Supervision of zemstvo sanitation on the living and working conditions of industrial workers in the Katerynoslav province

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ABSTRACT

The article, within the framework of regional history, studies the problem of sanitary supervision of industrial workers who lived and worked in the territory of the Katerynoslav province of the Russian Empire. The role of Russian colonization in the life of the Ukrainian population has been evaluated. Working and living conditions of industrial workers and the most common sanitary problems that arose in their everyday life were revealed on the basis of the historical sources study of the Zemstvo of the Katerynoslav province. Positive and negative factors and results of cooperation between sanitary doctors and industrial workers are outlined. It is shown that a significant number of Russian industrialists who organized their enterprises in Ukrainian lands were not interested in providing decent living conditions for the workers of their enterprises, if this could hinder their profits. The practical task of the study is to expand the knowledge about the past of the ordinary inhabitants of the region, their contemporary life, to form in readers an idea of the historical development uniqueness of their own region within the framework of general Ukrainian history.

Introduction

As a result of the war, which was insidiously started by the Russian Federation, a large part of the Donetsk, Zaporizhia and Luhansk regions is temporarily under occupation. After the liberation of these territories, our country will face the problem of their reintegration and occupation. After the liberation of these territories, our country will face the problem of their reintegration and occupation, along with the restoration of the national identity of their inhabitants. There is a need to help them get to know the history of their own region better.

Since its rich industrial history is important for the economy and its own identity of this region, we can turn to the period of the early 20th century, when this industry was formed, and most of the region was still part of the Russian Empire. When it comes to historical memory, it is important to remember not only the economic history, but also the history of the people themselves, to provide an opportunity to learn about the life and lifestyle of one’s own ancestors, who played a great role in the development of the region.

At that time, the zemstvo sanitary organization was actively engaged in the study of industrial workers’ life, whose duties included prevention of diseases in the population, research of food, water, settlements and workplaces. By studying their activities, we can get a better understanding of the daily life, and therefore – the past of ordinary residents of the region.

Most of the sources of this intelligence are the reports of the zemstvo sanitary doctors who inspected the places of residence and work of industrial workers, collected statistical data on sanitary conditions and analyzed them, reported on existing problems, and proposed methods of improvement. These data were also presented and studied in the specialized medical provincial press. Materials acquired by them were also repeatedly considered at the provincial medical and sanitary conferences as urgent problems for the Zemstvo medical organization.

Among the materials of the conferences, it is also possible to single out the scientific studies of zemstvo sanitary doctors on this topic. (Lyashchenko, 1914; Kontorovich, 1914). Most of these source materials have not yet been introduced into scientific circulation, and they permit to look at the issues of both medicine and the history of everyday life of the region in a new way. It is worth noting that almost all of these sources are reports from direct observers of the events, for whom taking care of the sanitary condition of the workers was a job, which permits a close assessment of the investigated situation through the eyes of a person who had an interest in it.

KEYWORDS
Katerynoslav province, zemstvo sanitation, regional history, development of industry, daily life of workers, zemstvo self-government, history of sanitary medicine


1 Otchety uezdnykh sanitarnykh vrahov Yekaterinoslavskogo gubernskogo zemstva za 1913 god Yekaterinoslav. Tvp. K.A.


In the scientific literature, this topic was studied in the dissertation of Z. Guzhyva "Development of the sanitary and preventive direction of medicine in the Katerynoslav province (2\textsuperscript{nd} half of the 19\textsuperscript{th} - beginning of the 20\textsuperscript{th} century)" (2007). However, the mentioned work is, to a greater extent, a study of the history of sanitary science than the social activities of the zemstvos or the life of the population, and although the formation of the zemstvo sanitary organization and its formation of the principles of care for enterprises are described in sufficient detail, at a deeper level the topic of sanitary supervision of workers is not revealed there.

In the article by O. Shlyakhov "Formation of the network of Zemstvo hospital and food centers in the Katerynoslav region and their activity at the early 20th century" separate fields of sanitary activity of the zemstvo were highlighted: the organization of medical and food points, the issue of sanitary supervision of visiting workers in the Katerynoslav region, activities of sanitary doctors in this sphere, daily life of workers and the geography of the working population's movement. Among the shortcomings of the work, it can only be noted that there is almost no difference in the development of food outlets in it (Shlyakhov, 2016).

The issue of sanitary and medical care for industrial workers was also studied in the manual by L. Zavada. Here it is only considered as one of the spheres of prominent sanitary doctors' activity of the region, and is not investigated comprehensively, taking into account the general nature of the work. Despite this, the given information permits a better understanding of the problem (Zavada, 2011).

The purpose of the study is to analyze the influence of the sanitary sphere of the zemstvo self-government in the Katerynoslav province on the life of the population engaged in industrial labor within the framework studying the history of the region. The tasks of the research include the study of the mechanisms of interaction between the zemstvo and industrial enterprises, the influence of sanitary doctors on the living conditions of the working population, positive and negative changes as a result of the intervention.

Methods
Since this topic concerns the history of a particular region, it should be studied using the methodology of regional history studies (regional studies). According to I. Kolesnyk, the methodological principles of the regional history of Ukraine were formed in the works of the "local" school by V. Antonovych, the "regional" school by D. Bagalii, the studies of the Galicia-Kyiv and new Kyiv schools by M. Hrushevsky and continued their development in the research of Soviet scientists that dealt with zoning issues.

The scientist outlines regional history as a component of historical science, which functioned as a means of scientific knowledge, which permitted to reveal differences in the way of management, life, cultural traditions, customs, political culture, mentality of residents of different regions (Kolesnik, 2007).

I. Studennikov defined regional studies as a field of research activity, based on an interdisciplinary approach, aimed at studying the regularities of the regionalization process in the country taking into account natural-geographical, historical, ethno-cultural, economic and socio-demographic factors, and regional studies as a complex scientific discipline, which studies, based on the principle of historicism, the regularities of the formation and development of regions.

The study of the region’s development, taking into account its special economic factors (namely, rapid development of heavy industry), is one of the tasks of this study (Studennikov, 2007).

Ya. Vermenich defines historical regionalism as an interdisciplinary scientific field that studies the life processes of human communities and communicative connections in the territorial plane, within the boundaries of historically formed regions; analyzes the interaction of geographical, economic, demographic, ecological, socio-cultural, etc. processes in the regional dimension (Vermenich, 2007).

The methodology of studying medicine and sanitation from the point of view of regionalism was developed by the health care historian I. Robak, who studied the local history of health care in the Kharkiv region, considering it against the background of the political and socio-economic history of the country, taking into account the general historical background and links with other problems of social development. He was the first researcher who separated the history of medicine and the history of health care, calling the latter a sphere of social activity consisting of state and public activities of various nature.

Since this activity is determined by social processes, it is part of the social history of interaction between social institutions (such as an urban community). The study of zemstvo sanitation and its impact on the lives of workers in this article belongs to the category of social history, where the activity of zemstvo doctors is considered precisely from the point of view of their interaction with the population and the zemstvo administration (Robak, 2011).

In the studied topic, an important place is occupied by the use of the historical-genetic method, which permits considering the factors that influenced the development of this sphere, starting from the birth of the sanitary organization in the region in different periods of its development. The historical-genetic approach is logically complemented by historical-comparative and historical-systemic methods.

Results and Discussion
Supervision of the Zemstvo sanitation of the Katerynoslav province according to the living and working conditions of industrial workers during the second half of the 19th and early 20th centuries developed in the legislative field of the Russian Empire with certain consideration of the local conditions of this region. When the provincial and district zemstvos were formed, according to the regulation of 1864, the implementation of sanitary-propylactic and generally medical activities completely came under their control.

The law did not specify specific rules and methods for this, broadly delineating these duties as “...care for public health”. As for the concern of the heads of enterprises about the health of workers, this issue was only regulated for a long time by the order of the Cabinet of Ministers dated August 26, 1866, which provided for the maintenance of hospital premises at factories with the calculation of 1 bed per 100 workers, and Art. 102 of the industrial charter, which forbade asking employees to pay for medical care.

However, the decree was not in a hurry to be implemented, since it was promulgated in the senate only in 1886 and was never codified in the code of laws.

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Naglіad земської санітарії за умовами життя та праці промислових робітників Катеринославської губернії

(Lyashchenko, 1914: 425). At the national level, this issue was no longer touched upon until the adoption of the law "On insurance for workers in case of illness" on June 23, 1912 which obliged the heads of enterprises to either maintain their own hospital where employees would be treated at his expense or fully cover the costs of their treatment in regional and city hospitals.

Organizations of sanitary supervision of the population began to appear not immediately, and limited their activities to individual regions and provinces. The appearance of the first official body of sanitary supervision can be attributed to the cholera epidemic of 1873-1874, when the temporary Katerynoslav Sanitary Commission was formed. A permanent body of sanitary supervision appeared in 1879, with the formation of a permanent sanitary commission under the Katerynoslav City Duma. In other gubernatorial districts, sanitary activities were carried out by zemstvo precinct and district medical councils made up of precinct doctors and sanitary guardians from among wealthy residents. For the most part, their activities were limited to the issuance of sanitary regulations, which were often not implemented, which was facilitated by the lack of funds for sanitary and preventive measures (Guzhva, 2007: 57-59).

The official body for monitoring the sanitary condition of the entire Katerynoslav province appeared in 1901, when the sanitary-epidemiological service of the Katerynoslav zemstvo was organized. A year after its formation, the zemstvo assembly approved a draft of mandatory sanitary regulations on the arrangement of living quarters for mining-factory and factory workers in the province (Guzhva, 2007: 83).

The head of the sanitary bureau of the provincial zemstvo administration, I. Butakov, defined the organization of sanitary and preventive medicine in factories, plants and industries among the tasks of the zemstvo. The importance of this was realized in many districts of Katerynoslav. In 1902, the sanitary doctor of Bakhmut district I. Kondorskyi developed and presented in the "Medical and Sanitary Chronicle" a program of sanitary research of plants, factories and other industrial enterprises. In the same journal, the appeal of the sanitary department to the Mining Administration of Southern Russia about the need to submit information on morbidity at one's own enterprises was published. During the Russo-Japanese War, a study was carried out on the working and living conditions of workers at industrial facilities in the Slavyanoserbs district.

Problems in this sphere were created by the fact that factory medicine was not subordinated to the zemstvo, which prevented the collection of relevant data, and the factory doctors themselves, hearing such a proposal at the 10th All-Russian Congress of doctors and representatives of zemstvos, defiantly left the meeting hall. Finally, the merger of factory medicine with zemstvo did take place, as it is known from the materials of the IX Katerynoslav Congress of Doctors (Guzhva, 2007: 87).

The above-mentioned order of the Cabinet of Ministers was usually ignored by the owners of the enterprises because it only obliged to keep the sick workers and not to treat them (as they said: "It is enough for the enterprise to set up a warehouse with beds"), and it did not provide any means to force the industrialists to comply with it. In the report of the Ministry of Trade and Industry for 1907, it was noted that 66% of the industrial enterprises of the Russian Empire had no medical organization at all. From this one can understand the attitude of most industrial entrepreneurs towards their employees (Lyashchenko, 1914: 426).

The protocol of sanitary inspections of 1908 contains many descriptions of terrible living conditions. The workers of the Kadiyevska mine lived in overcrowded apartments, and some were forced to sleep in storerooms and barns, in the barracks of the mine of the Aleksandro-Dmitrievsky Society. Residents had no place to keep their own clothes and to wash; with the general pollution of the premises, kitchen waste and human excrement accumulated under the barracks in the Sopelkova mine.

Private canteens, where workers who arrived in industrial villages from all over the Russian Empire not only ate, but also spent the night, were recognized as a big problem in terms of sanitation. A typical such place for spending the night in the village of Yuzivka was described by a sanitary doctor at the pages of the "Sanitary Chronicle" in 1909 as "a crooked in all directions, a cramped hut ... where at least 18-20 people sleep every night on solid bunks, damp, cold, earthen floor ". Such institutions in which, in addition, the sanitary doctor was aware of 11 people suffering from typhus in Yuzivka itself.

If, as a result of a meeting between industrial doctors, a zemstvo sanitary and district doctor, a member of the city zemstvo administration, and a representative from the factory management, the fact of an epidemic was established, then the industrial enterprise provided premises for treatment and for medical personnel, the necessary medical equipment, servants and medicines within the limits of the zemstvo catalog. The provincial zemstvo sent medical personnel (doctors, paramedics, nurses), vaccine, literature and helped organize bacteriological research.

The expenses were divided in half by the provincial zemstvo and the industrial enterprise, and the enterprise fully paid for the disinfection. Cholera barracks for workers received cholera patients in neighboring villages, if cases of the disease were isolated. In such cases, the workers could be treated free of charge in the Zemstvo barracks in the neighborhood.

The cholera epidemic of 1910, which manifested itself particularly strongly in the mines of the Donetsk basin, significantly increased the attention of the sanitary organization of the Katerynoslav provincial zemstvo to the living conditions of mining workers. At the South Russian congress on the fight against cholera next year, a decision was made to eliminate dugouts, to issue zemstvo resolutions that will regulate the quality of rented premises, kitchen waste and human excrement, to force the approval of the new colonies and villages construction with sanitary and technical supervision.

At the congress, the issue of miners’ lack of access to clean water was raised. It was decided to correct it with the help of a sanitary analysis of the water in the region, the organization of water supply, the provision of dishes with a capacity of at least one liter to the miners going down to the mine, and the cancellation of payment for the delivery of water.10

X Provincial Medical Congress introduced inspection cards for employees’ apartments. This permitted sanitary and medical workers to receive complete statistical information about the housing situation of workers and monitor its dynamics. Also, the outbreak of the epidemic motivated business owners to cooperate with sanitary doctors, in particular, to give them access to workers’ villages and mines and to carry out some of their orders.

The reports of the district sanitary doctors of that period testify to the unsanitary condition of the apartments and barracks, their poor lighting and lack of ventilation. Many workers lived in damp dugouts without a foundation and with damp walls. And families with children were often forced to live in such conditions.11

Despite the fact that the management of industrial enterprises was obliged to provide free drinking water to their own workers, in many places this decision was not implemented. Often, mine workers were forced to pay water carriers for the delivery of water in the amount of 1 kopeck per bucket (on average, one family could afford no more than two buckets per day)12.

Due to the high cost of water at steel mills, workers had to wash in troughs where crowbars and shovels were cooled with water from a pond.

Sometimes problems with water supply reached catastrophic proportions. In the village near the Debaltseve station, people had to steal water from the railway water pipe, drink water from the pond for steam locomotives, and wait in a queue to collect a bucket of water.13

The sanitary-executive commission demanded within a month to ensure the provision of a sufficient amount of water through the reconstruction of wells. Due to the requirements of the sanitary doctor, it was possible to install devices for boiling water, and to provide workers with access to covered barrels with a tap, and at some enterprises, the reconstruction of baths for workers was carried out.

The positive impact of sanitary inspections may not have solved all the problems accumulated over decades of ignoring the condition of workers, but it still led to progressive changes. In Lysychansk, at one of the mines, it was possible to repair dwellings, making them meet the standards, new furnaces were built, walls were newly plastered, garbage boxes were tarred, and workers received constant access to free boiled water (both at home and in the mines)14.

In 1913, after the inspection of the Yuziv factories by a sanitary doctor, the construction of a more comfortable house with a wooden floor and a separate room for a dining room was agreed upon, the construction of a plastered house, places for garbage and waste, and the reorganization of the water supply began in the colony of the Novo-Ekonomicyny Rudnik15. In the same year, after the typhus epidemic at the Krasnogorivka brick factory, as a result of a sanitary doctor’s visit, a decision was made to organize a dining room, warm rooms for washing and changing clothes, and providing individual beds to employees.16

The workers of refractory factories in Bakhmut District were visited by doctors once a week, and reception rooms with paramedics were built at the enterprises at the expense of shareholders of the district companies “Bakhmut Salt” and “Nova Velychka” (Zavada, 2011: 40-41). As a result of regular inspections, the dugouts began to be closed. New apartments and barracks for workers were built every year. In some cases, the enterprises themselves stimulated the improvement of the quality of life. In the “Vetka” entrepreneurship colony, employees were given a bonus of 25 to 100 rubles for the cleanliness of their apartments, and trees were planted in alleys in the village17.

Even in 1914, when sanitary doctors visited mining villages regularly, 2% of the apartments had no foundations (Lyashchenko, 1914: 115). Even when the owners of industrial enterprises were forced to accept sanitary and medical inspections, some of them continued to oppose them. The fact that the management of industrial enterprises infrequently submitted plans for the construction of housing for workers to sanitary doctors, trying to save money, also hindered the improvement of the situation. In 1911, 63 family apartment buildings and 47 barracks were built in the Bakhmut and Slavyansoserbsk districts without approval of the plans by the administration (Lyashchenko, 1914: 118).

The zemstvo tried to solve the problem of private canteens-beds as early as 1899 by building medical and food centers - places where arriving seasonal workers could get a place to sleep, a free medical examination, and cheap warm food under the supervision of a medical worker. In case of illness, the migrant worker received free help and, if necessary, was referred to medical institutions of the zemstvo (Shylakho, 2016).

Zemstvo doctors noted the positive impact of medical and food centers and at the 10th provincial congress emphasized the need to extend their activities to mining workers of the Donetsk coal basin, as they arrived in the territory of Donbas districts in greater numbers than agricultural workers. Such points were opened after 1911 in Yuzivka, Alchevsk, Almazny, Mykyivka (Kontorovich, 1914: 141-142).

Sanitary doctors identified difficult working conditions at other industrial enterprises of the region, such as lack of ventilation in dusty (paper factories) or gassed (chemical plants) enterprises, risks of infection due to manual labor (brick factories), insufficient protection of dangerous parts of mechanisms. A positive factor was that new enterprises have already begun to coordinate their own projects with sanitary doctors.

In 1913, projects for two brick factories, a steam mill, an iron foundry, a glass factory, a cinema and a fire station were approved by the sanitary doctor of the first

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12 Ibid. P.53-54.
14 Ibid. P.49-50.
16 Ibid P.110.
17 Ibid. P.97.
18 Ibid. P.54.
Bakhmut district, which were approved under the condition that there was ventilation, places for washing and spacious, light housing for workers 19.

In 1915, the imperial head of the sanitary and evacuation department drew attention to the difficult sanitary situation, visiting some industrial enterprises of the Katerynoslav region and noting the great risk of developing infectious diseases due to the war and mass seasonal movement of workers. After that, the commission under the Minister of Health adopted a list of measures that must be implemented by the management of these enterprises.

The new rules included: 1) mandatory sanitary supervision of newly arrived workers, in particular, immediately after being accepted, they had to wash in a bathhouse, get vaccinated against smallpox, and their clothes had to be disinfected in a special chamber; 2) organization of sanitary care at mining and industrial enterprises, where the worker-custodian was released from work with retention of salary; 3) in case of illness and forced observation, the worker was also kept a permanent salary; 4) rooms for washing with hot water were to be installed at each mine; 5) medical and sanitary supervision extended to underground works 20.

The strengthening of requirements led to the improvement of sanitary conditions at enterprises. Some of the miners purchased (or undertook to purchase) disinfection chambers, repaired or installed new baths, wells with fresh water were repaired or built, places for storing clothes and food, separate beds and washrooms were organized in the barracks, new housing was built with wooden floor, impenetrable cesspools 21.

Most enterprises have organized rooms for the temporary isolation of sick workers. At a late stage, the positive influence of the Zemstvo can also be seen on the example of mines founded after 1913 (such as the Novo-Ekonomichnyi, Hrushynskyi, and the mine of the Anonymous Society in the Bakhmut District). The increased requirements to their sanitary condition from the zemstvo leadership and the mining administration caused the maintenance of proper sanitary conditions at other enterprises of the region as well. There were almost no dugouts left in these mines, they were provided with accessible taps for water 22.

Changes for the better thanks to sanitary doctors took place not only at the enterprises of the coal industry. Thus, in the Mariupol district, a bathhouse, a dining room, a laundry room, a dispensary, and a place for the isolation of the sick or infected were built at the limestone quarries in the village of Oleksandrivka after the doctor's visit 23.

However, the opposition from entrepreneurs who sought to save on the health of workers continued. For example, in the 1915 report of the Sanitary Organization of the Katerynoslav Provincial Zemstvo, the refusal of certain enterprises of industrial enterprises to build new living quarters and washrooms was recorded (the reason was the lack of building materials); workers were forced to pay for clean water, including its cost in the price for the delivery of coal, plans for workers' housing were not sent to the board for consideration (perhaps due to its non-compliance with regulations).

The issue of housing for workers in the ore industry was still pressing. Thus, in the Yuziv district, many family apartments were located in half-dark, damp, half-underground rooms that were not protected from insects; some of these apartments, due to general old age, were generally considered unfit for habitation. In the same Report, it is described that at the building stone quarry at the Mazarakiya estate, 30 workers lived in a single shed made of construction boards without binding material, with an earthen floor and a moity roof 24.

The First World War also had a negative impact on the living conditions of the workers, mostly due to the significant influx of prisoners of war who were recruited to work in the mines. Prisoners of war were often ill with epidemic diseases upon arrival; their places of residence were not disinfected in any way. Most enterprises simply did not have housing for such a number of new people, and often they were forced to share a cramped barrack with miners, or occupy places designated for quarantine 25.

Conclusions

As a result of a comprehensive study of the topic, with the help of newly developed zemstvo historical sources in the context of regional history, the activity of zemstvo sanitary doctors as representatives of local self-government in improving the living and sanitary conditions of local industrial workers through interaction with the heads of industrial enterprises of the region was investigated. New sources containing information on the history of medicine, industry and daily life of the region have been put into circulation.

The responsibilities of the zemstvo sanitarians were outlined, which included a regular inspection of the living and working spaces of industrial workers with an indication of possible risks to their health, taking measures to prevent epidemics, providing recommendations for improving sanitary conditions to enterprise managers, and approving with them plans for the construction of new residential or working premises. The Zemsky sanitary organization tried to ensure proper living conditions for the workers.

The interaction of sanitary workers with the heads of enterprises was somewhat problematic, as the latter repeatedly opposed the activities of sanitary and medical inspections, did not agree with them on the construction of new housing and were in no hurry to restore the old one.

Thanks to the activities of sanitary doctors, the terrible living conditions of the industrial workers of the Katerynoslav region were recorded, most of whom were forced to live in dirty, cold, cramped and damp rooms, often without the opportunity to drink clean water or wash themselves, in dangerous proximity to waste places or pits, the time didn't put these issues, that indicated the contemptuous attitude of businessmen towards the local population.

The activities of sanitary doctors had a positive effect on solving the issues of gradual abandonment of emergency housing, and the construction of new residential premises that met sanitary standards, providing a greater number of workers with access to drinking water, providing them with better opportunities to take care of their own hygiene, and to prevent epidemic diseases. The

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21 Ibid. P. 39-40.
22 Ibid. P.35-36.
23 Ibid. P.216-217.
24 Ibid. P. 43-44.
Нагляд земської санітарії за умовами життя та праці промислових робітників Катеринославської губернії

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У статті в рамках регіональної історії вивчається проблема санітарного нагляду за промисловими робітниками, що проживали та працювали на території Катеринославської губернії Російської імперії. Проведено оцінку ролі російської колонізації земської санітарії в житті українського населення. На підставі вивчення земських джерел, зокрема земських відомостей, доведено, що на початку XX століття значні частини населення були так або інакше зазирані у санітарні проблеми, які їм завадили. Викладено основні санітарні заклади, що надавали медичну допомогу працівникам промислових підприємств, а також розкрито умови проживання та роботи робітників.

Ключові слова: Катеринославська губернія, земська санітарія, регіональна історія, розвиток промисловості, побут робітників, земське самоврядування, історія санітарної медицини.

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