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The scientific monograph presents the global trends and prospects of socio-economic development of Ukraine. General questions of economics and enterprise management, regional economics, marketing, modern management, general pedagogy and history of pedagogy, theory and methods of vocational education, general questions of historical sciences, and so on are considered. The publication is intended for scientists, educators, graduate and undergraduate students, as well as a general audience.

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CHAPTER «PEDAGOGICAL SCIENCES»

EDUCATION IN THE UKRAINIAN FOREST-STEPPE PROVINCES OF THE RUSSIAN EMPIRE IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE XIX CENTURY

Kostiantin Levchuk¹

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Abstract. This chapter is devoted to the formation of the education system in a number of Left Bank and Right Bank Ukrainian lands in the first half of the XIX century. The purpose of our study is to study the educational policy of tsarism towards ethnic, religious and social groups living in Ukraine. General scientific and historical research methods were used, including a systematic approach, the principles of objectivity and comprehensiveness, historical-genetic and synchronous methods. Statistical data published in official publications of the Russian Empire were the main source of information on public education. In particular, the “Military-Statistical Review of the Russian Empire analyzed in detail the social, economic, religious development of each province as in the mid-nineteenth century.

The historiography of the problem is analyzed. It is noted that the attention of researchers is focused on the study of certain elements of public education, the level of education of social classes, national minorities, the formation and development of higher education. Study of general features of educational policy of the state in the provinces of Forest-Steppe Ukraine remains outside the scope of scientific research and its impact on the formation of the foundations of national identity of the Ukrainian people, public struggle for equal and fair nature of all levels of education.

It was found out that the system of educational institutions was formed at the beginning of the XIX century. in the Russian Empire. It did not

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guarantee the right to free and unrestricted access to education for all social groups. The tsarist struggle against the influence of the Polish aristocracy on educational processes in the provinces of the Right Bank of Ukraine strengthened the Russification policy under reactionary-conservative slogans. Education becomes an instrument of the policy of the autocracy and is aimed at protecting the existing feudal system. It is recognized that the opportunity to receive education directly depended on the social status and place of the person in the hierarchy. The vast majority of Ukrainian serfs did not have the opportunity to teach their children at all, as their education depended on the good will of the landlords and was not regulated by the state.

It is established that the development of higher education in the Forest-Steppe Ukraine during the first half of the XIX century testified to the complete dependence of the educational policy of the autocracy on the will of the autocrat. The founding of Kharkiv University took place in line with the Enlightenment traditions in 1805, spread in Europe under the influence of Napoleon's conquests. However, universities lost their self-government, freedom of teaching and became completely dependent on state funding during the reign of Nicholas I. The university administration paid considerable attention to the supervision of students and their discipline.

It is concluded that the Ukrainian intelligentsia represents the interests of the oppressed people. They focused their energy on studying the history, culture, language and customs of the people, which in turn led to the politicization of the protest and the emergence of the Ukrainian national-educational movement.

1. Introduction

The relevance of our study is that it is important to rethink educational laws in the context of educational reform in Ukraine. It is also necessary to determine the strategy for the development of education in the country, and for this you need to thoroughly analyze, summarize and creatively use all the accumulated historical experience.

The object of the study was the Ukrainian society in its ethnic composition in most cases, including Kyiv, Podillya, Volyn, Poltava, Chernihiv, Kharkiv provinces of the Russian Empire in the first half of the XIX century.

The purpose of our study is to study the features of public education in the Ukrainian lands. The educational policy of the autocracy on certain

classes, social and ethnic groups of the population is analyzed, the process of founding and development of Kharkiv and Kyiv universities – centers of elite national self-consciousness is revealed, normative documents (statutes) of educational institutions of different levels and forms of organization the middle of the XIX century.

General scientific and special historical methods were used during the writing of the monograph. In particular, the systematic approach, which is based on the principles of multifactorial conditionality, allowed to take into account the influence of political, social, cultural and economic factors on the development of education in the lands of forest-steppe Ukraine. Emphasis was placed on identifying the nature and diversity of the relationship between tsarist policy in education and other components of social life in accordance with the principles of objectivity and comprehensiveness. Synchronous, historical-genetic, historical-systemic method allowed to study the phenomenon in development.

The structure of the work is determined by the purpose and objectives of the study. The historiography and source base of the research were analyzed, the range of tasks that were not solved by previous researchers was outlined. The next section focuses on the peculiarities of the educational policy of the autocracy in the Ukrainian lands. The ideology and practice of autocracy in the field of public education in Ukraine are considered. Particular attention was paid to the formation of university education and its impact on the emergence of the Ukrainian national educational movement.

2. Analysis of recent research and publications

The study of the history of the formation of the system of public education in the forest-steppe Ukraine in the first half of the XIX century is based on documents and materials of different origins. The study of the history of the establishment of a system of public education in the Ukrainian forest-steppe provinces in the first half of the XIX century is based on documents and materials of different origins. As the information base of the offered section were used statistics on the state of education of the population in the provinces of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine, published in 10 and 12 volumes of the “Military Statistical Review of the Russian Empire” [1; 2; 3; 4; 5; 6]. Almost simultaneously with this publication, the Statistical Committee was established under the Ministry of the Interior on the basis of the Statistical Office and the

Lustration Committee for the Western Provinces in 1852. Since 1855, the provinces have received updated rules for the collection and processing of statistical information, which generally replicate and detail the approaches taken by officers of the General Staff. As a result, statistical reviews of the Russian Empire became more analytical and informative [7; 8; 9].

An important source of statistical data on the socio-economic development of the provinces of the forest-steppe Ukraine of the second half of the 50's – early 60's of the XIX century are “Commemorative Books” prepared by the provincial statistical committees on the basis of information collected for the government's Statistical Committee and published for the general public in local printing houses. In order to gain popularity among local readers, the texts acquired a journalistic and descriptive character, and a number of statistical data related to the activities of the Ministry of the Internal remained unpublished for censorship reasons [10; 11].

It is known that in pre-revolutionary Russia there was no single piece of legislation that would cover the entire field of education. Laws regulated the activities of certain types and levels: the provisions of the primary public school, the statutes of gymnasiums and schools, university statutes, and etc. To better understand the problem, we analyzed such types of legal sources as legislative acts of a general imperial nature, which covered the central links of the Russian education system [12].

An in-depth study of the process of creation and activity of Kharkiv and Kyiv universities would be impossible without the scientific achievements of their first researchers. Meticulous analysis of the prehistory of educational institutions, characteristics of the first teachers and rectors, the dynamics of changes in the social composition of students under the influence of educational policy of the autocracy – all this allows us to use their work not only for historiographical analysis but also as sources of information about the educational environment [13; 14].

Modern analysis of the development of the public education system in the northeast of Ukraine in the period XVIII – first half of the XIX century allowed to identify key regional features of its development. We must agree with the authors' conclusion on the strengthening the state regulation of educational institutions in the first half of the nineteenth century [15].

The history of the formation and functioning of military education in the Ukrainian lands, in particular, cadet corps, was studied by A. Makhinko

[16]. The scientist focused on the fact that from the 30s to the 60s-70s of the XIX century. Cadet corps were the only type of institution that supplemented the officer corps with military specialists.

The study of the history of gymnasium education, primarily as a type of urban educational institutions for full secondary education and preparation to university, became the subject of scientific research V. Milko [17]. The author meticulously, using a significant number of sources and literature analyzed the legal framework for regulating the process of creation and development of gymnasiums in the Russian Empire in the XIX century. The main attention is paid to the system of management of secondary educational institutions operating in Ukrainian cities.

Features of the policy of the Russian Empire on schooling of national minorities of the Right Bank of Ukraine during the XIX century revealed in the monograph by Y. Polishchuk. The researcher noted the Polish education abolition as autocracy revenge for the active participation of the Polish right-wing nobility in the uprising of 1830–1831 and studied the process of state control and unification of the educational process in Jewish, German and Czech schools [18].

O. Kryzhanovska emphasized the importance of the primary parish school for the peasants education [19]. However, we do not agree with her conclusion about a fairly high level of public education in the Ukrainian lands in the first half of the nineteenth century. The sources involved in our work convincingly show that the Ukrainian provinces lagged behind not only the Baltic provinces but also most of the central provinces of European Russia.

Analysis of the historiography of the problem shows that the attention of researchers is focused on the study of certain elements of public education, the level of education of social classes or national minorities. The study of general features of the state's educational policy in the forest-steppe provinces and its influence on the formation of the foundations of the national self-consciousness of the Ukrainian people, the public struggle for equal and fair general character of all levels of education remains beyond scientific research.

3. Educational policy of the autocracy in the provinces of Forest-Steppe Ukraine (first half of the XIX century)

At the beginning of the XIX century, the Ministry of Public Education was established in the Russian Empire under the influence of liberal and enlightenment ideas that were spreading in Europe. In January 1803, Emperor

Alexander I approved the “Preliminary Rules of Public Education”, which were based on the idea of a secondary school necessary for the education of the population. The education system, which was subject to the ministry, consisted of parish schools, county schools, gymnasiums, and universities. Curricula in educational institutions were designed in such a way that each lower level of education was a step towards the next, including the university.

The main task of the ministry was to registration of the system of educational districts, opening of new universities and their transformation into regional centers of education system management, development and approval of the statutes of educational institutions on the principles of autonomy in matters of internal governance and court. On November 5, 1804, the “Charter of educational institutions under the jurisdiction of universities” was approved, according to which a network of educational institutions was created, which was formally of a general nature [12, p. 94]. However, access to education was restricted to women and children of serfs. At the same time, the formation of a number of privileged educational institutions – lyceums for the education of the elite.

With the beginning of the reign of Emperor Nicholas I (1825), education ceased to be seen as a means of educating the population and became a leader of autocratic ideas in the youth environment. The main task of institutions of all educational levels was to educate the emperor loyal subjects, obedient sons of the state and the church. Another direction of educational evolution in those days was the attempt to differentiate the provision of education in accordance with the social status of students. Another component of the transformation in the organization of the educational environment of the Russian Empire in the late 20s of the XIX century was the total unification of educational institutions, the introduction of strict discipline and uniform and unchanging requirements for teaching and education. All this was reflected in the Charter of Gymnasiums and Schools of December 8, 1828.

By the early 60’s of the XIX century. the development of education in the Russian Empire depended solely on the will of the autocrat, implemented through his government. However, the socio-political movement caused by and supported by bourgeois reforms (peasant, judicial, zemstvo, military) directed efforts to solve urgent social problems – education of the people, democratization of the educational system, the formation of primary

national, women's and vocational education, taking into account the needs of socio-economic development of the country.

Real actions were taken to develop primary public education, which led to the development of a mass national school, created the conditions for public initiative in the organization of public education. Significant changes have also taken place in the field of secondary school, which has been proclaimed to be universal, accessible and open to all classes. However, tuition fees closed access to secondary education for children from low-income families. The autocracy abandoning the feudal-caste principle of the organization of education and introduced a class bourgeois school through property qualifications.

According to the Statute of 1804, universities were given autonomy, a collegial form of government and freedom of teaching. The rector of the university was elected by the professors at the general meeting and was subordinate to the trustee. The rector not only headed the university, but also managed the educational institutions of his district. Directors of provincial gymnasiums not only direct management, but also supervised all schools in the province. Caretakers of county schools were subordinate to them. They, in turn, took care of the parish schools of the respective administrative district. Thus, the administration of educators was formed from specialists who were well versed in their field.

By tsarist decree, the Russian Empire was divided into 6 educational districts, each headed by a university in 1803. The right-bank Ukrainian provinces (Kyiv, Podillya, Volyn) first became part of the Vilnius educational district. They were guided by trustees (curators) of educational districts. The curator was responsible for administrative oversight and liaison between the ministry and the university. In the middle of the 19th century, Kyiv and Kharkiv educational districts operated on the territory of Ukraine, which is the subject of our research.

Lyceums occupied an intermediate place between gymnasiums and universities – Kremenets in Volyn (1819), founded on the basis of the gymnasium, after the Polish uprising of 1830–1831 closed, and then transferred to Kiev and reorganized into the University and Nizhyn, which in 1832 was established on the basis of the Gymnasium of Higher Sciences, founded in 1820 at the expense of the Bezborodko brothers.

Gymnasiums (seven years of study since 1828) – provided a complete secondary education and prepared for university entrance. The content of

education was encyclopedic: Latin and foreign languages, mathematics, geography, general history, philosophy, political economy, technology and commerce were studied. Boarding schools were opened at the gymnasiums, their pupils were additionally taught French, dance, music, fencing and horseback riding. Starting from the fourth year of study, gymnasiums were divided into classical and real. Classics prepared for admission to universities and other educational institutions. The main focus was on the study of ancient languages, Russian literature, foreign languages and history. The real ones were aimed at preparing for military service and polytechnic education, and instead of ancient languages, they taught practical mathematics and jurisprudence.

The development of gymnasium education in the Right Bank of Ukraine had a number of features that can be demonstrated by the example of the Podillya province. The Vilnius educational district included Vinnytsia, Bar, Kremenets and Nemyriv schools in 1803, which at that time were equated with gymnasium education. Teaching was conducted in Polish, and Russian was studied on a par with Latin or German. However, after the defeat of the First Polish Uprising of 1830–1831, the existing gymnasiums were disbanded, and on their basis, educational institutions of national standard were created.

Institutes of Noble women provided opportunities for young people to receive secondary education, aesthetic and ethical education and, upon graduation, the right to become governors of children of nobles and clergy. Admitted to the institute representatives of mostly the nobility, daughters of the clergy and merchants of the first two guilds. The term of study varied from six (Kharkiv Institute) to seven years (Poltava). In the late 50's of the XIX century, began to establish women's schools in provincial cities, which in honor of the Empress were named Mariinsky. According to the statute, girls of all classes had the right to study without distinction of religion or nationality. Eventually, these schools will be transformed into women's gymnasiums.

County schools (three years of study) prepared students for further education in high schools and for practical activities. There were many more subjects in the curricula than in the parish schools – church history, God's law, Russian language, arithmetic, geometry, geography, history, drawing, sketching. Teachers were required to use only textbooks recommended by the Ministry. Representatives of the taxable classes studied in schools – the

children of merchants, burghers, artisans. In addition, at the county schools, additional courses could be opened to teach commercial sciences and accounting, to study the basics of mechanics and technology, agriculture and horticulture with the permission of the Ministry of Education [12, p. 253].

Among the schools, purely aristocratic ones were singled out, where children were prepared for further study in the gymnasium and science was taught in the same manner and according to the same textbooks as in the first three grades of the gymnasium.

The programs of church-parish (parish) schools were designed for one year of study. They were intended for people of the “lowest classes” [12, p. 247]. Schools could open in provincial, county towns and cities, as well as in large towns. Their goal was to provide children with general knowledge (boys and girls could study here, but in separate classes) and to prepare those wishing to study in county schools. The main subjects were the Law of God, reading and spelling, elementary arithmetic. Parish schools for serfs were maintained at the expense of peasants and landowners, so they developed slowly. Schools for children of state peasants operated under the auspices of the Department of State Property.

Without state support, at the expense of parents, public schools appeared at churches. The deacons taught the children to read primers, chasos and psalters, as well as church songs, mostly in Ukrainian. They did not provide opportunities for further education. Without government support, at the expense of parents, public schools appeared at churches.

In addition to the state, theological schools continued to operate in Ukraine, including the Kyiv Theological Academy, founded in 1632 by Metropolitan Peter Mohyla and long known as the Kyiv-Mohyla Collegium. In the mid-40s of the XIX century. 120 students studied at the expense of the state. The training lasted four years, and most of the graduates held senior administrative positions in the structure of the Russian Orthodox Church. There was also a Roman Catholic seminary and Catholic parish schools at the churches, single Lutheran schools for the children of German colonists.

The Ministry of Education paid considerable attention to the control of Jewish education, especially in the provinces of the Right Bank of Ukraine.

In the structure of military education of the Russian Empire, the leading place belonged to the cadet corps, which were special educational institutions for the training of future officers. They operated in Poltava and

Kyiv during the research period. In addition, there were specialized military schools (cantonal squadrons, paramedic and surveying schools, etc.) within military settlements and troop locations.

From the second half of the 50s of the XIX century, the development of a primary public school began at the initiative of the progressive community in the Russian Empire. In October 1859, with the support of the trustee of the Kyiv educational district M. Pirogov, Sunday schools began to open. "Sunday schools are important not so much in our country, because they spread literacy in the most reliable way, namely through private initiative and charity, but because they encourage artisan and working people to study» – wrote a prominent surgeon and humanist [20, p. 305].

The Russian Orthodox Church believed that the right to run a public school should belong to it, not to the Ministry of Education, and even more so to the public, because the clergy are the first and most reliable educator and guardian of public morality. Alexander II allowed the popular schools founded by the clergy to remain under the control and maintenance of the Church for the reconciliation of the parties.

In 1864, the Regulations on Primary Public Schools were approved. According to him, all types of public schools were united under one name. Their term of study was one year, and the curriculum corresponded to the old parish schools. The schools were general and were maintained mainly by public and private donations, as well as funds from the agencies to which they belonged. Training was conducted exclusively in Russian. By refusing to finance public education, the tsarist government placed this responsibility on the zemstvos. A significant share of zemstvo expenditures on primary school was peasant funds. Thus, in the Kharkiv provincial zemstvo peasant contributions for educational needs accounted for more than half of all its revenues [12, p. 578].

Liberal reforms initiated by Emperor Alexander II stimulated public awareness of public education. Since the late 50's of the XIX century, statistical information has become more detailed, including data on the number of parish schools established in churches, monasteries, and under the auspices of the State Property Office.

Note that the statistical material on this subject, collected and processed by us, was analyzed using chronological, statistical and comparative-historical methods. Further generalization of these data is complicated by the lack of a single form of statistical reporting.

Educational indicators of the Russian Empire were a kind of indicator of the total lag behind European countries not only in terms of socio-economic development but also in terms of human capital. At the beginning of the second half of the XIX century in 49 European provinces of the Russian Empire, one student per 133 inhabitants. For comparison, in Austria the proportion was 1 student per 15 people, in France and Great Britain – 1 per 11, in Prussia – 1 per 6, and in the North American United States – 1 student per 5 inhabitants [8, p. 273].

Kharkiv and Kyiv provinces were among the most economically and culturally developed territories of the Ukrainian Forest-Steppe. Thanks to the universities, Kharkiv and Kyiv quickly became regional educational centers.

In addition to the classical university in the Kharkiv province, there were specialized vocational schools: paramedic and agricultural schools, where representatives of the taxable state had the opportunity to study. The government, paying some attention to improving the culture of agriculture, promoted public lectures on agronomy, chemistry and applied mechanics.

Noble education depended on the wealth of the family. “For a long time, the rich people of Little Russia prescribed governors from Switzerland and France to raise their children”, said a contemporary [5, p. 180]. Long since rich people from Little Russia discharged governors from Switzerland and France to raise their children. Simultaneously with the development of the network of higher classes of educational institutions (universities, gymnasiums, institutes of noble girls, private boarding houses), representatives of higher classes sent their children to study in the capital and provincial cities. This led to the fact that the cost of educational services increased and became an obstacle to the education of children of nobles with average wealth. Thus, in Kharkov, a year of study and living at the Institute of Noble Girls or in a private boarding house cost from 1,500 rubles in money orders. A landowner or clerk who had several daughters had to allocate several thousand rubles a year for their education. At the same time, studying at the gymnasium for young people also required significant costs. During the 1840s, among the privileged classes of the population, the nobility and the officers’ children, the ratio between students and others ranged from 1 to 15, although in Europe at the time the generally accepted proportion of all children enrolled in education was make 1 to 3 – 1 to 6. Most girls from higher classes and a significant number of boys received home schooling due to lack of funds in the family.

The upbringing of merchant youth, who were also considered to be privileged, depended significantly on the financial capabilities of their parents. Merchants of the I and II guilds tried to give better education and upbringing to their daughters in private boarding houses, for their possible marriage to the nobility, while the sons usually learned from their parents the intricacies of trade. The proportion of merchant children who studied in the relevant institutions to the total number of merchants was 1 to 20 [5, p. 180].

During this period, the education of one of the highest classes of the Russian Empire (clergy) improved. The vast majority of sons inherited the privileges of their parents only if they studied in seminaries and seminaries. At the same time, most of the clergy did not have the necessary funds to provide their daughters with appropriate upbringing and education in boarding schools, so the overall ratio of those covered by education for their social execution was 1 to 33.

Lower (taxable) states had even more limited opportunities to educate their children. Thus, despite the rapid increase in the number of burghers, only one in 90 of them studied in the institutions of the Kharkiv province. For artisans (“guilds”), the proportion was 1 to 260. Dissenters contributed much better to the education of their children, as indicated by the ratio of students to the whole group, as 1 to 21.

Rural parish schools under the Department of State Property have been operating since 1843 in the Ukrainian provinces. Children of state peasants could study in them, as well as in parish schools. Their proportion to the group in 1847 was 1 to 260. This does not take into account the children of Ukrainian military settlers who could learn to read, write and count at best from clerks and retired lower ranks who knew literacy. The education of landlord peasants was a manifestation of the good will of the landlords. “Nothing can be said about the education of landlord peasants, because except for a few yard boys, none of the peasants studied literacy, and landowners do not educate them at all because they do not benefit from it, and therefore do not want to spend their money on it”, – the witness points out [5, p. 182–183].

Turning to the analysis of the state of education in the Kiev province in the mid-nineteenth century note that here we have more sources and they are better classified.

Kyiv played the role of an Orthodox spiritual center due to its ancient history and religious buildings. Pilgrimage to holy places (Kyiv-Pechersk

Lavra), the presence of a higher Orthodox educational institution – Kyiv Theological Academy, created the conditions for the development of spiritual education, which also included a seminary, county and parish theological schools. Another feature of the Kyiv province was the large number of Jews who had their own traditions of schooling, providing Jewish children with knowledge of Jewish liturgical books and the basics of basic literacy. In the mid-1840's, the proportion of those who studied in relation to the total population of the Kiev province was 1 to 288 [1, p. 140].

In the next 10 years, significant quantitative and qualitative changes took place in the education of the Kiev province.

First, powerful military schools were established that competed with the university. The cadet corps (military gymnasium) combined general and military-special courses in the curriculum. Only representatives of the nobility could study there. Two-year special courses were opened at all cadet corps in 1857. Nobles with secondary and higher education, not nobles with higher education could enter externally in special classes of cadet corps. The military (cadet) school trained junior officers. The opportunity to study there was open to all classes, except Jews and serfs.

Secondly, the number of children of the clergy, dissidents, burghers and peasants increased at the university (25% of the total number of students) and in gymnasiums. The opportunity to obtain a higher social status and the corresponding privileges was directly related to the level and quality of education.

Third, the regulation of Jewish education took place. Jewish schools, as well as evangelical Lutheran schools, provided primary education to members of certain religious and ethnic minorities in the Russian Empire. As a rule, the school had one teacher, who also performed supervisory functions.

Fourth, in the statistics, the category of schools at churches, estates and under the auspices of the State Property Office, created for the education of peasant children, appeared for the first time. Accordingly, the number of parish rural schools decreased. Thanks to these measures, the number of people who studied in 10 years has doubled.

Fifth, status and confessional-national inequality were complemented by gender. The principle of gender equality was observed only in educational institutions established by people from Protestant countries [7].

Quantitative and qualitative indicators of public education in other Right-Bank provinces (Podillya, Volyn) differed significantly against the background of an underdeveloped educational system in the mid-nineteenth century. A number of factors contributed to this. Polish by descent right-bank gentry, during the first third of the nineteenth century, actively developed the Polish, aristocratic education, cherishing the hope of maintaining its position as the ruling class in the Right Bank of the Forest-Steppe Ukraine under the conditions of the Russian Empire. The peasantry, the vast majority dependent, did not have the opportunity to join education. Therefore, the number of county schools at the Department of State Property was extremely small.

The nobility and officials of Podillya could teach their children in gymnasiums and parish schools, while the clergy filled their estates in educational institutions. The vast majority of young people covered by at least some education were representatives of the Jewish community, who, occupying only 11% in the demographic structure of the Podillya region (168,189 people) had 1 student for 15 adults [3, p. 137].

In an attempt to somehow improve the statistics of public education in the Volyn province, 1,064 parish schools opened in 1837 were taken into account [4].

4. Features of the formation and development of university education in the forest-steppe Ukraine of the first half of the XIX century

The first university in Ukraine was opened in the early nineteenth century, in the city of Kharkiv, which as a small provincial city managed to build a higher education institution not only faster than Kyiv, but also earlier than the capital of the empire. Researchers, in search of an explanation for this phenomenon, drew attention to economic factors that gradually turned Kharkiv into a center of transit trade between Central Russia, the Don, Crimea, the Right Bank and Western Europe, which contributed to capital accumulation and the exchange of progressive ideas.

Historical and cultural factor was no less important. Immigrants from Bratslav and Kyiv regions inhabited large areas of Slobidska Ukraine in the second half of the XVII century. Brotherhoods, hospitals, and schools were brought to Kharkiv. Public schools have undergone special development, created by the churches. In the first half of the XVIII century a secondary

school was established in Kharkiv, the Kharkiv Collegium, which educated not only the children of the clergy, but also of Cossack officers, Cossacks, and burghers. Among his teachers was a prominent Ukrainian philosopher and educator Hryhoriy Skovoroda. His popularity and authority among all classes of society was undeniable. The founder of the university V. Karazin noted the Ukrainian wandering philosopher: “We had our Pythagoras, Origen, Leibniz under the forehead and in the Ukrainian scroll” [14, p. 3].

In the history of Kharkiv University there was a feature that it arose due to the educational and organizational activities of one person – Vasyl Karazin. During the meeting of the Kharkiv nobility in August 1802, V. Karazin proposed to create in Kharkov not just a classical university on the German model, but a general higher education institution, which was to consist not of faculties but of a number of departments: general knowledge, medical knowledge, theologians, military knowledge, civil arts, etc. In addition, the structure of the educational school of agriculture and craft school were to be included in the rights of separate units. According to V. Karazin, the university should have become a public institution in the full sense of the word: maintained at public expense, guided by a board of professors and representatives of the nobility, who made donations for its creation and development. Thus, the Kharkiv nobility donated 400 thousand rubles, Ekaterinoslav – 80 thousand, Kherson – 30 thousand, merchants and cities – about 50 thousand rubles. Kharkiv military residents, descendants of former Sloboda Cossacks, communities of Zakharkivska, Zalopanska and Ivanovo settlements gave up 125 tenths of suburban lands in favor of the university. The plans were to establish a campus, which also required significant investment [14, p. 6–7].

Having received donations that gave Kharkiv the moral right to establish a university, V. Karazin intensified his ties in St. Petersburg. Emperor Alexander I allowed the establishment of a university in Kharkov and the opening of the Kharkiv educational district in January 1803. Kharkiv University was inaugurated on January 17, 1805, which began its work on the basis of a fairly liberal statute.

In 1835, the new General Statute of Russian universities came into force, which reflected the reactionary-conservative tendencies of the reign of Nicholas I. S. Uvarov, Minister of Education, became the author of the Russian great-power doctrine, which was later called the “Theory of

Official Nationality”. The formula “Orthodoxy-autocracy-nation”, which was popular later, reflected the conservative-conservative ideology directed against the revolutionary-liberal ideas. There was a strengthening of the trustee’s power and restrictions on university autonomy. The trustee was obliged to control the finances of the university, use all means for the development of the educational institution, supervise the strict performance of all officials, pay attention to the abilities, diligence and reliability of professors, associate professors and other university staff. Thus, the trustee became the appointed head of the university. At the same time, the rector’s power was strengthened, which gradually began to acquire a well-known and traditional character for higher education. The rector was elected by the university council for 4 years and was to ensure the development and improvement of the educational institution. If before the board of the university had the right to sue the rector, the rector received the right to announce reprimands and remarks to professors and received an assistant – vice-rector. [12, p. 366–367].

At the same time, the number of disciplines taught at the university was increased, the position of associate professor and teacher training at the University of Dorpat and abroad were introduced. However, the revolutionary events of 1848 in Europe led to an even greater strengthening of conservative tendencies in the university environment. Strict observance of discipline and law and order was declared, the number of students who could study at their own expense was limited. “To clean up universities” from unreliable ones, the complexity of exams was increased trips to study abroad were prohibited [14, p. 6–7]. The liberal reforms of Alexander II intensified university life in the late 50’s – early 60’s of the XIX century. In the middle of the XIX century the most popular among students of Kharkiv University were legal sciences, then – philosophical and mathematical, medicine and natural sciences [5, p. 184].

The first attempt to establish a university in Kiev on the initiative of the Minister of Education of the Russian Empire P. Zavadovsky took place in 1805. The need to organize a new educational district with its center in Kyiv in the newly created provinces of the Right Bank of Ukraine was determined by two reasons. First, the Vilnius educational district was too large for effective public administration. Secondly, the establishment of Kharkiv University became possible with the active participation of local

nobility, merchants and townspeople. Therefore, the Minister tried to gain the necessary support of the local nobility, merchants and burghers, after a visit to Kiev. However, the curator of the Vilnius educational district was appointed Polish magnate Prince A. Czartoryski, who combined this position with the position of Comrade Minister, and later Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Empire and was a personal friend of Emperor Alexander I. No less energetic Polish aristocrat T. Chatsky was appointed a visitor (a person who was responsible for visiting certain facilities to confirm their improvement) to the schools of the school district, which included all the provinces of the Right Bank of Ukraine. Representatives of the former Polish nobility incorporated into the Russian nobility used the support of Russian high-ranking officials and undertook to further develop not national but Polish education. Their goal was to preserve the dominant position of the Polish aristocratic class on the territory of Right-Bank Ukraine. For this A. Czartoryski contributed to the preservation of teaching in Polish in educational institutions of the district. Also, Rector of Vilnius University I. Stroinovskiy gave full support to the Polonization of education.

T. Chatsky's arguments against the establishment of the University of Kyiv were as follows: it is inappropriate to open a university in Kyiv, as a university in Kharkiv has already been opened near Kyiv. Secondly, Kyiv is located away from the north-western edge, and is at a disadvantage for such an institution. Third, the desire of citizens who are willing to make charitable contributions to the development of education is to study in Polish, which cannot be achieved in Kyiv, where civil law will be taught on the basis of Russian rather than local (Polish) and ecclesiastical law on the basis of law Eastern (Orthodox). In addition, the Orthodox clergy do not have the necessary level of education [13, p. 35].

We must agree with the statement of researcher A. Bondar that the trustee of the Vilnius educational district A. Czartoryski and the visitor of education T. Chatsky primarily defended the interests of education of Poles and Catholics [21], including almost all landowners, many burghers, citizens, courtiers and there were no serfs. P. Zawadowski favored the arguments on maintaining Polish control over educational processes on the Right Bank, not least because the reform of education in the Russian Empire was influenced by the Polish educational reform of the 70s of the 18 century. Thus, the first trustee of Kharkiv University was a Polish magnate by birth

S. Potocki. In addition, the Polish aristocracy when entering the ruling state of the Russian Empire after the partition of Poland, their rights and privileges were preserved.

In 1805, the gymnasium in the town of Kremenets in Volhynia was founded by the efforts of T. Chatsky and with the support of the Polish nobility, which became an important Polish cultural center. Since its founding, the gymnasium has actually been a university in miniature. Training was divided into 2 levels. The first, which lasted four years, taught the languages and beginnings of arithmetic, geography, ethics, etc., the second, which lasted six years, taught geometry, algebra, logic, history, physics, chemistry, higher mathematics, law. According to the charter of the gymnasium, students had the opportunity to listen to courses in anatomy, physiology, surgery, agriculture, horticulture, architecture, practical mechanics. In 1819, the Kremenets Gymnasium was renamed the Lyceum, but there were no changes in the internal organization of the institution and the expansion of its rights. Out of more than 600 lyceum students, only 34 belonged to the Orthodox faith [13, p. 54].

The Polish uprising of 1830–1831 led to a major turn in the educational policy of the Russian Empire. It is known that many students and teachers of Vilnius University were involved in the riots. A significant number of lyceum students also supported the insurgents. Therefore, Kremenets Lyceum was closed on August 21, 1831. His fate was divided by the University of Vilnius in May 1832, and at the same time the Vilnius Educational District was disbanded. All gymnasiums and county schools of the Right Bank of Ukraine (except those located in Kyiv) were closed, which were under the influence of the Polish aristocratic class and the Roman Catholic clergy and served as leaders of the Polish state tradition. Minister of Education S. Uvarov informed the tsar of the need to “to close these schools and in their place in the Volyn and Podolsk provinces to introduce in time the teaching of Russian literacy, Russian Catechism and arithmetic in the churches of the Greek-Russian confession, leaving them under the supervision of parish priests: because only then with the movement of the clergy of the Western Church” [13, p. 59].

Thus, no less severe Russification and unification of the educational process on the scale of the empire was an alternative to the Polonization of the Ukrainian population, which unfolded in the early 30s of the XIX century after the final suppression of the Polish uprising.

The Minister proposed to open a new educational district in Kyiv. At the same time, the Chernihiv and later Poltava provinces were annexed to the right-bank provinces that were part of the district. The decree on the establishment of the University of Kyiv was issued on November 8, 1833. It mentioned the transfer of the Volyn Lyceum from Kremenets to Kyiv. The decree of December 25, 1833 clearly stated the purpose of his educational mission – to be the leader of all-Russian education [13, p. 66]. The Charter of the new university, which was in force until 1842, was also approved, despite the introduction of the general charter of Russian universities in 1835.

The grand opening of the University of Kiev took place on July 15, 1834 – on the day of St. Vladimir, whose name was given to the newly established educational institution. The first rector of the university was a native of Poltava M. Maksymovych, the second rector – V. Tsykh from Kharkiv region, the third O. Novitsky from Volyn. If at the beginning only the Faculty of Philosophy worked at the university with two departments: historical-philosophical and physical-mathematical, then during 1835-1836 the Faculty of Law was formed.

The study at the university lasted four years. A feature of the first years of operation of the University of St. Vladimir was the rule enshrined in its charter, to conduct an entrance exam for applicants. At the same time, the right of admission was granted to all comers, not just high school graduates. Although it is clear that the level of preparation of entrants after high school and county or monastery schools differed significantly. The empire accepted other universities solely on the basis of high school results. Therefore, out of 75 entrants who applied to the university, only 59 passed the exams, and three more were enrolled without exams. Thus, the first year in 1834 enrolled 62 students, of whom 30 were Catholics and 28 Orthodox.

The number of students has quadrupled in the first four years, in line with the gradual opening of new courses. Therefore, the total number of students in the first years of the university was about 250, which in turn was about 80 per faculty, or 20 per course. The initial quantitative parity between Orthodox and Catholics in the following years was changed in favor of Catholics. The reason was the predominance of the Polish nobility on the Right Bank, and also depended on the class of students at the university. In the Podillya, Volyn and Kyiv provinces in the late 30s of the XIX century the denominational majority were Orthodox and Greek Catholics, but this

majority was made up of clergy, peasants, and some burghers. The children of the Uniate clergy were to be expected at the university, but according to the instructions of the imperial authorities it was necessary to obstruct their children when entering secular educational institutions. Uniatism within the empire was abolished in 1839. The Orthodox clergy, for the most part, remained rather poor, and believed that studying in Orthodox theological institutions would provide employment as a parish priest and at least some wealth. In addition, it was necessary to get out of the spiritual state to study at the university, which led to the loss of hereditary privileges.

The peasantry, the bulk of which, at least on the Right Bank, remained in serfdom, the vast majority were outside the educational process, having neither the rights nor the necessary funds. It should be noted that the university owned not only lands and estates, which he inherited mainly from the Kremenets Lyceum, but also peasants¹, and as a result had some income.

Nobles and children of officials remained the main contingent of university students. Catholic students preferred the 2nd branch of the Faculty of Philosophy, where the natural sciences predominated, while the Orthodox mostly sought to enter the Faculty of Law, the successful completion of which contributed to the further career of the official. During 1837–1838, the number of law students was the majority. The 2nd department received well-off people, descendants of rich landowners, while the 1st department of the Faculty of Philosophy, which was dominated by the study of philology and history – poor, mostly dissidents by origin, who could only dream of a career as a teacher [13, p.150].

Kyiv University is becoming the cradle of the Ukrainian national movement, despite strict measures to monitor the reliability of students and the persecution of any manifestations of free thought – since the mid-40s of the 19th century. Students, teachers and graduates of the University of Kiev were the main participants in the secret Ukrainian political organization, which was named the Cyril and Methodius Society (1845–1847).

It is unknown exactly who was the organizer of the society. Usually, the surnames M. Kostomarov, M. Gulak and V. Bilozersky are mentioned. The members of the society were P. Kulish, T. Shevchenko, O. Navrotsky, G. Andruzky, I. Posyada, M. Savych, O. Markovych, D. Pilchikov.

¹ During the people's audit of 1851, the Volyn State Chamber announced that it had accepted 1,265 peasants from the University of Kyiv on the state balance.

The main program provisions of the society were set out in the Book of the Existence of the Ukrainian People, which should not be considered a political program of the conspirators, but rather a romantic dream of the ideal structure of the future Pan-Slavic Brotherhood. In particular, it was proposed to create a federation of Christian Slavic republics in which serfdom was abolished, privileges were established and social democratic ideals were established; equality in the rights to the development of the national language, culture and access to education for all Slavic peoples was introduced. This work combines the ideas of early Christianity, social justice, historical romanticism with the desire of young members of the Ukrainian intelligentsia to protect the Ukrainian people from the tsarist attack on their rights.

In March 1847 the society was defeated after the denunciation of the student O. Petrov. All members of the organization were exiled, with the exception of Taras Shevchenko, who was drafted into the army for his anti-monarchical, pro-Ukrainian orientation.

The main practical goal of the society was to be educational activities among Ukrainians. Panteleimon Kulish said during the interrogation of the gendarmes of the 3rd Department that he considers the best distribution of schools for Ukrainians and the spread of general literacy to be the best circumstances. This intention was realized only with the beginning of the liberal reforms of Alexander II and the possibility of establishing Sunday public schools outside of state influence in the late 1850s – early 1860s. Panteleimon Kulish wrote and published a textbook for beginners “Grammar” and M. Kostomarov founded a fund for the publication of Ukrainian textbooks.

5. Conclusions

Thus, the formation of a system of educational institutions and the organization of management of this system in the first half of the nineteenth century in the Russian Empire testified to the complete dependence of the educational policy of the autocracy on the will of the autocrat. In the 1930s, the influence of the Polish aristocracy on educational processes in the provinces of Right-Bank Ukraine was overcome and Russificationist policy was strengthened under reactionary-conservative slogans using harsh administrative and repressive measures of tsarism. Education becomes an

instrument of the policy of the autocracy, aimed at protecting the existing feudal system.

The opportunity to receive an education directly depended on the social status and place of the person in the hierarchy. The vast majority of Ukrainian serfs did not have the opportunity to teach their children at all, as their education depended on the good will of the landlords and was not regulated by the state.

In these circumstances, the Ukrainian intelligentsia affected the interests of the oppressed people, who, despite autocratic barriers, focused their energy on studying the history, culture, language and customs of the people, which in turn led to the politicization of protest and the emergence of Ukrainian national education movement.

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