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Statutory Regulation of the Operation of Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums in the Russian Empire

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Abstract

This paper addresses the statutory regulation of the operation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in the Russian Empire.

The principal sources used for the study were a set of relevant statutory instruments, including Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education, Additions and Explanations to the Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education, and Rules for Conferring Imperial Awards.

Methodologically, use was made of sets of legal, historical, and general research methods, including the hermeneutical method, the legal analysis method, the formal-legal method, the historical-systematic method, the historical-typological method, content analysis, synthesis, and systems analysis.

The study's findings revealed that the brisk development in the nation's female gymnasium sector (gymnasiums and progymnasiums) was the result of the liberal reforms initiated by Emperor Alexander II, with attempts made by the government to establish a statutory framework for institutions in this sector.

A foundational statutory instrument was *Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education*, which laid out general terms for the operation of such institutions, covered their key administrative, curricular, and economic matters and issues related to government assistance for students, and established the legal status of their executives and students.

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All fine-tuning with regard to legal status was performed via *Additions and Explanations to the Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education*, released each time new major issues arose regarding the operation of such schools. Intended to help close such loopholes, the *Additions* were legally convenient in the sense that they were of no clear-cut structure and were introduced as needed. There also was a separate set of statutory instruments concerned with refining particular elements.

Keywords: system of education in the Russian Empire, female gymnasiums, statutory regulation of educational activity in the Russian Empire, secondary education.

1. Introduction

Until recently, women's role in public life in most traditional societies (as was the case in the Russian Empire) was not expected to be very active, with their primary duties (which even was the case with the privileged estate of nobility) mainly reduced to housework and child-rearing. Hence, little premium was placed on their education. However, Russia had to fall in line with the worldwide trend toward gender equality, with the fair sex increasingly taking an active part in the life of Russian society. To engage in academic, entrepreneurial, or educational activity, women would need a corresponding level of education. The liberal reforms initiated by Emperor Alexander II sped up the development of female education in Russia. The present paper seeks to provide an insight into the statutory regulation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in prerevolutionary Russia.

2. Materials and methods

The principal sources used for the study were a set of relevant statutory instruments, including Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870), Decision of the State Council on a Draft Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education Imperially Signed into Law on May 24, 1870 (Mnenie Gosudarstvennogo Soveta..., 1870), Additions and Explanations to the Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871), and Rules for Conferring Imperial Awards (Pravila ob isproshenii..., 1898).

Methodologically, use was made of sets of legal (hermeneutical, legal analysis, and formal-legal), historical (historical-systematic and historical-typological), and general research (content analysis, synthesis, and systems analysis) methods.

3. Discussion

The operation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in the Russian Empire has been covered in the literature fairly extensively.

Among the prerevolutionary authors, of particular mention are Ye. Likhacheva (with her multivolume collection 'Materials for the History of Female Education in Russia' (Likhacheva, 1901)), V. Ovtsyn (with his fundamental work 'Development of Female Education: A Historical Essay' (Ovtsyn, 1887)), and P.G. Oldenburgsky (with his collection of instructional and didactic materials 'Guidelines for the Education of Students at Female Educational Institutions' (Ol'denburgskii, 1852)).

Among the Soviet-period works, of particular note is G.A. Tishkin's 'The Women's Question in Russia in the 1850s–60s', which, among other things, examines the systems of higher, secondary, lower, and primary female education in the Russian Empire (Tishkin, 1984).

Contemporary research on the subject is a lot more numerous. Much of this research is focused on the regional aspect. It also tends to provide a fairly detailed coverage of individual schools, with extensive use made of relevant archival materials.

Of particular note are the works by M.M. Regalyuk (Regalyuk, 2008), Ye.G. Isakova (Исакова, 2008), S.P. Vasil'yeva (Vasil'eva, 2010), A. Kalachev (Kalachev, 2007), V.M. Konstantinov and I.B. Nedosekina (Konstantinov, Nedosekina, 1992), N.A. Dmitriyeva (Dmitrieva, 2008), Ye. Orlova (Orlova, 1999), and O.I. Shafranova (Shafranova, 2013).

At the same time, there are relatively few works exploring the statutory regulation of the operation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in the Russian Empire. One of the few such works is the article by N.F. Katsalova, which provides an insight into the development of the organizational-legal foundations of female education in late 19th and early 20th century Russia through the example of a set of relevant statutes (Katsalova, 2013). Consequently, there appears to be relevance

in gaining a better insight into the statutory regulation of the operation of the female gymnasium sector in the Russian Empire.

4. Results

Without doubt, one of the most important statutory documents regulating the operation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in the Russian Empire is *Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education* (hereinafter 'Regulation'). Of particular mention is Item 1 of the *Regulation*, according to which "female gymnasiums and progymnasiums under the purview of the Ministry of Public Education have the felicity to operate under the auspices of Her Imperial Highness Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 1).

The *Regulation* includes the following sections:

- general provisions (key categories and concepts; goals and objectives of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums; size and duration of the course of study);
- management of gymnasiums and progymnasiums (general provisions regarding the work of the boards of regents and the teachers councils, administrators, and instructors);
 - educational part (academic disciplines);
- economic part and government subsidies (administrative-and-facilities management;
 requirements for government scholarship recipients;
 conditions for receipt of one-time government assistance);
- rights and entitlements at female gymnasiums and progymnasiums (legal status of executives, employees, and students).

The document stipulated that such educational institutions were to cater to "female students from all social and religious backgrounds" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 2). They were to be answerable to the Trustee of the Educational District, and could be opened with his permission "in any cities where it will be possible to have them in operation via public or private donations" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 3). As we can see, while the government did seek to make such educational institutions accessible to all, it did not wish to be the only provider of funding for the purpose.

Female gymnasiums offered a course of study consisting of seven 1-year-long grades. There also was an additional, preparatory, course with a length of 1 to 2 years (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 4). By comparison, progymnasiums had a course of study consisting of at least three 1-year-long grades. Interested schools that could afford it could have its size increased (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 5).

Special treatment was given to the institution of honorary trustees: "The Governor's title makes him the Honorary Trustee of all female gymnasiums and progymnasiums in a given governorate. To ensure that the best practices for obtaining funding for the support of already existing female gymnasiums and progymnasiums, as well as opening new educational institutions of this kind, are employed, there may be formed in each governorate, at the direction of the Governor, special committees from individuals willing to help facilitate the achievement of this objective. While taking no direct part in managing female gymnasiums, the Governor may, should he spot a disruption, give relevant directions to the Board of Regents of a given gymnasium or progymnasium; in particularly severe circumstances he may inform the Trustee of the Educational District or directly apprize the Minister of Public Education of it" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 6).

An exception was made for the Caucasus Educational District, where it was allowed for the post of Honorary Trustee to be filled by any person who would agree to fund the education of at least six scholarship recipients and contribute to the cause at least 720 rubles every year (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: Prim. 1). Honorary trustees could also be appointed "from above" — by the Minister of Public Education or even by the Emperor himself (e.g., the appointment of P.P. Demidov, the 2nd Prince of San Donato, who funded the operation of a number of secondary schools in Nizhny Tagil).

The Regulation's Section 2 set out the rules for administrating female gymnasiums and progymnasiums. Each school of this kind was to be governed by two governing bodies (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 7):

- Board of Regents, focused on issues related to a school's development and funding (both funds from the public (e.g., charitable contributions) and those from the Board's members);

- Teachers Council, concerned strictly with educational work at a given school.

The duties of managing the pedagogical team and organizing the pedagogical process were to be handled by the director of a given gymnasium or progymnasium, and it had to be a female director exclusively. One would be appointed to the post by the Minister of Public Education (with gymnasiums) or the Trustee of the Educational District (with progymnasiums) (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 8). This approach is testimony to the importance of the role assigned to secondary educational institutions by top education officials and the Emperor personally – gymnasiums and progymnasiums served as the breeding ground for the future elite of the intelligentsia, above all pedagogues, i.e. individuals who upon completion of their course of study would themselves engage in teaching youth in accordance with the ideological guideposts nurtured in them. Taking into consideration that the liberal reforms initiated by Alexander II kickstarted the revolutionary movement, it is hard to overstate the role of those in charge of gymnasiums in lobbying the interests of the autocratic government and, what is particularly important, in inculcating students with the corresponding political views.

Assistants to the director, referred to as supervisors, were appointed by the Trustee of the Educational District (or, to use present-day terminology, the regional education minister) (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 8).

All female gymnasiums and progymnasiums had the Board of Regents elect a female trustee (from among a given city's more distinguished women). The *Regulation* expressly states that her role was to seek out and bring in sponsor funds for the school ("The Trustee will be elected by the Board of Regents from among the city's more distinguished persons capable of contributing, through their influence, to the prosperity of a given gymnasium or progymnasium" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 11)). There were exceptions too. For instance, one would be elected to the position of Trustee of Askhabad Female Gymnasium by the Trustee of the Educational District (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: Prim. k st. 11). Decisions regarding election to the post of trustee of a gymnasium were typically made at a very high level of government – by Grand Duchess Maria Pavlovna herself upon recommendation of the Minister of Public Education, with the latter normally making those concerning appointment to the post of trustee of a progymnasium (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 12).

The Board of Regents was vested with the following powers and duties: "1) electing the Trustee and the Director; 2) seeking out funding to help improve the material condition of the school; 3) budgeting expenditure; 4) managing payroll; 5) keeping track of the expenditure of the school's funds; 6) determining the size of tuition fees, which at all events must be lower in progymnasiums; 7) exempting disadvantaged students from paying tuition fees; 8) providing financial assistance to the poorest students distinguished by assiduity and good conduct; 9) ensuring the school is kept in good order and condition at all times" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 15).

The Teachers Council was concerned with the following: "1) admitting students and transferring students from one grade to another; 2) issuing the certificate of school completion to graduating students and issuing the certificate for the title of home teacher to those who completed the special additional course; 3) conferring awards on students distinguished by good conduct, assiduity, and progress; 4) appointing the Secretary of the Council and the Librarian from among the school's instructors; 5) drawing up the rules for the storage and dispensation of books at the library; 6) considering the yearly report on the educational part; 7) enforcing the rules for penalizing misbehaving students; 8) determining the volume of learning material available to students; 9) dealing with any directives on instruction and education not covered in Items 1 through 45 and in the special instruction from the Minister of Public Education" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 19).

The law strictly regulated the curriculum for gymnasiums and progymnasiums as well. The following core subjects were to be taught at three-grade progymnasiums: 1) Divinity; 2) Russian (explanatory reading; grammar basics); 3) Russian History and Geography (a condensed course incorporating a geographic survey of the parts of the world); 4) Arithmetic (the four fundamental operations with integers; concrete numbers; fractions; possibility of practical application to accounting); 5) Penmanship; 6) Handicraft (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 24). The note to Item 24 of the *Regulation* tells us that at female progymnasiums with more than three grades "the course of study is to be modeled after that used at gymnasiums" (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: prim. k st. 24).

The following core subjects were to be taught at female gymnasiums: 1) Divinity; 2) Russian (grammar; familiarization with top works on philology); 3) Arithmetic (with application to accounting) and Geometry (basics); 4) Geography (world geography and Russian geography); 5) History (world history and Russian history); 6) Natural History and Physics (key concepts; information related to home management and hygiene); 7) Penmanship; 8) Handicraft; 9) Gymnastics (where there were suitable premises available for the purpose) (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 25).

The following subjects were elective: French, German, Drawing, Music, Singing, and Dancing (Polozhenie o zhenskikh gimnaziyakh..., 1870: st. 26).

In 1871, the Ministry of Public Education released Additions and Explanations to the Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education (hereinafter 'Additions'), intended to help fine-tune information related to the legal status of schools' executives and students (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871). Changes to the Regulation would be made as new issues arose regarding the operation of such schools.

In particular, the first two *Additions* addressed in a more detailed manner and through the example of the Kiev Educational District issues of subordination with female gymnasiums and progymnasiums. They also introduced changes to Items 10 and 17 (dealing with Board of Regents membership) (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871: p. 1-2).

The third *Addition*, adopted on March 8, 1875, fine-tuned the regulation of certain administrative issues, namely oversight of the work of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums on the part of the Ministry of Public Education – directors of male gymnasiums could no longer oversee the work of female secondary educational institutions, with this function now vested in an officer from the Ministry – in this case, the Trustee of the Educational District. The Trustee could delegate his powers to a person on the staff of his office, more specifically the Public Schools Inspector (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871: p. 3).

The implementation of the counter-reforms and the resulting use of tougher censorship measures and heightened surveillance of educational organizations by the police led to the adoption of the addition whereby "any societies based at educational institutions must inform the local authority of the day, time, and place of their meetings and specify the subjects for discussion at them" (*Proposal from the Minister of Public Education No. 10656 of July 9, 1893* (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871: p. 6)). Societies would have to provide all that information to the "civil authority" at the instance of the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

The addition On Empowering the Administration of an Educational District to Set, in Opening Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums, Requirements on the Material Part of Their Operation regulated requirements on the material part set by a region's education authority. It reads as follows: "As regards the issue of whether the Administration of an educational district has the right to set down, in opening female gymnasiums and progymnasiums, special requirements for their founders with regard to the material aspect, it clearly follows from the purport of the law on the opening of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums (Article 2682, Vol. 11, Part 1, Code of Laws, 1893) that before it gives permission to open such a school the Administration not only may, but must, ascertain whether the facility has the capability and resources to operate efficiently. In this regard, the Ministry finds that it would be perfectly appropriate to request detailed receipts and expenditure statements. In addition, given that nothing is known yet of a school's workforce, the Administration of an educational district may, to be on the safe side, change the size of salaries to be paid to its staff and seek the establishment of minimum pay rates as an essential condition for opening the educational institution" (Dopolneniya i raz"yasneniya..., 1871: p. 12). As we can see, the objective behind setting such requirements was to ascertain that a school had both solid material-and-technical foundations and a robust social component (e.g., ability to make timely salary payments).

A separate set of statutory instruments regulated the legal status of officers at such schools. This includes the following: On Hiring, Transferring, and Dismissing Staff (Ob opredelenii na sluzhbu..., 1871); On Hiring Women for Work in Government Agencies (Ob opredelenii na sluzhbu..., 1871: p. 1); On Appointment to Teaching Positions at Secondary Educational Institutions Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education (Ob opredelenii na sluzhbu..., 1871: p. 2); On the Appointment of Full-Time Pedagogy Teachers in Female Gymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education (Ob opredelenii na sluzhbu, 1871: p. 4).

The ordinance On the Chairman of the Teachers Council at Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education regulated the legal status of the Chairman of the Teachers Council at such schools (O Predsedatelyakh Pedagogicheskikh Sovetov..., 1874). On the Director and the Trustee of Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education regulated that of those in charge of such schools (O nachal'nitse i popechitel'nitse..., 1905). On Doctors at Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums regulated that of medical personnel (O vrachakh..., 1871).

Overall, it can be concluded that the *Regulation* provided general principles for statutory regulation of the operation of female gymnasiums and progymnasiums, whilst it is via particular ordinances and directives from either the Emperor or the Minister of Public Education that certain issues would be regulated to fill gaps arising in the context of the operation of such schools.

5. Conclusion

The study yielded the following conclusions:

- 1. The brisk development in the nation's female gymnasium sector (gymnasiums and progymnasiums) was the result of the liberal reforms initiated by Emperor Alexander II, with attempts made to establish a statutory framework for institutions in this sector. Specifically, in 1870 the government adopted the foundational statutory instrument *Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education*, which laid out general terms for the operation of such institutions, covered their key administrative, curricular, and economic matters and issues related to government assistance for students, and established the legal status of their executives and students.
- 2. All fine-tuning with regard to legal status was performed via Additions and Explanations to the Regulation on Female Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Under the Purview of the Ministry of Public Education, first introduced in 1871 under the aegis of the Ministry of Public Education. This document was released each time new major issues arose regarding the operation of such schools. Intended to close such loopholes, the Additions were legally convenient in the sense that they were of no clear-cut structure and were introduced as needed.
- 3. There also was a separate set of statutory instruments concerned with refining particular elements, which, just like the *Additions*, were published up until the Revolution of 1917 began. These instruments more accurately regulated the work of the administration, the teaching councils, and medical personnel and issues related to remunerating staff.

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