

Kazan Philistines of the First Half of the XIX Century: Children and Childhood in Everyday Life

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Abstract: The article considers one of the issues of the history of everyday life and family history related to the study of childhood as a stage of life. The study is focused on the philistinism of the city of Kazan in the first half of the XIX century, being the most numerous layer of citizens. The analysis of archival documents allowed us studying such aspects of the daily history of philistinism as the age limits of childhood, attitudes toward children in philistine families, mass behavior and individual decisions, as well as the emotional side of relations between adults and children. The study of the issue allowed us coming to the conclusion that the social status of children, their attitude to childhood and children among the Kazan philistinism largely retain the features inherent in a traditional pre-industrial society. In everyday practices, childhood was not yet perceived as a separately recognized and designated life stage, which was reflected in the philistine's value system. Philistines often got rid of illegitimate children in many ways, sought to include the child early in the solution of issues of maintaining themselves and the family, as well as removed them from the family by giving them for apprenticeship or working with strangers. However, the predominance of a rational attitude towards childhood did not exclude a positive emotional color in relation to children.

Keywords: Philistinism, everyday life, life path stages, children and childhood.

1. INTRODUCTION

The family is a chronological organization. One and the same family is first nuclear, then becomes large, and then splits into simple families. Marriage is the starting point of creating a family, which further undergoes an internal transformation, determined by the person's life stages, the most important of which are the birth and upbringing of children, loneliness, determined by various circumstances, old age, death. At each of these life segments, the philistine built strategies of behavior, fitting into class values, or violating traditional norms to a particular degree. Family development is a process that reflects the prevailing cultural values and beliefs (Hareven T, 1974).

Yu.L. Bessmertny was one of the first to show the wide possibilities that the life path concept opens up in the historical and demographic research. The study of the life path, in its own scope, merges with the history of private life, women's history, history of childhood, reflecting two the most important aspects of everyday life - mass behavior and unique identity of each individual, which manifests itself in the choice of their own decisions deviating from the accepted standards (Bessmertny Yu.L, 1994).

This article is aimed at studying childhood as one of the life stages of the family history of the Kazan

philistines of the pre-reform period. Children are the basis of estate reproduction, a source of material support for the family, assimilate social norms of the previous generation and broadcast culture. Attitude towards children is a matter of culture of the era. Determining the age of childhood, studying family decisions in relation to children and their future, the life experience of certain categories of children allows us outlining the main parameters of childhood image and get an idea of the value system of the ordinary layer of urban population of Russia in the first half of the XIX century.

2. METHODS

The study of Kazan philistines' childhood combines the methods adopted in the microhistorical studies and the history of everyday life. The pre-reform philistinism was the lowest layer of urban inhabitants, the bulk of townspeople, whose life was occupied with the care of providing everyday life necessities. The study of the stated topic is based on the reconstruction method which allows us to restore the main parameters of childhood as a stage in the life of a philistine in the specific historical conditions of the principal town of a province. Reconstruction of everyday life is based on the principle of "thick description" developed by Clifford Geertz (Geertz K, 2004). It is possible to understand the thinking of a person of the era through the analysis of as many different actions and deeds of people as possible. As a result of studying the diverse forms of people's perception of their experience, economic and

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domestic relations, new opportunities for understanding the specifics of group and personal identifications in society open up.

The main source that allows us to study the structure of the Russian philistine families of Kazan is the name list of Kazan philistines compiled in the philistine office in 1858 (SART 1-1056). The document contains information about all philistines who belonged to the Russian philistine society of Kazan; it includes 2136 philistine families with a total number of 7202 people. Such a significant amount of information justifies the need to use information technologies of computer source study. For the effective use of the document, a computer database of philistine families was created according to the family list of Kazan philistines in 1858, with the goal of not only transferring the source into a machine-readable form, but also optimally organizing information for solving the research problem.

Everyday life consists of individual choices of life strategies, therefore, in the presence of typical models of behavior and standard solutions, human behavior models freedom of choice, creating unique singular practices, or building innovative solutions that subsequently become widespread. In this regard, an important role in the study of everyday life belongs to incidents, individual episodes, individual biographies, which make it possible to reveal the polyphony of the sociocultural environment.

Philistines owing to their social position and cultural level belong to the low-reflecting group, there are no documents of personal origin among sources of the Kazan philistinism history. This situation presents a sufficient cognitive difficulty. The statistical material contained in the list of 1858 mentioned above contains important but limited information: information about the number of people in the family, the names and ages of all family members, family structure and kinship, occupation, place of residence. The study of everyday life of philistine children, their place in the life of adults, attitudes towards children is supplemented by the data extracted from registers of births, marriages, and deaths and brokers' notes, forensic materials, complaints and petitions deposited in the funds of the State Archives of the Republic of Tatarstan. In this regard, ideas about childhood are inevitably supplemented by some speculation, which should be minimally subjective and not go beyond acceptable limits (Laslett P, 1987). Not being able to observe the life of philistine children in their entirety, we study those

aspects and features of the past that have come down to us in verbal and non-verbal texts, the meaning of which is comprehended through imagination, using assumptions, as well as research flexibility (Savelieva IM, 2015).

3. SUMMARY

One of the main functions of marriage is the offspring birth. Only children born in a legal marriage were considered legitimate and had the right to father's surname and property inheritance. The presence of adult sons, as well as their own home was the main condition for life stability and a guarantee of a safe old age. According to the family list of Kazan philistines (1858), the average age of parents at birth of their first child was 28.6 years old for men and 23.9 years old for women. In some cases, the age spread was quite wide. Thus, Abramova Anna gave birth to her daughter Catherine at 17 years old (SART, 1-1056), and Pelageya Chirkova gave birth to her daughter Yepistima at 41 years old (SART, 1-1056). Vasily Savinovskiy, being 50 years old, had a son, being 5 years old (SART, 1-1056), and Asaf Permyakov, being 74 years old, had a daughter Elizaveta, being 11 years old (SART, 1-1056). Children were often born almost one after another. Afanasiy (44 years old) and Darya Efimovs (44 years old) had 6 children born over 12 years (SART, 1-1056). The birth of children took place over a fairly long time period: Nikolay (54 years old) and Darya Labutins (46 years old) had 8 children, whom Darya gave birth from 20 to 44 years old (SART, 1-1056).

The matters of marriage and birth of children were strictly regulated by the church, but despite this, there were many illegitimate children among the Kazan philistines. The child birth out of marriage was not always an annoying consequence of an accidental fall, often unmarried girls raised several illegitimate children, which testifies to the stability of extramarital relationships and indirectly about the acceptability of a similar situation in society. The girl Agrafena Ivanova, who was not married, had 4 illegitimate children aged 19 to 2 years old by the age of 44 years old, the girl Marya Blinova raised three illegitimate children of 13, 8 and 6 years old (SART, 1-1056). Widows often have illegitimate children. The widow Pelageya Merkulova had an 18-year-old illegitimate daughter, Olympiada, the widow Yevgenia Churina had two illegitimate daughters - Maria, 10 years old, and Stepanida, 7 years old. (SART, 1-1056). In a report on the moral inclinations of the residents of the Kazan province, the

Kazan Consistory provided evidence that 2,103 illegitimate children were registered in Kazan in the period from 1819 to 1829 (SART. F. 4. R. 61. C.97).

As a rule, the child birth was a significant event for a family, which was celebrated with the relatives and friends. The neighbor of Vasily Yegorov recalled celebrating the birth of his son Ivan: he "was busy with the housework of Ivan's christening" at his request, while other witnesses said that some "feasted on Ivan's christening" and the other "not only feasted on christening, but also even in the delivery of Ivan" (SART. F. 4. R. 92. C. 176).

However, children often became a burden, which they tried to get rid by leaving the newborn with the hope that compassionate people would pick him/her up. Most often, widows turned out to be in such a situation, for whom, in the absence of a breadwinner, the child represented a serious life complication. In 1846, the magistrate considered the case of a thrown baby, whom a peasant Sergey Lavrov found in a cart opposite the windows of his house. Soon, the philistine widow of Aleksandr Nabatov came to Lavrov with a request to take the baby for upbringing and admitted that "the baby thrown to him was born illegally from an unknown person", and she threw her "after widowhood due to the lack of funds for child's upbringing". "She knows the peasant Lavrov as a good person, and since he has no children except one young son and wants to have a girl, she threw her daughter Natalia to him. But after one day, she came to repentance... and asked to return the baby, whom he willingly gave her back" (SART. F. 26. R. 1. C. 780).

This situation, when the mother regretted the deed and returned the child despite some financial difficulties seems to be a rare exception to the practice of throwing illegitimate children. If the investigation managed to find the mother, the criminal court ordered her to take the child back and subjected her to mandatory punishment. Thus, the philistine widow Gaynizyamala Serebryakova was accused of the intention to throw the baby illegally born by her and was sentenced to one and a half years of imprisonment in a correction house (SART. F. 13. R. 1. C. 409). In 1852 the chamber of the criminal court "in the case of a baby thrown to the house of a member of the welfare board concluded: the Kazan philistine girl Tatyana Guryeva Panteleeva, guilty of this crime, should be deprived of some of rights under Article 84 of Code of rights, punished by the police with rods of 60 strokes, and for an evil life committed to the church repentance,

then given under the supervision of society for one year" (SART. F. 4. R. 84. C. 250).

However, most often the mothers of such children were not found, and the children were taken to raising by the families with no children. Thus, the Rukavishnikovs family brought up the only foundling daughter Elena, being 16 years old (SART 1-1056), and Nikita and Marfa Berdnikovs had a foundling son Anisim (SART 1-1056). Asaf Permyakov took Ivan into the family, who was already 41 years old in 1858 and lived with his two daughters with his adoptive father (SART 1-1056). Perhaps the upbringing of adopted children was based on the hope to be helped in the family household and cared in the old age, but in the sources there are also rare declarations of love for adopted children. Ivan Semyonov Shaposhnikov in his spiritual will left all property "in full will and control to my wife Fedosya Ivanova, also in her own supervision and care our common foster-child Yepistimia Ivanova, whom we, by unanimous love, always had as our own daughter," and no relative could make any claims under the penalty of the Last Judgment (SART. F. 12. R. 16. C. 36).

The attitude towards children was pragmatic, they tried to give them professional skills that would allow the children quickly getting on their feet and earning a living by themselves. As a rule, children were taught various crafts: tailor, hatter, locksmith, blacksmith. The child lived and ate in the master's house during the entire period of education and was to "be in full obedience" to the whole family. Thus, the widow Marya Prokofieva gave her son Ivan for 10 years so that "he would be engaged in the room service or whatever would be ordered for the first five years, and then will be taught with female tailor craftsmanship in the last then 5 years". It was specifically stipulated that the owner has the right to "recover as much as the child is guilty", and if the child becomes ill, he/she has to work these days additionally (SART. F. 114. R. 1. C. 1112). In fact, the family received a free and obedient employee for several years, which repeatedly compensated the costs for his/her feeding and training.

Brokerage books often contain records of contracts under which the parents gave their children to work for money. Ivan Dyakonov gave his son Evgraf to the merchant son Mikhail Matveevsky for trading "in his shop with food supplies for a year", and received 80 roubles for him. Evgraf was supposed to live and eat in the owner's house, he was instructed "to be respectful to the family", to carry out all the instructions of the

owner and housemates, as well as "do not leave home under any pretext" (SART. F. 114. R. 1. C. 235). The philistine Ismail Morozov gave his son to the philistine Khamit Kadykov "with full obedience" for 48 roubles for 10 months (SART. F. 114. R. 1. C. 1111), the widow Natalya Volkova gave her daughter, being 15 years old, to the home service for living and food, having received 60 roubles for her (SART. F. 114. R. 1. C. 1111).

Sometimes giving children to work seemed like a clear deliverance from them. Peter Kozlov and Akim Leontyev gave their two young boys to the Simbirsk merchant Peter Altukhov, who took them with other children to Simbirsk to work at a match factory. Later, the children were found with Altukhov, who testified that "he took them out of pity for their age from the owner of their matchmaker Stepan Ivanov Kasatkin, who was hiding at that time" in order to notify their parents, but in reality he used them for cartridge manufacture. The investigation showed that the delivery of young children from Kazan to the factory was an organized process (SART. F. 26. R. 1. C. 857).

Whenever possible they tried to get rid of sick children, the care of whom was especially painful for relatives. The Tatar Orphan's Court appealed with a petition to the welfare board, "if the Kazan philistine son Murtaza Shagiakhmetov Syromyatnikov, who is subject to slackness and epilepsy, can be accepted into the almshouse of this board, whose relatives do not want to have with them for these reasons" (SART. F. 115. R. 1. C. 1568).

More often than not, "life in people" was reserved for orphans left for relatives, as soon as the opportunity allowed, they were attached to earn a living, or taken out of the family. The lives of children working for strangers were difficult, however children were not protected from violence in their own families. Thekla Selivanova gave her stepson Mikhail to the piano master, from whom he escaped. During the investigation, it turned out that Mikhail did not escape from the master, but from his stepmother (SART. F. 26. R. 1. C. 1053).

The patriarchal nature of family relations was reflected in the power of parents over children, "which extends to children of both sexes and all ages." "Children should show their parents sincere respect, obedience, submission and love; truly serve them, honor them, and endure parental admonitions and corrections patiently and without discontent. The reverence of children to the memory of their parents should extend

even after the death of their parents" (Code of laws of the Russian Empire, 1857). For the "correction of obstinate and disobedient children" it was necessary to use domestic corrective measures. If they did not work, the parents had the right to send their children to houses of correction, to file complaints to the conscientious court. In the course of legal proceedings any testimony of children, "having the appearance of a reprimand against the parents, which is not actually necessary for justification, as well as any disrespectful expression in relation to parents, aggravates the guilt of the children." However, no lawsuits against parents are accepted from children "in personal grievances and insults", but only in case of violation of property rights in the presence of written documents signed by the parents containing information about violations or criminal offenses by the parents (Code of laws of the Russian Empire, 1857).

"Look at these children! Oh God! What kind of mutilated, crippled children's figures are found in our philistine environment: usually these gloomy, wild children are found in such families, where the rules of Domostroy are still alive, and where the rods, and even belt whipping, play the main role in their upbringing", - wrote a contemporary (Babikov KI, 1873).

The most unenviable fate was the fate of complete orphans who had no relatives at all. They were not taken to an orphanage, the society was supposed to take care of the orphans-philistines. An example of an orphan's fate is the story of a seventeen-year-old philistine, Vasilyev, who came to the philistine office of Kazan with a request to enroll him in philistines. His father, Kazan philistine Vasiliev, died when he was 5 years old, his mother died in childbirth, after the death of his father he "lived for more than five years" with different people ... feeded himself by begging for money, and finally, due to his poverty, he was accepted by a peasant in the Tula province of the Kasimovsky district Sidorova village Osip Vasiliev then living in Kazan and engaged in making wax candles". He lived with him until he was 14, then the peasant left for the village. Vasiliev went "into the service of Kazan merchant Larion Ivanov Fedorov", where he lived for six months, received a dismissal from the philistine head Strogalev, according to it "he corrected his passport in the treasury and with it went to the capital city of Moscow where he lived with the local merchant Sapelkin, also as a worker at the candle factory for three months, and after that was hired in other places as a worker in candle factories. " When the passport expired, he arrived in Kazan and "entered the candle

factory to the merchant Fedorin, where I still live." The tradesman Davyd Zabelin, who "knows him living in total poverty" (SART. F. 114. R. 1. C. 1073), can certify his identity.

The childhood age was unclear. As a rule, a child was the one who did not reach the puberty age, which varied over a fairly wide range from 11 to 15 years old. However, the lives of many philistines, forced to earn a living from an early age, or even be the sole breadwinner in the family, can no longer be described as childhood (Kelly K, 2008). Mikhail Pirogov, being 11 years old, was left without parents along with two sisters of 11 and 13 years old and worked as a servant (4, p.673). Vasily Pisarev, being 11 years old, was a tailor, having two little brothers and a sister (4, p. 589). The widow Agrafena Andreeva, being 37 years old, had 5 small children, of whom the eldest Kyril, being 12 years old, worked as a wallpaper master (4, p. 782).

Philistine children began to work early to earn money even in a prosperous family. Obtaining education by philistine children has so far been little appreciated not only among the philistines, but also among the Kazan merchants. The governor of Kazan, Baratynsky, wrote in 1851 that "education is less common between the merchant class; the merchant class tied to commercial interests is for the most part limited to preparing their children for commercial affairs, for which it only gives them the education necessary for this activity" (RSHA).

Education was often not completed. There were 219 students in the first parish school in the academic year 1824-1843. 82 of them were philistine children, 37 of them withdrew without certificates, and 31 were left in the same class for the second year (SART. F. 428. R.1. C. 28). In the academic year 1856-1857, 212 pupils of this school included 72 philistine children, of whom only 7 were transferred to the next grade, 34 withdrew without a certificate, and 29 were left for the second year (SART. F. 428. R.1. C. 287). A guidebook to Kazan of 1861 stated that "among the urban population the desire for education is most developed in the class of noblemen and officials, among whom 1 out of 7 studies. The philistines are content with parish schools and similar primary schools; if they send their children to the district school, they usually take them from there before the end of the course" (Commemorative book of Kazan province, 1861).

4. RESULTS AND DISCUSSION

Plots of childhood touch upon deep feelings, therefore, the position of children in the modern era

was often assessed by researchers as their exploitation and suffering (Jordanova L, 1990). However, the material under study gives grounds for stating that in the era under study in the class of ordinary townspeople the understanding of childhood was significantly different from the modern one. F. Aries, examining the family and the child in traditional society, believed that the childhood in the pre-industrial period was extremely short, when the child could not do without outside help. As soon as the child grew up, he/she was "mixed with adults, sharing work and games with them". The child quickly grew up, "his/her education was carried out through education in people, due to the coexistence of child or youth and adults. He perceived things by helping adults doing them". According to F. Aries, this childhood allocation into a separate world takes place in an industrial society, when the child's socialization does not occur within the family with early involvement in the survival process, but in the school, when the education and upbringing are singled out in a special life stage, after which there is a transition to adulthood (Aries F, 1999). Thus, in relation to the Russian philistines of the first half of the XIX century E. Le Roi Ladurie's opinion is quite applicable; he believed that childhood, roughly speaking, is an abstraction, because it consists of stages that line up in a number of generally accepted "age categories" (Ladurie Le Roy E, 2001).

Childhood is one of the aspects of the history of everyday life which allows us to consider everyday life as a series of stages in the life path, in which childhood is the initial stage. There are many gaps in the study of this issue which is associated with the scarcity of the source base, however, this is an essential aspect of the study of the way of the philistines' life in the first half of the XIX century. The lives of children were influenced by the same social and political processes (great conflicts and catastrophes, changes in social relations and their symbolism) as well as the life of adults. The contribution of children to the economy, the attitude of adults towards children, the age of childhood, the subjective experience of childhood are important elements for understanding the daily life and cultural history.

5. CONCLUSIONS

Social attitudes and social behavior are largely explained through family research. The family in its development goes through a life cycle where the childhood is one of the most important stages. The attitude of adults to children and childhood, examined

by the example of Kazan philistines in the first half of the XIX century, allows us reconstructing some of the sociocultural attitudes inherent in the townspeople of the studied period.

In the first half of the XIX century, childhood was quite a short life span as a stage in the life path for the Kazan philistines. Despite the biological parameters determined by puberty, inclusion in adulthood often occurred earlier when the child was forced to earn money and help to feed his/her family. The attitude towards children was pragmatic within philistines. The child, especially the boy, was perceived as a future worker and assistant in old age, but the children as dependents in many families, who found themselves in an unfavorable life situation, were a burden, they tried to quickly adopt them giving from the families, as a rule.

Such an attitude towards children sometimes directly verged on callousness; children suffered from indifference of parents to their lives among strangers, disenfranchised position, physical punishment. They tried to get rid of illegitimate children as much as possible without worrying about their future fate. However, it can be assumed that such an attitude is not a sign of heartlessness, but rather is dictated by the need for survival, especially in difficult life periods. The predominance of a rational attitude towards childhood did not exclude a positive emotional coloring in relation to children.

Kazan philistines did not perceive separation and awareness of childhood as a special stage preceding adulthood. Early socialization of children was based on the traditional understanding of a child as a participant in solving issues of family stability, labor resources, and social guarantees of parental care. Understanding of growing up of children, the attitude of parents to children, the absolute predominance of labor education over school education indicate that the philistine family still existed in the value system of pre-industrial society.

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