as "that type of processing industry, which is domestic occupation of a rural population mainly and is more or less additional occupation in agricultural occupations", having accepted this determination, recognized it unsatisfactory and undertook not to return to this dispute (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927)

Studying of domestic craft industries of the Voronezh province in the New Economic Policy period has already begun in the mid-twenties. Researchers of domestic industries in the 1920th as well as the legislation of the 1920th didn't separate the handicraftsman from the artisan and even from "small factory industry". All legal acts, in particular on the privileges to handicraftsmen and artisans, speaking about handicraftsmen and artisans at the same time, divide city handicraftsmen and artisans from rural ones (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927). Works of provincial economists, employees of provincial Statistical Bureau are of great interest as the task of studying of peasant crafts was laid on local authorities. The statistician I.K. Voronov (1926) systematized data on cottage industry. He gives a preliminary general characteristic of cottage industry of the province, establishes the productions having special rooms or the mechanical engine, or using external workforce. Such criteria of allocation of various types of institutions of cottage industry aren't accidental: growth of operation and stratification in society to the middle of the 1920th caused a special attention of the Bolshevist government. Therefore the inspection of domestic industries solved the major problem: to catch growth of exploitation and to establish the state control of handicraftsmen through the organization of production co-operative craft society.

The economist B.A. Vansovich (1926) provided the numerical indicators of domestic industries for the purpose of economy recovery of Central Black Earth Region, for "a complete scope of this industry by their planning influence of the state". B.A. Vansovich's (1926) paper is written on the basis of various sources,



and according to the author, can't be exact. However value of B.A. Vansovich's (1926) research, as well as I.K. Voronov (1926) reveals in the fact that he systematized data on cottage industry and collected the most valuable material about its state in scales of all Central Black Earth Region. The economist and statistician A.N. Tatarchukov (1927) provided data on duration of working time per worker in various industries of production, on net income per economy, considered communication of the industry with agricultural sector in his work devoted to the small industry of Central Black Earth Region. In his opinion, research of the peasant demand for industrial products and the role of the local industry in satisfaction of the peasant demand have not been studied yet.

Methods

The common problem of studying of peasant domestic crafts of the Voronezh province in the period of the new economic policy was provided by us in our message at the XXX session of the Symposium on agrarian history of Eastern Europe in 2006 in Tula (Petrishina, 2006). The most widespread peasant domestic crafts of the 1920th in comparison with pre-revolutionary time, their development conditions, special lines, development tendencies, influence of domestic crafts on various categories of peasant farms are shown in this article. The methodological basis of this research was constituted by a historical and genetic, historical and comparative method, method of the historical and typological analysis, the system analysis method, as well as methods of the quantitative and correlation analysis. The historical and genetic method allows carrying out the analysis of a condition and development of peasant domestic crafts under the influence of Bolsheviks political and economic decisions after coming to power. The historical and comparative method in this research is pertinent as it promotes detection of general and repeating properties and characteristics of pre-revolutionary peasant domestic crafts and post-revolutionary that helps to create historical generalization and parallels. Besides this, such method is necessary when studying rather narrow phenomena in limited dimensional and temporary aspect, as represented by peasant domestic crafts of the Voronezh province in the 1920th. The method of the historical and typological analysis allows studying various industries of peasant domestic crafts on the basis of general essential features inherent to them. The system analysis method allows considering peasant farm as system which is influenced by various factors, first of all by domestic craft activities of peasants. Application of mathematical methods in history – methods of the quantitative analysis and correlation analysis – allow the creation of theoretical generalizations and conclusions based on numerical indicators. So, for example, on the basis of numerical characteristics of various peasant domestic crafts the direct dependence of the domestic craft income from family and social composition of a peasant family is revealed. This article is based on the analysis both published and archival sources stored in The State Archive of the Russian Federation, Russia's State Archive of the socio political history, State Archive of Economy, the State Archive of the Voronezh region.

Results and Discussion

The policy of "war communism", prohibiting private trade, pulled the plug on domestic craft activity. It would be difficult to think of a more self-destructive policy (Pipes, 1995/2011). R.W. Davies gives comparative data on the destruction

of large and small industry. By 1920, the production of large-scale industry was less than 13% of the 1913 level, the steel - less than 4%, and small domestic crafts - less than 50% of the pre-war level (Davies, 1998). E. Carr (1952) writes that in the years of "war communism" the level of fall of production of rural and cottage industry of Russia was smaller in comparison with large-scale industry, and its rise in the initial period of NEP was more intensive in comparison with large-scale industry that can be reflected in Table 1.

Table 1. The production rate of rural and cottage industry of Russia in 1912 and in 1920 - 1922 (Carr, 1952)

Years	Production rate of rural and cottage industry (% to the level of 1912 .)	Production rate of large-scale industry (% to the level of 1912)
1920	25%	15%
1921	35%	17%
1922	54%	20%

Therefore, influence of "war communism" policy on domestic crafts wasn't as destructive, as in large-scale industry. Transition to the New Economic Policy caused fast recovery of handicraft work, and by the end of the New Economic Policy, in 1928/29, it was 23% higher than pre-revolutionary level (Kaufman, 1962).

In the period of the New Economic Policy, as well as before revolution of 1917, the Central Black Earth was the most backward and poor region in the European Russia (Channon, 1992), which differed in subordinate value of the industry and a domestic craft in comparison with other areas. Prior to World War I to the share of Central Black Earth region 165045 handicraftsmen fell, i.e. 8,5% of the European Russia. In a number equal to the number of handicraftsmen the area took the 5th place from 11 regions of the European Russia, yielding to Central Industrial, South-West, Vyatka-Vetluga, Mid-Volga regions (Vansovich, 1926). However, proceeding from a percentage ratio of number of handicraftsmen to total number of rural population, Central Black Earth region took the 6th place, also yielding to North-West area. That fact, that ahead of Central Black Earth region there were areas with less density of population, showed the insufficiency of development of domestic craft industries in Central Black Earth region (Vansovich, 1926).

The Voronezh province is the largest province of Central Black Earth region: according to the People's Commissariat of Finance data and a demographic census of 1926, the population of the province constituted 31463000 persons, 600500 peasant farms (The State Archive of the Russian Federation, 1926). Country domestic crafts in the Voronezh province were traditionally considered as additional occupation in relation to the basic – agriculture. S.G. Strumilin (1923) in his research "The time budget of the Russian peasant", written on materials of the Voronezh province in 1923, determined production labor of the peasant as follows: 52,7% were the share of field crop cultivation, 17,3% – cattle breeding, 9% – gardening and horticulture, 18,5% – domestic crafts and 2,5% – fuel procurement (Strumilin, 1923).



R. Pipes (1995) writes: "The land held the peasant in hand tenaciously when gave birth, when no, inescapably incomprehensible and whimsical. He ran from it with the same readiness with what he had run from the landowner and the official, becoming the pedlar, the artisan, the unskilled worker in the cities, anyone if only to get off the exhausting field work". Meanwhile the domestic crafts, being a large source of the income of the peasant population, promoted development of local economy, used free labor and surplus of local raw materials. Crafts were connected to some extent with the industry. All these circumstances determined general economic situation of the studied area which is characterized by prevalence of backward extensive agricultural industry with preferential development of agriculture, surplus of a free labor, an overpopulation and commodity hunger.

By the beginning of World War I owing to development of large-scale industry separate types of domestic crafts, for example, handicraft creameries, tanning factories, mills, peeling mill etc. fell into decay. Other ones not only kept stability, but found signs of further development, for example, shoe-wear, wheel, wagon, etc. War, having caused great demand for things of combat clothing and transport driver outfit of army, gave a strong impetus to the development of such industries of domestic crafts industry as shoe-wear, saddler-overcoat, sheepskin, wheel, metalwork, etc. which quickly adapted to work on military orders (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927).

Revolution and Civil war, which military operations zone took the most part of the Voronezh province, having torn off handicraftsmen from the foreign markets of sale of their products, having complicated their supply of raw materials and semi-finished products, reflected extremely unfavorable for all crafts. The majority of peasant domestic crafts fell into decay in the Voronezh province. However, crisis of the factory industry in 1918 - 1920 and transition to the new economic policy gave an impetus to revival of peasant domestic crafts of the 1920th. In 1925 rural crafts of the Voronezh province constituted 93,4% and 6,6% – city one. (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927). In pre-war time in the Voronezh province there were 81935 handicraftsmen, and in 1925 – 71399 (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1929). But these figures require further refining. So, for example, the materials characterizing cottage industry in the whole Central Black Earth Region both in the pre-revolutionary period and in the period of the New Economic Policy are too diverse and insufficient. Provincial Statistical reference books, materials of Central Statistic Office, separate inspections of Provincial Statistical Office via correspondents showed, that the number of handicraftsmen of Central Black Earth Region reached 200000 people (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927).

In the context of a significant role of peasant domestic crafts in life of the region rural population the number of the peasant yards engaged in domestic crafts was small. In the Voronezh province in 1925 2,3% of all rural population were engaged in domestic industries (all-Union population census of 1926, 1928). Before revolution this percent was slightly higher – 2,5% (Dikov, 1928). The provided figures show insignificant reduction of total number of handicraftsmen in the province in comparison with pre-revolutionary time. However in the period of the New Economic Policy there were big fluctuations towards development of one and reducing other groups of productions so that the overall

picture of development of domestic crafts considerably changed. In the 20th, owing to narrowness of the market, the greatest development was gained by those domestic crafts which used local raw materials, because in the period of "war communism" the delivery of manufactured goods to the rural zone stopped in general, and peasants learned to rely on their own resources (Kaufman, 1962). The domestic crafts and the peasants number occupied in them were reduced, the quality of hand-made products worsened. Cheaper and less qualified productions began to prevail. Most of peasants were busy with conversion of products of agricultural industry. Icon-painting, gold plating and iconostasis production completely disappeared (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1929).

In the period of NEP only textile craft and handling processing gained considerable development that is reflected in the Table 2.

Table 2. Number of handicraftsmen in various productions of the Voronezh province in 1897 and in 1924 (Vansovich, 1926)

Productions in the Voronezh province	Number of handicraftsmen in 1897 .	Number of handicraftsmen in 1924.
1. Handling of animal and vegetable fiber	21258	36081
2. Wood processing	27873	10161
3. Handling of an animal skin	16323	8190
4. Metal working	6030	3921
5. Mineral processing	5283	354
6. Food and flavoring products processing	1064	10408
7. Others	3364	2284
In total	81395	71399

The number of handicraftsmen of textile's trade increased by 70% in comparison with pre-revolutionary time, and the number of handicraftsmen in food processing increased by 9,8 times. The most widespread of the domestic crafts which remained in the 20th was tanning production (number of handicraftsmen – 73% of pre-war level), metal working (number of handicraftsmen – 65% of pre-war level) and a woodworking (number of handicraftsmen – 36% of pre-war level). 42% of number of the peasant yards were engaged in production of clothes, and it was widespread everywhere (Vansovich 1926, Voronov, 1926). These domestic crafts required special training.

Domestic crafts industries of the Voronezh province in the period of the New Economic Policy developed thanks to historically developed labor skills of a rural population, labor redundancy and local raw materials, to poor development of the factory industry and total absence of the small state industry. Domestic crafts were an additional source of the income of the peasant population, they used surplus of local raw materials, forming, thus, the market for peasant farm and stimulating its commodity industries. Availability of peasant domestic crafts was that reserve option, which allowed keeping existence of a number of progressive cultures in peasant economy. The peasant domestic crafts in the



context of poor development of large-scale industry gave the considerable mass of those goods, which served peasant personal and economic needs. Due to peasant domestic crafts, there was a supply of the village with the number of products: wooden and metal products, brick, chalk, pottery, hempen fabrics and rope, footwear and sheepskins, woolen fabrics, tailoring works, toys, musical instruments. Peasant kernel was milled for needs of local consumption on small peasant mills, country grain and millet – on the same peasant mills. Vegetable oil went to peasant consumption mainly from small peasant churns (Tatarchukov, 1927).

Rural crafts covered those industries where the large-scale industry didn't come, except for tanning and oil milling production. Therefore there wasn't the competition between large-scale industry and peasant domestic crafts. In mill sector the large-scale industry had commodity character, and peasant production served food needs of the village; wood-working, forge, ceramic, rope, shoe, tailoring and other industries almost didn't adjoin to large-scale production which was absent in Central Black Earth Region. But tobacco, sugar, distilling wasn't provided in peasant production (Tatarchukov, 1928). In general, in the period of the New Economic Policy the state small-scale industrial production was absent actually in the Voronezh province, except for 2 small smithy and 3 mills with mechanical engines on all province (Tatarchukov, 1927).

Textile domestic crafts or conversion of house wool and hemp were ones of the most widespread occupations of a rural population of the Voronezh province. Lack of the corresponding factory products and high prices of textiles (the textile industry in 1923 gave only 1/3 products of 1913 level, and price increase was noted in hundreds of percent in comparison with bread price) (Strumilin, 1923) led to the fact, that many rural farms, which had the loom and producing textiles for own needs, passed to the production of cloth, slubber and canvas (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1929). The best fabrics were produced by the weavers of the Usman district, thanks to the fact that in 1895 weaving rates were arranged there. Carpets producing developed in the settlement Uryv of the Korotoyasky district. Captured Turks brought it there. Carpets were small, very strong, the original drawing specified east origin (Vansovich, 1926).

As for food processing, in 1925 only in one Pridachensky volost of the Voronezh province there were 78 starched factories (31,6% of level of 1916), 44 hothouses (45,5% of level of 1916) and 44 dextrose plants (93,6% of level of 1916). In 1925 the province had 825 handicraft oil mill factories (Vansovich, 1926).

Traditional nests on wood-working are the most interesting part: the settlement Kranenskaya of the Novokhopyor County, located near the Tellermanovsky grove, and Vorontsovka of the Bobrovsk County which was manufacturing up to 15000 dower chests annually; about 200 farms of the Nizhnedevitsky county made distaffs where domestic crafts had family nature. The good master could produce 2 distaffs a day and earn 1 rub. Carriage production (hoop, wheel, wagon and sliding crafts) were concentrated in the settlement Vorontsovka of Bobrowski County, Upper and Lower Karachans of Novokhoper County, a suburban settlement of Valuiki city. Production of caneworks was concentrated in villages of Bogucharsky, Voronezh, Bobrovsk and Nizhnedevitsk Counties (Vansovich, 1926). Development of these domestic

crafts was connected not only with availability of source of raw materials, but with the local demand for these types of products.

Favorable conditions promoted development of tanning craft in Buturlinovka, Kalach, Urazovo and Alekseyevka settlements. Tanning production in the Voronezh province had its features: usually the handicraftsman-tanner was the strongest peasant in the economic relation, possessing much land and a large family, the cost of work constituted the insignificant share in a total cost of products, and the major role was played by trade profit when purchasing raw materials which the handicraftsman always bought directly from the producer. In 1909 in Buturlinovka there were 32 handicraft tanning factories. The Soviet government regarded development of such domestic craft equivalently to the development of kulak capitalist economy which exploited shoemakers concentrated in places of dressing. In 1924/25 handicraftsmen from Buturlinovka developed only 10% of pre-war production. In the 20th the main mass of skinners, who were shoemakers as well, became only shoemakers (Vansovich, 1926).

Buturlinovsky district was always famous for handicraft footwear. Prior the revolution among shoemakers of the province the cooperative movement was developed. The first production co-operative craft society in the province was formed by shoemakers-handicraftsmen from Buturlinovka of the Bobrovsk County in 1904. Then the Urazov co-operative craft society of shoemakers of the Valuysk County appeared. The number of handicraftsmen in 1924/25 greatly decreased and constituted 37% in comparison with 1916. The basic reason of fall of craft is the severe conditions of supply and sale. In 1924/25 the shoemakers from Buturlinovka produced 200000 pairs of shoes that constituted only 20% of their production for 1916 (Vansovich, 1926), therefore, in 1916 they made more than one million pairs of shoes!

At the end of 1925 in Buturlinovka there were working about 2000 foremen-bosses, and counting with apprentices, who were usually their family members, to 5500 persons. In 1925 the total cost of their finished goods constituted 3461701 rub. Shoemakers sold the products at the local market. About 15% of produced footwear were bought up by local population, 85% – mainly by private dealers from other regions of the USSR, so the Buturlinovka shoe market could be considered as wholesale. Separated individualist handicraftsmen in the 1920th worked in difficult economic conditions, they had no disposable working capitals for craft development, and in the conditions of mass demand, wishing to leave deficit, went on the way of quality degradation of footwear. In 1925 among them there was only one cooperative consolidation "Sapogsoyuz" with 80 members. Its commercial role was small (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927).

Handicraftsmen from Buturlinovka made mainly peasant footwear for the southern regions of the USSR – Don, Kuban, the Caucasus, Ukraine, as well as for Siberia from where there private dealers came, bought footwear and transported baggage to the sale areas. Necessary demand and the corresponding prices of boots were only when nonresident buyers came, in the rest of time the price in the market was underestimated. In 1925 the average earnings of the handicraftsman-shoemaker in Buturlinovka were small and constituted 15 rub per month. Footwear from Buturlinovka came on 84 stations, among them – Chelyabinsk, Baku, Arkhangelsk, Kurgan, Tashkent, Kostanay, Omsk (The

State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927; Vansovich, 1926). Mainly local private dealers supplied handicraftsmen with tanning goods. Shoemakers bought necessary raw materials from skinners in small lots. According to the Buturlinovka railway station data, skin arrived also from Odessa, Taganrog, Ufa, Kuznetsk, Nizhny Novgorod, Moscow (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927).

The range of shoe products was rather wide: uniform cowhide boots, working, medium, - "undersized" boots, for children, military ankle cowhide boots. Uniform cowhide boots, wholesaled directly in Buturlinovka, were considered the most expensive, they cost 17,5 rub. The cheapest were military ankle cowhide boots which could be purchased in Buturlinovka at wholesale price 9,25 rub. Retail price was higher than wholesale for 9%. These were prices for mechanical and peg footwear of production of co-operative craft society "Personal labor" from Buturlinovka in 1927. In the 1920th shoe domestic craft not only in the Voronezh province, but in the State was in the handicraftsman's hands: the handicraftsman-shoemaker provided with shoes 3/4 of all populations of the state (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1929; Vansovich, 1926).

Sheepskin production was concentrated in Kalatch and in the Rozhdestvensko-Khavsky volost of the Voronezh County. The handicraftsmen occupied with handling of metals were distributed regularly on the Voronezh province and served needs of a rural population and some domestic wood-work industries.

In 1912 in the Voronezh province 2578 brick handicraft factories worked, concentrated in the Voronezh, Zadonsky, Zemlyansky and Bobrovsky Counties. Pottery industry (pots, tableware, roofing tile and ceramic tile) was situated in the Bobrovsky County (in the Vorontsovsky volost there were about 60 pottery factories), Valuysky, Novokhopyor and Nizhnedevitsky Counties. In the last one a roofing tile was made. This domestic craft fell into decay in the first years of the Soviet government. In 1924 total number of handicraftsmen of this craft constituted 6,7% of level of 1897 (Vansovich, 1926).

In the 1920th one more peasant domestic craft developed in provinces, being closely related with agrarian production – seed farming. So, peasants of the Rusanovsky volost of the Borisoglebsk County were engaged in horticulture and seed farming for a long time. In 1923 the area occupied with kitchen gardens was 200 tithes, and peasants sold 212 poods (1pood is 16 kilograms) of seeds. The same year peasant farms of the volost participated in the All-Russian agricultural exhibition. This craft was important not only for peasants of the Rusanovsky volost, it also promoted the development of horticulture in the Borisoglebsk County (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1929).

In peasant production the handicraftsmen individualists prevailed – they were 86% (Voronov, 1926). Domestic crafts were usually made by handicraftsman family forces, hired workers were a rare exception. The number of institutions with more than three hired workers was about 10, owners and members of their families worked along with hired workers. Everywhere in the province domestic craft production to order (3/4 all handicraftsmen worked to order) prevailed, work for sale was made in wheel and pottery production (Tatarchukov, 1927; Voronov, 1926).

As in the huge majority of cases the domestic crafts were subsidiary in peasant farms, many of them had no special rooms and were located directly in country houses, farm buildings or in the open air, and only brickmakers, smiths and millers worked in special rooms (Voronov, 1926).

Quality of products in comparison with pre-revolutionary time has worsened, especially in brick, wheel and tanning production, because of an insufficient technical equipment, decline in quality of raw materials, absence of experienced masters, duration of the working day, low cost and a disorganization of sale. In domestic craft work there wasn't enough well trained and highly qualified personnel, there was no chain of instructor schools and educational and demonstration workshops (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1922-1927).

The type of domestic craft and its relations with farm determined time allowed for craft occupation. In the Voronezh province the peasants employment in blacksmith's, cooper's, wheel, rope and tailor's crafts reached nearly a half of a year, however the majority of crafts was carried out between times and occupied a small amount of time within a year (Tatarchukov, 1927). More than a half of tailors and shoemakers, less than a half of smiths, coopers and skimmers worked all the year round; brick-factories and wheelmen worked in spring and in summer; milk-churns, millet scourers, sheepskin dressers worked in the autumn and in the winter. The longest labor hours fell on summer till 10 – 15 hours. On average the foreman could make for a week of work 3 plows, 11 awnlets, 2 tables, 4 small tubs, 6 pairs of felt boots, 2 short fur coats, 3 pairs of boots. Professional training was required everywhere, though in different degree. In the production of wheels and sheepskins only men worked; on mills, the cooper's and metal industry a few women (2 – 3%) were involved. Female labor was widespread in wool handling, in pottery and brick domestic crafts (Voronov, 1926). Peasants sold the products mostly in their volost, or in the county at the prices below market to private traders in general and to cooperative. However some types of such goods found sale in other regions of the country. So, for example, pottery was taken out to the Kursk province; wheels, knitted scarves, tanning and cooper's products – to the Kharkiv province; distaffs – to the Don district; rope – to Rostov, Tiflis, Baku; starch – to Moscow; sheepskin products – to the Ukraine cities (Voronov, 1926).

Influence of crafts on various categories of various peasant farms was extremely important. In 1925 A. N. Tatarchukov according to the survey data of peasant farms it was found that the income from domestic crafts in the peasant budget didn't reach 10% in the total amount of the peasant income. The relative role of the income from crafts in the peasant budget was small, and the budget was small, therefore only overall low yield of agricultural industry of the Voronezh village allowed to consider insignificant income from crafts profitable and valuable addition to the total amount of the peasant income. In the context of average net earnings from craft occupations on one peasant farm in the amount from 100 to 200 rubles, the difference in the income from various crafts was essential. For example, in pottery production the net income on one economy constituted 55 rubles, and in wheel production – 203 rubles (Tatarchukov, 1927). Besides, the income from craft and family and social composition of a peasant family were in direct dependence. According to I. Voronov's data, in metal working, sheepskins manufacture and clothes



production the small-family farms (57 – 80%) prevailed. These crafts are marked by land-hungry and poor peasants. Skinners, wheelmen, mills, millet scourer and milkchurns owners, were multi-family (66 – 75%). Among these peasants there were a lot of those who possessed much land and prosperous ones (Voronov, 1926). According to A. N. Tatarchukov, in this craft group the highest net income on one farm from 184 to 203 rubles is noted (Tatarchukov, 1927). These data confirm S.N. Prokopovich's (1924) conclusion that the size of a peasant family (number of workers and souls in it) exerted positive impact on crafts occupation and the income from them. But, according to S.N. Prokopovich (1924), this influence by the sizes was much less considerable, than influence of size of economic property (an allotment and means of production) on the income from agricultural industry.

Even though extra agricultural earnings in total income of peasant farms constituted the small amount, their size in different groups of farms significantly differed. For low-sowing farms extra agricultural earnings were a necessary condition of existence. With increase of cultivated area in farms the extra agricultural income fell. In 1923/24 in Central Black Earth Region the income from domestic craft activities and various earnings in the no sowing farms constituted 88,3% of all conditional net income, in farms up to 2 arpents (1 arpent is 2.7 acres) – 46,4%, up to 4 arpents – 27,6%, up to 6 arpents – 22,3%, up to 8 arpents – 16,3%, up to 16 arpents – 14,5%, over 16 arpents – 11,1% (Peasant budgets 1922/23 and 1923/24 Central agricultural area, 1927).

In areas with widely developed crafts the income from this auxiliary activity in its size didn't yield to the income gained by peasants from their main activity – agriculture. Crafts earnings in smaller enterprises were an essential factor of increase in economic wellbeing of these farms in the conditions of lack of favorable market economic policy. Crafts allowed peasants of the Central Black Earth region to survive easier the 1924 year of poor crops.

Assigning high priority to crafts in life of the Russian peasant, P. A. Vikhlyaev and N. Sukhanov came to the conclusion that not the state of peasant farm forced peasants to resort to crafts occupations, but, on the contrary, the development of crafts determined the structure of agricultural industry of the peasant yard (Prokopovich, 1924). This dependence was most brightly shown in shoe production. So, characteristic feature of shoe craft in the Voronezh province was the tendency to the separation from agriculture. In 1925 among shoemakers from Buturlinovka 38,4% had no allotment, 51,5% had an allotment, but no agricultural inventory and just 10,1% had an allotment and inventory. These data show that in the period of satisfactory condition of craft activity about 90% of all handicraftsmen weren't linked with the land, and only unfavorable economic conditions of crafts activities forced them to return to agriculture, but they couldn't acquire necessary inventory (Vansovich, 1926).

Seasonal work earnings were a little widespread in the Voronezh province, 55000 persons or 1,8% were engaged in it (Dikov, 1928). More often local earnings on hiring in the summer were practiced. Some peasants had earnings out of their agricultural field in horseless farms of their village, from accidental transporting and other works.

Work of peasants out of their farm, according to the agrarian economist of the 1920th A.N. Chelintsev (1919), was an obstacle for rationalization of agricultural industry (Russia's State Archive of Economy, 1926). He didn't

consider leaving of peasants on earnings from land-hungry farms progressive professional differentiation, but he regarded it as "an economic bondage of the population", "forced derivation from the farm" and "result of backwardness of an intensification of agricultural industry" (Chelintsev, 1919). A.N. Chelintsev (1919) recognized that in the Central Black Earth "on the near future ... the mixed craft and agricultural type will remain in the majority of the small cultivated farms and will fade away gradually within several years. Distraction from forced unprofitable crafts will occur in improving the economic situation, mainly the market and the development of agricultural industry, which will provide special intensive expansion of crops and intensive livestock production" (Russia's State Archive of Economy, 1926).

As in 1926 the excess population in the Voronezh province there were 400000 people, and the population growth from 1923 to 1925 constituted 91439 persons (in total 6% or 3% per year), so domestic crafts with 71399 engaged in them couldn't affect the agrarian overpopulation of the province (Russia's State Archive of the socio political history, 1918-1934; All-Union population census of 1926, 1928.).

As well as individual peasant farms, peasant domestic crafts in character were inconvenient for the state control and intervention. The development of handicraft work was a serious economic and political problem for the Soviet government as they couldn't be covered by socialist planning. The authorities aimed to strengthen the state influence on peasant domestic crafts by means of cooperatives creation. However, cooperation among handicraftsmen in the period of the New Economic Policy didn't gain broad development. In 1925 in the province only 38 crafts cooperatives were registered, 10 of them were in the rural zone. Among them there was the co-operative craft society of shoemakers in the Kalatch of the Bogucharsky County, the co-operative craft society of woodworkers in Vorontsovka, 3 co-operative craft society on dressing and 4 co-operative craft society of shoemakers in Urazovo, co-operative craft society on a dressing in Nikitovka of the Valuysky County (The State Archive of the Voronezh region, 1923-1927). The feature of producers' cooperation was not its insufficient development, but its formal nature.

Conclusion

For further research of a problem of peasant not agricultural activities of the Voronezh province the studying of history of emergence of separate domestic crafts, the origin of traditions in domestic crafts activities and directly manufacturing techniques of these or those peasant domestic crafts products is required. By its nature, peasant domestic crafts were poorly covered by the planning influence of the Soviet state. However, the major factor influencing peasant domestic crafts was state policy. Therefore, studying of this problem will allow to show the state impact on peasant domestic crafts. It seems interesting to determine export opportunities of the Voronezh province in sale of peasant domestic crafts products in the period of the new economic policy, as well as the known domestic crafts farms of the Voronezh peasants with high quality of goods.

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