

Daily Occurrence of the Southern Russian Peasantry and Church Institute in the 1920th

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Abstract. In this article are considered aspects of the state Soviet policy on formation of new country daily culture in the conditions of fight against church institute, its influence on traditional society during an era of new economic policy. Means and ways of carrying out discrimination actions by the Soviet authorities of anti-church promotion in rural society of the 1920th years in the south of Russia are analyzed. Decade of preparation of active approach to church, as on institute capable to influence and form mentality of the people is considered. Results of the pursued state policy on destruction of cultural influence of church on the country mass of Kuban, Don, Stavropol Territory in vision of the concept of creation of new Soviet atheistic society are studied.

Keywords: Soviet culture, cultural revolution, fight against church, daily occurrence, leisure.

Introduction.

The daily culture of the southern Russian peasantry was based on traditional forms of patriarchal way of a life, leisure, holidays, bore in itself observance of customs, cultural paradigms of orthodox church. Great Russian revolution of 1917 in a new historical discourse of science of the XXI century allows to raise topical question of influence of church on country cultural tradition. The Soviet propaganda machine of the beginning of the 1920th years only gathered, formed and perfected future repressive methods of fight against church, being limited to approach to system of church holidays and values of the country traditional world.

Cultural atheistic revolution is a cardinal revolution for traditional country society which was not such unambiguous as it would be desirable, the Soviet ideological promotion of the 1920th years. This phenomenon is precisely noticed in the newspaper of 1924 "Hammer": "near religiousness, belief in sorcery and old ceremonialism", "new peculiar forms of a life" started developing.[1] Obviously, it turned out to be also consequence of actions of the Soviet power, but also aspiration of the most rural society to daily occurrence modernization. Such updating allows us to investigate as the church institute in the conditions of carrying out cultural atheistic innovations of a state policy was reflected in leisure of villagers of Don, Kuban, Stavropol Territory in the 1920th.

Materials and methods.

The basis of article was formed by the massif of various sources. Particular interest in narrative materials which abound with bright, live paints of the described period of the 1920th years, are rich with revolutionary lexicon. The periodic regional press reflects the southern Russian color of the Cossack, country world of Kuban, Don and Stavropol Territory, transferring revolutionary emotions of the time. Archival, statistical and standard and legal materials of the 1917-1920th years allow to carry out the comparative-historical analysis of sources and to receive an objective picture of cultural processes.

Discussion.

The atheistic culture of the new revolutionary world began to form from the first steps of formation of the Soviet state.[2] The separation of church from the state in January, 1918 became the first state act. It was much carried out actions for antireligious promotion at the level of all country, but in rural areas inactive to revolutionary changes the main preparatory work on overthrow of authority of church fell on the 1920th years of new economic policy.

In particular, in 1927 on pages of the *Communist Education* magazine was developed discussion about degree of religiousness of the peasantry. The general opinion of the local workers sending the letters and messages to editorial office of the magazine, was reduced to the following: "that the peasantry is anticlerical as a whole – it by no means can't be told. If there are the separate country units which have been adjusted sharply in opposition – to the priest, these are units... The most part of the peasantry becomes simple a little indifferent to religious questions", [3] that, however, doesn't testify to full refusal of belief and of observance of church ceremonies, including, – and from traditional holidays. The majority of local party and Soviet workers with conviction believed that the country people in the USSR still with a certain respect belong to orthodox belief, both to church, and to its representatives in a face of priests and sextons, – "the rural bell nobility". [4] The greatest commitment to religious views was shown by peasants that was a consequence of their low educational level, the belittled social status and a gender role in traditional cultural way. Noticing this fact, employees of rural district committees of Communist Party, rural correspondents, simply peasants of both sexes testified: "religiousness is observed more at women", [5] "our peasants – people are more increasing believers. Will be among them those who ceased to believe in God a little and to pray in church". [6] Moreover, authorities noted disturbing tendencies not only preservations, but also expansions of religious influence that was well noticeable and on Don, Kuban, Stavropol Territory in the village. Were fixed, for example, the facts of training of children to bases of orthodox belief in house conditions or even at underground church schools as not all inhabitants of the village were happy with absence in the Soviet educational institutions of the corresponding discipline (the staff of the Don district committee of All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) in 1926 indicated "class extrenity" such dissatisfied, declaring: "the prosperous complained that at schools of their children don't teach "Scripture"[7]). In particular, in the spring of 1926 in the village Krugloe the Azov region of the North Caucasian region the inspective group of the Don district RKI and district department of national education (DONO) found "in absolutely casual way ... 3 private schools with total of studying 75 people. At schools the Scripture was taught. In one of schools the whip hanging on a wall is found, according to the old man - "teacher", serving for introduction to children of bases of the God's law". [8] Naturally, schools were closed, but it caused unofficial scandal in the environment of the party and Soviet workers accusing each other of negligence and oblivion of antireligious promotion. Strictly in some days after emergence in the note Molot newspaper about a casual find of religious schools the editorial satirist under the pseudonym "Uncle Mityay" responded to this incident venomous verses in which rhetorically questioned: "on the ninth revolution to year//a Scripture, a lash in a course! // ... disturbs a question, whether//I stuck the nose//in schools local council. // Yes or no? // Where were there a cell, Komsomol, RAYONO//Or to them too all the same?". [9] Often, however, in villages and villages of the South of Russia the increase in number of followers not Russian Orthodox Church, and different sects was observed. So, on of Donskoy passing on November 17-18, 1926 *okruzhkom's* (regional commissariat *прим. перев.*) plenum to All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) admitted that "in the village the solid percent of more backward country youth went now through leaving to religious sects, baptists, conservatives and others which are available in the village". [10] Partly the growth of influence of sectarians was explained by the developed Bolsheviks persecutions on the orthodox church organization, partly, – that the Soviet power some time rather tolerantly treated sects as to opponents of official church. However, when sectarians, – it is free or involuntarily, – encroached on ideological monopoly of Communist Party in the village (and, in the country as a whole), the new power immediately reacted to these scandalous, in its opinion, actions.

The reasons of stability of religious views and orthodox ceremonialism in the *dokolkhozny* (before coming the kolhoz system *прим. перев.*) village are obvious. Considerably religiousness was natural result of social and economic instability of an era of the New Economic Policy. This instability caused by a social and tax policy of Bolsheviks, couldn't be compared to revolutionary shocks in any way and cruel tests of times of Civil war; nevertheless, it made oppressing impact on mentality of a great number of peasants and women peasants, especially widows. In this regard, words of one of the Russian peasants are quite clear: "priests, however, people are not absolutely honest, but after all here is how happen difficult times, when there is no anything, or still any misfortune – you will address to God, and it becomes easier at heart". [11]

It is impossible to forget that for the anti-Bolshevik adjusted inhabitants of the village (and their numbering during rather liberal period of the New Economic Policy was much higher, than in the next decade) demonstrative commitment of church ceremonialism was some kind of symbol of their anti-governmental moods opened by a call of the power. Visiting church, executing ceremonies and observing orthodox holidays, such people declared their socio-political position.

To orthodox religion in the 1920th sociocultural conservatism inherent in the country world was the most important reason of commitment of the majority of villagers of the Soviet Russia. The majority of grain-growers did not remain religious because of the deepest conviction in effectiveness of religious practices but because of the religion represented by one of the most important basic components of all rural living arrangement, a core of country traditional culture. Traditions can't be eliminated in historically minimum terms, for any 10 years, especially with one only method of promotion and administrative pressure. Moreover, during critical eras the traditional character has property to become stronger as means of counteraction to new trends which are often perceived as hostile, destructive forces. These mechanisms of commitment of tradition (and, including, religions) worked and in the Soviet village of the 1920th.

For the most acute party and Soviet workers and researchers in the USSR wasn't secret that fact that country religiousness often was a tradition tribute. M. Temkin, the author placed in 1926 in the North Caucasian Edge magazine of extensive and very substantial publication about the relation of country people of Don to the Soviet school, reasonably wrote about preservation of church ceremonialism in the village: "here "tradition", unwillingness to break off with the "starinka" (old times *нрпм. непер.*), some tribute to the settled forms of an old life" allows to feel only.[12] Thus, making traditional campaigns in the church, many peasants with not smaller frequency happened in reading rooms and clubs which were positioned by Bolsheviks as an antipode of rural temples. Local Soviet workers with skill noted that country weight "goes on a habit to church on the main holidays, executes paramount demand ceremonies, as a *goveniye*, (religious starvation *нрпм. непер.*) burial, commemoration. With "information on Sergey of Radonezh's biography "she looks by the way in a reading room to listen to the report on opening of relics of the above-mentioned miracle man".[13]The similar behavior convincingly proved that concerning the majority of villagers religiousness had external character (the ceremonialism as a tradition tribute was observed) and wasn't open the demonstration of anti-Soviet moods or the certificate on presence of those.

Anyway, the church ceremonialism in the Soviet *dokolkhozny* village wasn't liquidated by massive antireligious actions. Religiousness of country people don't only remained, but in some cases even became stronger owing to fluctuations of domestic policy of a communistic mode. So, in the conditions of pro-country policy "facing the village" (the end of 1924 – the first half of 1926) Bolsheviks were compelled to watch with badly hidden displeasure not only functioning of rural temples or carrying out orthodox holidays, but also such defiant, from their point of view, actions as religious procession on territories of the whole areas or the detour sat down also villages church hierarches. One of participants of meeting of secretaries of rural cells of All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) of the Don district of the North Caucasian edge passing in January, 1926, Semenov of Novocherkassk, with disappointment told colleagues: "we had walk of an icon of the Kazan Mother of God on our villages" which "broke at us some meetings on preparation of re-elections in KOVY and council in Grushevka, and in farms".[14] The same year members of the Bagayevsky district committee of All-Union Communist Party (bolsheviks) (The Don district of the North Caucasian edge) fixed in the territory subordinated to them repeated the voyage of the archbishop on villages and *stanitsas* (small villages in the South *нрпм. непер.*). Though employees of the district committee narrated about this event with displeasure, they were pleased by the fact that locals were tired of the church administration which has become constant visitor on a visit and, eventually, accorded to the hierarch quite cool welcome: "the meeting was for the first time rendered, but the second time any more there was no such congestion of the people".[15]

Even in the cities during an era of the New Economic Policy cases of demonstrative execution of religious practices unpleasant for the party and Soviet management were observed. So, according to the message in the Molot newspaper old regime experts "the Zarechny power plant in Rostov" Grigoryev, Sadchikov and Medvedev for any reason decided to serve a thankful public prayer with a wonder-working icon of the Aksayskaya Mother of God. "Not for long they thought", the author of the publication was indignant, "and on September 15 workers witnessed the following

picture. Widely, street doors of the Zarechny power plant and clergy rack with the icon uplifted on hands ahead wide open revealed, in clubs of a palmar smoke began to rise on the main ladder of power plant to apartments of specialists. And specialists, being kneeling, waited a wonder-working icon in hope that the last will help them to expel that evil spirit which was translated here from the Main Workshops in the person of companions Communards. Having served a public prayer and having sprinkled with holy water of the apartment, specialists awarded clergy rack money and solemnly carried out them by boats through Don". As one would expect, similar action caused ambiguous reaction of workers and rage of the author of the note calling local committee "to turn on this attention and to point to the gone too far specialists to that, living under one roof with the state enterprise, they would be engaged in a production raising better, instead of drove to itself through station of freeloaders".[16]

Reaction to such preservation of stereotypes of behavior in the country world from her simple members to imperious circles showed methods of aggressive behavior in fight against religious attributes, ceremonies and the church. In 1925, according to representatives of party structures of the Don district of the North Caucasian edge, "we had a case when in rural cells of Komsomol children dressed up in copes from bast mats, became on tractors, took on 5 buckets of water, did brooms of hay and started going on the village and to spray peasants".[17] In March, 1926 in the MolodoyLeninets newspaper the publication which author described at all a wild trick of Komsomol members who got into rural church at night, arranged there disorder, chopped up icons, and then got drunk.[18]

As a rule, responsible for such methods of antireligious promotion in the village wasn't exposed to any serious punishment from the Komsomol or party and Soviet administration. Similar softness testified to imperious manifestation and tendencies of a state policy. In the late twenties, when, in the conditions of policy of "*chrezvychayshchina*" (something exceeding *норм. неперв.*) and attention strengthening to "collective-farm construction" (that brought then to continuous violent collectivization), the Bolshevik management called the supporters on places "to strengthen antireligious work among the population".[19] Activization of such work was presented to one of necessary factors of socialist modernization to create it optimum social and psychological conditions. Not incidentally in December, 1928 at the North Caucasian regional agitation and propaganda meeting about problems of antireligious work of Komsomol it was specified: "in connection with strengthening of approach of the proletariat on capitalist elements of our country in the field of economic, Soviet and cultural construction especially the importance gets strengthening of fight against religion, the religious organizations, religious ideology as the religion is the most convenient, habitual and legal form for manifestation of influence of kulak (rich peasant, using hired labor *норм. неперв.*) and nepman (new businessman *норм. неперв.*) on *trudyashchyeya* (working people *норм. неперв.*) masses, for fight against socialist construction and a cultural revolution".[20]

Radical authorities in the village, members of rural cells of Communist Party and Komsomol, non-party activists heard in these appeals that wanted to hear, namely, – permission again to fall upon church and believers with the most drastic measures among which were not only mockery over religious shrines, but also closing of churches, and direct repressions against priests and the peasants who were openly showing religious commitment to Russian Orthodox Church. Similar actions didn't cause sympathy in the majority of the population of the Soviet village, including the Don, Kuban, Stavropol grain-growers. It is characteristic that at the beginning of 1930 in one of the villages of Stavropol Territory peasants in a mass order entered collective farm. But, "in the same day the group of Komsomol members of the village suited the rough antireligious performance which has offended feelings of believers, sharply changed moods of peasants, and they left on the same day collective farm".[20] However, if earlier authorities criticized Komsomol members for roughness in antireligious promotion, in the late twenties – the beginning of the 1930th similar was considered in the nature of things.

As we see, antireligious work in the village represented permanent process throughout the 1920th; methods of its carrying out changed only. As both the religion, and the church organization were not simply important compound, but also basic components of rural daily occurrence, antireligious actions of the Soviet power struck and on the traditional country world.

Conclusion.

Sources considered in article allow to emphasize that in the 1920th years the state Soviet promotion achieved modest results of antireligious policy in the south of Russia. Traditional daily culture, household way of the southern Russian peasantry were modernized slowly, without accepting at once all atheistic set of a new Soviet cultural paradigm. Undoubtedly, daily occurrence of Sovietization, as well as antireligious work on church discredit in the opinion of the country population,[22] demanded more vigorous activity of the Soviet party device in the village and, very important role was played by the relation to a new political regime.[23] The historical retrospective shows that the institute of church stood in numerous social projects of the Soviet state, revived and kept opportunities to transformation of the cultural heritage of Russian Orthodox Church.

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