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## **FORMATION AND ACTIVITIES OF FACTORY INSPECTION IN UKRAINIAN LANDS (1882-1918)**

The article deals with establishment and main stages of activities of the Factory Inspection in Ukrainian lands during 1882-1918 years which coincides with development of the inspectorate of the Russian Empire. The place of the Factory Inspection within the system of public authorities has been identified. Its major activities depending on various chronological periods have been highlighted. The role of Inspection in solving of “employment issue” and drafting of labor and social legislation as well as organization of control over its observance at the factories and plants has been shown. Changes which took place in the structure, staff, authorities and territory under the control of the Factory Inspection after its reorganization have been analyzed. Attention has been drawn to the lacks of the Factory Inspection activities which resulted in its inactivity and inability to solve important social problems after the revolution in the Russian Empire in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century.

**Key words:** the Factory Inspection, factory inspector, factory legislation, labor law, economic history of Ukraine, factory industry, factories and plants, employers, employees, “employment issue”, strikes, revolution

In terms of modernization in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries serfdom economy in Ukraine was transferred into industrial one which was based on the production of goods. Scientific and technological progress, bringing of new inventions to life, mechanization of labor initiated the industrial revolution in Ukrainian lands. Establishment of factories and plants which replaced manufacture caused the industrial development and economic progress. Due to social stratification in the 19<sup>th</sup> century two new different social statuses originated. They were employers and employees whose interests intersected at the factories and plants. Undue exploitation of workers, violation of their labor rights by the owners of enterprises created conditions for strikes which increased annually in the Russian Empire. This situation threatened to the violation of social and political stability within the state. That is why it had to be settled. In 1835 Derzhavna Rada of the Russian Empire (the legislative body of the Russian Empire) adopted the *Regulations on Relations between the Owners of Factories and Employees*. They were a prototype of the first factory laws. These documents first regulated wage labor and restricted child labor<sup>1</sup>. But in spite of providing terms and conditions for employment agreement, the document did not specify the mechanism of control over the compliance with the labor legislation at the factories and plants. As H. Balytskyi mentioned: “No matter how good the laws are and how well they protect the employees’ rights they would be always so perfect and good on the paper if their enforcement were not guaranteed and violation were not punished<sup>2</sup>.” Therefore, one of the current issues for the government of the Russian Empire was to draft and implement labor legislation in the industry. And consequently, in 1859 the Special Temporary Commission was established in Saint Petersburg to consider and study the reasons for labor disputes between the employers and employees in the courts. In 1860 the similar Commission was formed in Moscow. The activities of the Saint Petersburg Commission resulted in publication *Draft Rules for the Factories and Plants in Saint Petersburg and District*<sup>3</sup>. They provided recommendations to restrict labor of juveniles up to the age of 12; to reduce hours of work; to introduce social insurance in the event of maim or death at the enterprise, and to implement the position of the factory inspector. The last provision was raised for the first time. The Draft Rules were forwarded for evaluation and approval to the Governors General and employers, who rejected them, which means that they were returned for further improvement. The Emancipation Reform of 1861 and Zemstvo Reform of 1864 abandoned this issue. But strikes during 1860-1870 years reminded on the problem.

<sup>1</sup> Литвинов-Фалинский, В.П. (1904). *Фабричное законодательство и фабричная инспекция в России*. 2-е издание, исправленное и дополненное. Санкт-Петербург: Типография А. С. Суворина, 1-2.

<sup>2</sup> Балицкий, И.В. (1907). *Какая должна быть фабричная инспекция*. Москва: Моховая, д. Бенкендорф, книжный магазин Д.П. Ефимова, 3.

<sup>3</sup> Объяснительная записка (1860). *Проект правил для фабрик и заводов в Санкт-Петербурге и уезде*.

In 1870s the Special Commissions of M. P. Ihnatev (1870-1872) and P. O. Valuev (1870-1872), who worked within the Ministry of Internal Affairs, drafted factory labor legislation. They mainly put an emphasis on laws the enforcement of which had to be controlled by police and violation of which was punished by the courts<sup>1</sup>.

Thus, when in December 1880 the crisis of overproduction burst out some factories and plants reduced production which resulted in dismissal of some workers. The agenda included “employment issues” again and that time discussions on restriction of child and women’s labor started. Therefore, drafted documents were retrieved and with participation the Ministry of Finance, the Ministry of Justice and the Ministry of Internal Affairs a new Law of June 1, 1892 *On Minors Working at the Plants, Factories and Manufactories* was drafted and signed by Alexander III<sup>2</sup>. He forbade the labor of children up to the age of 12 and restricted the labor of juveniles between the ages of 12-15 up to 8-hour working day. The adoption and implementation of this Law needed the establishment of the Special Public Authority which would have supervised its observance at the enterprises. In this regard, it was decided to form the Factory Inspection which aimed at controlling the compliance with the factory legislation during production process at the factories and plants. According to M.I. Tuhán-Baranovskiy “The factory inspector had to become the major actor who would create a new type of relations between the employers and employees at the factories”<sup>3</sup>.

The same procedure for establishment and development of labor legislation in Western Europe had preceded the establishment of the Factory Inspection in the Russian Empire. The factory inspections in the following countries had been formed earlier than in the Russian Empire: England (1833), Germany (1853), Denmark (1873), France (1874), Spain (1876), Switzerland (1877) and then Austro-Hungary (1883), Italy (1886), Belgium and Holland (1889), Portugal (1891), Norway (1892)<sup>4</sup>. It proves that the European economic process did not influence Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire. Sometimes, it was necessary to improve the factory legislation, particularly the labor one in Ukrainian lands within the Russian Empire.

Taking into account a high social status of the Factory Inspection in the industry of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries, the leading economists, lawyers and scholars focused their attention on it and had different views at its activities. Some of them stood for the Factory Inspection as an important public body aimed at the settlement of labor disputes and solving of “employment issues”, the others criticized it and referred to the factory inspectors’ inability to influence undue exploitation of workers by employers at the factories and plants which was the reason for future strikes. The interest in the Factory Inspection arose from the first days of its existence. During 1885-1886 the first factory inspectors such as I.I. Yanzhul, P.O. Peskov, Ya.T. Mykhailovskiy and I.O. Novytskyi provided their recommendations on the improvement of this public body in their annual reports. Nowadays their works are the sources in this field. At the same time attention shall be drawn to the works of V.P. Lytvynov-Falynskiy, O.O. Mykulin, M.M. Tuhán-Baranovskiy, Ye. M. Dementev. I.V. Balytskyi, V.P. Bezobrazov, M.H. Lunts and L.D. Trotskyi who also analyzed the organization of the Factory Inspection activities. They mentioned its inability to satisfy the workers’ interests in the legislative manner which contributed to the spread of strikes at the factories and plants in the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Such Soviet scholars as A.M. Pankratova, A.F. Vovchik, S.I. Kaplun negatively evaluate the activities of the Factory Inspection. Ukrainian researchers of the Soviet period V.V. Krutykov and V. Zykova first analyzed and structured unpublished archive sources in this field. Among modern scientists the Russian scholars A.Yu. Volodin, V.P. Bogdanov, T.Ya. Velto, S.R. Glazunov who launched the collective project “The Institute of Factory Inspection in Russia (1882-1914)” are on the top of the list. All aspects of the establishment and activities of the Factory Inspection in the entire Russian Empire was analyzed within the project. The major attention was drawn to the guberniyas which territory coincided with the borders of the modern Russian state. National historiography is poorer and represented by the works of modern scholars who only partly address the issue of the activities of the Factory

<sup>1</sup> Глазунов, С.Р. (2011). К вопросу о создании института фабричной инспекции в России в конце XIX века. *Вестник Тюменского государственного университета*, 2, 97.

<sup>2</sup> О малолетних, работающих на заводах, фабриках и мануфактурах (1882). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 2, № 931*.

<sup>3</sup> Туган-Барановский, М.Н. (1997). Избранное. *Русская фабрика в прошлом и настоящем*. Историческое развитие русской фабрики в XIX веке. Москва: РОССПЭН, 390-391.

<sup>4</sup> *Энциклопедический словарь Ф. А. Брокгауза, И. А. Ефрона* (1902). Т. 35 (69). Санкт-Петербург: Типография Акц. Общ. Брокгауз-Ефрон, 181-194.

Inspection in Ukrainian lands. It is essential to note O.M. Sudakova, T. Lazanska, S.O. Bila, T.S. Vodotyka, Yu. Kholod and others among them.

In this regard, the issue of establishment and further operation of the Factory Inspection in Ukrainian lands during the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries does not attract attention of the national and foreign scholars. Though, the research of its activities is directly connected with the studies of employees as a certain social class, “employment issues” in general and the issues related to creation of conditions for the revolutionary movement which damaged the Russian Empire. The Factory Inspection had to become a mechanism which decreased the social tension in the leading cities and industrial centers. Therefore, historical review of establishment and operation of the Factory Inspection in Ukrainian lands is important for a general study of this issue and presentation of a complete historical process, particularly unknown aspects of economic and social history of Ukraine in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. In addition, an essential amount of sources, which are kept in the archive funds of the Central State Historical Archives of Kyiv (fund 575 “Office of the district factory inspector of Kyiv district”, fund 574 “Office of the senior factory inspector of Kyiv Guberniya”, fund 2090 “Office of the district factory inspector of Kharkiv district”), provide an opportunity to view at some severe social and economic issues related to the history of Ukrainian citizens during the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> – early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries all over again.

The core of the research is a chronological approach which allows to structure the main stages of the Factory Inspection and to determine its tasks during different periods in terms of the general historical processes in the state. In particular, the Russian scholar A.Yu. Volodin points out four stages of the Factory Inspection development within the Russian Empire. They are the following: i) 1882-1893 – formation of the Factory Inspection; ii) 1894-1904 – reforming of the inspectorate, caused by the activities of the Minister of Finance S.Yu. Witte; iii) 1905-1913 – examination of the Factory Inspection efficiency during the revolution of 1905-1907 years and the pre-war period; iv) 1914-1918 – operation of the Factory Inspection during the First World War, its participation in mobilization of industry and its decline after the Russian Revolution<sup>1</sup>. The Ukrainian researcher T.S. Vodotyka emphasizes three stages. They coincide with the first three stages of A.Yu. Volodin without mentioning the last one, which does not accomplish the chronology of the inspectorate activities<sup>2</sup>. Therefore, we propose to use the first approach.

During the first stage (1882-1893) the Factory Inspection as a certain public institute was established to supervise mainly child and women’s labor, and to draft labor legislation. The Law *On Minors Working at the Factories, Plants and Manufactures* which was adopted on June 1, 1882 and had to become effective until May 1, 1884 initiated the activities of the Factory Inspection<sup>3</sup>. The following issues were raised by the Law: which authority a new formed body had to be referred to? who had to head it? what territory and industrial enterprises had to be under the control of the inspection? Taking into account the fact that M.Kh. Bunge, who was the Minister of Finance from 1881 to 1886, initiated the draft of the law of June 1, 1882 the Factory Inspection was under the jurisdiction of the Ministry of Finance and accountable to the Department of Trade and Manufacture<sup>4</sup>. But when I.O. Vyshnehradskyi headed the Ministry of Finance from 1887 to 1892 he supported an idea of the Deputy Minister K.V. Pleve to transfer the Factory Inspection into the Ministry of Internal Affairs<sup>5</sup>.

After adopting the Law *On Minors Working at the Factories, Plants and Manufactures* and approving the establishment of the Factory Inspection there was a lack of professional staff. According to Ya.T. Mykhailovskyi the factory inspector had to possess economic, legislative and technical knowledge; to have higher education; to understand factory issues<sup>6</sup>. During the meeting in Moscow on June 27, 1882, Ye. M. Andreev was elected as the first major factory inspector. He held this office until resignation in April 28, 1883. Ya.T. Mykhailovskyi was the next one who occupied this position from 1883 to 1894. As the

<sup>1</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2007). Фабричная инспекция в России (1882-1904 гг.). *Отечественная история*, 1, 24.

<sup>2</sup> Водотика, Т.С. (2013). Документи фабричної інспекції в ЦДІАК України як джерело до вивчення історії підприємництва в другій половині XIX – на початку XX ст. *Архіви України*, 1 (283), 169.

<sup>3</sup> О малолетних, работающих на заводах, фабриках и мануфактурах (1882). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, T.2, № 931*.

<sup>4</sup> О малолетних, работающих на заводах, фабриках и мануфактурах (1882). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, T.2, № 931*.

<sup>5</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 37.

<sup>6</sup> Михайловский, Я.Т. (1882). О деятельности фабричной инспекции. *Отчет за 1885 г. главного фабричного инспектора Михайловского*. Санкт-Петербург, 2.

Factory Inspection operated only in two guberniyas during the first year, I.I. Yanzhul and P.O. Peskov headed the factory inspectorates in Moscow and Vladimir guberniyas respectively. In a year they drafted reports with recommendations on the further operation of the Factory Inspection and drew public attention to this institution<sup>1</sup>.

In 1884 the Factory Inspection expanded its control over new territories and increased employees. Under the Law of June 12, 1884 *On School Education of Minor Employees at the Factories, Plants and Manufactures and on the Factory Inspection* this institution supervised labor and teaching of children in other guberniyas of the Russian Empire except for Petersburg, Moscow and Vladimir ones. Upon the instructions of M.Kh. Bunge, to achieve an easy control and organization of work industrial regions which consisted of several guberniyas were united into factory districts on the model of British district factory system. In this regard, Moscow, Vladimir, Petersburg, Kazan, Voronezh, Kharkiv, Kyiv, Vilno and Warsaw factory districts were formed. The further study will focus on Ukrainian lands which are represented by two districts. In particular, Kyiv factory district included Kyiv, Volyn, Podillia and Kherson guberniyas and in 1891 Bessarabia and Tavriia guberniyas adhered to it. Kharkiv factory district consisted of Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Chernihiv, Poltava guberniyas and the region of Viisko Donske. The district engineer of the South-Western mining district controlled compliance with and execution of legislation related to labor and teaching of minor employees at the factories and plants<sup>2</sup>.

Except for the territory which the Factory Inspection was in charge of, the Law of June 12, 1884 determined the number of employees at the inspectorate. Ya.T. Mykhailovskii continued being the major factory inspector. District inspector and his assistant were appointed to every factory district at the local level. In 1884 I.O. Novytskyi became Kyiv district inspector after returning from Latvia<sup>3</sup>. V.V. Sviatoslavskiy was elected as Kharkiv factory inspector. He held this position from 1884 to 1886<sup>4</sup>. In 1884 the Factory Inspection comprised of 9 district factory inspectors, 9 assistants and one major factory inspector. From 1884 they were financed from the Government budget through submission of the annual estimation in the amount of 78,500 rubles to the Department of Trade and Manufactures of the Ministry of Finance<sup>5</sup>. *Guidelines for the Officials of the Factory Inspection Regarding Control over the Compliance with Regulations Related to Minors Working at the Plants, Factories and Manufactures and Rules for Employers* which were published on February 26, 1885 stipulated the duties of factory inspectors and their assistants<sup>6</sup>.

The Factory Inspection was reorganized in 1886 when I.O. Vyshnehradkyi held an office of the Minister of Finance. On June 3, 1886 after revision of two drafts *On Increase of the Employees of the Factory Inspection and Rules of Control over the Factory Industry Facilities and Mutual Relations between Employers and Employees* introduced by the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Internal Affairs respectively the Law which increased the number of factory assistants up to 10 (upon the request of the Minister of Finance in the first part of the draft law) was adopted. But the second part of the Law is more interesting. It deals with the establishment of a new public collegial body which is Guberniya Prysutstviia on Factory Issues. They subordinated to the local administration headed by the Governor and were accountable to the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Its members were the Vice-Governor, prosecutor of the district court, the head of gendarme department, district factory inspector and his assistant. If needed, guberniya doctors, guberniya engineer, architect and mechanic could be attracted to the meetings of Prysutstviia. District factory inspector and his assistant administered the clerical office of Guberniya Prysutstviia. The duties of Guberniya Prysutstviia on Factory Issues were the following: to issue obligatory regulations on such issues as health protection, provision of the first aid, the employees' observance of the

<sup>1</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 40.

<sup>2</sup> О школьном обучении малолетних, работающих на заводах, фабриках и мануфактурах, о продолжительности их работы и о фабричной инспекции (1884). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи. III. Т. 4, № 2316.*

<sup>3</sup> Новицкий, И.О. (1886). *Отчет за 1885 г. Фабричного инспектора Киевского округа.* Санкт-Петербург: Типография В. Киршбаума.

<sup>4</sup> Святловский, В.В. (1886). *Харьковский фабричный округ. Отчет за 1885 г. фабричного инспектора Харьковского округа В. В. Святловского.* Санкт-Петербург.

<sup>5</sup> О школьном обучении малолетних, работающих на заводах, фабриках и мануфактурах, о продолжительности их работы и о фабричной инспекции (1884). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III. Т. 4, № 2316.*

<sup>6</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 47.

moral values at the factories and plants, control over modernization of industrial enterprises; to consider reports from factory inspectors and claims against their orders, and to cancel them in case of need; to inform senior inspectors on offences committed by junior inspectors<sup>1</sup>. Since 1886 any activities of the Factory Inspection was accountable to Guberniya Prysutstviia on Factory Issues irrespective of the fact that these governmental institutions were within different ministries. Thus, we can observe an attempt to pass the Factory Inspection from the Ministry of Finance to the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Ukraine and its subordination to the Governor's power.

Though, comparing to previous years the authorities of the Factory Inspection were significantly broadened in accordance with the *Rules on Control over the the Factory Inspection Facilities* of June 3, 1886. Except for control over labor of children and their basic education it had to: i) control the compliance with the *Rules on Mutual Relations* which were based on the labor agreement and free labor of employees recorded in labor books; ii) disseminate regulations and decisions which were made by Guberniya Prysutstviia on Factory Issues and supervise their execution; iii) consider and approve rates, time sheets, schedules and rules of conduct which were approved by the administration of factories and plants and further disseminated among employees to be observed; iv) mediate in settlement of labor disputes between the employers and employees; v) make reports against offenders and forward them to the Guberniya Prysutstviia, magistrates and examining magistrate; witness at trials if required<sup>2</sup>.

Therefore, only in 1886 the Factory Inspection was transformed into a public authority with specific tasks and personnel. In spite of the fact that according to the law its jurisdiction expanded over the entire territory of the Russian Empire, this body did not start operating in Ukrainian lands because of the lack of professionals. The functioning of the Factory Inspection was delayed. The major function of the inspectors was mediation during settlement of labor disputes; investigation of the reasons for strikes at the factories and plants on the basis of claims and applications; supervision over the development of industry in general. Inability to use compulsion and to bring to liability for violation of legislation made a factory inspector a mediator in labor disputes. At the first stage the factory inspectors gained experiences, improved the mechanism of work, formed clerical offices, increased the employees.

The second stage with a duration from 1894 to 1904 is also interesting and intense. It related to the reforming of the Factory Inspection. Another change in structure and tasks of the inspectorate is connected with changes at central and local governmental bodies of the Russian Empire. In 1894 Nikolai II came to power. This situation caused transformations of personnel and the next change in domestic policy. Two years before in 1892, S.Yu. Witte became the Minister of Finance who comparing to I.O. Vyshnehradskyi considered the Factory Inspection to be an efficient tool for rebuilding factory life in the Empire. Therefore, his appointment to the position of the Ministry of Finance was a key date which meant the beginning of the second stage of the Factory Inspection activities.

The changes started when on June 8, 1893 Derzhavna Rada instructed the Minister of Finance and the Minister of Internal Affairs to expand the Law of June 3, 1886 at all the guberniyas of the Russian Empire where it was not implemented. Afterwards, on March 14, 1894 the Law *On Reorganization of the Factory Inspection and Positions of Guberniya Mechanics* was adopted. It changed the territory of the inspection's supervision, as well as the structure and authorities of the inspection. Except for Saint Petersburg, Moscow, Vladimir, Warsaw and Petrakivsk guberniyas the *Rules of Control over the Factory Industry Facilities and Mutual Relations between Employers and Employees* extended to the following 13 guberniyas: Volyn, Hrodna, Kyiv, Kostroma, Livonia, Nizhny Novgorod, Podillia, Riazan, Tver, Kharkiv, Kherson, Esthonia and Yaroslavl where the factory inspectors had to carry out their activities. Thus, district system of control over the industry of 1884 was abolished and replaced by guberniya one. Taking into account territorial changes, the structure of the inspection was realigned. Position of the factory inspector was abolished. District factory inspectors were renamed to senior factory inspectors which number increased up to 18 persons according to the number of guberniyas which had to be supervised. They were assisted by 10 filing clerks who headed the clerical offices. District inspectors' assistants were transformed into local factory inspectors which number increased up to 125 persons. In addition, a new position, a

<sup>1</sup> По проекту Правил о надзоре за заведениями фабричной промышленности и о взаимных отношениях фабрикантов и рабочих и об увеличении числа чинов фабричной инспекции (1888). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 6, № 3769.*

<sup>2</sup> По проекту Правил о надзоре за заведениями фабричной промышленности и о взаимных отношениях фабрикантов и рабочих и об увеличении числа чинов фабричной инспекции (1888). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 6, № 3769.*

candidate for the factory inspector, was introduced. It was intended to train 10 of them<sup>1</sup>. Senior and local inspectors were accountable to Guberniya Prysutstva on Factory and Mining Issues which meant that they subordinated to guberniya administrations. During creation of a new personnel of the Factory Inspection there was a lack of professionals.

Another novelty of the Law of March 14, 1894 was abolishment of the office of guberniya mechanics and transition of their authorities to the Factory Inspection which could expand its duties in such a way. As a result, except for control over observance of legality of labor conditions for children and women the factory inspectors had to supervise technical conditions of steam boilers at the enterprises, to record their number and to collect a boiler tax which had to be paid for 3 years but existed till 1917. The officials of the inspection earned wage from this tax. In addition, the factory inspectors were obligated to collect, check and summarize statistical data on the industry development<sup>2</sup>.

On June 11, 1894 the Minister of Finance S.Yu. Witte issued an *Order to the Officials of the Factory Inspection* which eliminated the Instruction published in 1885. The order provided the mentioned duties of the factory inspectors and duplicated other sections of the Law of March 14, 1894<sup>3</sup>.

To exercise control over the activities of the factory inspector of June 7, 1899 the Main Prysutstvie on Factory and Mining Issues was established as a collegial body under the Department of Trade and Manufacture of the Ministry of Finance. Its task was to issue general rules and instructions for the factory officials in order to unify normative regulation of the Factory Inspection activities, to control its activities, to check the compliance with labor legislation<sup>4</sup>.

In 1899 a new district system was established to combine and structure the officials of the Factory Inspection. That time 6 factory districts such as Petersburg, Moscow, Povolzhye, Kharkiv, Kyiv and Warsaw ones were emphasized. They were headed by the district factory inspectors whose activities did not depend on the factory administration and police<sup>5</sup>. They were subordinated to the District Prysutstvie on Factory and Mining Issues which activities was regulated by the decisions and regulations of the Main Prysutstvie on Factory and Mining Issues. Kyiv factory district consisted of Kyiv, Podillia, Volyn, Kherson, Bessarabia, Tavriia, Chernihiv, Poltava, Mohyliv, Voronezh, Kaluha, Kursk, Kutaisi, Orel, Penza, Tambov, Tifliandia, Kharkiv, Katerynoslav, Chornomorsk, Don guberniyas and Sukhumi district<sup>6</sup>.

On May 30, 1903, subordination of senior and local factory inspectors to the Governors was legalized. The Governor obtained the right to appoint and allocate inspectors to the districts, to require reports from them, to contest their orders if they contradicted current legislation. District Inspection was under the jurisdiction of the Department of Industry of the Ministry of Finance and executed the regulations of the Main Prysutstvie on Factory and Mining Issues. Its task was to audit local officials of the Inspection and to summarize statistical data in annual reports<sup>7</sup>.

Therefore, during the second stage of the Factory Inspection activities the territory of its control was changed, its structure was reorganized, the number of employees significantly increased, the authorities

<sup>1</sup> О преобразовании фабричной инспекции и должностей губернских механиков и о распространении действия правил о надзоре за заведениями фабрично-заводской промышленности и о взаимных отношениях фабрикантов и рабочих (1898). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 14, № 10421*.

<sup>2</sup> Высочайше утвержденное мнение Государственного совета о преобразовании фабричной инспекции и должностей губернских механиков и о распространении действия правил о надзоре за заведениями фабрично-заводской промышленности и о взаимных отношениях фабрикантов и рабочих (1898). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 14, № 10421*.

<sup>3</sup> Наказ чинам фабричной инспекции Департамента торговли и мануфактур Министерства финансов о правах и обязанностях фабричной инспекции от 11 июня 1894 г. (1894). *Центральный державний історичний архів м. Києва України. Ф. 574, оп. 1, спр. 2., арк. 6-12*.

<sup>4</sup> Раскин, Д.И. (2001). *Высшие и центральные государственные учреждения России. 1801-1917*. Т.2. Санкт-Петербург: Наука, 175.

<sup>5</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 68.

<sup>6</sup> Зикова, В. (1960). Документальні матеріали архівних фондів: «Канцелярія окружного фабричного округу» і «Канцелярія старшого фабричного інспектора Київської губернії». *Науково-інформаційний бюлетень архівного управління УРСР, 6 (44), 61-72*.

<sup>7</sup> Высочайше утвержденный всеподданнейший доклад Министров внутренних дел и Финансов о порядке и пределах подчинения чинов фабричной инспекции начальникам губерний и о некоторых изменениях во внутренней организации ее от 4 июня 1903 г. (1905). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III, Т. 23, № 23041*.

were broadened. At that time its activities extended to all Ukrainian guberniyas within the Russian Empire. Two-level (guberniya and district) system of the factory control was created. It transformed the Factory Inspection into the real public mechanism which regulated the factory life and controlled compliance with labor legislation.

The third stage of the Factory Inspection activities (1905-1913) coincided with the revolution of 1905-1907 years and prewar training. Regular changes in legislation, structural reorganization, lack of professional staff, a low number of employees at the Factory Inspection interfered with its work in normal conditions which resulted in a negative impact on the performance of its duties. Dissatisfaction with working conditions and undue exploitation increased the number of striking workers annually. Strike at Kyiv machine factory “Hreter and Kryvanek” in December 1903 was significant. The Government was worried by strikes which took place at most enterprises of Kyiv in July 1903<sup>1</sup>. Only in January 1905 almost 400 thousand workers struck in the entire Russian Empire to show their protest.

Unsolved “employment issues” and lack of effective labor legislation resulted in revolution during 1905-1907 years in the Russian Empire which started with “Bloody Sunday” of January 9, 1905 in Petersburg. This day, a peaceful assembly of thousands workers who forwarded to the tsar with the Petition in order to improve the conditions of life was shot. More than 200 people were killed, hundreds were wounded what significantly irritated all the workers at factories and plants. Strikes expanded to all the industrial cities of the Russian Empire. Responsibility for the beginning of the revolution was partly conferred on the Factory Inspection because of its omission to act.

In light of these events on April 4, 1905, the meeting of the factory inspectors took place in Saint Petersburg under the guidance of M.P. Lanhovyi, who headed the Department of Industry of the Ministry of Finance, and the Minister of Finance V.M. Kokovtsov<sup>2</sup>. Decision was taken to cancel punishment of workers of factories and plants for protests, strikes, nonattendance, as well as early termination of the employment agreement<sup>3</sup>. At the meeting the factory inspectors argued against repressions over the employees and proposed to fulfil the function of mediators and conciliators in labor disputes without using administrative compulsion of police.

After establishing the Ministry of Trade and Industry on October 27, 1905, the Factory Inspection and the Main Prysutstvie on Factory and Mining Issues transferred into its jurisdiction<sup>4</sup>. Afterwards, the Factory Inspection activities did not change its structure. Except for the mentioned duties it drafted labor and social legislation. But it failed the efficiency check in the revolutionary years.

The last stage of the Factory Inspection (1914-1918) coincided with the period of the First World War and decline of the Russian Empire. It addressed the participation of the factory inspectors in technical support of mobilization; evacuation of industrial enterprises; control over transformation to the production of military technique.

In the early years of the war because of the mobilization on October 19, 1915, the *Order on Suspension of Some Articles* in the *Charter of Industrial Labor* until the end of the war was issued. The Order increased working hours at factories and plants, allowed child labor and night shifts. It is essential to mention that along with others the factory inspectors were also drafted into the army and their families received allowance for their military service<sup>5</sup>.

One of the main tasks of the Factory Inspection during the war was adjustment of factory enterprises to the performance of military contracts<sup>6</sup>. The inspectors had to evacuate factories and plants from Warsaw and Kyiv factory districts where war took place. Establishments which could not be evacuated were closed<sup>7</sup>.

<sup>1</sup> О забастовке на заводе «Грeтер и Криванек» в декабре 1903 г. (1903). *Центральний державний iсторичний архiв м. Києва України. Ф. 575, оп. 1, спр. 370, 25 арк.*

<sup>2</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 118.

<sup>3</sup> Об отмене карательных статей закона, касающихся стачек и досрочного расторжения договоров о найме (1905). *Центральний державний iсторичний архiв м. Києва України. Ф. 575, оп. 1, спр. 413, 9.*

<sup>4</sup> Именной Высочайший указ, данный Сенату об учреждении Министерства торговли и промышленности (1905). *Полное собрание законов Российской империи III. Т. 25. № 26851.*

<sup>5</sup> О выдаче пособий семьям мобилизованных служащих фабричной инспекции Киевского округа (1915). *Центральний державний iсторичний архiв м. Києва України. Ф. 575, оп. 1, спр. 775, 144 арк.*

<sup>6</sup> Переписка с Министром торговли и промышленности о переводе промышленных предприятий на выполнение военных заказов (1905). *Центральний державний iсторичний архiв м. Києва України. Ф. 575, оп. 1, спр. 766, 70 арк.*

<sup>7</sup> Копии журналов заседаний исполнительной комиссии Волынского губернского эвакуационного комитета.

Later supervision over Warsaw district was suspended. In August 1915 Kyiv district inspector V.F. Svyrskyi was appointed to be in charge of evacuation of enterprises from Kyiv factory district by the Minister of Trade and Industry<sup>1</sup>. Upon the instruction of the All-Russian Zemstvo Union he had to equip military hospital in Kyiv<sup>2</sup>.

The situation was more complicated after the end of the war because of the economic crisis. Terrible living conditions, exploitation, low wage resulted in mass dissatisfaction of workers who struck. Revolutions in February and then in October 1917 initiated decline of the Russian Empire and as a consequence of all central, superior and local authorities. In March 1918 positions of factory inspectors were liquidated under the Regulation of the Rada Narodnykh Komisariv (the Council of People's Commissars – governmental institution in the USSR)<sup>3</sup>. According to the Decree of the Rada Narodnykh Komisariv of the Ukrainian SSR dated March 19, 1919, the Factory Inspection was replaced by the Inspection of Workers which was later renamed to the Labor Inspection<sup>4</sup>.

To sum up it is essential to mention that the Factory Inspection has overcome a long way of formation and development. In the beginning, entrepreneurs, owners of factories and plants including the factory administration were against its establishment. Due to M.Kh. Bunge the Factory Inspection was implemented by the Law of June 1, 1882 under the Ministry of Finance but in fact it started operating only in 1884. On initial stage it controlled only 3 guberniyas of the Russian Empire. They were Saint Petersburg, Moscow and Vladimir ones. Ukrainian lands were controlled by it only in 1894 when the Minister of Finance S.Yu. Witte reorganized it by increasing the employees of the inspectorate and changing its competence. The Factory Inspection supervised compliance with labor and social legislation within Kyiv and Kharkiv factory districts which consisted of all the Ukrainian lands under the control of the Russian Empire.

Regular changes in legislation, lack of qualified personnel, structural reorganization retarded the activities of the Factory Inspection. It could not fulfill the tasks because of the low number of employees. In addition, fight between the Ministry of Finance and the Ministry of Internal Affairs for the jurisdiction over the Factory Inspection had a negative impact on its operation. Lack of the right to bring to liability for violation of labor legislation transformed factory inspectors into technical supervisors and mediators of labor disputes. It resulted in the uncertainty of “employment issue” which had a partial effect on the beginning of revolution during 1905-1907 and 1917-1920 that caused decline of the Russian Empire.

But in spite of the mentioned problems the Factory Inspection had a relatively high status in the industry of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> the early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Its activities was in a high light of the reputable economists, lawyers and scholars of that time. A long time it was the major leverage over the solving of “employment issue” and a mechanism of prevention of social revolt in the state. Moreover, documents of the factory inspectors have not been evaluated yet. But they are the major source to study the development of the factory industry and social and economic issues of the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> the early 20<sup>th</sup> century. Therefore, we need to pay attention to the existence and activities of such a public authority as the Factory Inspection.

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<sup>1</sup> О назначении окружного инспектора Киевского фабричного округа главноуполномоченным эвакуацией промышленных предприятий округа. Об эвакуации предприятий в связи с войной (1914). *Центральный державний історичний архів м. Києва України*. Ф. 575, оп. 1, спр. 752, 122 арк.

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<sup>3</sup> Володин, А.Ю. (2009). *История фабричной инспекции в России 1882-1914 гг.* Москва: Российская политическая энциклопедия (РОССПЭН), 125.

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