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The History of Education

The Development of the Public Education System in Northeastern Ukraine in the Period Spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries

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Abstract

This paper represents a brief survey of the public education system in northeastern Ukraine in the period spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. During that period, these lands were part of the Russian Empire. The authors explore some of the key national and regional characteristics of the development of the education system in the region. The paper identifies three major periods in the development of the public education system in northeastern Ukraine in said timeframe. The first period runs to the mid-18th century, when the Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine had partial autonomy within the Russian state. During that time, the area had in operation a network of primary, secondary, and higher educational institutions attended by members of all social categories. Their operation was regulated by the government, while the content of education they provided was based on the European pedagogical tradition. The second period is associated with a set of administrative transformations implemented in the Russian Empire in the second half of the 18th century. It is in the context of these transformations that the process of creating a new system of education, a common framework for the entire nation, was launched. That being said, the national characteristics of education in the lands of Leftbank Ukraine gradually faded away. The third period (the first half of the 19th century) is characterized by greater government regulation of the activity of educational institutions. The government would finally install an education system uniform for all regions within the Russian Empire. Educational institutions in northeastern

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Ukraine would be transformed in such a way as to become part of the imperial education system, while some would cease operation altogether.

Keywords: public education, northeastern Ukraine, Hetmanate, Sloboda Ukraine (Slobozhanshchyna), Russian Empire, brotherhood school, public school, boarding school, gymnasium, district school, university

1. Introduction

The public education system in northeastern Ukraine had distinctive features of its own, which had to do with the way the region was developing. However, in describing the education system in Russia, modern and pre-revolutionary Russian historiography tends to include in those descriptions all areas that were part of the Russian Empire, regardless of the time they became its part or the areas' national and sociocultural characteristics, treating them as a part of a single cultural space. The research reported in this paper aims to explore the mechanics of the making and development of the public education system in northeastern Ukraine in the context of various political and social transformations. Chronologically, the study covers the period spanning from the 18th to the early first half of the 19th centuries. Geographically, the work is focused on northeastern Ukraine, more specifically the so-called Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine. During the period under examination, these areas had formed part of the Chernihiv, Novgorod-Seversky, Kharkov, and, partly, Kiev viceroyalties; Little Russia Governorate, Sloboda Ukraine Governorate, and, to a certain degree, Kiev Governorate; Kharkov, Chernihiv, and Poltava Governorates.

2. Materials and Methods

The work's materials are grounded in input from scholars concerned with research on the history of education in the Russian Empire. The authors also drew upon a set of archived and published documentary sources, more specifically materials from the State Archive of Kharkov Oblast (Ukraine).

The paper's methodological basis is represented by the principles of historicism and objectivity, which implies viewing various events and happenings of the past in a non-biased manner in their development and dialectic interrelationship. In addition, the principle of historicism helped take account of the era's specific historical circumstances. More specifically, the authors took account of the historical and political realities in northeastern Ukraine in the period spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries. Another factor that was taken into consideration is the policy pursued by the Russian government in the region at the time, with some attention devoted to internal social processes that were taking place over there back then.

3. Discussion

The various aspects of the historical development of education have long been a popular subject among many a researcher. For instance, there is a large array of scholarly works devoted to the history of particular types of educational institution (schools, specialized schools, gymnasias, academies, universities, etc.) and that of entire educational districts in the Russian Empire. Many of the research studies are focused on the methods of teaching at those institutions, the personal composition of the student body, that of the teaching staff, etc.

Viewed as a system or a process, public education has been explored in numerous works. Yet, very rarely does this research actually focus on the public education system in northeastern Ukraine during its being part of the Russian Empire. Insufficient attention has been devoted to the national and regional characteristics of the development of education in those areas.

A decent portion of the research on the history of the everyday in, the social history of, and socio-political life in northeastern Ukraine in the period spanning the 18th and 19th centuries explores issues of education in the region as well. There is a focus on the various quantitative characteristics of educational institutions, the impact of education on the period's socio-political and economic processes, and some other issues (Degtyarev, 2014: 102-143; Maksimovich, 1913; Tairova-Yakovleva, 2017: 111-146).

The history of the operation of particular components of the Russian Empire's education system in Ukrainian areas in the period spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries has been explored by a number of pre-Soviet scholars, including D.I. Bahalii (Bahalii, 1993; Bagaley et al., 1906), V.N. Domanitskiy (Domanitskiy, 1901), M.F. Vladimirskiy-Budanov (Vladimirskiy-

Budanov, 1873), and others. Most of this research is focused on 18th-century brotherhood, rural, and Cossack schools, 19th-century boarding schools, specialized schools, gymnasia, Kharkov University, Kiev University, etc.

A number of works on the history of Ukraine written by emigrants are focused on characterizing the various types of educational institutions in operation in Sloboda Ukraine and the Hetmanate in the 18th century (Doroshenko, 1992; Polonska-Vasylenko, 1995). Certain emigrant scholars have investigated the historical development of the region's public education system of the period spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries in the context of exploring the history of education in Ukraine as a whole (Siropolko, 2001).

Soviet-period historians are known to have devoted to the issue of organization of the education system in particular Ukrainian areas an insignificant amount of attention. That being said, in modern-day Ukrainian historiography, issues related to the organization of education in Ukrainian areas have been explored by a number of researchers, including T.D. Kochubei (Kochubei, 2007) and O.V. Pivovarov (Pivovarov, 2002). Scholar V.L. Masliichuk has conducted a research study on education levels among residents of Leftbank Ukraine (Masliichuk, 2009). The activity of Orthodox collegiums has been explored by L.Yu. Posokhova (Posokhova, 2011), and issues of female education in the period have been investigated by T.V. Sukhenko (Sukhenko, 1998).

In Russian historiography, much attention has been devoted to both general and particular issues related to the history of education in Russia (Gurkina, 2001; Getmanskaya, 2012; Dneprov, Usacheva, 2009; Ershov, 2003; Korilova, Magsumov, 2017; Oleynik, Oleynik, 2013; Starodubtsev, 2012; Magsumov et al., 2018). However, the majority of Russian researchers have focused mainly on the system of public education in the Russian Empire as a whole, with rare consideration given to its regional characteristics. Nevertheless, this body of research has helped sort out which methodological approaches to use in this paper.

4. Results

The development of each of the ethnocultural regions in Ukraine has had distinctive characteristics of its own, including based on their being part of different states. Northeastern Ukraine, which at different times was part of Rzeczpospolita, the Muscovite state, and later the Russian Empire, is no exception.

Subsequent to the signing of the Truce of Andrusovo between the Tsardom of Russia and the Polish-Lithuanian Commonwealth (1667) and the Treaty of Perpetual Peace between the Russian state and Rzeczpospolita (1686), all of Leftbank Ukraine came under the rule of the Muscovite Tsar. Consequently, by the start of the 18th century, the Hetmanate, which comprised 10 regiments, was an autonomous part of the Russian state.

Slobozhanshchyna (Sloboda Ukraine) emerged on the border between three different states: the Muscovite state, Rzeczpospolita, and the Crimean Khanate. The region was recolonized by Ukrainian peasants and Cossacks from the lands of Rightbank Ukraine, which were virtually depopulated as a consequence of the Mongol-Tatar invasion, as well as continual incursions by the Crimean Tatars. The settlers remained true to the military organization typical for the Hetmanate. They created five regiments, but here, unlike in the Hetmanate, they did not appoint a hetman, as the regiments were answerable to the authority of the Military Governor of Belgorod. The Cossacks were guaranteed immunities and privileges in exchange for the service of guarding the southern borders of the Muscovite Tsardom against possible incursions by the Tatars (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1995: 106–108). With Tsar Peter's accession to the throne, Sloboda Ukraine began to gradually lose its autonomy (Bahalii, 1993: 84–85). Afterwards, after having lost their autonomous status, the areas became part of Sloboda Ukraine Governorate, and later on part of Kharkov Governorate. That said, some of their traditional ways of organizing social life would persist for a long time afterwards.

One of the key preconditions for the development of the public education system in the region was the long-time interaction of Ukrainian, Polish, and Russian cultures and that of Catholicism and Orthodox Christianity. Changes in the organization of the system of public administration and government would have a natural effect on all spheres of life in the region, including the development of its education system, providing the basis for a series of wavelike transformations therein.

Based on input from various historical sources, there are three major periods in the development of the public education system in the lands of northeastern Ukraine of the period under review.

Period 1 (up until the mid-18th century). This period is characterized by a gradual decline in Cossack autonomy. In Leftbank Ukraine, they would appoint a hetman whose candidacy had to be first approved by the Tsar authorities, with the latter guiding and controlling the entire activity of the hetman administration. That being said, the Cossacks retained their own tax system. In Slobozhanshchyna, the process of discontinuation of the Cossack regiment-based paradigm had begun earlier. To be specific, in 1700 Peter I issued an edict on lifetime appointment of colonels, while in 1718 the lands of Sloboda Ukraine were incorporated into Azov Governorate, and Kharkov was made part of Kiev Governorate, which would pave the way for the creation of gubernia institutions.

The public education sector developed in the Hetmanate in pretty much the same fashion as in Sloboda Ukraine.

During the period 1740–1748, the seven regiments in Leftbank Ukraine (Nizhyn, Lubny, Chernihiv, Pereyaslav, Poltava, Pryluky, and Myrhorod) had a combined 866 schools across 1,099 settlements. Thus, approximately, there was one school per every 1,000 residents. These schools were established at the desire of the locals, who wished their children to be educated. The rural community, at its own initiative, would hire a teacher and designate a building to serve as a school. Where there was no permanent school in operation, instruction would be provided by so-called “wandering dyaks” (Vladimirskiy-Budanov, 1873: 206–209; Polonska-Vasylenko, 1995: 212).

A type of institution of secondary learning in use at the time was the collegium. These were created after the fashion of Jesuit educational institutions, based on the principle of merging Humanities-Philological education and religious-moral upbringing. That being said, the collegiums operated within the framework of the Orthodox cultural tradition (Posokhova, 2011: 6; Degtyarev, 2013: 20). In 1700, they opened up a collegium in Chernihiv, and another one was set up in Pereyaslav in 1730. These facilities had a large number of students enrolled in them: 257 at the Chernihiv Collegium (as at year-end 1728) and 130 at the Pereyaslav Collegium (1744). The teaching workforce was chiefly made up of graduates from the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy (Doroshenko, 1992: 208; Degtyarev, 2012: 14). Both collegiums were maintained with the revenue of the monasteries (Posokhova, 2011: 47).

The Kiev Brotherhood School was transformed into the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy after the fashion of Jesuit collegiums, becoming, in essence, an institution of higher learning (albeit it failed to obtain permission to teach the theological sciences) (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1995: 212). The Kiev Academy was open to all social categories – it was equally open to the children of members of the prosperous class of Cossacks and regular Cossacks, petty bourgeois, and peasants. This would make it popular among all strata of the population. At year-end 1727, the academy numbered 642 students (Maksimovich, 1913: 122).

As regards Sloboda Ukraine, research indicates that the settlers almost immediately set to establishing brotherhoods and schools after the fashion of those in operation in Rightbank Ukraine (Bahalii, 1993: 188–189). The permanently settled population of Slobozhanshchyna was made up of Ukrainians. The influence of Russian culture was being advanced via servicemen sent to the region by the Muscovite government to perform security- and bureaucracy-related work (Tytar, 2006: 88). As a result, the education system in Slobozhanshchyna resembled the one in Leftbank Ukraine. Based on the results of the 1732 Census, Sloboda’s four regiments had in operation a combined 125 schools (Kharkov Regiment – 20, Akhtyrka Regiment – 25, Izyum Regiment – 33, and Sumy Regiment – 47). In the regiment cities, there were even several of them (Kharkov – 4, Akhtyrka – 4, and Izyum – 5) (Oleynik, Oleynik, 2013: 114). Apart from slobodas and regiment cities, there were schools at the monasteries and in squire’s villages. There was one school per every 2,525 residents. Essentially, most of the region’s primary schools were parochial, as they were set up at the churches, with instruction provided by a bachelor’s-degreed dyak. At the same time, these schools were public, as they were established and maintained by the community. The curriculum incorporated instruction in grammar, writing, reading the Psalter and the Horologion, and singing. The language of instruction was Ukrainian, spoken by both the teachers and students. Students who desired a broader education would relocate from sloboda to sloboda in order to be

taught by better educated teachers, and some would reside at the school throughout their course of study (Bahalii, 1993: 190–191, 193). Researcher O.V. Tytar, who has investigated the development of Slobozhan culture and mentality, notes that back then education in the region was both of a sacral nature and of the nature of a successful social practice (Tytar, 2006: 209).

The settlers' intentions to create in Sloboda Ukraine a public education system that was a duplicate of the one in the Hetmanate implied creating a secondary educational institution of their own as well, so a collegium would be set up in the area in the early 18th century (the facility was founded in Belgorod, but was later moved to Kharkov). The Kharkov Collegium was maintained with monastery revenue and voluntary contributions. Instruction was provided in poetics, rhetoric, philosophy, theology, Latin, Slavic, and Greek. The language of instruction was Russian (Bahalii, 1993: 193). Despite the availability of the 1721 Ecclesiastical Regulation, which set out the rules for the establishment of episcopal schools, the Bishop of Belgorod, in establishing the Kharkov Collegium, was guided by the experience of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy, with relevant privileges awarded to him by Empress Anna Ioannovna (Posokhova, 2011: 43–45).

During this period, the bulk of instructors at the Kharkov Collegium were graduates of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy. Those born into families of the prosperous class of Cossacks and regular Cossacks of Slobozhanshchyna often went to institutions of higher learning in the Hetmanate. Certain students of the Kharkov Collegium went on to finish their education in Moscow or Petersburg, or relocated overseas to get a higher education in a different country altogether (Doroshenko, 1992: 227; Bahalii, 1993: 195).

The majority of researchers have noted the originality of the system of school education in northeastern Ukraine, stressing the popularity of the way public schools were organized in the region at the time – they were closely associated with the Orthodox Church, as an element of counteracting the advancement of Catholicism. However, as noted by V.L. Masliichuk, the collegiums combined in their activity the ecclesiastical Orthodox substance and a plethora of adoptions from Catholicism. Incidentally, the phenomenon of “wandering dyaks” had Latin origins, too (Masliichuk, 2009: 81).

Overall, during this period the public education system in northeastern Ukraine was characterized by the following: (1) there being in place a network of primary schools (which combined the features of public and parochial schools, which provided instruction in the fundamentals of reading and writing by way of religious books for a period of three years); (2) institutions of secondary learning such as collegiums emerging (collegiums did not exist in the rest of the Russian state at the time); (3) there being in operation an institution of higher learning – the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy, which, among other things, educated future teachers; (4) education at all institutions of learning being open to members of all social categories and all levels of education being accessible to just about any resident; (5) close ties in education between Leftbank Ukraine and Slobozhanshchyna; the development of ties with Russia, which was manifested in collegium and academy graduates getting employed in imperial institutions; (6) the tradition of determining the substance of curricula and educational programs based on the commonality of the region's cultural space; the government not regulating this type of issues in any way.

Period 2 (second half of the 18th century). The second period in the development of the public education system in the region is associated with the reforms of Catherine II, which cut across all spheres of life and were to ensure the centralization of power and unify the administrative apparatus across the entire empire. With Catherine II's accession to the throne, within a space of two decades virtually the entire area and population of northeastern Ukraine were incorporated into the empire. Almost all of the administrative-territorial and social set-up in both Slobozhanshchyna and the Hetmanate was transformed after the imperial fashion (Administrativno-terytorialnyi ustrii, 1990: 6-7; Bahalii, 1993: 85-86, 110; Degtyarev, 2016: 181-182; Degtyarev, Kryvosheia, 2016: 1120-1123).

During this period, despite the fact that public schools continued to operate within the region's education sector, their significance in terms of receiving a primary education was gradually declining. Researcher G.A. Maksimovich notes quite a large number of public schools (referring to them as rural or dyak schools) in operation in the Hetmanate's regiments in the mid-18th century. To be specific, the Nizhyn Regiment had in operation a total of 217 public schools, the Lubny

Regiment – 172, the Chernihiv Regiment – 154, the Pereyaslav Regiment – 119, the Poltava Regiment – 98, the Pryluky Regiment – 69, and the Myrhorod Regiment – 37. At year-end 1768, the area which going forward would house the Chernihiv, Horodenka, and Sosnytsia districts had a total of 134 schools in operation (Polonska-Vasylenko, 1995: 211). Little is known about the number of students at those institutions. Based on official records for 1760 and 1762, the two schools in the Lubny Regiment alone numbered 1,624 and 1,781 boys, respectively (Maksimovich, 1913: 139, 142-143).

Many of the villages also had parish schools. By the year 1770, the Chernihiv Regiment alone had over 89 parish schools in operation. Instruction in them was provided by dyaks exclusively. These facilities provided instruction in writing and reading (Maksimovich, 1913: 162-163).

The above type of school was highly popular back in the 1760s, and was supported by top officials in the Hetmanate, and later on even by members of the imperial administration. Yet, over time their number did, however, decline. For instance, in the Chernihiv Regiment alone out of 118 schools in operation between 1740 and 1748 only 89 continued to operate by 1770. Gradually, by the late 18th century, the region lost all its schools that existed at the churches (Maksimovich, 1913: 162-163). Based on the ratio of primary schools to the population in Slobozhanshchyna at year-end 1804, there was a gradual decrease in their number compared with the mid-18th century – one school per every 2,135 residents (Bahalii, 1993: 193).

Overall, the period is characterized by the national system of school education being gradually replaced by a system featuring new types of educational institutions, which were being established throughout the empire (Martynenko, 2012: 6-7). Many researchers ascribe the gradual decline in public schools to the effects of imperial policy. Yet, V.L. Masliichuk sees the reason behind the extinction of schools where instruction was provided by dyaks in a change in the religious and secular spheres of influence. Similar processes took place in the education sector in Germany and Poland (Masliichuk, 2009: 86). The cancelling out of Ukrainian originality, including in education, may also have had to do with the spread of the ideas of Enlightenment in the Russian Empire (Tytar, 2006: 88).

The changes in the public education system had to do with the objective need to alter the content of education as a whole. As regards education in schools operating as part of a church, it mainly was about teaching a student to read and having them study the Psalter. The state, however, needed now more than just inculcating Christian values into the children of its citizens.

As a result of a series of administrative reforms undertaken in the second half of the 18th century, the public administration system in the Russian Empire became a lot more complex, with the bureaucratic apparatus growing dozens of times larger. The government now needed a large number of educated functionaries, who were to ensure the proper operation of new government institutions at all levels. This was one of the key reasons behind the intention to create an education system capable of satisfying such a need. Besides, given that it was a multinational empire, it is a centralized education system that was to take on the function of nurturing a citizen who would not only be well-educated but loyal to the Russian state as well.

Consequently, the new education system was being unified – it would make no allowance for the regions' national characteristics, with the secondary education sector administered by a civil entity (governors and welfare boards) (Pivovarov, 2002: 11). In 1786, the government issued the Charter for Public Schools in the Russian Empire, which promulgated the creation of the following type of institutions of general learning – public schools with no particular focus in terms of social category or professional field. Concurrently, the nobility organized educational institutions of its own, where superior conditions were created for the student, with instruction provided by top teachers (Starodubtsev, 2012: 38–39). In northeastern Ukraine, the authorities established public schools in Kharkov, Chernihiv, and Novgorod-Seversky, as well as a few private male and female boarding schools (Pivovarov, 2002: 11). The only way for women to get access to education at the time was via private female boarding schools. These institutions were mainly set up and maintained by foreigners, who organized the educational process as they saw it fit. A key focus in these was on teaching French and cultivating refined manners (Sukhenko, 1998: 63). At year-end 1781, there were several foreign boarding schools in operation in Leftbank Ukraine (specifically, in Romny and Hlukhiv) (Domanitskiy, 1901: 450).

The Charter for Public Schools in the Russian Empire was the first document that clearly set out the requirements to teachers. It made it mandatory to use uniform textbooks and programs

(Getmanskaya, 2012: 32). The educational process was now regulated down to the smallest detail. The objective was to cultivate in elementary graders the ideals of patriotism and serving the monarchy. This was expected to nurture a citizen who would be useful to the state (Starodubtsev, 2012: 39).

During this period, they continued to operate collegiums. However, amid various interactions with European universities, including under the influence of the ideas of Enlightenment, the government gradually realized that the existing model of collegium failed to meet the needs of the era (Posokhova, 2011: 309). Essentially, between the 1760s and 1780s collegiums turned from institutions of general learning into purely ecclesiastical educational institutions. And that was despite attempts to change this. For instance, starting in 1766 the curriculum of the Kharkov Collegium became more diverse – it now included French and German, mathematics, geometry, drawing, engineering, artillery, and geodesy (Bahalii, 1993: 195). However, the further unification of ecclesiastical educational institutions would transform the principles of operation of collegiums, which over time would eventually be equated in status with ecclesiastical seminaries of the Russian Empire (Posokhova, 2011: 314–315).

By the end of the 18th century, the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy was no longer at the forefront of education in the region. The content of education at the academy had started to fall out of sync with the needs of the time due to its theological-scholastic nature. Despite the fact that the institution was open to all social categories, government policy at the time led to an exodus of the laity, who tended now to pursue a higher education at Moscow University or Western European universities (Degtyarev, 2014: 117; Doroshenko, 1992: 208). At year-end 1779, the academy numbered just 243 students (Maksimovich, 1913: 123).

Many researchers have noted the special significance of the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy for the history of Ukraine and the development of pedagogical thought. Over the period it was in operation, it had provided education to many Ukrainians who later joined the ranks of educated clergy and intellectuals, holding public offices in the 18th century (Kochubei, 2007: 42).

An important event in the making of the public education system in the Russian Empire was the creation, in 1755, of Moscow University and the establishment at it of two gymnasia (one for nobles and one for *raznochintsy*, both using a similar program) (Gurkina, 2001: 13). Moscow University was regarded by public opinion as a major science, education, and culture hub. It would go on to have a significant effect on the future development of the education system in the Russian Empire, as it was a large educational, instructional, and cultural center that turned out qualified manpower for scientific work and government service, developed teaching aids for instructors at public and private schools, and helped build a professorial corporation (Ershov, 2003: 18–19).

There also were plans to organize university-based education in the lands of the once-existing Hetmanate and Sloboda Ukraine. Note that plans like these were mainly nourished by the more progressive members of the local elite. The government's attitude toward these ideas was positive, but it provided no real support for this. For instance, there were active attempts by Count K.G. Razumovsky, the last Ukrainian hetman, to establish a university in the town of Baturyn. A draft statute for this was even designed. There were plans to set up universities in Chernihiv, Sumy, and other cities (Degtyarev, 2014: 110–111). In the end, the Tsar government would drop the idea of creating institutions of higher learning in northeastern Ukraine – and that was despite the readiness of the local nobility to take on the expenses associated with maintaining those (Posokhova, 2011: 308).

Consequently, the major changes in the public education system in northeastern Ukraine were associated with the administrative reforms of Catherine II. During that period, the government launched the process of creating a new education system capable of meeting the need of the state for a large number of educated public officers and citizens loyal to the monarchy. That being said, there occurred a gradual effacement of national elements in the education sector in the left-bank Ukrainian areas incorporated into the empire. The period witnessed a unification of this area of social life based on a single imperial template. The locals were no longer in a position to make decisions as to the content of education or ways of receiving it.

Period 3 (first half of the 19th century). By the start of the 19th century, the education system in northeastern Ukraine was transformed in such a way that educational institutions within it either became part of the education system of the Russian Empire or ceased operation altogether.

The government placed the universities in charge of administering secondary education, undertook reform of public schools, and formally declared the accessibility of secondary education to all social categories (Pivovarov, 2002: 11–13). The Ministry of Public Education, created in 1802, developed and in 1803 instituted a single education system, which comprised four major levels: 1) highest – universities; 2) medium – gymnasia (which were to be set up in each gubernia town); 3) intermediate – district schools with a two-year study program (which were to be set up in each gubernia and district town); 4) lowest – parish schools (which could be set up at a parish in towns and villages) (Gurkina, 2001: 16-17). Despite the creation of new educational institutions, education did not become more accessible, however. Literacy levels among wide sections of the population were very low, as these new educational institutions were mainly accessible to members of privileged social categories, although there were some exceptions too.

Gymnasia were set up in all gubernia and certain district towns. In 1805, the so-called main schools in Kharkov and Chernihiv were reorganized into gymnasia, the same happening in 1808 in Novgorod-Seversky and Poltava. In 1825, the numbers of students across these gymnasia were as follows: Novgorod-Seversky – 148, Poltava – 104, Kharkov – 273, and Chernihiv – 102 (Siropolko, 2001: 294, 297). Normally, these institutions were open to the children of nobles and wealthy merchants, petty bourgeois, and clergy. That said, there were some exceptions too. In 1827, Emperor Nicholas I issued an edict that enjoined educational institutions of secondary and higher learning to admit only the children of members of free social categories, whereas the children of serfs were allowed to attend parish and district schools only (Gurkina, 2001: 18; Siropolko, 2001: 296-297).

Another type of educational institutions that continued to operate in northeastern Ukraine is ecclesiastical schools. As a result of reform of the public education system, the empire witnessed a change in their status and their role in the educational process. A reform of ecclesiastical schools implemented by Alexander I in 1808 helped transform the structure of the sector for this type of educational institutions. The Kharkov, Nizhyn, Pereyaslav, and Novgorod-Seversky collegiums were granted the status of seminaries answerable to the Kiev Ecclesiastical Academy. In form of organization and content and focus of activity, these facilities differed substantially from 18th-century Orthodox collegiums (Posokhova, 2011: 316-319).

The period is characterized by a start to the development of female secondary education. There was a rise in female educational institutions, with there emerging social initiative in the cause of female education. One of the first initiatives of this kind is the creation in 1812 of the Kharkov Institute for Noble Maidens (Dneprov, Usacheva, 2009: 50). In 1820, they launched a private female school for girls from noble and merchant families. A little later, they set up several female boarding schools (Oleynik, Oleynik, 2013: 117-118). Institutes for noble maidens were also established in Poltava (1818) and Kiev (1833). Except for the one in Kiev, these institutes opened up thanks to local initiative and with no support from the state. Setting up an educational institution of this kind required permission from the government, and they had to be organized in line with the requirements set by the Imperial Educational Society for Noble Maidens (Petersburg). Later on, the institutes in Kharkov and Poltava would be funded out of the state budget (Sukhenko, 1998: 64-65). A key objective for female institutions of learning in the Russian Empire was to nurture prim and proper wives and mothers, without encumbering the girls with excessive scientific knowledge. For instance, the rationale for having to study arithmetic was the need for women to perform calculations, while in the case of history it was about the ability to explain what was behind the existing state of affairs in domestic society (Dneprov, Usacheva, 2009: 47-50).

Apart from public schools, another type of educational institutions that entered rather wide use during the first quarter of the 19th century is private boarding schools. In Kiev alone between 1801 and 1803 permits were granted for the establishment of three private boarding schools, with one opening up in Nizhyn as well. The rise in educational institutions of this type drew the attention of the Ministry of Public Education, which would result in 1811 in an edict enjoining that the language of instruction in them be Russian and that they teach the Law of the Lord. They also were enjoined to pay a tax, proceeds from which would go toward special schools for the children of impoverished nobles (Domanitskiy, 1901: 451-455).

Essentially, private boarding schools became an alternative to boarding schools for nobles that operated as part of gymnasia in the region. Quite often institutions of this kind were maintained by foreigners, although there are sufficient examples of boarding schools set up by

members of the local nobility as well. There is some information on five boarding schools of this kind in operation in 1828 in Sloboda Ukraine (Kharkov) Governorate alone. These were run by E. von Bierich, E. Prelat, A. de Roberti, court counselor A. Nageleva, and court counselor M. Robush. Two of these individuals were foreigners. Just two of the boarding schools were for males ([GAKhO, F.266. Op. 1. D. 9. L. 18](#)). Note also that, normally, this type of institutions did not number many students.

The first half of the 19th century was characterized by boosts in the development of higher education in the region. The leftbank Ukrainian governorates (i.e., the Chernihiv, Kharkov, Poltava, and, partly, Kiev governorates) established the region's first institutions of higher learning.

Members of an active portion of the Kharkov nobility headed by V.N. Karazin managed to obtain from the Tsar government permission to set up a university in Kharkov, the funding for which was going to be provided by local nobles and merchants ([Bagaley et al., 1906: 4-9](#)). The university opened up between 1804 and 1805. Based on its constitution, the university was comprised of four departments (Philology, Moral and Political Sciences, Physics and Mathematics, Therapeutics and Medicine) and 25 sub-departments. It was answerable to the Ministry of Public Education and the Supervisor for the educational district directly ([Tytar, 2015: 181](#)). The activity of Kharkov University, as the educational district's central institution, had a significant effect on the development of secondary education in the region (the district incorporated areas that extended way beyond Leftbank Ukraine). It is based on this university that the authorities would conduct the instructional management of all lower-level educational institutions, optimize the educational process, and resolve issues related to funding and staffing ([Bagaley et al., 1906: 105-106](#)).

Nearly three decades later, in 1833, the authorities set up the Kiev University of St. Vladimir. An institution with less autonomy compared with its counterparts, this university was viewed as an educational and administrative facility set up for the purposes of managing the newly-established Kiev educational district. Some researchers see the key reason behind the establishment of Kiev University in the need to Russify the region subsequent to the Polish uprising of 1830-1831 ([Narys istorii universytetu, 2009: 4, 46](#)). Yet, from the very start of its operation the influence of Kiev University on the development of public education in the Russian Empire as a whole and across northeastern Ukraine in particular would prove to be quite immense.

In 1835, the authorities ended the autonomy of the universities and discontinued their function of managing other educational institutions. Institutions of secondary learning were now made answerable to the Supervisors for the educational districts ([Pivovarov, 2002: 13](#)). Although this would shrink the educational activity of Kharkov University, the facility would, nevertheless, continue to be a leader in putting into action the useful input of the European scholarly community. Its activity would facilitate the development of the city and the entire region. Many a graduate of Kharkov University would achieve high ranks and positions going forward ([Bagaley et al., 1906: 165-168](#)).

The region had one more institution of high learning in operation at the time – the Prince Bezborodko Nizhyn Gymnasium of Higher Sciences, established in 1805 with the approval of Emperor Alexander I. The founding of this facility is associated with the will of Prince A.A. Bezborodko, who was deceased by then. In charge of the gymnasium's actual infrastructural development was the prince's brother Count I.A. Bezborodko, who committed toward the cause nearly 82,000 rubles worth of his own funds. On top of that, over the course of seven years he would allocate each year toward the facility 20,000 from his late brother's and 15,000 rubles from his own resources. The gymnasium started operation in 1820. Its constitution (as at February 19, 1825) stated that "a diploma from this gymnasium is equal in force to one from a Russian university" ([Supronyuk, 2009: 12](#)). Although initially this educational institution was established as a gymnasium, it would change status twice by the mid-19th century. Specifically, via a special government edict, it was first given the status of a lyceum in 1832 (the Nizhyn Physics and Mathematics Lyceum). In 1840, via an edict of Nicholas I, the facility was renamed into the Nizhyn Law Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko.

The lyceum would admit individuals who had successfully finished a gymnasium. Home-educated individuals would have to have passed an exam to prove they met gymnasium-level academic standards. The lyceum is known to have funded the education of 24 students from families of impoverished nobles. In entering a civil service position, those who graduated from the Nizhyn Lyceum with the rank of Valid Student would automatically be promoted to Class 14 in the

Table of Ranks, and those who did with the rank of Candidate – to Class 12 (Degtyarev, 2014: 127, 135; Supronyuk, 2009: 12).

Thus, the development of the public education system in northeastern Ukraine in the first half of the 19th century is characterized by greater government regulation of the activity of educational institutions. Note that the region's public education system continually underwent change. There is evidence of greater differential treatment of individuals based on social category membership, with the underprivileged having access to primary education only. The positive characteristics include an increase in the number of secondary educational institutions, both male and female, the creation of Kiev University and Kharkov University, and the establishment of the Nizhyn Lyceum of Prince Bezborodko. Kharkov University, the educational district's central institution, had a significant impact on the development of education not only in northeastern Ukrainian governorates but in other regions of the empire as well. The activity of educational institutions at the time was ideologically and politically oriented toward nurturing a loyal citizen of the Empire, regardless of the population's national characteristics. Yet, a large number of educational institutions in the region were established at the initiative of and with participation from members of the local elites, who realized the need to develop public education in those areas.

5. Conclusion

The making of the public education system in northeastern Ukraine in the period spanning the 18th and the first half of the 19th centuries was influenced by common European trends associated with the spread of the ideas of Enlightenment, as well as the process of fulfilling the imperial government's need to nurture a citizen who would be useful to the state. What made the public education system in those Ukrainian areas different from the ones in other regions of the Russian Empire is the influence of the activity of Catholic educational institutions in the area and the desire to preserve Ukrainian national specificity, with a significant component thereof being Orthodox religious affiliation. The unification of education based on a single imperial template and the centralization of administration of the activity of educational institutions facilitated the effacement of all national characteristics in the sector. In the first half of the 19th century, the uniform education system was finally installed in all regions of the Russian Empire, with its key function being to nurture a well-educated citizen who would be loyal to the Russian state.

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