

**Н.І. Романцова**

**НАУКОВА ТА ПУБЛІЦИСТИЧНА ДІЯЛЬНІСТЬ М. ГРУШЕВСЬКОГО  
(1907 – 1914 РР.): ВИСВІТЛЕННЯ ПРОБЛЕМИ  
В ПРАЦЯХ ІСТОРИКІВ ПЕРШОЇ ТРЕТИНИ ХХ СТ.**

*У статті розглядаються питання щодо висвітлення істориками першої третини ХХ ст. проблем наукової та публіцистичної діяльності М. Грушевського в 1907 – 1914 рр. та її впливу на наукове та громадсько-політичне життя Наддніпрянської України. Здійснений історіографічний аналіз праць видатного вченого надав можливість з'ясувати масштабність зробленого ним в цей період, коли він став однією з найбільш помітних постатей в українській історичній науці та громадсько-політичному житті.*

*Історіографічний аналіз виявив інтерес дослідників-сучасників до вивчення питань наукової діяльності М. Грушевського, який у своїх працях досліджував проблеми минулого українського народу та актуальні теми сьогодення. В оцінках наукової творчості вченого виявилася поляризація думок переважно на політичному ґрунті. З одного боку, В. Дорошенко, В. Герасимчук, І. Крип'якевич, В. Пічета, І. Франко позитивно характеризували наукову діяльність, творче надбання М. Грушевського, підкреслюючи його важливість для розвитку історичної науки в Україні. З іншого боку, шовіністично налаштовані російські та деякі українські вчені О. Волконський, І. Линниченко, Ю. Романовський, А. Савенко, Т. Флоринський, А. Царинний відверто негативно сприймали історичні погляди та наукові праці М. Грушевського, відкидаючи його наукову концепцію, яка заперечувала традиційну схему загальноросійського історичного розвитку. Праці сучасників носили дуже особистісний характер, виявляли їх певну політичну заангажованість.*

*Дослідження засвідчило, що історіографічні аспекти наукової та публіцистичної діяльності М. Грушевського напередодні Першої світової війни (1907 – 1914 рр.) недостатньо досліджені грушевськознавцями. У подальших студіях варто порівняти оцінки наукової та публіцистичної діяльності Михайла Сергійовича з боку його сучасників та представників наступних історіографічних періодів.*

**Ключові слова:** М. Грушевський, наукова та публіцистична діяльність, історіографічні оцінки, історики-сучасники.

**РЕЦЕНЗЕНТИ:** *Темірова Н.Р.*, д.і.н., проф.; *Чура В.І.*, д.і.н., проф.

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**O. Samantsov**

**EVERYDAY LIFE OF WORKERS OF COAL INDUSTRY OF DONETSK-DNIEPER ECONOMIC REGION OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY IN NATIVE HISTORIOGRAPHY OF THE SECOND HALF OF THE 19<sup>TH</sup> CENTURY – THE BEGINNING OF THE 20<sup>TH</sup>**

*Traditionally, in the social sciences, the miners are considered as a specific professional group – the leading participants of the social processes of the twentieth century and the present. To confirm this fact there are its causes and reasons, numerical examples. But after appearing in the late nineteenth century, the collier set the objective to improve the material conditions of life by selling their labor, specific skills and abilities. Losing touch with*

*the ground they could realize themselves only in the professional activities outside the village, that led them to the mining towns, and this was not left behind the interest of the scientists.*

*Studying the miners' living and work began simultaneously with the transformation of the participants of the coal mining process at the professional sedentary group.. On establishing in the late nineteenth century in the spaces of Podneprovye and Donetsk Ridge they personified the economic relations players of the modern times. Thus, the research interest in this group was permanent.*

*A variety of approaches and methods of scientific analysis oriented the researchers to clarify the questions of not only the involvement of employees in the coal mining processes but also of the characteristic features of everyday life of the colliers. The received results made it possible to reconstruct their real conditions of life and work. Traditionally the views of experts did not always coincide; on the contrary they were opposed, but devoted to one subject of study.*

*The article is devoted to the analysis of these opinions and views on the everyday living of workers of coal mining industry.*

**Key words:** *Donetsk-Dnieper economic region, everyday living, colliers, historiography, historic thought.*

The statement of the problem. In recent decades, at the former Soviet space, there has been marked a surge of interest concerning the problems of everyday life. This is evidenced by a significant amount of publicity scientific and journalistic articles, dissertations and monographs, journals publishing local history journals and creating online resources, conducting scientific conferences and symposia, etc., which have reflect the problems of everyday life.

The causality of this phenomenon lies in the excessive indoctrination of not only history but also of all the spheres of life in the Soviet society that was developing determined by the “party line”. The object of the study of those times’ social science was assigned the “working class – the builder of the communist future”. Clearly, in this situation, in scientific research there was not any place for an average person, his thoughts, aspirations, personal experience and so on.

The present times demonstrates the examples of the fallacy of such methodological approaches and emphasizes the need to rethink the historical events and phenomena from the modern positions. We proceed from the fact that the main character of the historical process is a man in all his multidimensionality manifestations: work, leisure, life, pursuits of “I” and so on.

In modern literature there is no single, clear definition of what is everyday life. But “among the aspects of everyday life historians consider everyday people’s private lives, leisure, family life and the existence of social groups, family and labor relations, history of material and cultural environment, where there is the satisfaction” [2, p. 48].

The relevance of the theme is determined by the need to rethink the accumulated scientific material from the present times positions, using techniques and methods of scientific research, the selection of the most common among scholars of those times segments of the question and the completeness of their coverage, the identification of the promising directions of the research.

The aim of the research is in investigating and analysis of the viewpoints, perspectives and concepts of the scientists of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century – the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century who in their studies examined the issue of everyday life of workers of the coal mining industry from the positions of today, the highlight of the main trends and perspectives of the research.

The geographical limits of the research are defined by the territory of Katerynoslav, Kharkov, Kherson Provinces and the Don area geographically located on the Dnieper-Donets Ridge.

The chronological limits of the study are defined by the period of 1861 – 1914, where the lower chronological limit is determined by the time of the abolition of serfdom in the Russian Empire and the beginning of the bourgeois reforms that had a positive impact on the creating of the labor market and the rise of private entrepreneurship, and the upper limit is defined by the outbreak of World War I that led to the transfer of all the areas of the economic life on the war footing.

The presentation of the material. The scientific interest in the development of the coal mining industry of Donetsk-Dnieper region of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century was caused by its rapid development, competitiveness and opposition to the traditional economic centers of the country.

This was contributed due to the number of factors that determined the characteristics and peculiarities of the region. The geological component was defined by the exit onto the surface the coal deposits, making the coal mining a traditional and common activity for the local population. Also the significant power of the layers influenced greatly on the further development of the coal mining industry. The social component was characterized by a large diversity of the local population, being the result from the significant concentration in the area of different social groups that formed the labor market and the private and business classes. And finally, the construction of railways, the development of the steel and metal industry of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century permanently needed large amounts of coal.

This situation demanded from the scientists the constant monitoring of the situation in the coal mining industry in Donetsk-Dnieper economic region, the search for new raw deposits and coal seams, the analysis of the production logistics and its expansion. Thus, the process involved primarily geologists and mining engineers that led to the specific scientific researches. They primarily reflected the geographical and geological features of Donetsk ridge, its separate parts or deposits. Their content was the continuation and succession of the works begun by the mining engineers P. Le Plait and P. Barbot de Marne.

The most common researches there then became “Vedomost’ ob uspekhakh kamennougol’noy promyshlennosty vtoroho gornoho okruga zapadnoy chasty Donetskogo kamennougol’nogo kryazha za 1872 god” (“Statement about the Success of the Coal Mining Industry of the Second Mining District of the Western Part of Donetsk Coal Ridge During 1872”) by A. Nosov (Nosov II), “O zalezkhakh kamennogo uglya y zheleznykh rud v Pol’she y Donetskom gornom kryazhe y zalezkhakh kamennogo uglya v Kurlyandy y Vostochnoy Prussy” (“About the Deposits of Coal and Iron Ore in Poland and Donetsk Ridge and the Coal Deposits in Courland and East Prussia”) by Gr. Gelmersen (1873), “Ob uspekhakh gornoy promyshlennosty v Pervom okruge Zapadnoy chasty Donetskogo kryazha v techenyy 1874 goda” (“About the Success of the Mining Industry in the First District of the Western Part of the Donets Ridge During 1874”) by A. Nosov (Nosov I), “Opysanye Kal’myuso-Toretskoy kotlovyny” (“Description of the Kalmius-Toretsk Basin”) by M. Bulychev (1877), “Rutchenkovskoe mestorozhdenye kamennogo uglya y ékspluatatsyya ego” (“Rutchenkovskiy Coal Deposit and its Exploration”) by M. Avdakov (1877), “Severo-Zapadnaya chast’ Bakhmut-skoho uezda v gornopromyshlennom otnoshenyy” (“The North-Western Part of Bakhmutsky County in the Mining View”) by D. Stempkovskyy (1883) and others.

The increasing number of official sources that characterized the economic situation of the country helped out the compilations of the statistical indicators, including the coal mining industry. One of the first ones there became “Sbornyk statystycheskyh svedenyy po gornoy

chasty” (“Compilation of Statistical Data on the Mining Part”) which came out during the years 1864 –1867, and “Hornozavodskaya proyzvodytelnost Russiyi v 1867 – 1885 gg.” (“Mining Productivity in Russia in 1867 – 1885”) and others. In addition, the results of the practice activities of the resources on the territory of Donetsk-Dnieper economic region found their permanent display in the materials of the Congresses of Miners of the South and etc. Typical of this work there was the display of the quantitative indicators of coal mining and in some cases giving the number of workers involved into work at the resources and mines in relation to the cost of the mining coal.

This attitude to the labor issues at the Congresses of Miners one of the researcher explained that “all tasks of miners ... are reduced to providing themselves with the high dividends ... Taking great efforts to increase their dividends minors do not want to share even a small crumb with their workers” [1, p. 206 – 208]. That is why they are not interested in considering the issue of providing their workers with housing or improving their living conditions, as this would lead to an increase in expenditure.

Thus, the coverage of the labor issue in the coal mining industry in Donetsk-Dnieper region of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century did not have its distribution, remaining in the shade of the scientific thought. The researchers have repeatedly stressed that it is difficult to find the works “the subject of which would be the study of the life of mine workers, their working conditions, etc.” [6, p. 493].

Ones of the few works aimed at highlighting the specific issues of the working and living conditions of mining workers of Donets Basin, mostly, “handicraftsman” became the articles by A. Tveritinov “Nasha Kamiennou-ugolnaya promishlennost” (“Our Coal Mining Industry”) (1887), S. Rusov “Donetskiye uglekopy” (“Donetsk Coalminers”) (1888), H. Schrader “Ocherky kustarnoy gornoy promyshlennosti (Iz ekonomyky Donetskogo basseyna)” (“Essays on Handicraft Coal Mining Industry. (From the economy of Donetsk Basin)”) (1889) and others. They had a small amount caused by the format of the journal “Russian Thought” (“Russkaya Mysl”) and the source base was comprised by the Works of the Congresses of Miners of the South of Russia and the near Moscow Basin, the statistical data on Ekaterinoslavskaya Province, in addition, as noted by A. Tveretinov “and even those notes as little-known printed copies” [8, p. 27].

The issues covered by the authors, were framed by the problems of the cost of coal, organizing miners’ work, formation of artels and wages. The main conclusion of the analysis can be considered out the quote from the “South-Russian Coal Mining leaflet”: “The question of coalminers in the South of Russia is an important issue. It has been touched neither by the government nor by the printing. We do not even have the accurate statistics about the number of workers in coal mines, not to mention the fact that in the literature there are no any information about the position of the coalminers of the South of Russia .... To investigate the position of the working class, to give him the help of the government and private manufacturers, the right management is the direct problem proposed to be solved” [9, p. 92].

The beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century brought a wave of social protests, including Donetsk miners who took an active part in this process. But the solution of the so-called “mining problem” as well as its study remained in the same state as it had been at the end of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The works devoted to highlighting the life and work of the coalminers of Donetsk-Dnieper economic region of the beginning of the 29<sup>th</sup> century were of the accidental character, focusing primarily on establishing the fact of the working conditions, mostly in peasant mines. These works were: R. Shor “Krest’yanskiye shakhty y rabota na nykh (Sanytarno-ékonomycheskyy ocherk)” (“Peasant Mines and Work at Them (Sanitarian and Economic Essay)”) (1904), P. Ric “Uhlekozy” (“Coalminers”) (1907) and others.

The authors unanimously emphasized that "... we have not a several thousand workers who live and work in the exceptional circumstances and about whom almost nothing is known, as if they did not exist at all ..." [5, p. 19].

Establishing the industrial medicine and occupational hygiene, conducting the scientific congresses and publishing medical journals allowed the experts to draw their attention to the working conditions of the coalminers of Donetsk-Dnieper economic region from the point of view of the occupational diseases and the working conditions that contributed to this. Such works were "Zabolevaemost' gornorabochykh na yuge Rossyy" ("Sickness Rate of the Coalminers in the South of Russia") by V. Mehmandarov (1905), "Uslovyya truda gornorabochykh v Donetskoy bassejny" ("Terms of Labor of the Coalminers in Donetsk Basin") by A. Lieberman (1905).

The material presented in these studies was surprisingly interesting due to the fact that the researchers used the results of their own supervision over the working conditions. For example, V. Mehmandarov worked at the mine of Novorossiysk Society, located near Krivyy Rih, A. Lieberman long worked in the mines as a foreman miner in Donetsk Basin.

Among the group of causes that led to the deaths and the emergence of the occupational diseases, the scientists isolated the specific conditions of work: bad air in the pits, undeveloped industrial technologies, simple, sometimes primitive means of transporting coal, shortage of water, its insufficient quality, insufficient working clothing, failure by the workers of the rules of work and so on.

The second group of causes was determined by the conscious attitude of the workers to the rules of labor safety, its pursuit of mining capacity and coal raised to the surface (work in the mines was traditionally distributed "per fulfilled work" or "per pood" and depended on the number of poods of coal raised to the surface). The authors cited the example of the need of the technological break for venting air to endanger the life standards after conducting the blasting works. In its turn, the break in work, thus formed, lowered the volume of coal raised to the surface, which did not satisfy the workers, and they were at their own discretion and risk reduced its time, or the overwhelmed hoist while lifting coal to the surface and others.

The authors strove to reflect the complex realities of everyday life without romantic stratification, in all its production unattractiveness. As it was stressed by A. Lieberman "... seven or eight, maximum 10 – 12 years – and a flourishing, healthy worker turns into a stunted, coughing, suffering constant rheumatism old man, almost unable to work ..." [3, p. 1].

In 1906 into the scientific use there was introduced the work "Dwellings for Workers in the Mines of Donetsk Basin", whose author was a mining engineer P. Palchynskyy. The novelty of the study was that the author devoted it not to the abstract, statistical housing in the sense of "remuneration in kind" of the component of remuneration of miners' life (a barrack, a dugout, etc.) but as a necessary component of a worker's life.

The reason for the question of providing the workers with the housing the researcher saw that a significant number of coalminers came from the so-called alien nation "originally from the neighboring provinces, and then from more distant". Second, the coal mines for the most part had been built on the distance of several miles from the nearest settlements and "so it is very uncomfortable and painful for both workers and employers to go and spend nights in their villages or apartments to the foreign places". Third, as it was noted by the researcher, the local population was hostile to the alien and demanded "a higher pay for housing, which did not satisfy entrepreneurs either"[4, p. 422 – 423].

Thus, P. Palchynskyy saw an equivalent interest of workers and business owners in avoiding the conflicts of the working people with the local population as well as businessmen with workers in saving time on the way to work and pay for accommodation and housing. The

consequence of this situation was the first building of the huts as the author pointed by most workers first and then entrepreneurs. “The implementation of the need for housing is directly related to the quality of the working contingent. One cannot but agree with the opinion of the researcher that good dwelling was an “attractive force” for the workers” [7, p.93].

According to the researcher, each businessman had a choice in hiring workers based on the technological or technical equipment, but there were some features. Family workers usually placed increasing demands on housing, because “... they are permanent employees who more cherish their place, properly treat their duties”. As the researcher pointed, “the single, mostly are chasing the big money, paying little attention to the quality of premises” but family workers prefer the mines with good living conditions, although with a lesser salary. All this leads to the building of settlements with many houses for the married.

Speaking about the prospects of the development of the settlements at the mines the researcher emphasized that they would grow with increasing the number of houses for family workers. Comparing the number of workers who lived in the family and artel houses, the participation in the mining industry, work in the mines, awareness of the real situation of workers enabled the engineer to determine his own vision of transforming the workers’ settlements and he wrote that “... it is necessary to consider the number of hands that work at these or those mines, they are about the same ... but gradually the advantage inclines to the family settlements” [4, p. 427].

This approach “gave an opportunity to trace the dynamics of priority in the formation of workers’ hands, which changed in favor of immigrant workers as dominant and transfer the research into the sphere of the analysis of the place of family and single workers and their impact on the development of both the industry and workers’ settlements” [7, p. 93].

Conclusions and perspectives of the further researches. As a result of this research, we have reached the number of conclusions that summarize the author’s approaches, observations, interpretations and assumptions. They are formulated as follows:

In the chronological period determined by us, everyday life of the workers of the coal mining industry did not become the subject of the special research, and was represented only a part of the labor question.

The scientific interest in the coal mining industry of Donetsk-Dnieper economic region was determined purely by the utilitarian needs that caused the major areas of the research:

- geology of the region and the coal deposits;
- the technical equipment of the coal mining production;
- reduction the expenditure and others.

The source base of the works papers of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century rarely extended beyond the normal range, which was formed by the materials of the Congresses of Miners, the province statistics or statistical data on the industry.

Miners’ Congresses’ participants focused on getting the biggest profit did not see the need to examine the workers’ issues being satisfied with the market of availability of cheap labor workers.

The social protests of the beginning of the 20<sup>th</sup> century did not significantly affect the structure of the scientific issues, leaving it in the state of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century.

The works devoted to the life and work of the coalminers of Donetsk-Dnieper economic region of that time were accidental, focusing primarily on establishing the fact of the working conditions. In addition, examples from the life of the workers of the industry were used as illustrations of the predetermined position of the coalminers.

In most cases, performing their professional duties, the real situation of the coalminers was fixed by doctors and hygienists, on whose shoulders there lay medical care, treatment, sanitary control and others.

The forming of the conclusions belong to them as to the two groups of causes that led to the industrial injuries and deaths: by the entrepreneur by reducing the expenditure through the use of cheap labor, the use of old technologies, saving on labor safety measures; and on the side of the coalminers through the pursuit of earnings, ignoring the safety rules. But the main reason of the group was still determined the first one.

The question of giving housing to the workers belonged to the generally unsolved in all the areas of the production. The specificity of its solution in the coal mining industry was that it was not raised at the Congresses of Miners and was not regulated by the state institutions. Therefore, its implementation was completely dependent on the will of the entrepreneur. That was why the coverage of housing issues in the scientific journals was of fragmented and narrow nature supported by the general recommendations.

Study of the workers' everyday life of the coal mining industry was conducted fragmentally. The main areas of the research can be noted the provision of coalminers with the housing and living conditions.

Much better there were analyzed the issues related to the organization of work, providing with working hands, issues of salaries and the duration of the working day.

Beyond the research there is left the issue of allocation of workers with their own habitation, dwelling characteristics of the possibilities of the different groups of workers, the issue of forming personal domestic space, nutrition issue and rest of coalminers and etc.

A small amount of the article has not given us the opportunity to bring to analyze and describe all the types of the scientific and popular researches of the time, necessitating the continuation of our scientific research.

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Translator, Senior Teacher of the Chair of Foreign Languages of Donbas State Pedagogical University, Ukraine, Slabouzh Viktoiya Vasylyvna

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**О.П. Саманцов**

**ПОВСЯКДЕННЕ ЖИТТЯ РОБІТНИКІВ КАМ'ЯНОВУГІЛЬНОЇ ГАЛУЗІ  
ДОНЕЦЬКО-ПРИДНІПРОВСЬКОГО ЕКОНОМІЧНОГО РЕГІОНУ др. пол. ХІХ –  
поч. ХХ ст. У ВІТЧИЗНЯНІЙ ІСТОРІОГРАФІЇ (др. пол. ХІХ – поч. ХХ ст.)**

*Проблематика повсякденного життя робітників увійшла до наукового обігу у нашій країні відносно недавно. Але за короткий проміжок часу вона стала однією із поширених. Така ситуація була закономірною. Цьому у значній мірі сприяла надлишкова ідеологізація життя радянського суспільства, яке видавало за межі наукового дослідження пересічну людину, простого робітника, із власними переживаннями та відчуттями. Відтак постала нагальна потреба переосмислення місця та ролі людини в історії, її економічних та соціальних мотивацій до змін.*

*Традиційно, у соціальних науках, шахтарі розглядаються як специфічна професійна група – передові учасники соціальних процесів ХХ століття та сьогодення. На те є свої причини та підстави, чисельні приклади. Але утворившись у другій половині ХІХ ст. вуглекопи ставили собі на меті покращення матеріальних умов життя за рахунок продажу своїх робочих рук, специфічних навичок та вмінь. Відірвавшись від землі вони могли реалізуватися тільки у професійній діяльності за межами села, що приводило їх до шахтарських селищ і це не залишилось по за увагою науковців.*

*Вивчення шахтарського життя та праці розпочалось одночасно із трансформацією учасників процесу вуглевидобування у професійно спрямовану осідлу групу. Утворившись у другій половині ХІХ ст. на просторах Донецького кряжу та Подніпров'я вони уособлювали собою учасників економічних відносини нового часу, що робило постійним дослідницький інтерес до цієї групи.*

*Різноманітні підходи та методи наукового аналізу орієнтували науковців на висвітлення питань не тільки участі робітників у процесі видобування вугілля, а й характеристики особливостей повсякденного життя вуглекопів. Отримані результати давали можливість реконструювати його реальні умови життя та праці. Традиційно погляди фахівців не завжди збігались, скоріше навпаки – були протилежні, але присвячені одному предмету дослідження.*

*Аналізу таких поглядів та точок зору на повсякденне життя робітників кам'яновугільної галузі й присвячена стаття.*

**Ключові слова:** *Донецько-Придніпровський економічний регіон, повсякденність, вуглекопи, історіографія, історична думка.*

**РЕЦЕНЗЕНТИ:** *Романцов В.М., д.і.н, проф.; Романцова Н.І., к.і.н., доц.*