



## SOCIAL DYNAMICS OF CHANGES IN REORGANIZATION OF NON-CLASSICAL GYMNASIUMS INTO NON-CLASSICAL SECONDARY SCHOOLS OF PRACTICAL DIRECTION (1866-1872)

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**Abstract:** *The article deals with the process of reorganization of the non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools, on the basis of archival, little known and published sources (1866-1872). Organizational and substantive principles of reorganization of the non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools are revealed.*

*The controversial issue of whether the non-classical gymnasiums should exist together with the classical ones and give the right to enter the university without exams is covered.*

*It was found that the tasks of non-classical secondary schools were to provide general education to the students and to try to find new forms of education adapted to practical needs and to the acquisition of technical knowledge.*

**Keywords:** *secondary education, non-classical secondary schools, non-classical gymnasiums, classical high schools, educational reforms.*

### Introduction.

Today, when an active process of social and economic reforms is taking place in Ukraine, it is especially important to create a system of education that could form a professional able to meet the needs of society and production under the market economy conditions. Therefore, it is quite justified to search for such a secondary school type, which would provide comprehensive development of students, their in-depth knowledge, develop vital skills and flexible intelligence. That is why the leading place in solving these issues is given to the study of the activities of educational institutions of the second half of the nineteenth - early twentieth century. Among them were also the non-classical secondary schools.

A non-classical secondary school is a type of secondary educational institution which curriculum lacked the teaching of ancient languages (Latin and Greek) and the preference was given to the study of mathematics, physics, natural sciences, new languages (German, French, Italian, Spanish), drawing and technical drawing<sup>1,2</sup>. The purpose of such education was to provide students with practically useful knowledge to apply to them in their future life<sup>3</sup>.

Scientists of the present turn to the history of the education development in Ukraine and objectively analyze the situation of the national education and the

<sup>1</sup> B. A. Vvedenskiy, *Bolshaya Sovetskaia Entsiklopediia* [The Great Soviet Encyclopedia], M., State Scientific Publishing House «The Great Soviet Encyclopedia», 1955. – Vol. 36. – P. 165.

<sup>2</sup> S. I. Honcharenko, *Ukrainskyi pedahohichnyi slovnyk* [Ukrainian pedagogical dictionary], Kyiv, Lybid, 1997. – P. 283.

<sup>3</sup> S. I. Honcharenko, *Ukrainskyi pedahohichnyi slovnyk* [Ukrainian pedagogical dictionary], Kyiv, Lybid, 1997. – P. 283.



development of educational institutions in the past. There have been a number of research on secondary education reforming (L. Berezivska), state and public administration of secondary schools (L. Haievska), the Sunday schools activities (N. Koliada), issues of national education and upbringing in the activities of Ukrainian communities (N. Pobirchenko), the private institutions development (S. Roienko), history of Ukrainian schooling (O. Sukhomlynska) and others.

However, there is no comprehensive pedagogical study that would analyze the process of reorganization of the non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools.

The purpose of our study is to analyze the process of reorganization of the non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools during 1866-1872.

### **Main text.**

On April 4, 1866, the assassination of Tsar Oleksandr II was attempted. It caused great fear and panic. The government had to explain the cause of this terrible event. An inquiry commission was immediately set up. It was headed by M. Muraviov, who was distinguished by his cruelty in the suppression of Polish uprising in 1863. At a dinner in his honor at the English Club, he said the following words about his assignment: «My strength is already weak, I am sick and old, but I am more likely to lay down my life than to leave this evil undiscovered, the evil of not one person, but of many who have worked together»<sup>4</sup>. And soon such an «evil» was revealed. This was the Ministry of Public Education headed by O. Holovnin. In his note to the Tsar M. Muraviov wrote: «In order to strengthen the public order, special attention should be given to measures for the «purge» of educational institutions, for the extirpation of their «seditious» direction»<sup>5</sup>.

Such a «purge» was entrusted to the Chief Prosecutor of the Synod, Count D. Tolstoi, who also held the post of Minister of Public Education on April 14, 1866.

Oleksandr II also expressed his point of view on the fight against sedition and the main activities of the new minister in his «subscription». On May 13, 1866, the Tsar wrote to Prince P. Gagarin, the Head of the Committee of Ministers: «It was the Lord who saw fit to open the eyes of Russia on what consequences can be expected from the aspirations and wisdom of those who have encroached upon the holiest of all, on religious beliefs, on the family life foundations, on the right of property, on the obedience of the law, and on the respect for power. My attention has already been drawn to youth education. I have already gave instructions that it should be directed in the spirit of the religious truths, respect for property rights and the observance of the fundamental principles of public order, and that the educational institutions of all departments should not allow the secret stay of those destructive concepts that are equally hostile to all conditions of moral and material well-being»<sup>6</sup>.

P. Valuiev assured that only «the introduction of classicism should improve the

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<sup>4</sup> Mikhailovskiy N. K., Literaturnye vospominaniia i sovremeniennaia smuta [Literary Memories and Contemporary Anxiety], St. P., Synodal printing house, 1900. - Vol. 1.– P. 497.

<sup>5</sup> S. Nevedenskiy (Shcheglov), Katkov i yeho vremia [Katkov and his time], St. P., Typography of A.S. Suvorov, 1888. – P. 237-239.

<sup>6</sup> Polnoie sobraniie zakonov Rossiiskoi imperii [The complete collection of laws of the Russian Empire], comp. 2nd. – Vol. 41. – Dep. 1. – № 432989.



decaying high school»<sup>7</sup>.

M. Katkov, Editor-in-chief of the Moscow Gazette, also supported this view, and wrote that «nihilism, as a social ulcer that spoils our youth, is a completely natural product that dominates in our country»<sup>8</sup>.

So, as we can see, the responsibility for the «subversive pseudo-ideas», spreading in society, was once again assigned to the secondary school. The question is, why to the secondary school, not the high school? After all, the high school gave rise to the autocracy anxiety, since it was the student youth who formed the main contingent of various disorders. The authors of the «Sketches of History of School and Pedagogical Thought of the Peoples of the USSR» (Second Half of the 19th Century), edited by O. Piskunov, have expressed their version on this issue. On their opinion, if the high school is to be blamed, it is necessary to take appropriate action, such as «the abrupt break-up of a new university charter, approved in 1863. This is too dangerous because it can cause an outburst of student dissatisfaction. And the memories of the widespread student disorders of the early 1860s, as well as the numerous revolutionary circles and opposition speeches of students, were still fresh»<sup>9</sup>.

Therefore, according to O. Nikolai, it was the secondary school, that was to become a «means of mass «aversion» of young people from the «modern free thinking», both religious and political<sup>10</sup>«. In addition, the secondary school, declared as «class-inclusive» in the 1860s, with all the material access restrictions, as for the ruling circles, was too broad a channel of democratic elements penetration into the environment of the privileged classes. The government believed that this channel should be blocked.

Thus, the liquidation of daring «aspirations and understandings» was the main task of secondary school reform. The source of these aspirations and understandings «was seen in the realistic directions of education. P. Kapteriev wrote that realism was immediately suspected and declared unreliable in all respects»<sup>11</sup>. Accordingly, the means of its «extirpation» was classicism.

Thus, the main culprits of spreading «literacy» in the state were identified; the plan of action was outlined. Tolstoi had to put it into practice. To fulfill his task, D. Tolstoi, from the first year of his assignment began to work on the amendment of the Secondary School Charter of 1864. However, he did not dare to conduct this case quickly as it was necessary to get local support at first. On October 5, 1866 D. Tolstoi appealed to the Governors of the educational districts: «to provide after the discussion on the School Boards, their thoughts and considerations as to all the *shortcomings*

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<sup>7</sup> Predlozheniia i proekty P.A. Valuieva po voprosam vnutrennei politiki (1862-1866) [P.A. Valuiev's proposals and projects on domestic policy (1862-1866)], Historical Archive, 1958. – № 1. – Pp. 50-152.

<sup>8</sup> Katkov M. N., Nasha uchebnaia reforma s prilozheniiami i s priedisloviem i primiechaniiami Lva Polivanova [Our educational reform with annexes, preface and notes by Lev Polivanov], M., M. G. Volchaninov's Typology, 1890. – P. 126.

<sup>9</sup> A. I. Pieskunov, Ocherki istorii shkoly i pedagogicheskoi mysli narodov SSSR (vtoraia polovina XIX veka) [Sketches of history of school and pedagogical thought of the peoples of the USSR (second half of the nineteenth century)], M., Pedagogy, 1976. – P. 10.

<sup>10</sup> Russkii arkhiv [Russian archive], 1899. – № 8. – P. 614.

<sup>11</sup> Kapteriev P. F., Istoriia russkoi pedagogiki. Glava XX. Obshchie pedagogichieskie idealy v praktike sriednei shkoly. Klassitsizm i realizm [History of Russian Pedagogy. Chapter XX. General pedagogical ideals in high school practice. Classicism and Realism], Pedagogy, 1995. – № 6. – P. 74.



(emphasis added – H.B), which appeared in practice during the introduction of the new charter of gymnasiums and progymnasiums, and the ways and means of their elimination»<sup>12</sup>. The nature of the issue is noteworthy: the minister offered to express only an opinion on the shortcomings of the existing charter of secondary institutions, that is, beforehand laid down a negative assessment of the said document.

The analysis shows that four governors and school boards gave full preference to the classical gymnasiums over the non-classical ones. One of the governors, not disputing the principle of a non-classical gymnasium, expressed the opinion that the latter could not have any positive value because they did not give the right to enter the university. That's why even the pedagogical councils of non-classical gymnasiums, as well as local communities, ask to reorganize them into classical gymnasiums. Another governor wrote that due to the fact that the Charter of 1864 allowed the creation of non-classical or classical gymnasiums according to local needs, he addressed the local population with the question of what is better to open a non-classical or classical gymnasium»<sup>13</sup>. Such statements of the educational districts' governors gave reason to the Minister of Public Education, D. Tolstoi to declare in his reports to the Tsar in 1866 and 1867: «The Gymnasium Charter, though valid only for two years, but, as experience shows, has serious shortcomings (report for the year 1866)»<sup>14</sup>, and that most governors and school boards give a strong preference to classical gymnasiums and believe that non-classical gymnasiums, which, under the Charter of 1864, do not grant students entry rights are not popular at the local level. Therefore, some governors recommend to open vocational schools, commercial schools or trade schools instead of non-classical gymnasiums<sup>15</sup>.

However, this was the opinion of the government officials. In the meantime, there has been a very heated debate in the press on the issue that non-classical gymnasiums should have the same full rights as the classical ones, because this is an obstacle to the opening of non-classical gymnasiums locally, despite the fact that they are sympathetic to the public. This was privately reported to the Minister by D. Shyrynskyi-Shykhmatov, the Governor of Kyiv educational district. He wrote that many pedagogical councils supported non-classical gymnasiums with the condition of access to the university for the graduates of such gymnasiums<sup>16</sup>.

At the same time the non-classical secondary school and its equality was

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<sup>12</sup> Mnieniia i soobrazheniia popechiteliei i popechitielskikh sovetov uchebnykh okrugov o primienienii ustava gimnazii i progimnazii 19-go noiabria 1864 goda [Opinions of the governors and school boards of the educational districts on the application of the Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Charter of November 19, 1864], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1867. – April, Part 134. – P. 1.

<sup>13</sup> Mnieniia i soobrazheniia popechiteliei i popechitielskikh sovetov uchebnykh okrugov o primienienii ustava gimnazii i progimnazii 19-go noiabria 1864 goda [Opinions of the governors and school boards of the educational districts on the application of the Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Charter of November 19, 1864], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1867. – April, Part 134. – Pp. 1-60.

<sup>14</sup> Izvlecheniia iz vsepoddannieishego otchota ministra narodnogo prosvieshchieniia za 1866 god [Excerpts from the most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1866], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1868. – Part 137 – March. – P. 17.

<sup>15</sup> Izvlecheniia iz vsepoddannieishego otchota ministra narodnogo prosvieshchieniia za 1867 god [Excerpts from the most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1867], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1869. – Part 142 – March. – P. 26.

<sup>16</sup> Smirnov V. Z. Reforma nachalnoi i sriedniei shkoly v 60-kh godakh XIX v. [Reform of primary and secondary school in the 1860s], Publishing house of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, 1956. – 312 p.





supported by such newspapers as «Holos», «Den», «Kievlianin», «Russkii Invalid», «St. Petersburg Gazette» and others.

Such famous scientists and public figures as O. Beketov, O. Miller, M. Stasiulevych and many others published articles in support of non-classical gymnasiums. «Ancient languages», wrote the newspaper «Holos», is a wonderful tool for luxurious intellectual development, but such a luxury is good in a special academic school; it is not available to most people. In addition to the scientific school, there is a need for general education, and general education must be non-classical»<sup>17</sup>.

In contrast to these statements, D. Tolstoi also actively used the press, in particular in the person of M. Katkov, an ardent ideologist of classical education, his true soul mate. M. Katkov wrote a number of leading articles in the Moscow Gazette, which completely denied the non-classical direction in education and supported the classical one<sup>18</sup>. «The Gymnasium Charter, – wrote M. Katkov, – in order to meet its purpose, must be carefully and honestly revised with the specific conviction of the truth of its provisions, with the determination to give them proper development and to eliminate all that gives this charter the character of half-heartedness, makes it dependent on different chance and the slightest danger»<sup>19</sup>.

In the meantime, the Ministry has been requested to give the graduates of non-classical gymnasiums the right to enter the universities, contrary to § 122 of the Gymnasium Charter.

All these statements, speeches and petitions were ignored or rejected by the Ministry of Education. Then the local requests for opening the classical gymnasiums instead of non-classical ones, were submitted. All these petitions stated that parents want to teach their children in a classical gymnasium not because they prefer classical education, which is so needed by the modern economy of the country, but only because they do not want to deprive their children the chance to get higher education, as stated in § 122 of the Charter of 1864<sup>20</sup>. As a rule, they motivated their petitions by the same, namely the desire to have a gymnasium, which opens access to the university<sup>21</sup>.

The minister began to consider all these petitions as a great desire of population for the classical gymnasium and used this opportunity to reduce the number of non-classical gymnasiums from sixteen to five<sup>22</sup>. In this context, he generally tried not to notice even this small number of non-classical gymnasiums, as if there were no such

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<sup>17</sup> Istoriiia Rossii v XIX vekie. T.7 Ch.3 Epokha reaktzii [The history of Russia in the nineteenth century. Vol. 7. Part 3. The epoch of reaction], St .P., Publishing House of A and G. Granat, 1909. – P. 173.

<sup>18</sup> Katkov M. N., Nasha uchebnaia reforma s prilozheniiami i s priedisloviiem i primiechaniiami Lva Polivanova [Our educational reform with annexes, preface and notes by Lev Polivanov], M., M. G. Volchaninov's Typology, 1890. – 167 p.

<sup>19</sup> Katkov M. N., Nasha uchebnaia reforma s prilozheniiami i s priedisloviiem i primiechaniiami Lva Polivanova [Our educational reform with annexes, preface and notes by Lev Polivanov], M., M. G. Volchaninov's Typology, 1890. – P. 65.

<sup>20</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skrtches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 47..

<sup>21</sup> Smirnov V. Z. Reforma nachalnoi i sriedniei shkoly v 60-kh godakh XIX v. [Reform of primary and secondary school in the 1860s], Publishing house of the Academy of Pedagogical Sciences of the RSFSR, 1956. – P. 298.

<sup>22</sup> Medynskiy Ye. M. Istoriiia rosiiskoi pedahohiky do Velykoi Zhovtvenoi Sotsialistichnoi revoliutsii [History of Russian Pedagogy before the Great October Socialist Revolution], Kyiv-Kharkiv, The Soviet School, 1938. – P. 238.



educational institutions at all. The Commission approved by the Tsar for reviewing the annual reports of the Ministry of Public Education didn't notice them as well. Thus, in analyzing the report for 1867<sup>23</sup>, the Commission concluded that little attention was paid to non-classical gymnasiums, and also noted that «appropriate proportionality should be established in the number of classical and non-classical gymnasiums so that the exclusive advantage of one would not prevail over the other»<sup>24</sup>. Similar comments were made by the Commission when considering the report for 1868<sup>25</sup>. «It is necessary», the Commission noted, «that the future reports of the Ministry of Public Education pay attention to the non-classical gymnasiums, in particular, what is their number, and to what extent they meet their mission... And in general, does the Ministry of Public Education have an intention to increase the number of non-classical gymnasiums and bring them in line with the tasks»<sup>26</sup>. The Tsar wrote a following resolution on this report: «Accept for bringing into effect». Then D. Tolstoi, artificially inflating the figures, asked the Minister of Finance such a large sum for the opening of non-classical gymnasiums, which he was forced to refuse. Taking advantage of this, Tolstoi succeeded in allowing the Tsar to leave this issue aside «to more favorable financial circumstances»<sup>27</sup>.

In the meantime, requests to let the graduates of the non-classical gymnasiums to enter the university continued to be received, in particular from county councils (Zemstvo). They were actively supported by the press. Then D. Tolstoi achieved the prohibition for the county councils to violate these problems. On his initiative, the Committee of Ministers adopted a resolution of March 26, 1869, which stated: «Taking into account that the petitions expressed by the Zemstvo Assembly relate to the general system of education and its organization in the empire... the Committee of Ministers considers that these issues do not belong to the competence the specified Zemstvo Assembly»<sup>28</sup>.

In May 1869, D. Tolstoi got another resolution of the Cabinet of Ministers, which gave him the right to independently consider the petitions of county councils, without informing the Ministry of Internal Affairs, as it was before. The Committee of Ministers gave D. Tolstoi permission «in case the new petitions from Zemstvo

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<sup>23</sup> Izvlecheniia iz vsepoddannieishego otchota ministra narodnogo prosvieshchieniia za 1867 god [Excerpts from the most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1867], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1869. – Part 142 – March. – Pp. 1-105.

<sup>24</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 46.

<sup>25</sup> Izvlecheniia iz vsepoddannieishego otchota ministra narodnogo prosvieshchieniia za 1868 god [Excerpts from the most devoted report of the Minister of Public Education for 1868], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1870. – Part 147 – January. – Pp. 1-203.

<sup>26</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 46.

<sup>27</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 46.

<sup>28</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 47.



Assembly to be received – to reject them without entering the Committee with special submissions every time»<sup>29</sup>. The researcher S. Hanelin notes that D. Tolstoi, «brusquely and rudely treated all statements and petitions of county councils and citizens, did not pay attention to the demands of liberals»<sup>30</sup>.

Thus, suppressing public opinion, as well as relying on the articles by M. Katkov and other opponents of non-classical gymnasiums, taking into account the views of governors and their councils, Tolstoi came to believe, as he wrote in 1867, in the need for urgent reorganization of non-classical gymnasiums into such non-classical secondary schools that would meet the real needs of the country»<sup>31</sup>.

In view of this, a corresponding note was prepared in 1868 and proposed for discussion in 1869 by the Scientific Committee of the Ministry of National Education and the Council of Ministers. The commission met in February and March 1869. As a result of the discussion, the draft amendments to the Charter of 1864 were adopted. Among other changes, it was suggested: «The gymnasiums and classical progymnasiums are only given the name of gymnasiums and progymnasiums; non-classical gymnasiums should receive a special charter and a special name»<sup>32</sup>. That is, it was proposed to liquidate the non-classical gymnasiums as such, and to found the non-classical secondary schools instead.

In addition, it was suggested to adapt the curriculum of non-classical secondary schools in different places for the industrial needs. The content of education will include general and special subjects that can be used for practical purposes. Such general subjects as mathematics, native language and new languages should be developed. The curriculum of non-classical secondary schools will be made in such a way that the pupils of the county or city schools could enter them. Non-classical secondary schools will train for admission to the higher specialized schools<sup>33</sup>.

It is clear that locally such changes in the secondary education system were met with indignation, in particular by the county councils. Then, in September 1869, the Ministry published the leading article in its official print medium, «Journal of the Ministry of Public Education». This article covered the official opinion of the Ministry of Public Education. Thus, in particular, the article stated that «the Ministry is fully aware of the need to terminate the issues our gymnasiums are still suffering from, and which give rise to unpleasant misunderstandings in our society and even in our

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<sup>29</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skrtches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 48.

<sup>30</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skrtches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 48.

<sup>31</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. .P: Printing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 974.

<sup>32</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 518.

<sup>33</sup> Shmid Ye. K. Istoriia sriednikh uchebnykh zaviedieniia v Rosii [History of secondary schools in Russia], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1877. – P. 189-200. – P. 518.



Zemstvo Assembly»<sup>34</sup>.

Thus, the «Journal of the Ministry of Public Education» concludes, the gymnasium, in the true sense of the word, belongs to the category of scientific schools, whereas the so-called non-classical gymnasium, together with the higher school and elementary schools, (non-classical gymnasium is placed in line with the schools of lower level – *H.B*) belongs to the category of educational institutions dedicated to the interests of not only scientific but applied knowledge, while classical gymnasiums lead to the university, non-classical gymnasiums join higher specialized educational institutions, as such that deal with the applications of science to the practical life purposes. The mix of such different systems of public education as scientific one (represented by gymnasiums and universities), applied one (represented by non-classical gymnasiums and higher specialized educational institutions) and mixed one, such as that some county councils sought for, cannot be admitted without extreme harm to science, and therefore, to the most applied, specialized knowledge, which is nourished by pure science<sup>35</sup>.

On December 20, 1869, the issue was discussed at a State Council meeting at the State Economy Department. Some members of the State Council expressed the view that «non-classical gymnasiums not only have its important meaning, but also, especially in the industrial and commercial centers, provide an urgent need for local citizens, enabling them to prepare their children for admission to higher education institutions, and directly to the practical field of the factory and technical industry, which is in dire need of such national figures, especially now, with considerable development of roads, shipping companies and factory industries»<sup>36</sup>.

Minister Tolstoi expressed a different opinion at this meeting: «Non-classical gymnasiums of the Ministry of Public Education, in a way they were opened under the Charter of 1864, can in no way prepare students directly for the practical field of the factory and technical industry and cannot meet any needs, which are listed in the draft journal of the State Economy Department»<sup>37</sup>. At the same time, the Minister stated that the Ministry of Public Education, taking care of eliminating the disadvantages that our non-classical gymnasiums suffer from, plans to give them a correct statement in the general educational system and thus facilitate their development and further distribution<sup>38</sup>.

The State Economy Department, taking into account the statements of the

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<sup>34</sup> Po delam tsentralnogo upravleniia ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchieniia [On the affairs of the central administration of the Ministry of Public Education], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1869. – September. – P. 6.

<sup>35</sup> Po delam tsentralnogo upravleniia ministerstva narodnogo prosveshchieniia [On the affairs of the central administration of the Ministry of Public Education], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1869. – September. – P. 7.

<sup>36</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 957.

<sup>37</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 957.

<sup>38</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 949-1101.





Minister, acknowledged, that changes should be initiated immediately and therefore made the following decision: «To give the Ministry of Public Education the right to take all possible measures to submit proposals for the proper arrangement of non-classical gymnasiums as soon as possible»<sup>39</sup>.

To continue the discussion of the amendments to the Charter of 1864 and the new Charter of non-classical secondary schools, a special commission was established by the Tsar's Decree and approved on March 27, 1870. The former Governor of the Moscow district, the Moscow Governor-General, Count S. Stroganov headed the commission. The commission included: P. Valuiev, Actual Privy Councillor, O. Troinytskyi, a friend of the Minister of the Interior, D. Tolstoi, Minister of Public Education, members of the Council of Ministers – teachers D. Postels and I. Steinman and V. Lemonius, Active State Councillor, principal of the 3rd St. Petersburg Gymnasium<sup>40</sup>. The said commission held six meetings and on May 6, 1870 unanimously approved the following proposals concerning, in particular, non-classical gymnasiums: 1) non-classical gymnasiums are renamed into non-classical secondary schools, for which a separate charter will be prepared; 2) non-classical secondary schools are founded in different localities with different training courses in accordance with the needs of local industry, so that some of these schools are agronomic with the mechanical subjects prevailing, technical – with the prevailing of chemistry, mining and metallurgical – with the technological and agronomic subjects prevailing; 3) the course of non-classical secondary schools for the vast majority lasts 7 years, during which general subjects and special subjects are studied; 4) such general subjects as mathematical sciences, native language and new languages are of special importance; 5) the curriculum of the non-classical secondary schools shall be established in such a way that the transition from the district and city schools shall be provided, and that it should serve as far as possible the training for admission to the higher specialized schools; 5) non-classical secondary schools should be the example to open the industrial states and county councils; 6) those students who complete a full-time education in a non-classical secondary school are given the same rights, as the current graduates of non-classical gymnasiums have (§ 120-124)<sup>41</sup>.

At the same time, it was suggested: «To give the Minister the right to take dependent measures to prepare proposals for the proper organization of real gymnasiums as soon as possible»<sup>42</sup>.

On June 3, 1870, D. Tolstoi reported to the Tsar that the commission took a

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<sup>39</sup> Priedstavleniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlenii po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the "Public Weather" Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 958.

<sup>40</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 518.

<sup>41</sup> Priedstavleniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlenii po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the "Public Weather" Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 973-974.

<sup>42</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 518.



unanimous decision to reform education and received a resolution: «I'm very glad»<sup>43</sup>.

On February 27, 1871, D. Tolstoi submitted to the State Council a proposal for amendments to the Charter of November 19, 1864, and the Non-classical secondary schools' Charter. And on March 8, for the preliminary consideration of both projects by the Tsar's Decree, a Special Council of 14 persons was established having the rights of the State Council Department headed by Count S. Stroganov<sup>44</sup>.

According to researcher Sh. Hanelin, D. Tolstoi specifically rejected the approved procedure of the project (through the Departments of Economics and Laws etc.) and invented the creation of a «Special Council» to ensure and accelerate the new Charter implementation<sup>45</sup>. The Council was granted the right, if necessary, to invite persons specially acquainted with the subject of public education for consultation.

In his speech at the meeting of the «Special Council», D. Tolstoi presented arguments to justify the reform he began, in particular, the non-classical education. He believed that the reforms of 1849–1851, which undermined the value of classical gymnasiums, distracted the school from the right path. Seeing it (in full accordance with the above-mentioned Rescript of Olexandr II), the main reason for the spread of «subversive pseudo ideas»<sup>46</sup>. The Charter of 1864, according to the Minister, correctly stipulated § 122 that no non-classical curriculum can give university readiness.

However, later in defining the purpose of the non-classical direction, significant deviations were made from the legislative views of that period. The Charter as a whole, with the exception of § 122, gives rise to the idea that non-classical gymnasiums are the same type of educational institutions as universities or classical gymnasiums: firstly, the schools, founded for the classical education, receive an unsuitable name of «gymnasiums» and were united with the present university gymnasiums in the general charter; secondly, the Ministry of Public Education has the right to open one or another gymnasium for local needs and teaching costs (§ 7), as if some gymnasiums were completely equivalent to one another and could replace one another<sup>47</sup>. Thus, according to the Minister, the view those real gymnasiums, that according to the Charter of 1864 are equivalent to university gymnasiums, caused damage primarily to the spread of the same non-classical education<sup>48</sup>. The curriculum of non-classical schools or gymnasiums, which by its very nature cannot adapt students for the further study at

<sup>43</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, *Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchienia (1802-1902)* [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 289.

<sup>44</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, *Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchienia (1802-1902)* [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 520.

<sup>45</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. *Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka* [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 49.

<sup>46</sup> *Kratkii istoricheskii obzor hoda rabot po reformie sriedniei shkoly Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchienia s 1871 g.* [Brief historical overview of the progress of works on the reform of the secondary school of the Ministry of Public Education since 1871], P., 1915. – 56 p.

<sup>47</sup> *Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchienia* [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the «Public Weather» Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 976.

<sup>48</sup> *Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchienia* [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the «Public Weather» Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 966 (in Russian).



any university faculties, cannot in any way be regarded as general education [19, p. 968]. They are completely unprepared for higher education; they do not have any special knowledge for further practical training in any field of industry knowledge and employment; and higher specialized schools are accessible to pupils of non-classical gymnasiums no more than for classical gymnasiums pupils»<sup>49</sup>.

He convinced enough arguments to support the need to reorganize non-classical gymnasiums into such schools that would provide students with education adapted to various industries and commerce. When opening non-classical secondary schools, a practical goal must be identified. On this basis, the Minister outlined the basis of the features of non-classical secondary schools foundation<sup>50</sup>. The name «non-classical» remains because it has already become nationwide and the public is accustomed to it. Perhaps the most important is the fact, the industry needed middle-ranked specialists who would have applied their knowledge of the natural and physical sciences and mathematics. Non-classical secondary schools could satisfy this need. And the entrance of the non-classical secondary schools' graduates the higher specialized institutions was an objective need, which prompted technical progress. Any attempt to deny the access of non-classical secondary schools' graduates to universities or special educational institutions became a brake on the way of economic development of the state<sup>51</sup>.

In the presented project six different special courses (technical, mining, commercial, agricultural, technological-agronomic, mechanical-chemical) were offered. Their development will allow not only to train specialists, but also to stimulate the development of scientific knowledge.

The reform of non-classical education was based on such considerations, introduced by Tolstoy in the «Special Council». Five meetings, that took place on April 1, 8, 12, 16 and 23, 1871, were devoted to discussing this issue.

The issue of whether non-classical gymnasiums should exist along with the classical ones and give the right to enter the university without exams was the most controversial.

During the discussion, a united minority of six members was formed who believed that there were too many politics in solving the issue devoted to non-classical education, that the natural sciences, which carry material education, were a source of thought and could harm the state by spreading «pseudoscience»<sup>52</sup>.

In addition, the minority drew attention to the fact that in 1864, after long discussions, they unanimously decided at the State Council that the purpose of the gymnasium was to provide a general education to the younger generation, and in view

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<sup>49</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the "Public Weather" Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 970.

<sup>50</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the "Public Weather" Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 949-1101.

<sup>51</sup> Priedstavlieniia v gosudarstviennyi sovet // Sbornik postanovlieniia po Ministerstvu narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Representations to the State Council // Collection of resolutions on the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Printing House of the "Public Weather" Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 949-1101.

<sup>52</sup> Alieshyntsev I., Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX veka) [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 314.



of the difference between the subjects studied, it was advisable to divide these educational institutions into classical and non-classical ones<sup>53</sup>.

In course of the discussion, the project of the non-classical gymnasiums abolition and introduction of the only type of general educational institution - classical gymnasiums - was called «complete anachronism» by the Tolstoi's opponents<sup>54</sup>.

The minority noted that the proposed project contradicted the educational theory and practice of Western Europe and could not be based on the experience of Russian non-classical gymnasiums: they existed only from 1865, so that at the seven-year course until 1871 they had no graduates in order to draw any conclusions about the activities of these institutions.

In opposition to the Minister, the six members of the Council proposed their decision, the essence of which was as follows: 1) to reject the opening of non-classical secondary schools on the principles proposed by the Minister, because these schools should not pursue a practical goal, but mainly serve to prepare for the university entrance; general education should not be confused with special education; it is not possible at the same time to prepare for industrial activity and for admission to higher specialized institutions; 2) the course of non-classical secondary schools should last eight years; 3) Latin should be included into the course of non-classical secondary schools as a non-compulsory subject; 3) those who graduate from the non-classical secondary schools should have the right to enter the University on the Faculty of Physics and Mathematics or Medicine, if they have studied Latin; 4) half of the total number of gymnasiums should be reorganized into non-classical secondary schools on the aforementioned grounds<sup>55</sup>.

The other part of the discussion members, which was larger, expressed their full approval for the project of Minister D. Tolstoi. They believed that the proposed non-classical secondary schools would meet the needs of that part of society that does not want to give higher education to their children, but wants to give a thorough practical education. They believed that according to local needs there is no harm in general education, by the study of mathematical sciences and technical drawing or chemistry and drawing, even the learning of new languages. And a six-year course will make non-classical secondary schools accessible to a large number of students.

Thus, eight members of the Council came to the conclusion that the basis of university education remains classical, and therefore proposed changes and additions should be introduced from the 1871-1872 academic year. As for the non-classical secondary schools, the draft Charter should be discussed separately<sup>56</sup>.

On May 15, 1871, the draft amendments to the Charter of 1864, the new Charter of Non-classical secondary schools, and the Special Council Journal with two opposing proposals were presented to the State Council. In discussing these documents, the

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<sup>53</sup> Alieshyntsev I., *Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX vieka)* [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – 346 p.

<sup>54</sup> Alieshyntsev I., *Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX vieka)* [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 294.

<sup>55</sup> Shmid Ye. K. *Istoriia sriednikh uchebnykh zaviedienii v Rosii* [History of secondary schools in Russia], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1877. – P. 189-200. – P. 520

<sup>56</sup> Bilbasov V., *Sredniaia shkola v Rossii tridsat let nazad* [High school in Russia thirty years ago], Russian School. – № 4, 1900. – P. 41.





minority of the «Special Council» became the majority. 29 out of 48 members of the State Council agreed with the opinion of six and spoke in favor of preserving the non-classical gymnasiums and enabling those who studied Latin to enter the medical and mathematical faculties of the university.

«Non-classical secondary schools», noted the majority of the State Council members, «are not special schools, but just like the gymnasiums they are intended to provide basic general education. Therefore, there is no difference between gymnasiums and non-classical secondary schools, they are only mutually limited and complementary. They share the same purpose – to provide the general education required for all types of higher education. This division became necessary as a result of the development of the sciences and requirements of modern life – and the non-classical secondary schools gradually acquired the same status as the gymnasiums»<sup>57</sup>.

Minister D. Tolstoi and his supporters were extremely dissatisfied with the result of the discussion. Not paying any attention to the convincing evidence of opponents, 19 members of the Council fully supported the position of Tolstoi. They made strong arguments in favor of classical education. «In all European countries», said the minority, «only gymnasiums which major subjects are both ancient languages and mathematics are recognized as the university-ready, and the most reliable data convinced us that everywhere where only the sciences flourish, including the medical and natural, only the gymnasiums with full classical course are called scientific schools, and only the education they give is recognized as suitable for university readiness»<sup>58</sup>.

I. Alioshyntsev, the researcher and witness of those events, considers that the arguments of the minority were like «chicanery», that is, of bureaucratic nature, and repeated the thesis of D. Tolstoi. Professor T. Lokot, also a witness of the mentioned events, wrote: «We know that purely political motivation was hidden behind the motivation of the minority, so sharply expressed in the report of D. Tolstoi. As if trying to remove from the younger generation all those negatives, mentioned in the Tsar's Rescript from May 13, 1866, D. Tolstoi first of all drew attention to the strengthening of discipline, as well as strengthening of classicism and the expulsion of natural science...

And if, as we know, the measures of D. Tolstoi have caused not only sympathy, but also irreconcilable opposition, it happened precisely because of the hidden political, not pedagogical, tendency of the whole system of Count Tolstoi, sharply opposite to the hidden, but also political tendencies of a liberal society»<sup>59</sup>.

Thus, 19 members of the Council of Ministers concluded: 1) to prevent the entrance of any university faculty of those students who have completed the course of non-classical secondary schools according to the current regulations; 2) not to convert existing classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools; 3) the amended

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<sup>57</sup> Alioshyntsev I., *Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX vieka)* [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 299.

<sup>58</sup> Lokot T. F., *Mysli pedagoga o reformie shkoly* [Teacher's thinking on the School Reform], St. P.: Publishing House of V. D. Smirnov, 1912. – P. 14.

<sup>59</sup> Lokot T. F., *Mysli pedagoga o reformie shkoly* [Teacher's thinking on the School Reform], St. P.: Publishing House of V. D. Smirnov, 1912. – Pp. 13-14 (in Russian).



«Project of Amendments to the Charter of Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums, Approved in 1864» to be submitted for the Emperor's approval; 4) the money required for the maintenance of preparatory classes in the amount of 94,000 rubles annually to be given from the State Treasury, starting from 1872; 4) to leave aside the issue of non-classical secondary schools until such differences are remedied<sup>60</sup>.

On June 18, 1871, without taking into account the arguments of the classical education defenders, the Tsar wrote a resolution «To execute on the opinion of 19 members». At the same time he wrote in a letter to Prince Konstantin Nikolaievich: «I approved the minority opinion without any doubt»<sup>61</sup>.

It was, of course, an extraordinary event. It is difficult to judge why the Tsar did so. P. Kapteriev expressed his opinion: «D. Tolstoi directly raised the pedagogical issue of the relative value of the classical and non-classical education system on the ground of politics, instead of pedagogical discussion he resolutely and blatantly accused a non-classical educational system in the development of materialism, extreme arrogance and the worst views of its students. Obviously, the pedagogical side of the issue was beyond his scope»<sup>62</sup>.

The affirmation of the minority view did not solve the issue at all, because the dispute was about a deep pedagogical and social issue that cannot be solved by intrigues or orders; such issues are solved only by life and science<sup>63</sup>.

At the same time, in order to eliminate the differences that arose in the State Council, the Tsar decreed: not to allow those who had completed the course of non-classical secondary schools to enter any of the faculties of the universities; not to transform existing classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools; to submit for his approval the summary of the existing articles of the Charter of 1864 as well as new amendments and additions; to call classical gymnasiums and progymnasiums simply gymnasiums and progymnasiums, excluding from the summary everything concerning non-classical gymnasiums; to leave the non-classical gymnasiums on a preliminary basis for discussion in the State Council of the draft of the Non-classical secondary schools Charter, submitted by the Minister of Public Education until the issue of the Non-classical secondary schools Charter<sup>64, 65</sup>.

On June 1871 inspired D. Tolstoi sent the «Circular proposal to the heads of

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<sup>60</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 301.

<sup>61</sup> Hanelin Sh. I. Ocherki po istorii sriedniei shkoly v Rossii vtoroi poloviny XIX veka [Skratches on the history of secondary school in Russia in the second half of the nineteenth century], M., State Educational and Pedagogical Publishing House of the Ministry of Education of the RSFSR, 1954. – P. 301

<sup>62</sup> Kapteriev P. F., Istoriiia russkoi pedagogiki. Glava XX. Obshchie pedagogichieskiiie idealy v praktikiie sriedniei shkoly. Klassitsizm i realizm [History of Russian Pedagogy. Chapter XX. General pedagogical ideals in high school practice. Classicism and Realism], Pedagogy, 1995. – № 6. – P. 74.

<sup>63</sup> Kapteriev P. F., Istoriiia russkoi pedagogiki. Glava XX. Obshchie pedagogichieskiiie idealy v praktikiie sriedniei shkoly. Klassitsizm i realizm [History of Russian Pedagogy. Chapter XX. General pedagogical ideals in high school practice. Classicism and Realism], Pedagogy, 1995. – № 6. – P. 75.

<sup>64</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheskii obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchienia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 525.

<sup>65</sup> Shmid Ye. K. Istoriiia sriednikh uchebnykh zaviedienii v Rosii [History of secondary schools in Russia], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1877. – P. 189-200. – P. 521.



educational districts regarding the Highest approval of amendments and additions to the gymnasium charter of November 19, 1864»<sup>66</sup> to the provinces, in which he reported that according to the Tsar's will the gymnasiums «received such favorable conditions, which they have never had before»<sup>67</sup>. «But whatever the «great graces» and favorable «conditions», – the Minister wrote, – the new educational law can bring substantial benefit to the country only with careful and prudent fulfillment of all its orders by both the governors of the educational districts, and the principals, inspectors, teachers and all other members of educational institutions»<sup>68</sup>.

At the same time, the legislative act «On Amendments and Additions to the Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Charter, by Imperial consolidation on June 19, 1871»<sup>69</sup> was published in the «Collection of Orders for the Ministry of Public Education». «Based on this order,» the document noted, «our gymnasiums can develop properly and quietly, without fear of any new shocks from the outside, giving more and more mature and prepared students to the universities and higher specialized educational institutions every year, providing the prosperity of both these educational institutions and in general of all branches of science in Russia»<sup>70</sup>.

On July 30, 1871, the Tsar approved the «Gymnasiums and Progymnasiums Charter of the Department of the Ministry of Public Education»<sup>71</sup>. According to this document, the classical gymnasium remained the main type of comprehensive and class-inclusive secondary school, which provides youth with a general education and at the same time readiness for the university and other higher specialized colleges.

At the same time, a draft of the Non-Classical Secondary Schools Charter was prepared. It was initially considered at a meeting of the «Special Council» on February 10 and 17. Along with the project, a separate note was submitted by O. Holovnin, which completely denied the D. Tolstoi's project. Referring to the European experience, O. Holovnin believed that «if you introduce both general education and a special course at the same time, you can lose both»<sup>72</sup>.

In his report, D. Tolstoi initially referred to the population needs, in particular, urban residents who, «without preparing their children for universities and other higher

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<sup>66</sup> Sbornik postanovlieni i raspriazhenii po gimnaziiam, vedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Collection of decrees and orders on gymnasiums of the department of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P., 1881. – Vol. 5. – 349 p.

<sup>67</sup> Sbornik postanovlieni i raspriazhenii po gimnaziiam, vedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Collection of decrees and orders on gymnasiums of the department of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P., 1881. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 142.

<sup>68</sup> Sbornik postanovlieni i raspriazhenii po gimnaziiam, vedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Collection of decrees and orders on gymnasiums of the department of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P., 1881. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 142-143.

<sup>69</sup> Sbornik postanovlieni i raspriazhenii po gimnaziiam, vedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Collection of decrees and orders on gymnasiums of the department of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P., 1881. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 179-284.

<sup>70</sup> Sbornik postanovlieni i raspriazhenii po gimnaziiam, vedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [Collection of decrees and orders on gymnasiums of the department of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P., 1881. – Vol. 5. – P. 179.

<sup>71</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheski obzor dieiatelnosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802-1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – 785 p.

<sup>72</sup> Alieshyntsev I., Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX vieka) [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 303.



education institutions, which is expensive and long for them, want to give them a practical education, deeper and more serious than the one that can be obtained in county or township schools currently planned, and not as deep and long as gymnasium. Special schools are needed to meet this social need. Schools of this kind are commonly called non-classical»<sup>73</sup>.

The project submitted by the Minister envisaged: to determine such a course for the non-classical secondary schools, which, giving general education and opening, if necessary, access to higher specialized institutions, would not lose the practical purpose related to local needs<sup>74</sup>. According to the Minister, the task of a non-classical secondary school should be to provide students with education adapted to the needs of different localities; preparation for higher specialized institutions cannot and should not be the main objective of a non-classical secondary school<sup>75</sup>.

During the discussion in the Council, the following issues were still focused on: the equality of non-classical secondary schools, as general schools and as those preparing for entrance to higher educational institutions and classical gymnasiums.

Everyone who opposed the Tolstoi's reform has been against it now. They believed, first, that instead of the abolished non-classical gymnasiums, non-classical secondary schools with a general education course were needed; secondly, technical, special schools should be opened in accordance with local needs and material resources both by individual departments, district councils, urban and rural communities and individuals<sup>76</sup>.

The opposition also did not accept the minister's opinion that non-classical secondary schools should have a primarily practical purpose: their task was to prepare students for a higher specialized institution<sup>77</sup>.

The majority opposed the Minister's project to another plan of non-classical secondary schools (by A. Holovnin), according to which they, like the gymnasiums, should have the same course for all students, namely the abstract-theoretical course, founded on the prevailing of mathematics and science, without practical and useful application, that is, to be parallel to gymnasiums and schools of general education. D. Tolstoi and his supporters regarded this type of high school as dangerous, capable of developing a materialistic outlook and skepticism in young people<sup>78</sup>. That is why they supported the project of the Ministry of Public Education, considering it the most acceptable and corresponding to the needs of the country and a necessary supplement

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<sup>73</sup> O proektie i shtatakh rialnykh uchilishch viedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [About the project and staffs of non-classical secondary schools of the Ministry of Public Education], (1871–1873), Vol. 5, St. P., 1881, P. 1111.

<sup>74</sup> O proektie i shtatakh rialnykh uchilishch viedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [About the project and staffs of non-classical secondary schools of the Ministry of Public Education], (1871–1873), Vol. 5, St. P., 1881, P. 1111

<sup>75</sup> K voprosu o rialnykh uchilishchakh [On the issue of non-classical secondary schools], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1871. – No. 153. – P. 72.

<sup>76</sup> Alieshyntsev I., Istorii gimnazicheskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX veka) [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 303.

<sup>77</sup> K voprosu o rialnykh uchilishchakh [On the issue of non-classical secondary schools], Journal of the Ministry of Public Education, 1871. – No. 153. – P. 60.

<sup>78</sup> S. V. Rozhdiestvienskii, Istoricheskii obzor dieiatel'nosti Ministerstva Narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia (1802-1902) [Historical Review of the Activity of the Ministry of Public Education (1802–1902)], St. P.: Ministry of Public Education, 1902. – P. 526.





to the educational system<sup>79</sup>.

Finally, on April 3, 1872, the draft Charter of Non-classical secondary schools was again submitted to the State Council for discussion. The Minister and his supporters assured the State Council that «the establishment of non-classical secondary schools, such as gymnasiums and for almost the same purposes, would be incompatible with the true benefit of the state and the proper development of student youth»<sup>80</sup>.

Trying to find a way to meet the production needs of specialists, and the desire of young people to get a non-classical education, the Ministry of Public Education joins another additional class to the main branch of the non-classical secondary schools. This supplementary class (with a normal plan) should consist of three divisions: one intended for preparing for university entrance, the other two for those who wish to get a technical or mechanical education, in order to directly use a received education in practical activities. In the first general department, subjects of general education predominate; in the second (mechanical) one the students will become acquainted with mechanical and chemical technology and some auxiliary sciences, but will especially master the ability to draw machines, and in the third department, the chemical one, they will learn a deeper course of chemical technology and will work 12 hours a week in a chemical laboratory. After completing this training course in the supplementary class, young people will have sufficient technical knowledge and will be really useful workers for the domestic industry. In addition, these proposals take into account the fact that many students cannot continue their studies at higher education institutions due to the lack of money and these institutions are located mainly in large cities. Therefore, an additional class should solve the problem of non-classical education. The goal, which has long but unsuccessfully been sought by the government, namely to distribute technical knowledge as much as possible, will thus be achieved through these technical departments in an additional class of non-classical secondary schools, and the latter will become quite a useful center for secondary technical education, a kind of medium-sized polytechnic institutes that internationally trained competent workers for industry<sup>81</sup>.

19 members (a minority) voted in favor of the D. Tolstoi project, while a majority of 29 members voted for O. Holovnin. However, the Tsar again agreed to the decision of a State Council minority and on May 15, 1872 issued a decree «On the conversion of non-classical gymnasiums to non-classical secondary schools», which approved the Charter of non-classical secondary schools and allowed the Minister of Public Education «to convert the existing non-classical gymnasiums to non-classical

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<sup>79</sup> Alieshyntsev I., *Istoriia gimnazichieskogo obrazovaniia v Rossii (XVIII i XIX veka)* [History of high school education in Russia (XVIII and XIX centuries)], St. P.: Published by O. Bogdanova, 1912. – P. 304.

<sup>80</sup> Vypiska iz zhurnala Obshchego sobraniia Gosudarstvennogo Sovieta 3-go apreliia 1872 goda o priobrazovanii realnykh gimnazii v realnye uchilishcha // Sbornik postanovlieni po Ministierstvu narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia [Extract from the journal of the General Assembly of the State Council on April 3, 1872 on the transformation of non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools // Collection of decrees of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Publishing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – P. 936.

<sup>81</sup> Vypiska iz zhurnala Obshchego sobraniia Gosudarstvennogo Sovieta 3-go apreliia 1872 goda o priobrazovanii realnykh gimnazii v realnye uchilishcha // Sbornik postanovlieni po Ministierstvu narodnogo Prosvieshchieniia [Extract from the journal of the General Assembly of the State Council on April 3, 1872 on the transformation of non-classical gymnasiums into non-classical secondary schools // Collection of decrees of the Ministry of Public Education], St. P.: Publishing House of the “Public Weather” Society, 1877. – Vol. 5. – Pp. 941-942.



secondary schools from the beginning of 1872-73»<sup>82</sup>.

The practical implementation of the Charter of Non-classical secondary schools in 1872 was directed by D. Tolstoi with the same energy and perseverance that he showed in the struggle against the opposition, defending his reform and the legislative instances.

Already on July 31, 1872 he published the following documents: «Circular proposal to the heads of educational districts regarding the introduction of the Non-classical secondary schools Charter», as well as «Circular proposal to the heads of educational districts regarding the teaching department in non-classical secondary schools» in order to explain the main principles of the Charter<sup>83</sup>. In these documents, the Minister paid special attention to the characteristics of the features of non-classical secondary schools, that is, how they differ from the gymnasiums. In his circulars, the minister called the governors upon «unanimity» and «unite friendly energetic efforts» to «lead the student youth to the true noble and useful goals»<sup>84</sup>.

Such appeals of the Minister to join forces in order to make radical changes in the education system were not accidental. He knew well that this reform, which had provoked such a heated struggle in governmental areas, would be met with no sympathy and even hostile by the population directly interested in it. Therefore, with all the power of his imperious character, Tolstoi persistently sought to carry out the reform quickly, steadily, without concessions and compromises.

### Conclusions.

Many people were dissatisfied with the Tolstoi's reform. However, there was an opinion that he had organized and strengthened the classical gymnasiums. At the same time, an important disadvantage of his work was the focus on classical education, while society needed a complete system of non-classical education. After all, non-classical secondary schools, as well as classical gymnasiums, prepared young people for special higher education institutions by teaching mathematics, natural sciences, native and foreign languages.

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<sup>83</sup> Tsyrkularnoie priedlozheniie nachalstvam uchie,nykh okrugov po povodu vviedeniia v dieistiie ustava rielynykh uchilishch [Circular proposal to the heads of educational districts regarding the introduction of the Non-classical secondary schools Charter], Collection of decrees and orders for high schools, departments of the Ministry of Public Education (1871–1873). Vol. 5. – St. P., 1881. – P. 538-539.

<sup>84</sup> O proektie i shtatakh rielynykh uchilishch viedomstva Ministerstva narodnogo prosvieshchieniia [About the project and staffs of non-classical secondary schools of the Ministry of Public Education], (1871–1873). – Vol. 5, St. P., 1881. – P. 955



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