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Russia

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HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL IN RUSSIA

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IV

THE HISTORY OF THE SCHOOL IN RUSSIA¹

I

It was in the summer of 1836 when in the *Telescope*, one of the leading literary monthlies, an article appeared entitled "Philosophical letters." The author of this article was Chaadayeff.² This article made a greater stir than anything ever printed in Russia. It set the whole Russian literary world in a state of frenzy; it enraged the Emperor and higher bureaucracy. Chaadayeff was immediately ordered by the Emperor himself to be declared as insane, and a physician was ordered to send written reports every week to the Emperor in regard to Chaadayeff's mental condition. The editor of the magazine was sent to Siberia, and the rector of the Moscow University, who was acting at that time as censor of all Moscow publications, was dismissed.

There was nothing revolutionary in this article, it did not excite to any political action. Quite the opposite. Every word was solemn, breathing absolute despair. It simply announced that Russia never had had a ray of light in the past and that it never could have a ray of hope for the future. Very quietly he explained that, in fact, Russia has neither a past nor future, and that its existence is but a great hiatus in universal history,

¹Since it is improbable that the readers of this article will have any use for sources printed in Russian, reference to Russian books will be made only in very exceptional cases.

²Chaadayeff, a scion of one of the very best Russian families, was an officer in the Imperial Guards, who even while in the army took a great interest in philosophy and politics, and was well known for his political radicalism. Besides being famous on his own account, his name in Russian literature is closely linked with that of the greatest Russian national poet, Pushkin, whose most intimate friend he was. It is a pity that even now, over eighty years after Pushkin's death, we do not have in Russia a complete edition of his works. All his political poems are not allowed to be printed, and precisely in these political poems of Pushkin we find constant reference to his friend Chaadayeff. So for instance in one of them Pushkin characterizes Chaadayeff as a man who in Rome would have been a Brutus, in Athens a Pericles, but in Russia under the yoke of autocracy he can be but a cavalry officer, etc.

and a fearful object lesson. And all that because Russia took its Christianity not from the Eternal City but from decayed Byzantium. From the start Russia, therefore, had cut itself off from the ever-living source of all European civilization—the Roman Church. That is why Russia did not take part in the great onward procession of European civilization. For while Western nations under the guidance of the Roman Church were learning, progressing, and developing to freedom, Russia was left isolated and alone to develop serfdom and despotism, with such moments of enlightenment as despots fancied to allow.³

Chaadayeff's fundamental proposition, while in the main erroneous, is in so far true, that the Russian civilization was to an extent cut off from that of Western Europe and developed because of Byzantine influences in a peculiar and rather isolated way.

But all conclusions on the basis of *post hoc ergo propter hoc* are to say the least very risky. It is true that the Roman Church became the school-teacher of Western Europe, and it is equally true that the Eastern Church did not play the same rôle in Russia. But to draw from this fact the conclusion that the lack of schooling in Russia is entirely due to the Byzantine source of its Christianity is as justifiable as to attribute to the lack of universities in China the fact that the Celestials have not contributed anything to the development of classical philology.

The Christian Church thruout its history was at least as much influenced as it was influencing, and that is why it became the universal church. Read that most beautiful piece of medieval Latin, the prolog to the Lex Salica, in which Christ is lauded as the War Lord of the Franks, whom He especially elected and to protect whose arms is His supreme care. Could the Franks accept Christianity on another basis? Ideas can be inherited, borrowed, or imported, but to become a living force they have to adjust themselves to existing social con-

³ There is a French edition of Chaadayeff's writings: *Œuvres choisies de Pierre Tchaadaïef*, publiées pour la première fois par le Prince Gagazin de la Compagnie de Jésus, Paris, 1872.

ditions. As Goethe says somewhere, "Was du ererbt von deinen Vätern hast, Erwirb es um es zu besitzen," and this "Erwerbungsprozess" is the process of adjustment. Perhaps by the constant intercourse thru war and peaceful trade with Byzantium the Russian warriors became enlightened skeptics so far as their own idols were concerned and began to have a slight suspicion as to the capacity of their gods. Russia then adopted Christianity, but Byzantine Christianity was too sublime and its content too deep for the common pagan of yesterday. A natural compromise, therefore, took place on the basis of ritual. The outward Byzantine form of Christianity was accepted without any reference to its meaning and its aims. The best historian of the Russian Church, Professor E. E. Golubinski, is justly of the opinion that in the ante-Mongol period the Russian people had not assimilated anything of their new nominal faith. Yes, even so far as form was concerned, early Russian Christianity was fused with pagan rites. For a great many centuries what Rambaud says about Russian colonists in Asia was also true about European Russia. "Between the Russians and the pagans there," says Rambaud,⁴ "is established a oneness of faith or superstition. There is no question of complicated dogmas devised by the subtle brains of Alexandria or of Byzantium. The untutored Siberians do not fall into controversies over the mystery of the Trinity, the twofold nature of the Redeemer, or Transubstantiation. The idea of God is too lofty for these coarse minds, but they all agree in placing on the summit of their Pantheon Saint Nicholas the Thaumaturgist, and above him, beneath him, or equal with him, Christ and the Virgin. Beneath these come saints, Christian, or with a physiognomy that may be pagan, Buddhistic, and at times Mohammedan. And all this multiform worship is in full harmony with the primitive cult of springs and of certain venerable trees, with the belief in demons of the forest and river sprites, and with the custom of wearing certain amulets that the orthodox priest, the Shamanist sorcerer, or the Hadji returned from

⁴ Alfred Rambaud, "The expansion of Russia," reprint from *The international monthly*, Burlington, Vt., 1900, p. 89-90.

Mecca, may furnish. What more is necessary in order to be, in this life, successful on the farm, or in fishing, or in hunting, or in war, and in the next to be certain of salvation?" It is, therefore, not altogether ignorance that made the learned Swedish theologian, Johannes Botwied, write as late as 1620 a dissertation which he defended in the Upsala University on the subject "Are the Muscovites Christians?"

But they most certainly were Christians, and if we should fail to recognize them as such, they would have had exactly the same right to fail to recognize us men of the twentieth century as such.

From the days of the Mongol invasion (1280) the Russian Metropolitans and Bishops were sent from Konstantinopol and were Greeks. They were all cultured men, but they could not understand Russian and the Russians could not have understood their Byzantine rhetoric, even if it had been translated to them. Soon, therefore, it became evident that not only the priests but also the bishops in Russia must be Russians. This, of course, meant a lowering of the clerical standard. The clergymen were illiterate, and all that possibly could be expected from them was an approximate knowledge of the ritual. The Archbishop of Novgorod, Gennadius, writes in the sixteenth century that it was impossible for him to find clergymen who could read and write, and he was therefore obliged to ordain illiterate men. These men learned the different Church offices by heart, but they could not read them. Gennadius urged the establishment of schools for clergymen, but evidently with little success. In 1551, at the so-called Stoglav Council, the question of the illiteracy of the clergy was again discussed, and it was again brought out that they learned the different Church offices by heart from their fathers and their masters, but when asked why they did not learn how to read, they answered that they had learned from their masters all they could teach, but that there was nobody from whom they could learn how to read. The Stoglav Council of 1551, therefore, decided that schools should be established in the houses of the better city priests, where the pupils were to learn how to read and write and also how to sing. And

while every Christian was welcome to send his children to these schools, their purpose was distinctly professional and clerical. It was expected that the clergy would send their children to such schools, so that the scholars on coming of age might be fit to become priests. But the decisions of the Stoglov Council were not carried out. In large cities like Moscow and Novgorod, and perhaps in some of the larger monasteries, elementary parish schools were probably established, but this did not affect the general situation. Nor were the lower clergy very friendly to schools, books, and learning.

Dr. Giles Fletcher, the learned English traveler and the author of the remarkable book, *Of the Russe common wealth*, printed in London, 1591, writes about the Russian clergy: "As themselves they are voide of all manner of learning so are they warie to keep out all meanes that might bring anie in: as fearing to have their ignorance and ungodlinesse discovered. To that purpose they have perswaded the emperours that it would breed innovation, and so danger to their state, to have anie noveltie of learning come within the realme. Wherein they say but truth, for that a man of spirit and understanding, helped by learning and liberal education can hardly indure a tyrannical governement."

Of course Dr. Fletcher lookt at the situation from a too advanced point of view. It is more than doubtful if in the sixteenth century education was feared in Russia on account of its incompatibility with the form of government, but whatever the reasons might have been, the fact remains there were no schools and that ignorance was widespread, and with this general ignorance of the clergy and the still greater ignorance of the laity the hostility towards any innovation was but natural.

This appalling ignorance has proved thruout the history of Russia to be its weakest spot, and Russia's enemies, especially Poland and Sweden, were very anxious that no ray of enlightenment should penetrate the Tsar's domain. So we see King Gustavus Adolphus sending a special embassy to Queen Mary in 1556 to remonstrate against the intercourse carried on between English merchants and the Russians,⁵ and King Sigis-

⁵ Dalin, *Geschichte von Schweden*, 1763, Vol. III, p. 360.

mund writes in 1569 to Queen Elizabeth on the same subject, some passages from which letter we quote: . . . "As we have written afore, so now we write againe to your Majesty, that we know and feele of a surety the Muscovite, enemy to all liberty under the heavens, dayly to grow mightie by the increase of such things as be brought to the Narve, while not onely warres but also weapons artificers and arts be brought unto him; by mean whereof he maketh himself strong to vanquish all others. Which things, as long as this voyage to Narve is used can not be stopped. And we perfectly know your Majesty can not be ignorant how great the cruelty is of the said enemy of what force he is, what tyranny he useth on his subjects and in what servile sort they be under him. We seemed hitherto to vanquish him only in this, that he was rude of arts and ignorant of policies. If so be that this navigation of the Narve continue, what shall be unknown to him? . . .⁶

But the Russians were not learning as much as the King Sigismund feared. More than a hundred years later (in 1676), when in the house of Boyarin Matveyeff a text-book of algebra for the instruction of his son was found, the old Boyarin was accused of dealing with evil spirits, of magic and witchcraft by means of a book filled with ciphers, and he was deprived of all his property and was exiled to the most northern part of the province of Arkhangelsk.⁷

But the neglect of public education on the part of the Church and the State was destined to avenge itself soon and very unexpectedly.

The Nemesis came in the form of the great Dissent which split the Church and gave the government no end of trouble during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries. As we have already pointed out the piety of the ignorant masses, while genuine and ardent, was purely technical. The content and meaning of the prayers became almost lost and the means of worship became the object of worship, the sole content of faith. So, for instance, when Ivan the Terrible, who was at that time one of Russia's best educated men, wanted to get

⁶ Hakluyt Society Publications, Vol. XX, London, 1856, p. 16-17.

⁷ Eugene Schuyler, *Peter the Great*, New York, 1884, Vol. I, p. 28-29.

precise information about the Lutheran faith, he orders the pastor Martin Nandelstadt to answer in writing questions like these: How does the minister enter the church? What kind of gowns do the priests wear? What do they sing at the Mass? How do they ring the church bells, alike on all holidays or differently on the great holidays? etc.

Now it happened, as was of course to be expected, that in the course of time a number of inaccuracies and obvious mistakes had crept into the Russian service-book, a fact which already in the middle of the sixteenth century the learned Greek monk Maxim from Mount Athos had properly pointed out. If, therefore, the Russian service was to be conformed to that of the Eastern Greek orthodox church a slight revision of the ritual and some minor corrections of the service-book were advisable. The Tsar Alexey Mikhaylovitch and the Patriarch Nikon decided to undertake this revision, and then the troubles began. Questions such as whether the name of Jesus should be pronounced "Isus" or "Yisus," whether in a certain portion of the Mass the word "hallelujah" be repeated twice or three times; whether the sign of the cross should be made with two forefingers extended, or with the two forefingers and the thumb conjoined as denoting the Trinity, were sufficient to split the nation in two and make tens of thousands suffer martyrdom. The government influenced the Church council held in 1666-1667 to take the side of the Patriarch Nikon. At the same time the council declared that the reason of these "rebellions" and dissents in the Church was to be found in the ignorance of the clergy. The Council, therefore, while not making any arrangements for the education of the people, insisted that each clergyman should teach his children to read, so that they might be worthy to succeed their fathers in their clerical positions, because at present, argued the Council, the country clergy is so ignorant that it is not fit to take care even of herds of cattle, to say nothing about men's souls.

But this decision of the Church Council to educate the clergy failed again. Even one hundred and twenty years later, in 1786, among the clergy of the diocese of Kazan alone,

381 were illiterate. But let us return to the seventeenth century.

Milukoff in his *Sketches on the history of Russian civilization* has admirably pointed out that the demand for secondary and higher education developed much earlier than the need of elementary schooling. That one could learn how to read and write without going to school was the general conviction. On the other hand the State and Church machinery was in sore need of men of quasi higher education. It was a practical and urgent necessity. So far as more or less learned Russian theologians are concerned they were easily to be had in Southern Russia, especially in Kieff. This city having been for a long time in possession of Poland it naturally was within the sphere of influence of the Polish civilization, and in Kieff itself the Jesuits had a Catholic academy. There was, therefore, nothing else left to the Greek orthodox Kieff monasteries of the seventeenth century except to fight the devil with fire, *i. e.*, to compete with the Jesuits in learning, as they were unable to suppress them with the sword. Many excellent men, therefore, came from Kieff and among them the learned and enlightened priest Simeon Polotski, a man high in favor with Tsar Alexey.

This priest as well as the Greek Metropolitan Paissius, urged the Tsar to establish an academy in Moscow. In 1667 Simeon Polotski was allowed to open his academy. He had but four students, all young government officials appointed to study "Latin and grammar," but really pursuing the regular "trivium" course of Polotski's Kieff alma mater. But already in the next year (1668) the government found it necessary to send the four young men on a diplomatic mission to Courland, and that was, so far as we know, the end of Polotski's academy. The reason for this failure is probably to be found in the dislike of the Moscow clergy for the Greek orthodox theologians and clergymen, who came from Kieff, and perhaps especially in their dislike for Simeon Polotski. In his writings as well as in his sermons he often referred to St. Augustine's works, to the writings of Bellarmin and of Baronius, which seemed to the Moscow clergy highly improper and in fact very suspicious.

In 1682 the pupil of Polotski, Silvester Medvedeff, finally got permission to reopen the ill-fated Slavonic Latin Academy and in 1686 he had already twenty-three pupils. At the same time the anti-Latin party felt itself obliged to open a Greek school, and in the years of 1684-1686 this school actually had as many as two hundred pupils. In 1687 the two schools were merged into one "Slavonic Greek-Latin Academy." It was primarily a theological school. This school was endowed by the government with the powers of an inquisitional tribunal in matters of faith. The teachers were obliged to take an oath that they would not offer any interpretation that might lead to doubting the truth of the Greek orthodox faith, nor would they compare Greek orthodoxy with other religions, nor would they represent other religious doctrines as superior to the teachings of the Russian Greek orthodox Church. All this on pain of being burned. In a very few years this academy went to pieces, and was reorganized as a theological academy. During the seventeenth century it accomplished, so far as we can gather, but one thing, the burning of a German mystic, a follower of Jacob Böhme, a certain Quirin Culman, who hoped with the help of Russia to establish a Church Universal.

So ended the seventeenth century, the last century of Muscovite Russia, leaving in matters of public education nothing started and nothing accomplished, leaving no Russian school, no educational traditions, except the passive resistance of ignorance.

II

To meet political conditions Russia had to be reorganized on a European basis, and Peter the Great was the man who performed the task and thereby turned Russian history into new channels. The complete reorganization of the military system and of the civil administration could not be accomplished by one man, even by an autocratic revolutionist, an indefatigable worker like Peter the Great. Helpers were needed, men with technical education, men for the army and for administrative positions. The professional and technical education of a large number of the Russian people became a condition on which

the success of Peter's enterprises depended. Therefore already in 1698 Peter imported the Englishman, Farwarson, to teach mathematics and navigation, and in 1701 a school of mathematical and naval sciences was established. All the professors, with the exception of one Russian, were Englishmen; the students were taught arithmetic, geometry, trigonometry, geodesy, some astronomy and navigation. But as a matter of fact the students were also taught reading and writing.

This naval school was the first secular school in Russia, and it prepared young men not only for the navy, but many of its graduates afterwards became artillery-officers, civil and military engineers, school-teachers, architects, or officers in the civil service. This school existed for fifteen years. In 1715, when the Naval Academy in St. Petersburg was established, the Moscow institution became a preparatory school for the academy.⁸

In 1714 Peter the Great began earnestly to consider the problem of general compulsory education thruout Russia. This end he hoped to achieve by the establishment of elementary "arithmetical" schools in the country and by prohibiting all marriages unless the men were graduated from these schools. The laws past by Peter on these subjects are extremely curious,⁹ but of course to enforce them was out of the question. Besides, the number of these schools was altogether inadequate. By 1716 twelve such schools were opened, and in 1720-22 thirty more were established.

It is very fortunate that statistical data about these arithmetical schools were collected in 1727, and these statistics show us that altogether during the previous year something over two thousand pupils were taught in these schools.

Out of these :

931 were children of the clergy	45.4 per cent.
402 were children of soldiers	19.6 "
374 were children of civil officers	18.2 "
93 were children of artizans and tradesmen	4.5 "
53 were children of the nobility	2.5 "

⁸ Graf D. A. Tolstoy. *Ein Blick auf das Unterrichtswesen Russlands im XVIII. Jahrhundert.* Uebersetzt von P. v. Kugeln in *Beitrage zur Kenntnis, des Russischen Reiches.* Zweite Folge, Br. VIII, St. Petersburg, 1885, p. 25-27.

⁹ Complete Collection of Laws of the Russian Empire, N. 2762 and 2778.

In 1721 Peter ordered all the Episcopal sees to open diocesan schools, and within four years forty-six were established. In 1727 in these forty-six schools there were 3,056 pupils. And by the end of Peter's reign there were all told one hundred and ten elementary schools in Russia.

Of course the number of schools does not represent at all adequately the Great Monarch's significance for Russian Education. First of all, he was the first Russian Tsar to recognize personal worth and ability.¹⁰ He personally cared little for the ancestry of the office-holder. Did he not himself marry a pretty Esthonian girl, who was Menshikoff's mistress? And was not Peter's favorite, Prince Menshukoff, but a baker's apprentice in his youth? If a Russian nobleman was ambitious to reach a high position under Peter, he had to have the necessary educational and other qualifications for such a position. That meant that education in Russia began to have almost the significance it has in modern life. If it was not yet a condition of existence, it was, so far as higher grades of public service were concerned, a condition of success. The innumerable young men sent abroad by Peter, and the thousands of foreigners imported by Peter to Russia, meant the educational progress of the people. Also Peter's revolutionary tearing down of all the barriers of convention and of prejudice that stood in the way of Russia's Europeanization—crude as his methods were—meant educational advance.

So we see that Peter introduced Western civilization into Russia, at least *en principe*. That this civilization did not go down deep enough, that educational facilities were provided for but very few, is a merely quantitative consideration. The important thing was that an organization had been created which the nation had to maintain, and a standard established to which the nation had to conform. In other words, conditions were established under which in course of time the

¹⁰ Interesting is Herzen's comparison of Peter the Great with Napoleon: "Tandis qu'un siècle après, Napoléon couvrait chaque année de quelque nouveau lambeau royal son origine bourgeoise, Pierre Ier se débarrassait chaque jour de quelque lambeau du tzarisme pour rester lui-même, avec sa grande pensée appuyée sur une volonté inflexible, sur la cruauté d'un terroriste."—Alexandre Herzen, *Du développement des idées révolutionnaires en Russie*, Londres, 1853, p. 34.

spread of education was guaranteed, if the nation was at all to maintain the new European organization of government. This new Russian Empire in its new political situation, with its new international obligations, could not exist without a constantly growing number of men in its service with some sort of an education, a condition which did not exist at all in the old Muscovite Tsardom.

But one never gets something for nothing, and the price that eighteenth-century Russia had to pay for the guarantee of a European civilization in the future was appalling. Foreigners were in the highest offices of state during Peter's lifetime. But Peter himself was a true Russian, and he not only adopted the new title but was in fact "Imperator." After his death, however, Russia became the booty of German adventurers. Russia's throne in the eighteenth century has been compared by a famous publicist¹¹ with the bed of Cleopatra. The Roman law principle "*res nullius cædit primo occupanti*" became the law of succession to the crown of the realm, owned and played with by foreign adventurers. Professor Kovalevski says¹² it would have been difficult to find in the history of the eighteenth century—one might say the whole of modern history—a period more disgraceful, more contrary to the feelings of personal and national dignity, than that which began in Russia with the ascension of Empress Anne to the throne. The Russian government was vested in the hands of three foreign adventurers, Biron, Ostermann, and Münnich, who plundered Russia, executing every Russian who dared to be dissatisfied with the order of things. The memoirs of the German, Marderfeld, and the French ambassador, La Chetar-

¹¹ Herzen in the foreword to *Mémoires de l'Impératrice Catherine II écrits par elle-même*, Londres, 1859, p. viii: "Période étrange! Le trône impérial ressemblait au lit de Cléopâtre. Un tas d'oligarques, d'étrangers, de pandours, de mignons conduisaient nuitamment un inconnu, un enfant, une allemande; l'élevaient au trône, l'adoraient et distribuaient en son nom, des coups de knout à ceux qui trouvaient à y redire. A peine l'élu avait-il eu le temps de s'enivrer de toutes les jouissances d'un pouvoir exorbitant et absurde, et d'envoyer ses ennemis aux travaux forcés ou à la torture, que la vague suivante apportait déjà un autre prétendant, et entraînait l'élu d'hier, avec tout son entourage dans l'abîme. Les ministres et les généraux du jour s'en allaient le lendemain, chargés de fer, en Sibérie."

¹² Kovalevski, M., *Russian political institutions*. Chicago, 1902, p. 119.

die, show that the number of persons condemned to death in ten years amounted to 7,000, while 30,000 were exiled during the same period to Siberia. The documents of the "Sysknoy prikaz," a political star chamber, show that during five months from August 1 to January 1, 1731, 425 men were put to torture, 11 executed, 57 sent to Siberia, and 44 enrolled in the army as privates.¹³

The Russian Empire became the business enterprise of a few Germans.¹⁴ But one must admit that after Peter's death Münnich and Ostermann were perhaps the only statesmen that were then in condition to guide the Ship of State. The Germans were certainly cruel schoolmasters, but they were the schoolmasters of Russia after all.¹⁵ To obtain a great Empress like Catherine II, Russia had to take in the bargain even a creature like Biron.

In the period after Peter's death the government continued to emphasize professional and higher education and to neglect the elementary instruction of the people.

Already Peter the Great not long before his death had decided to establish in Russia an academy of sciences, and in 1726 with this academy was combined a university and a classical gymnasium.

Seventeen German professors were imported into Russia in 1726, among them men like Euler and Bernulli, who afterwards achieved international fame. But since a university could not exist without students, eight students were imported, five of whom became, also, famous scholars.¹⁶ It seems, however, that these imported students were immediately employed in different capacities by the government, and the faculty of

¹³ *Idem*, p. 122.

¹⁴ "Es war als hätten die Deutschen das Russische Staatswesen gepachtet. Biron hat in einem Gespräch mit dem Fürsten Schachowskoj sich entrüstet darüber geäußert dass die Russen überhaupt eine Meinung haben und derselben Ausdruck geben wollten," Brückner, *Die Europaisierung Russlands*, Gotha, 1888, p. 332.

¹⁵ See Brückner, p. 325.

¹⁶ Mayer, Weitbrecht, Craft, Cramer, and Gmelin. See Graf D. A. Tolstoy, *Das Akademische Gymnasium und die Akademische Universität im XVIII. Jahrhundert*. Aus dem Russischen, von P. v. Kugeln, St. Petersburg, 1886, p. 144-145.

seventeen professors was again without students. The government, nevertheless, insisted that lectures should be given. Nothing was therefore left to the imported professors but to lecture to one another. Such conditions could not continue for any length of time, and lectures, therefore, were given up entirely for a number of years. In 1732 twelve students from the Moscow theological school (the former Slavonic Greek-Latin Academy) were sent to the university, but soon after were sent to assist a scientific expedition to Camtchatka. In 1736 again twelve students were selected from the same Moscow school and sent to the university. But they could not learn anything because no lectures were given. These students complained to the senate that they received no instruction, but without result. In 1753 we find an entry in the minutes of the Academy of Sciences to the effect that of the whole faculty only Professor Brown was giving lectures from time to time; and in 1757 Count Rasumovski, the president of the Academy of Sciences, reported that the professors of the university for many years had given no instruction whatever, and students of the university for many years had received none.¹⁷ In 1760 when the first great Russian scholar, Lomonosoff, became rector of the university, he divided it into three faculties: the philosophical, the juridical, and the medical. He established dormitories, he compelled the professors to deliver lectures, but the students never exceeded the number of twenty, and in fact in 1782 there were only two students. It looks, therefore, as if Boltin was right in saying, "You want to create in a few years what requires centuries, and you began to build on sand, without caring for a foundation."¹⁸ This foundation was, of course, elementary education. Nevertheless, even if the classroom work amounted to nothing, the St. Petersburg University, by reason of the very existence of a scholarly faculty, had a considerable influence in the eighteenth century. More successful was the academic gymnasium, which was established at the same time as the university in 1726.

¹⁷ "Sbornik" of the division of Russian literature of the Imperial Academy of Sciences, Vol. XXXVIII, N. 4, p. 9.

¹⁸ Count D. A. Tolstoy, *Das Akademische Gymnasium*, etc., p. 218.

It had in the first year 120 pupils; in 1727, 58; in 1728, 26. Fearing that it might be left without pupils, the government decided to place in the gymnasium children of the lower classes, even children of serfs; in 1729, therefore, the number again reaches 74. In 1735 twenty governmental fellowships were established at the gymnasium; this number was increased in 1750 to forty, and in 1760 to sixty. The number of pupils, however, did not much exceed the number of fellowships. So at the end of Catherine II's reign there were only seventy pupils in the St. Petersburg Gymnasium.

In 1730 Field-Marshal Münnich established an artillery school, which had from the very start about sixty students, and in 1735 Ludvig Wilhelm, Prince of Hessen-Homburg, opened an academy for military engineers. These two schools were successful, and they were merged in 1758.

In 1731 was established the "Noble Corps," a military school for about two hundred boys. In the next (1732) a number of regimental schools was opened, where the children (about 4,000) of the soldiers were taught. In 1744 these regimental schools were merged with the arithmetical schools established by Peter the Great. In 1733 a medical school was opened with twenty students, and in 1752 the Naval Noble Corps, a new naval academy.

In January, 1755, the Moscow University was opened with two academic gymnasia, one for the children of the nobility, the other for children of other classes. The lectures in the university were given in Latin or in French. There were three faculties: the philosophical, juridical, and the medical; and one hundred young men from the Moscow Theological Seminary were enlisted as students. The Moscow faculty soon began to fill the vacant places with Russian professors, who mostly studied abroad. The number of students during the eighteenth century was always between eighty and one hundred.

Two gymnasia were established in Moscow at the same time as the university: one for the children of the nobility, the second for the children from other classes of society. These two gymnasia were managed by a Hungarian named Schaden, and due to his ability, the Moscow gymnasia were

the most successful Russian educational enterprises of the eighteenth century. They were organized after the German model. The number of pupils constantly increased; starting with about 100, they numbered over 1,000 in 1787.

In 1758 a gymnasium was also established in Kazan. In the regular curriculum (languages, Russian, classical, French, and German; mathematics, history, and geography), the Tartar language was included as an elective. The great majority of pupils were maintained by the government, but their number never exceeded 125.

In 1759 an aristocratic military educational institution was established under the name of "The Corps of Pages." The number of places, originally but twenty-four, was soon increased to about eighty.

All these new educational establishments meant, of course, dissemination of knowledge, but no figures can give an idea of what Catherine II meant for Russia's education and civilization. The great century of enlightenment was interpreted to Russia by Catherine. She created a new atmosphere at the court, not altogether moral, but decidedly cultured. If Peter gave to the Russian nobleman some primary and some professional education, Catherine II made out of the Russian nobleman a European gentleman. For the lower classes of the population, and especially for the peasantry, she could do little in matters of education, being handicapped by the existing institution of serfdom.

Catherine was an ardent believer in education, and her writings show not only a very thoro knowledge of the eighteenth-century French philosophers, with many of whom she was in constant correspondence, but also with the works of English philosophers, especially with those of Locke. In fact, her writings are nothing but a compilation from the works of Montesquieu, Beccaria, Locke, Voltaire, Diderot, etc. In her Plan of Work and Regulations for the "Legislative Commission" which she called into existence in 1768, she writes: "Do you want to prevent crime? Then work for the dissemination of enlightenment among the people." But, on the other hand, Catherine had none of Peter's integrity and earnest-

ness of purpose. Peter was after efficiency; Catherine after the appearance of general culture, in the attainment of which she was signally successful. Catherine became, however, very reactionary in the later part of her reign. On receipt of a communication from the Governor of Moscow, reporting the lack of interest on the part of the common people in the newly established schools, the Empress is reported to have written: "Tant mieux; ce n'est pas pour eux que je fonde des écoles, c'est pour l'Europe, où je tiens à conserver mon rang dans l'opinion. Du jour où nos moujiks auraient le désir de s'instruire, ni vous ni moi ne resterions à nôt places."¹⁹

The actual accomplishments of Catherine in matters of public education can not be overestimated. She was the creator of the first real and effective elementary public city schools, and of a normal college for teachers.²⁰

Joseph II, with whom Catherine was on very friendly terms, recommended to her an accomplished Servian educator, Jankovitch de Mirievo, who had reorganized the public school system in Hungary. Jankovitch came to Russia and worked out a plan for a Russian public school system after Felbieger's Prussian system. Twenty-seven German and Austrian textbooks were translated by him into Russian, and in 1783, under his immediate supervision, a normal school for teachers was established in St. Petersburg, and one hundred theological students were matriculated in the new school. In 1786 the first elementary public schools were opened. These schools were of three grades; those with two, with three, and with four year courses. The curriculum of the first year in all these schools consisted in reading, writing, arithmetic, the short catechism, sacred history, and the beginning of Russian grammar. The second year's course contained the same subjects, but further advanced. The schools with a three years'

¹⁹ Gregoire Liwoff, *Michel Katkoff et son époque*, Paris, 1897, p. 34. We believe this note to be apocryphal, first because we can find no reference to it anywhere else, secondly because the remark is too full of words and explanations, but that it was Catherine's sentiment is beyond doubt. The fate of the unfortunate Radishcheff proves it.

²⁰ See *Sbornik otdelenia Russkago yazyka i slovesnosti imperatorskoy akademii nauk*, Tom XLI, N. 2: Graf D. A. Tolstoy, *Gorodskia uchilishcha v carstvovanie Imperatricy Ekateriny II*, St. Petersburg, 1886.

course had in the third year the catechism with texts and commentaries, commentaries on the Gospels, Russian grammar, with exercises in orthography, Russian history, and geography. The schools with the four years' course had in the fourth year advanced history and geography, grammar and composition, elementary geometry, mechanics, physics, natural history, and civil architecture. But only with great difficulty could one find pupils for the upper two classes. The following statistical table taken from Falbork's work,²¹ will be of interest as showing the sum total of the educational activity of these new city schools, as well as of other elementary public schools at the end of the eighteenth century.

Years	Number of Schools	Number of Teachers	Number of Pupils
1786	40	136	4,398
1787	165	395	11,088
1788	218	525	13,539
1789	225	576	14,389
1790	269	629	16,525
1791	288	700	17,787
1792	302	718	17,500
1793	311	738	17,297
1794	302	767	16,620
1795	307	716	17,097
1796	316	744	17,341
1797	285	664	15,628
1798	284	752	16,801
1799	281	721	17,598
1800	315	790	19,915

In 1790 the population of the Russian Empire was about twenty-six millions. The relation of the number of children in the public school to the total population was, therefore, about 1:1,573; a very sad proposition, but, after all, good for a beginning.

Catherine II showed, also, considerable interest in the education of women. In 1764, two years after the successful *coup d'état* which brought her to the throne, she opened the so-called "Smolny Institut" for young girls of noble birth. The chief aim of the institution was, as Catherine defined it, to educate efficient housekeepers, good mothers, and—such is the tribute that virtue demanded even from Catherine—faithful

²¹ G. Falbork and V. Charnoluski, *Narodnoye obrazovanie v. Rossii*, p. 28.

wives. The girls were divided into four groups: those six to nine years old, nine to twelve, twelve to fifteen, fifteen to eighteen. The children in the first group were taught foreign languages; in the second group geography and history; in the third literature, architecture, Russian, and arithmetic and heraldry; the teaching in the fourth group was exclusively "practical." Social entertainments were frequently held, and stress was laid on good manners, able conversation, amateur theatricals, concerts, etc. If, for instance, a girl should make a *bon mot*, this witticism was repeated before the whole class for "imitation and encouragement."

Prince Shtcherbatoff, a contemporary historian and publicist, had a low opinion of the kind of education the noble girls received in the Smolny Institute. The school system did not tend, he maintained, to make them either learned or moral. Their hearts were not being improved, nor, indeed, their minds; what they learned well was but to play comedies.²²

This statement, however, is probably too sweeping. There is little doubt that the education the girls received in Smolny was very worldly, but, nevertheless, the girls, after being graduated, took back to their often totally uncultured homes intellectual interests and refinement. The Smolny Institute still exists, and its educational system has still a distinct court flavor. Nevertheless, this educational institution contributed enormously to the spread of culture in the homes of provincial Russia.

In rapid succession followed other large schools for secondary and professional education, such as the School of Mines in 1772; in 1774 a Greek Gymnasium and a Greek Military School; in 1780 a School for Surgeons, and in addition the existing schools were greatly improved.

In 1770 Catherine took even under consideration the plan of compulsory elementary education, but the country was not yet ready for such measures, and those projects still remain the forerunners of Russia's great educational tasks in the twentieth century.

²² Shtcherbatoff, *The decay of morals in Russia, Russkaya Starina*, III, p. 684. See also Alexander Brückner, *Katharina die Zweite*, Berlin, 1883, p. 531.

III

The Russian form of government has been characterized as an autocracy limited by assassination. The Russian terrorists of the end of the nineteenth century could claim among their spiritual ancestors princes and princesses of blood royal. Thus was the foolish husband of Catherine II, Peter II, murdered; and Paul I, the son of Catherine, assassinated by one of her lovers (probably Soltykoff),²³ his own son, who succeeded him as Emperor Alexander I, taking part in the plot. During the short and wild reign of Paul I, nothing was done for Russia's education. Not so under Alexander. He was a high-minded prince, full of noble impulses and firm faith in Western institutions and Western culture. Even many years later, when his friends cautioned him against the growth of republican sentiments in Petersburg society, he answered: "C'est moi qui ai mis ces idées en vogue, ce n'est pas à moi à sevir."

Alexander I began with a complete reorganization of the school system in Russia. In fact, there was no such thing as a school system before Alexander; there were schools but no system. Between 1802 and 1804 he created four new universities, those of Dorpat, Wilno (abolished after the Polish rebellion), Kharkoff, and Kazan. He established the Ministry of Public Instruction, whose duty was to systematize and oversee the whole educational work throughout the Empire.²⁴ The

²³ Catherine's immorality became proverbial, but one always forgets that she was started on this path, against her own will, practically by the order of Empress Elizabeth. Herzen sums up the situation very well in the following words of his preface to Catherine's "Memoirs":

"After having wounded and outraged nearly every feeling of this young creature's nature, they began to deprave her systematically. The empress (Elizabeth, Catherine was then the wife of the heir to the crown, the feeble in mind and body Grand Duke Peter) regards as a breach of order her having no children. Madame Tchogloloff speaks to her on the subject, insinuating that, *for the good of the state*, she ought to sacrifice her scruples, and concludes by proposing to her a choice between Soltykoff and Narishkine. The young lady affects simplicity and takes both—nay, Poniatowsky into the bargain; and thus was commenced a career of licentiousness in which she never halted during the space of forty years."—*Memoirs of the Empress Catherine II*, London, 1859, p. xiv.

²⁴ See *Memoirs of Prince Adam Czartoryski* and his correspondence with Alexander I, edited by Adam Gielgud, London 1888, Vol. I, p. 306-312.

country was divided into six educational territories with a curator at the head, and with a university in each territory. Each territory was to be an educational unit in which all institutions were to be coördinated. The university authorities were to have charge over all the gymnasiums in the territory, and a gymnasium was to be founded in each provincial capital (forty-two such gymnasiums were opened by Alexander). The director of the gymnasium was at the same time the head of all county schools, and each county-seat was provided with such a school (405 such schools were established). The principal of each county school was to be also in charge of all parish schools, and each parish, or at least every two parishes, was supposed to have one such primary school. But the central government, while undertaking to provide for the maintenance of the universities, gymnasiums, and county schools, left the maintenance of the parish schools to the landlords of the corresponding villages. The result was that the parish schools remained a pious wish, but a dead letter on the statute book. In 1825, the year of the death of the Emperor Alexander I, there were in the 686 towns of the Empire, with a town population of over three and one-half millions, and a country population of about fifty-two millions, 1,095 schools of all kinds, while there were at the same time 4,266 churches and monasteries.

Alexander I died, and the events after his death showed that he did not live and reign in vain. The influences of Western culture showed themselves.

The flower of the Russian nobility, which was serving in the Imperial Guards, refused to swear allegiance to his successor, Nicholas I, and demanded a constitution. The insurrection of December 26, 1825, failed, the leaders were hanged, the others exiled to Siberia, and the régime of darkest autocracy began.

Nicholas I was a narrow-minded man, but with strong convictions, and with a temper that brooked no contradiction. He made it his paramount task to educate his people for an autocratic régime. He therefore resolved to do away with all elements and conditions leading to independent thought or to

a desire for freedom. The existing system of education struck the Emperor as too liberal and needing reformation. The Secretary of Education, Shishkoff, was ordered by the Emperor to work out a new system of education. The first principle of this new system was that the schools should not be arranged in a sequence, one leading up to another, the primary to the secondary, the secondary to the college or university; but rather to make of the schools independent units adapted to the social position of the social class from which the pupils came. The village school was to have in mind exclusively peasant children; the county school, children of the merchant class; gymnasiums and universities, children of the nobility. As the duty of the school was not only to teach, but to educate, the education of the whole youth of the Empire was to be in the hands of the government, and for that purpose all private boarding-schools and educational enterprises were rigidly suppressed. The students in the universities were ordered to wear a special military uniform, and regulations were issued prescribing how they should appear in public, how they should cut their hair. The university course also felt the heavy hand of Emperor Nicholas. Thus, for instance, all courses in European public law were abolished, because "rebellions in foreign lands have disfigured this science and shattered its very foundations." Comparative constitutional law was discontinued because of "the weakness of its principles and its unsatisfactory results." Courses in social statistics and logic were abolished. Philosophy and psychology could be taught only by Greek orthodox professors of theology, and then with the explicit order to teach according to the truth of revealed religion. The professors were instructed to submit to the government the lectures they intended to give, and also the lists of books recommended for collateral reading. The deans were to see to it that professors' lectures are identical with those that were approved, and they were to report the slightest deviations, "even most harmless ones." The tuition fees of the students were furthermore greatly increased, so as to keep out poor people, "whom education may make dissatisfied with their lot, or with that of their friends."

Of the gymnasiums, the classical fell into disgrace. The classical writers talked too much about civic matters, and referred to republics. By the end of the reign of Nicholas I, only eight classical gymnasiums were left in existence.

Primary education under Nicholas existed only on paper. The Pedagogical Institute was closed, "being unnecessary." And unnecessary it really was in Nicholas's reign. Denominational parochial schools were tolerated, and in 1839 there were 2,000 such schools, with 19,000 pupils. But there is no way of telling whether they really existed. Many things existed in Russia on paper only, as the Crimean campaign showed. Emperor Nicholas I used to say, "I hate war, it spoils my armies." And he looked upon the nation as he looked upon the army: it existed for subordination's sake, and for an occasional parade. But the day of judgment came, and Sebastopol fell. That Liberal Russia saw in it but the logic of history goes without saying. But it is, perhaps, interesting to know what the father of Pan Slavism, I. S. Aksakoff, the famous Russian author and strict monarchist, writes to his father. "How severely just is fate, how terrible in its logic! Not by chance did Sebastopol fall; it had to fall; it is God's work, and it shows the whole rottenness of the system of government and its suffocating principles." Another famous nationalist and influential statesman in Alexander II's reign, A. I. Kosheleff, writes practically the same thing, testifying that "we all were convinced that the defeat of Russia is more useful to her than her *status quo*."

And so it was. The defeat was followed by a complete regeneration of Russia.

With the accession of Alexander II to the throne of All the Russias, we enter a new phase of Russian history and Russian education. We can not even talk about this phase as "history," as Russia's educational problems at present are too closely linked with their immediate past.

The Russian Empire of Nicholas I was rotten from top to bottom; it was even unfit for national self-defense. A series of radical reforms were therefore imminent, and they were undertaken and carried thru. Serfdom was abolished, a mod-

ern judiciary and military system was introduced, and local boards (*zemstvos*) introduced in thirty-four provinces of European Russia. Great reforms like these, of course, had to be accompanied by great agitation and bitter controversy on the part of both the progressive and conservative elements of society, and so it happened that educational questions were drawn in in these controversies and became political questions. Nor has Russian national education yet outgrown this situation.

The Russian regeneration after the fall of Sebastopol had to contend with two great evils which were but natural outgrowths of Russia's past. First of all, society had a profound distrust for the government; it never gave it even the benefit of the doubt, and was always willing to listen to the distinctly gross misinterpretations of the government's aims. Secondly, the government as well as the public was equally guilty in lack of patience, political tact, and willingness to coöperate; in lack of any desire to understand the point of view of the other, and in meeting each other halfway; and, above all, in fair play. In short, Russia—government and people alike—was sadly lacking in that special kind of meekness that does indeed inherit the earth, as the two great Anglo-Saxon countries seem to prove. The Russian people has become, under the Tartar yoke and centuries of absolutism, a country of bullies, but has utterly failed in producing the kind of material from which statesmen are made. Cavour said on one occasion that an ass could govern a country under martial law. And martial law became chronic in almost half of European Russia.

This state of affairs was bound to affect Russian public education in a most vital way.

The flat failure of the December Revolution of 1825 showed that palace revolution and the palmy days of pretorian insurrection were over, never to come back again. The form of government is determined by the status of the great majority of the people, and not by what may suit a few of the intellectual élite. The intellectual classes of Russian society became, therefore, most anxious for the education of the people. But

here again the Russian intellectuals showed absolute lack of patience. Instead of sowing the seed of true education, and letting the future generations reap the political fruit, they combined schooling with revolutionary propaganda. The resultant attitude of the people is well characterized in one of Turgenieff's "Poems in Prose," prohibited, of course, by Russian censorship.

The title of the poem is, "The workman and the man with the white hands":

. . . "The workmen wonder at the stranger, and reject his claim of being one of them, while they point to their own working hands, which smell of filth and tar, and to his delicate white hands: 'What do they smell of?'—'Smell, yourselves.'—'It is strange! We should say they smell of iron.'—'Yes, of iron. For six years I have worn handcuffs on them.'—'Why?'—'Because I thought of your happiness. I wanted to make you poor fellows free, I rebelled against your oppressors; on that account I was put in prison.'—'Prison!'—'Yes.'—'Why were you rebellious?'"

In the second dialogue, which occurred two years later, the same workman speaks to another about the young gentleman who once talked with them: "'He is to be hanged today; the order has come.'—'Has he been rebelling again?'—'Yes, again.'—'Well, Dimitri, don't you believe we could get a piece of the rope he is hanged by? They say it brings good luck to the house.'—'Yes, Peter, let us try.'"²⁵

Alexander II began his educational reforms with a reorganization of the University System. A new plan of university organization and a new curriculum has been drawn up and sent to all universities and to a number of Russian and foreign educators for criticism and suggestions. All suggestions were taken under consideration, and the university regulations were five times revised before they finally received the approval of the Emperor on June 18, 1863. The Russian university became a combination of the French and the German systems. As in Germany, the Russian universities were granted administrative autonomy. The professors were to

²⁵ G. Brandes, *Impressions of Russia*, London, 1889, p. 47.

choose their deans and rectors, and were to fill vacancies. But as in France, the course of studies in each department was definitely prescribed, and yearly examinations in the course were required. The chairs in constitutional law and philosophy were reëstablished. The faculties were made the sole censors of all university publications. The law limiting the number of students in each university to three hundred was repealed. The salaries of the professors were increased. On the whole, the government of Alexander II showed the most genuine desire to promote scholarship and university education. The tuition fees were fixed at 50 roubles a year (\$25) in the Moscow and Petersburg universities, and at 40 roubles (\$20) in all provincial universities. An ample number of fellowships (stipends) were established, and poor students freed from all fees. In addition, new universities were established, and by the end of Alexander II's reign Russia had eight universities, and the establishment of a university in Tomsk (Siberia) was definitely resolved upon. The number of students more than doubled during the same reign. In 1854 there were, all told, 3,547 students, and the university instruction was below the average college instruction in the United States. In 1880 there were 8,193 students, and the standard fully corresponded to that of the best American universities.

But after the fall of Sebastopol the political movement with liberal or revolutionary tendencies grew rapidly, and the Russian universities became something like a political barometer showing the state of mind of the Russian intellectual classes. Student demonstrations became chronic. The government's draconic measures against these political demonstrations were of no avail. Quite the opposite; the severer the measures the stronger grew the movement in the universities. The government succeeded occasionally in exhausting the student opposition by wholesale banishment, but these were Pyrrhic victories. In March, 1899, for instance, 1,039 students of the Moscow University were arrested and 199 exiled.

The murder of Alexander II in March, 1881, was a severe blow to Russian education. The reactionary elements of

the type of Katkoff and Pobiedonosceff gained the upper hand. And the university organization was again changed in 1884. The home-rule of the universities was abolished, the rectors were appointed by the government. The students were obliged to wear uniforms. The administration of the gymnasiums was ordered to report on the secret characteristics of each of its graduates, and in case these indicated tendencies in the student opposed to Autocracy or Church, they were refused admission to universities. Furthermore, the tuition fees were raised, and political considerations became predominant in the awarding of fellowships and scholarships. Under the reign of the present Emperor Nicholas, the university affairs have become still worse. Political demonstrations have become epidemic. Extreme and very unwise measures have been taken by the government, such as the enrollment of the students who participated in demonstrations in the army as privates, regardless of age and physical condition. It goes without saying that such measures, as well as exile to Siberia, have not tended to improve the attitude of the students towards the government. On the contrary, during the last three years the Secretary of Education, Bogolepoff, and the Secretary of Interior, Sipyagin, were both killed by students, and not as a result of so-called "Nihilistic" plots, but rather to avenge the real or imaginary persecutions and wrongs sustained by the student body at the hands of the government.

This state of things will not change till the Russian people get a representative form of government. Then the student body will attend to their work rather than to politics.

So far as teaching is concerned, it is excellent in Russian universities. The universities have usually four faculties: the historico-philological, the physico-mathematical, the juridical, and the medical. The course occupies four years, with the exception of the medical faculty with a five years' course. The university matriculates only young men with diplomas from gymnasiums which have an eight year course and are exact duplications of the German gymnasium.

There are at present in Russia nine universities and a number of other institutions of learning corresponding to universi-

ties, which, as a whole, are fully able to take care of all desiring to receive higher professional or liberal education.

In 1809 there were but 450 students in all Russian universities. In 1825 their number increased to 1,691; in 1854 to 3,551. At present the Russian universities have the following number of students:

St. Petersburg.....	3855	in 1903	Kieff.....	2641	in 1902
Moscow.....	4845	“ “	Odessa.....	1878	“ 1903
Kharkow.....	1354	“ 1901	Warsaw.....	1400	“ “
Dorpat (Yurieff).....	1733	“ 1902	Tomsk.....	642	“ 1902
Kasan.....	968	“ 1903			

Besides these universities, Russia has the following higher professional schools, which rank as universities:

ST. PETERSBURG.	Imperial Law School.....	330	students	1903
	Historico-philological Institute...	96	“	“
	Academy of Military Surgeons...	750	“	“
	Technological Institute.....	1350	“	“
	Institute of Civil Engineers....	530	“	1902
	Electro-technical Institute.....	350	“	1903
	School of Mines.....ab.	600	“	“
	School of Forestry.....ab.	500	“	“
	Women's University.....ab.	300	“	“
	Women's Medical Institute..ab.	600	“	“
	Institute of Engineers of Ways of Communication.....	894	“	“
MOSCOW.	Polytechnicum.....	1023	“	1902
	Theological Academy.....	197	“	1903
	Lazaref Institute for Oriental Languages.....	60	“	“
	School of Civil Engineers.....	380	“	“
NEZIN.	Prince Bezboradkos Historico- philological Institute.....	100	“	“
JEKATERINOSLAV.	School of Mines.....	251	“	1902
KHARKOV.	Technological Institute.....	1000	“	“
KASAN.	Theological Academy.....	260	“	1901
KIEFF.	Theological Academy.....	187	“	1902
	Polytechnicum.....	1255	“	“
RIGA.	Polytechnicum.....	1701	“	“
TOMSK.	Polytechnicum.....	591	“	“
WARSAW.	Polytechnicum.....	637	“	1901

Alexander II is also responsible for a thoro reorganization of Russian secondary education. The reform was approved by the Emperor November 18, 1864.

Secondary education as viewed by the government resolved itself into the problem of preparatory schools for universities and higher professional schools. *En principe* it was decided

to follow closely the program and organization of the German secondary school. The question was only which should receive preference, the classical gymnasium or the Realschule. The classical education found more energetic champions, and in 1864 eighty classical and realistic gymnasiums and four progymnasiums (gymnasiums with the four lower classes only) were opened. At the same time gymnasiums for women were established in provincial capitals. Since the original reform was instituted many minor changes have been made in the program of no special significance; the German type remains unaltered. The only important reactionary step in the reign of Alexander III was the issue of a circular by Count Delyanoff in 1887 (then Secretary of Education), excluding the children of the poorer and lower classes from gymnasiums. The newly-made count, who was himself of inferior Armenian origin, argued that only in the very exceptional cases of a marked genius should children of coachmen, footmen, cooks, washwomen, shopkeepers, and working people be allowed to study. Experience shows, thought this statesman, that education makes children despise their parents and oppose the existing order of things, with its natural inequalities.

The Report of the Department of Public Education, prepared for the Paris Exhibition of 1900, shows the existence of 191 classical gymnasiums, 53 progymnasiums, and 115 realistic schools. In the same report we learn also that there are 477 secondary schools for girls, with 129,462 pupils. We hope that these figures are correct, but for those who may doubt them we quote the figures given by Milukoff in the second volume of his *History of Russian culture*:

	Number of pupils in the gymnasiums		Number of pupils in other secondary schools	
	Boys	Girls	Boys	Girls
1809	5,569	....	?	....
1825	7,682	....	?	....
1836	15,476	....	?	....
1848	18,911	....	?	....
1854	17,809	....	?	....
1864	28,202	4,335	25,658	4,630
1875	51,097	27,470	31,827	?
1885	93,109	35,205	?	?
1894	87,411	45,544	69,848	17,761
1900	82,371	44,795	?	23,199

IV

We have seen that while some attention was paid from the end of the seventeenth century to professional, higher, and secondary education, the elementary education of the people was almost entirely neglected. When Shishkoff in 1828 was reporting about the status of education in Russia he stated that practically elementary education did not exist in Russia. But 600 elementary schools were then in existence in the whole Russian Empire. During the reign of Nicholas I, as we have already pointed out, schools, like many other things, existed chiefly on paper; there were nominally in 1851, 2,542 schools, with 139,320 pupils, which cost the national treasury 324,000 roubles in real money.

As soon as the good old days past, the era of Alexander II's reforms began, and the press was almost entirely freed from censorship (unfortunately for a very short time only). Real life and blood were immediately infused in all schools carried on the government's pay roll.

In 1864 in thirty-three provinces of European Russia, a very limited home-rule system was established under the name of "Zemstvo," or locally elected board. These Zemstvos were given the privilege of providing funds and attending with permission and under supervision of the local bureaucracy to matters pertaining to local famines, charities, erection of churches, mutual insurance, public roads, public health, country prisons, to means of preventing epidemics among cattle, and to the financing of local schools. The control and management of these schools were naturally reserved to the central government. These Zemstvos contributed more than anything else to the spread of public education in Russia.

Immediately after the abolition of serfdom on February 19, 1861, the government appointed a commission to work out an effective elementary school system. The plan of the commission, after many revisions, was approved by the Emperor Alexander II on July 14, 1864. As the aim of the elementary public school thruout Russia was recognized to be the religious education of the people, the course was to consist of religion, *i. e.*,

the Short Catechism and sacred history, the reading of the church Slavonic language, church singing, the reading and writing of Russian, and the four fundamental operations of arithmetic. The program is the same in the parochial church schools managed by the Holy Synod, as well as in the elementary school of the Ministry of Public Education. But the general complaint of the Russian educators was that the church school, while serving its political purposes, was, so far as instruction went, very bad, and from the general educational viewpoint still worse. Some discount must, however, be made on such statements, because Russian educators are *eo ipso* liberals, and are therefore opposed to the church school.

Towards the end of Alexander II's life in 1880 we find that while the Russian public school system was far from what it ought to have been, it was, nevertheless, put on a solid basis. The elementary school statistics for all the sixty provinces of European Russia show that in 1880 there were 22,770 schools, with 1,140,915 pupils, out of which number 904,918 were boys, 235,997 were girls. These schools had 12,566 teachers of religion and 24,389 other teachers; their cost of maintenance amounted to 6,158,155 roubles (one rouble is about 50 cents). The schools averaged about 50 pupils. The average cost of a school was 270.4 roubles; 13.8 per cent. of all boys and 3.3 per cent. of all girls of school age were in school.

But it is not quite possible to compare the primary education in Russia with that in other countries. The reason is that what is regarded in Western Europe as primary education is classed to a considerable extent as secondary education in Russia. With some exceptions the Russian public schools are ungraded schools with a three year course, but since education is not compulsory but 10 per cent. instead of 33.3 per cent. graduate from the schools every year, and about 23 per cent. leave the schools without graduating. During the reigns of Alexander III and the present reigning Tsar, Nicholas II, progress has been made, but we regret to state that the support given by the government to the spread of public education was, and still is, a half-hearted one. The Russian government regards education as a necessary evil; Russia's natural re-

sources and industries can not be developed without public education, and without their development Russia could not bear the heavy burdens connected with a modern military organization. But a good public education of the masses of the people threatens the absolutistic régime. And Emperor Alexander III was very far from taking chances in matters touching the prerogatives of autocracy. Nicholas II's attitude towards real free and unhampered education does not differ substantially from that of the late monarch. The attitude of the government during the last three decades was to allow the people to learn how to read and write, and get acquainted with the four fundamental operations of arithmetic, but not more. The government systematically tried to get rid of such men in the Zemstvos as pushed with genuine energy the matter of public education.

The attitude of the government towards the intellectual development of the people is very well characterized by its attitude towards school libraries brought out in the Report of the St. Petersburg Committee on Literacy in 1895. As is well known, no book can be printed in Russia that is not previously approved by the government censor. From the beginning of printing in Russia up to 1895 something over 75,000 works were printed there with the permission of the government. But the man who will assume that the common people may read these books is mistaken. Only such of the printed books as are especially approved by the department of public education may be kept in elementary or secondary school libraries and in libraries established for the use of teachers of the primary schools and gymnasiums, and of the 75,000 titles but 5,635 books are admitted in such libraries, *i. e.*, but eight per cent. of the books which the censor allowed to be printed. The percentage is actually much smaller, because many of these books were published in numerous editions, and every edition was newly registered. Out of these 5,635 books, 3,288 are school text-books.

There are, therefore, but 2,347 books and pamphlets which the workingman, the schoolboy, and the teacher are permitted to read and to use for their intellectual and moral advancement. And it is scarcely necessary to point out that the tree of knowl-

edge is carefully guarded by the Russian police department, and that the couple of thousand books and pamphlets that are permitted by the government are intended for anything but the intellectual wakening of the people.

The St. Petersburg Committee on Literacy, to which organization the leading educators and Russian men of letters belonged, and which did for the spread of education almost as much as many zealous officials did for its suppression, was disbanded by the government.

A good test of the spread of elementary education is the percentage of illiteracy among the young recruits called to the colors. Falbork gives accurate data up to 1896, which are very instructive. Here everybody who can read and write, or only read, is regarded as literate.

Years	Total number of men enlisted	Among them literate	Per cent.
1874.....	148,909	31,789	21.34
1875.....	179,002	38,004	21.24
1876.....	192,541	40,334	20.95
1877.....	212,469	44,651	21.01
1878.....	214,322	44,282	20.67
1879.....	215,181	45,413	21.12
1880.....	231,681	51,161	22.09
1881.....	209,965	48,416	23.06
1882.....	208,969	49,168	23.51
1883.....	215,624	52,846	24.99
1884.....	221,562	56,442	25.47
1885.....	227,906	60,582	26.58
1886.....	234,087	65,092	27.80
1887.....	236,436	69,192	29.26
1888.....	251,366	75,538	30.05
1889.....	255,868	78,533	30.68
1890.....	261,596	82,286	31.45
1891.....	261,122	84,522	32.36
1892.....	262,682	91,478	34.82
1893.....	259,988	92,356	35.52
1894.....	270,767	101,946	37.65
1895.....	277,050	111,255	40.15

The Russian government found itself finally compelled to favor, if not the progress of real education, then at least the increase of the parochial and other elementary schools, such as they are. This activity began after the terrible famine of 1891-92. But even the amount of general education that the miserable Russian elementary school gives, seemed to the government too much for the Russian peasant, and in the reign

of the present Emperor a special effort has been made to transform the elementary school into an elementary professional school where special stress is laid on gardening, agriculture, carpentry, silk industry, etc. So when in 1895 the governor of the province of St. Petersburg, speaking about elementary schools, makes the profound discovery that an increased number of elementary public schools are only then of practical value if the children are taught there industrial arts which they can utilize; the Tsar Nicholas II noted on the margin, "*That is entirely my point of view.*" And when in 1894 the governor of Tiflis reported that he introduced industrial training in the elementary schools, the Tsar wrote on the report: "*Excellent, that is the direction in which to work.*" In 1901 on the report of the governor of Nishni-Novogorod on the school needs of the masses, the Tsar resolved "*They need more professional training.*"

But to the credit of the Russian nobility must be said that at the convention of the landed proprietors in 1895 in Moscow, a resolution was past against the introduction of agricultural and other professional training in the elementary school as tending only to shorten and greatly injure the already altogether insufficient course of general elementary instruction. The St. Petersburg Committee on Literacy past a similar resolution as far back as 1893. But, nevertheless, even in 1898 the Department of Public Education reported that professional training had been introduced in 14,246 elementary schools, *i. e.*, in 38.5 per cent. of the whole number of schools of the Ministry of Public Education. The Holy Synod is also rapidly introducing professional training in the parochial schools. In 1898 such training had already been introduced in 6,259 parochial schools, *i. e.*, in 15.7 per cent. of its number. The Russian public school with but a three year course for children from about eight to eleven years old is now giving to its pupils church Slavonic, church singing, religion, catechism, and sacred history, agriculture, carpentry, and other professional training, reading and writing, and the four fundamental operations of arithmetic. As a matter of fact the boy that has been taught for three years all these

arts and sciences learns them all so badly that he unfortunately but too often forgets in a few years after leaving school even how to read and write.

Russia not having any compulsory education does not have, of course, any legally defined school age. The school age can, therefore, be only construed from the age of the children now in school. The age of eight to eleven must therefore be recognized as the Russian school age, and according to very accurate calculations of various Russian statisticians, the children of this school age, eight to eleven, constitute nine per cent. of the entire Russian population. Now let us see what percentage of the Russian population is actually in school, and how it differs in this respect from other countries.²⁶

That means that only one-third of the children between eight to eleven find accommodation in Russian schools.

In 1900 there were 84,544 elementary schools in Russia, with 172,494 teachers and 4,507,827 pupils. Out of this number 47.5 per cent. of the schools were under the management of the Ministry of Education, and 42.5 per cent. were parochial schools under supervision of the Holy Synod. These figures show a very considerable increase of schools during the last twenty years. Even in the last ten years the expenditure on elementary education was more than doubled.

So the total expenditure on elementary parochial and public schools throught the Empire in 1894 was 25,041,000 roubles; in 1900, 50,056,000 roubles. Towards these sums the government treasury contributed in 1894, 3,500,000 roubles; in 1900 10,333,333 roubles. The remainder of the sums were made up by local taxation, by private donations, contributions from churches and monasteries, etc. Besides economic rea-

²⁶ We take these figures from the excellent book on the Russian elementary school by A. N. Kulomzin, published in St. Petersburg, 1904, p. 13.

United States of America	23	per cent.	of the entire population is in school
Kingdom of Saxony	21	"	" " " "
German Empire	19	"	" " " "
England	16	"	" " " "
France	15	"	" " " "
Netherlands	14	"	" " " "
Russia	3.3	"	" " " "

sons why the government found it finally necessary to push the elementary education, there is also a political reason. The well-known Russian statesman, A. N. Kulomzin, writes in his recent book on *The elementary school in Russia*: "If it is questionable what is politically more dangerous—the literacy or ignorance of the people, there can be no question that if the people be taught how to read, it must be taught in a governmental school, and not outside of it. Literacy is growing more rapidly than the number of public schools—which is a grave political danger."²⁷ In Poland, for instance, from 1885 to 1898 the number of schoolboys decreased, while the number of literate recruits increased one and one-half times. This circumstance is worrying the government greatly, since this "secret education," as the Russian government chooses to call it, may be of liberal character. On the other hand, since the wages of a workman who can read and write are from twenty to sixty-five per cent. higher than those of an illiterate one, it is but too natural for the people to strive towards any sort of education that they may be able to obtain. There is, therefore, nothing else left to the government but gradually to increase the number of schools, seeing to it that the pupils do not get too much of worldly knowledge and that they be educated in the dogmas of the Church and in fear of superiors and the autocratic bureaucracy. The government, therefore, naturally is especially careful in selecting the school-teacher. But is the government really fortunate in its selection is another question, and we have some very grave doubts about it. The Ober-procuror of the Holy Synod in his report of 1899 informs us that only five per cent. of the school-teachers serve more than ten years; 22.7 per cent. less than one year; 62.4 per cent. less than three years; 80 per cent. less than five years. We are further told that what all the school-teachers seem to have in common is the desire to quit the job for a better position. So, for instance, when the government monopolized the liquor traffic, the public school teachers in thousands abandoned their

²⁷ *Ibid*, p. 6.

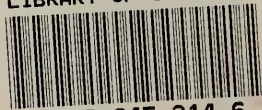
schools to become governmental saloon-keepers. And why should they not? They are subjected to all sorts of ill treatment and abuse on the part of petty officers, and their average remuneration for their hard work is less than that of a skilled factory hand. In 1900 their salaries did not exceed 250 roubles (\$125) a year; 45.6 per cent. of the school-teachers received less than 200 roubles (less than \$100), and 26.6 less than 100 roubles (\$50).

Ducunt volentem fata, nolentem trahunt. The political and economic conditions of Russia are such that there is but one course open for its development. The elementary schools are bound to increase in number. There are at present over seven millions of children without school accommodations. This number will decrease from year to year. The government will see to that. But that is not enough. The school will improve. Instead of an annex of the police department, instead of an institution intended for the spread of some knowledge, "*but no more,*" it will lose in the course of time the character of a political tool in the hands of the autocratic bureaucracy, it will become the school of the intelligent, steadfast, and resourceful citizen of a new Russia. This evolution can, of course, go only hand in hand with the disintegration of the *ancien régime*. But it is assured; it is assured in the immediate future, unless it has been determined by Providence that Russia shall have no future.

VLADIMIR G. SIMKHOVITCH

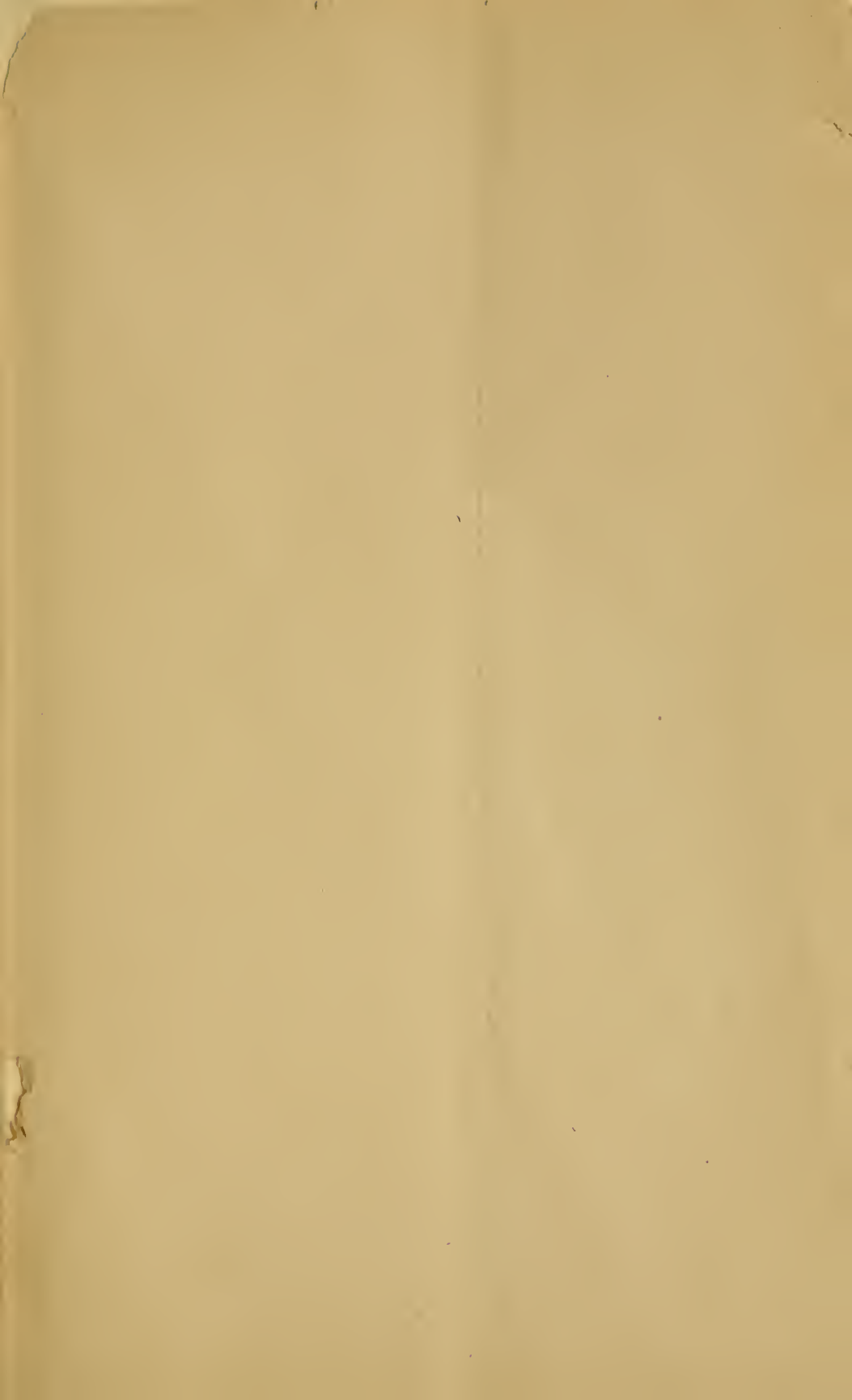
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